

The economic regeneration of London docklands: a labour market analysis

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THE ECONOMIC REGENERATION OF LONDON DOCKLANDS:
A LABOUR MARKET ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

In 1980 the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) was designated as the organisation responsible for the physical, economic and social regeneration of the area in East London known as London Docklands. It is argued that an evaluation of LDDC policy impact on the labour market will be useful for two reasons. First, it will make a contribution to the academic discussion on the causes of economic and social change in this part of London. This is made all the more necessary because much previous research has concentrated on political issues, whilst paying only lip-service to many of the other economic and social forces that cause change. Second, at a practical level, the controversial nature of LDDC initiatives necessitates a detailed study of policy impact.

A conceptual model of the labour market is developed based on segmented labour market theory. It includes the key influences on the demand and supply side of the labour market and the interaction process between demand and supply. This allows the evaluation of LDDC policy to take account of other forces that cause change in the labour market. The broad conclusion is that LDDC policy has had a very limited impact on the local labour market and an explanation of change in London Docklands must include other economic and social forces.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION - UNDERSTANDING URBAN CHANGE IN LONDON
DOCKLANDS

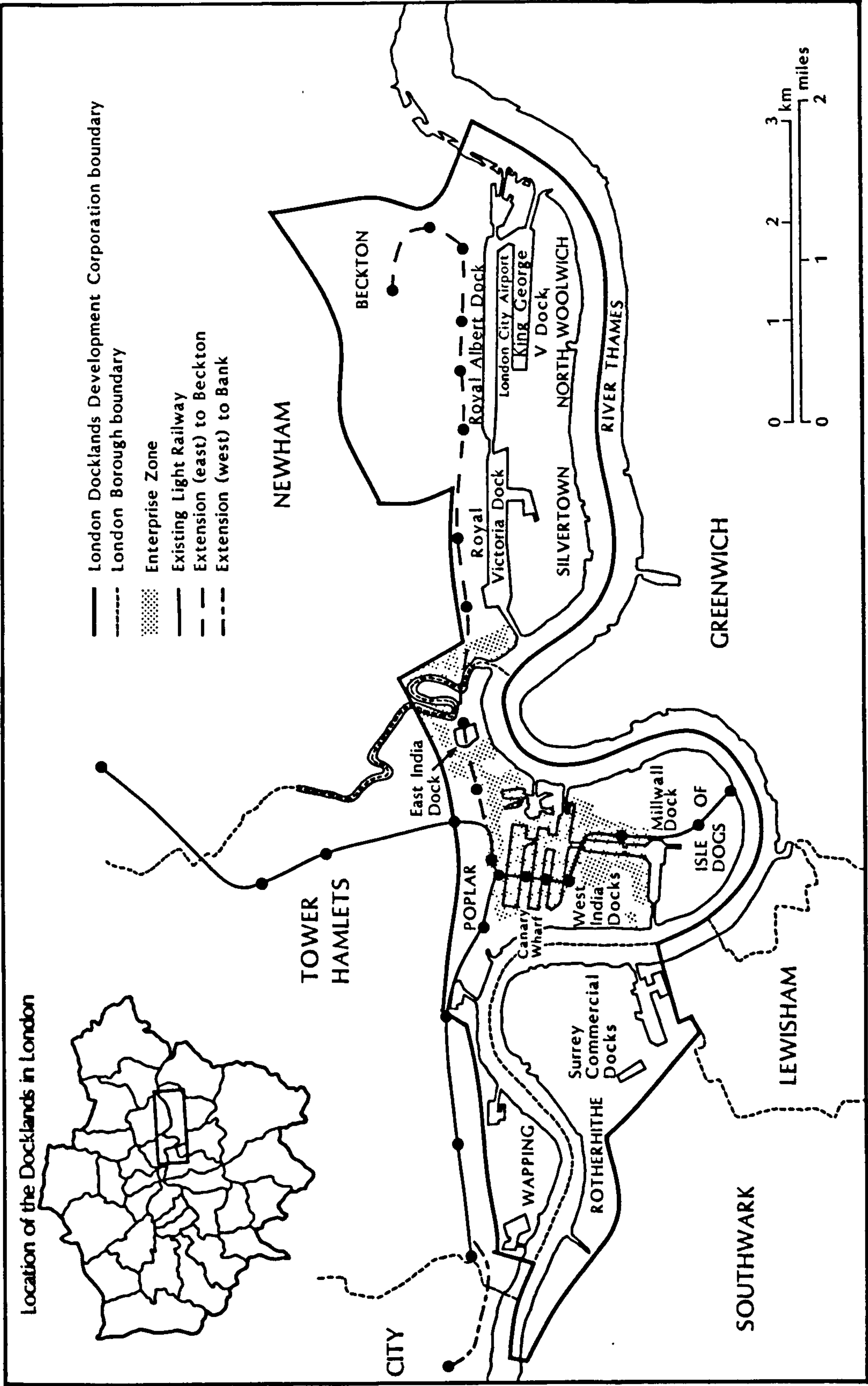
1.1 Introduction

Within East London the area referred to as London Docklands has witnessed a remarkable change in its local economic, social and political structure during the 1980's. An important element in these events was the designation in 1981 of a new state agency, the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). Conservative central government using the Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980 charged the LDDC with promoting the regeneration of the 8 square miles on either side of the River Thames known as London Docklands (see Figure 1.1). Since 1980 this area has received a high level of public and private sector investment producing new transport infrastructure, new private sector housing, large scale commercial development and some smaller industrial buildings.

During this process the local economy has undergone some fundamental changes; employment in the local manufacturing sector had declined rapidly, the Docks, the other traditional mainstay of the local economy, had all closed by 1981, the service sector expanded greatly as new office blocks and commercial units were occupied and new industries not previously found in the area began to appear at the same time as local unemployment rates rose to very high levels. The social complexion of the area has also changed as newly constructed housing units are bought by people moving to the area with different incomes and occupations from many of the existing residents.

Some media commentators have presented contrasting and misleading stereotypes of the changes in London Docklands. On the one hand, proponents praise the supposed LDDC-inspired phoenix-like revival from the ashes

Fig 1.1 LONDON DOCKLANDS



of economic decline (The Times 1.10.1986 p.19) and, on the other hand, critics denigrate the LDDC for encouraging a 'Yuppie invasion' that produces no benefits for existing working class residents who are ultimately forced to move out of the area (Time Out 19.11.1986 p.18). Both of these simplistic images conceal the complex and varied nature of change in the economic, social and built environment in London Docklands. Furthermore, both stereotypes highlight local policy in the form of the LDDC as the cause of change, whereas in reality, urban change in one area is also a function of the continual reorganisation of the economy, state and society both nationally and internationally.

Indeed, a similar type of urban change, although on a smaller scale, is taking place in many of Britain's major cities, with the regeneration of waterfront areas, such as is found along the banks of the Thames and around the dis-used Docks, being an international phenomenon. The context for change in London Docklands and other urban areas must include a number of processes with uneven geographical outcomes that are the key elements in the economic, social and political reorganisation of contemporary Britain. Martin (1988) identified five processes that have had a major effect on the economic geography of Great Britain.

"The first and most apparent of these is the rapid and sustained de-industrialisation of the nation's manufacturing base. The second is the wave of technological innovation, based primarily on micro-electronics and information processing.... The third new development is the revival of economic growth and employment through a new wave of tertiarisation or service sector expansion, especially of financial, banking and producer services. The fourth change is political, and relates to the reconfiguration of government policy and state intervention... Finally, ...Britain's role in the international economy and division of labour has been changing as a result of

the restructuring of industrial capitalism on a global scale, and the consequent intensification of international competition" (Martin 1988 p.396).

Missing from Martin's (1988) list is the influence of local social and political structures which also have had a spatially uneven influence on the geography of urban change. The political and cultural traditions of some cities have led to the active encouragement or passive acceptance of the effects of economic change, whereas in other urban areas the response has been resistance and a search for an alternative form of change. Consequently, the social effects of economic reorganisation, such as the growth of individual enterprise and self-employment, are not evenly distributed throughout Britain.

1.2 Understanding urban economic change

The challenge for the social sciences has been to explain the emergence of these economic, social and political processes, to specify their complex interactions and to outline their geographical effects. A number of macro-level theoretical frameworks have been devised in an attempt to explain the changing geography of advanced western countries including, of course, the UK. Given the importance of economic processes in determining the nature of change in different cities and regions, it is not surprising that these frameworks have concentrated upon explaining the geography of economic change and then analysing the consequences of economic reorganisation for urban areas.

One macro-level theoretical framework is based on the concept, devised originally by Kondratieff (1935) and Schumpeter (1939), of long wave development cycles lasting forty to seventy years in advanced nations. Modern day advocates of this approach suggest that the fourth wave, stimulated initially by growth in electrical engineering and motor vehicles, reached its mature stage of decline in the late 1960's and early 1970's. This trough in the

cycle is followed by an upturn at the start of a fifth 'Kondratieff' long wave of development, based on an expansion in micro-electronics, and information and communication technology industries. The causes of these upswings and downswings is the subject of some debate. Hall (1985) and Hall and Preston (1988) stressed the importance of key technological innovations and the timing of their applications to industrial production. Whereas, Mandel (1980) and Marshall (1987), writing from neo-Marxist perspectives, claim that the forces behind the waves are the crisis tendencies of capitalism, the capitalist labour process and uneven development in industrial sectors. Both these viewpoints emphasise that the spatially uneven effects of downswings and upswings are the keys to understanding the contrasting economic experiences of different locations. Changing urban economic trends, therefore, are interpreted in the context of the national and international economic and technological changes associated with each wave.

The belief that the economies of advanced western countries have recently undergone a marked shift is also contained in a rather different macro-theoretical framework of geographical change. Neo-Marxists such as Harvey (1985) and Scott (1986) argued that changes in the patterns of urban and regional development are the outcome of a shift in the mode of capital accumulation. The mode of accumulation is deemed to have changed from a Fordist system based on monopoly capital, and mass production and consumption to a Post-Fordist 'flexible' regime based on specialised flexible production and differentiated consumption patterns. The stimulus for this shift is deemed to be the global crisis of the Fordist system in the 1970's when markets were saturated, profits fell and over-accumulation occurred. These changes do not, however, represent an alteration in the basic structures and laws of capitalism, for as Harvey (1987) pointed out "the basic rules of a capitalist mode of production still continue to operate as immutable truths" (p.45).

From this perspective the key to unravelling urban change is to specify how urbanisation relates to the national and international mode of accumulation (Harvey 1985, Scott 1986). This is because all the other processes affecting the urban environment, such as the policies of local government, will ultimately be determined by the changing mode of accumulation. So in the cities of the 1980's the emergence of new production 'ensembles' of high technology industries and producer services (Scott 1988) or waterfront regeneration (Harvey 1987a) are all seen as manifestations of a Post-Fordist mode of accumulation. However, more recently, there has been a reaction against this 'top-down' Marxism.

Research in the late 1970's had illustrated the difficulties of explaining change in particular urban areas. On the basis of the findings of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Inner Cities Working Party, Hall and Diamond (1981) concluded that "Inner city areas can best be understood as phenomena resulting from the underlying forces in the British economy and society, including the international context" (p.132) and therefore research was faced with the difficult task of studying "key processes, in particular the interdependence of economic, social, physical and political factors on the spirals of investment/disinvestment and the exploration of this interdependence in the differing milieux of different cities and regions" (Hall and Diamond 1981, p.134). Massey (1978) had also stressed the problematic nature of unpacking the different influences affecting particular areas when she argued that "the social and economic structure of any given local area will be a complex result of the combination of that area's succession of roles within the series of the wider, national and international divisions of labour" (p.116).

The need to take account of all the interdependent forces affecting an area and the sheer complexity of the changing geography of Britain, led many to question existing broad theoretical frameworks. Massey

(1984) encapsulated this reaction when she states that the unique features of places and their role in social and economic change had been "lost sight of in the intellectual debate of recent years, in the search after general laws, the intellectual dominance of certain forms of 'top-down' structuralism, the (quite correct) desire to relate the individual occurrence to the general cause" (p.8). Furthermore, it was argued that not only did structural explanations fail to take account of the differing outcomes of uneven development but they also did not constitute a complete explanation of geographical change. For as Massey put it "Spatial distributions and geographical differentiation may be the result of social process, but they also affect how it works" (p.4).

The claim that social and geographical theory should be extended to take account of space as a component of change rather than being an outcome of wider processes was articulated by other writers (for example, Sayer 1985, Soja 1985). Consequently the 1980's have produced a number of attempts to develop macro theoretical frameworks with space as an explicit causal mechanism. Lash and Urry's (1987) thesis, that capitalism is currently undergoing a transition from 'organised' to 'disorganised' capitalism was one such example. Lash and Urry (1987), in an extension of the work of Offe (1985), claimed that 'disorganised' capitalism is typified by increased flexibility, geographical mobility and greater dispersal of human activity, and that this shift in the nature of capitalism has been motivated by three groups of processes that operate at different spatial scales. At the international scale the activities of global companies, the increasing global flow of funds and capital, and the growth of trans-national state control organisations, such as the EEC, have all restructured society 'from above'. Whereas, in individual nation states, there are two other types of processes in operation. Both of these are interrelated to each other and to international change, but both are also a separate source of transformation.

The first of these is 'from within' processes, the effect of which is to introduce new forms of social relation that restructure society. An example would be the growth of service sector occupations which it is argued has served to create new political and cultural groupings within society. The second type of process includes those which operate 'from below' and serve mainly to fragment and transform existing structures within nation states. A process causing change 'from below' is the movement of population and industry which serve to alter the nature and strength of spatial class alliances. The combined effects of these three broad processes are seen as the main causes of urban economic and social change in Britain.

Criticisms of Lash and Urry (1987) have picked on the term 'disorganised'. Harvey (1987a) and Cooke (1987) both argue that in fact the symptoms of disorganisation are more properly viewed as the processes by which capitalism is becoming more organised. Martin (1989) is even more critical arguing that the framework of Lash and Urry (1987) "lacks any sort of causal historical mechanism" (p.29).

Another attempt to identify the influence of spatially particular forces in contrast to the general macro-level processes of urban transformation has been developed by what has become known as the 'locality studies' approach. This 'locality' approach which drew on some of the methods of local sociological and community study (Newby 1986), has been used quite extensively in British geography (Cooke 1986a and Regional Studies 1986). Utilising concepts developed by realist theorists (Sayer 1982) and structural analysts (Massey 1984), this approach has endeavoured to understand change in particular geographical areas, referred to as localities, by examining the relationships between general restructuring processes and the specific features of the locality. The type of restructuring process identified by locality studies indicate that many of the proponents accept the

existence of a Post-Fordist economy (Cooke 1987). The specific local forces considered to be influential in determining urban change are the economic, cultural, political and class structure of an area.

The locality studies have generated a considerable amount of empirical work on individual urban areas and have led to an intense debate over the validity of such an approach (see *Society and Space* 1987). The neo-orthodox Marxian theorists felt that locality studies would distract attention from the continuing need to explain uneven development in relation to the logic of capitalism's historical evolution (Harvey 1987b, Smith 1987). Alternatively, Cooke (1987b) argued that the proponents of locality studies do not deny the need to specify theoretically the broad nature of capitalist restructuring, but equally a complete understanding of economic and social change must account for the varied local influences in different localities (Cooke 1987).

1.3 Understanding urban political change

A similar debate has also occurred amongst researchers trying to conceptualise the role of the political sphere in the creation of spatially uneven urban development. Cooke (1983) identified four types of Marxist/Weberian theory of the state which have all been applied to the local state. These are the class-theoretic approach of Cockburn (1977), the crisis theory version of Saunders (1979, 1981), the use of class theory by Dear and Clark (1980) and a capital-theoretic perspective used by Hirsch (1981) and Duncan and Goodwin (1982). This excluded pluralist, 'new right' or elitist theories of the state which have been less used to analyse the urban local state (Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987).

However, despite the local state being the main concern of these writers, they have all been criticised for failing to appreciate fully the range of local influences on the local state. This is because the nature

of local government has been seen as primarily conditioned by its relations with central government (Johnston 1985). Any attempt to incorporate local influences in these studies of local states had tended to be reductionist, focusing simply on the broad class characteristics of geographical areas (see for example Duncan and Goodwin 1982).

In order to take account of the local variations in the political sphere Urry (1981) suggested the concept of 'civil society' as a device for analysing the features of a local society that are separate from the political arena but also have an influence therein. This concept has been utilised by locality studies to examine the influences of other forces, such as gender, on the local state (Mark-Lawson et.al. 1985). Cooke (1986b) also included the concept of civil society in a typology for examining the causes of change in localities.

More recently, Duncan and Goodwin (1988) have tried to extend the capital-theoretic approach by incorporating the influence of geographically uneven development and locality based forces. The basis for their approach is Harvey's (1985) concept of "structured coherence", also referred to as "spatial fix" (Smith 1984, Harvey 1987a). This conceptualisation sees uneven development as the outcome of the need for capital to appropriate portions of space at different points in time to ensure continuing accumulation. For Duncan and Goodwin (1988) the state's role is to allow the establishment and continual restructuring of these fixes. But the state also has a contradictory role to represent the views of different social groups. Spatial differences in the response of the state stem from the fact that different social groups demand different types of spatial fix. Consequently, different forms of capital may conflict over the most desirable form of spatial fix. Alternatively, other social groups within local civil society also try and influence the outcome of capital's need for spatial

fixity. The need to manage these local contradictions explains the variety of local state policies.

Whilst Duncan and Goodwin (1988) have tried to incorporate the role of civil society in their theoretical framework of the local state, they do not include social forces not directly derived from the mode of accumulation, such as those related to gender, race or religion. No doubt the future will see further attempts to conceptualise the influence of locality based forces on urban economic development and the role of the state. For example, Rose (1988) from her work on East London in the 1920's suggests that along with class, neighbourliness and the church are also significant influences on the political relations of a locality.

1.4 Theoretical developments and understanding London Docklands.

The implications of these theoretical developments and their related debates for the study of London Docklands are many. The postulated transformations of contemporary capitalism, whether they be a result of a new Kondratieff wave, the switch to post-Fordism or the emergence of disorganised capitalism, may well be partly responsible for the rapid economic changes the area has undergone. The debate over the role of locality based forces in spatial change suggests that economic and social change in London Docklands will be, in part, locally determined. Also the local state, in the form of the LDDC, will undoubtedly have been subject to a variety of influences in deriving its policies. Therefore, although London Docklands is only a small part of a much larger urban area, it is clear that a full explanation of recent change would be an immense task. It would require research that not only revealed all the economic, social and political forces affecting the area, but also clarified the spatial scales at which these forces were operating. Furthermore, for each of these forces of

change it would be necessary to specify its relationship to other forces and its outcome in London Docklands.

A full explanatory analysis of change in London Docklands is certainly not the aim of this thesis. Indeed, it remains to be seen whether the series of seven locality studies sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council in 1986 (Cooke 1986b) have succeeded in achieving such a synthetic understanding in the seven localities chosen for in-depth analysis. Usually academic understanding of an area's development is advanced by the findings of a variety of studies undertaken from different thematic, theoretical and empirical standpoints. This has certainly been the case in the study of London Docklands in the 1980's. The research analysing recent change in the area is discussed in chapter 3, where it is argued that although the state in the form of the LDDC has received considerable attention, the role of the LDDC is still poorly understood. This is because research has tended to focus on the political factors that led to the emergence of the LDDC and the evolution of its policies. As a result the impact of the LDDC on the local socio-economic structure is often overstated and its interaction with the other forces of change has received only cursory analysis.

The aim of this thesis is not, however, to give a complete assessment of the LDDC's policies and their relative importance as a cause of change, compared to other causal mechanisms. Instead, the aim is to assess the impact of the LDDC in one sphere of activity, namely the labour market. This sphere of activity has been chosen for two reasons. First an examination of LDDC policy on the labour market will make a practical contribution to an evaluation of policy. Second, as the following chapter argues a focus on the labour market, accompanied by an appropriate conceptualisation of the labour market, will allow an appreciation of policy impact in such a way that takes some account of the many other forces causing change in London Docklands. In this way

the thesis will not just provide an assessment of LDDC policy, it will also contribute significantly to an explanation of the dramatic changes occurring in London Docklands in the 1980's, by trying to identify which forces are the important influences on the labour market.

Therefore, the next chapter outlines the recent developments in the studies of labour markets and labour market policy. This discussion provides the basis for the development in Chapter 3 of a conceptual model of the labour market that provides the framework for policy analysis. The third chapter also establishes the need such an evaluation of policy and sets out the methodology and data sets that are used. A prerequisite for an accurate study of policy is a detailed description of the aims of policy and this is provided in Chapter 4. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 use a variety of data sources to assess the influence of LDDC policy and other forces on the labour market of London Docklands.

CHAPTER 2

THE LABOUR MARKET APPROACH

2.1 Labour markets as a focus for analysis

In many recent studies of urban change it is the labour market that has been the primary object of analysis. Clark (1986) suggested that the labour market is "for many geographical researchers the best analytical lens through which the structure of the contemporary spatial system should be conceived" (Clark 1986 p. 416). The influence of Massey's work (1984) is important in appreciating the reasons for the focus on the labour market. Her concept of the spatial division of labour argued that the different types of labour available in different geographical locations will have a profound influence on the organisational strategies of companies and consequently on their locational decisions. The nature of an area's labour force and its relationship with the wider economy through the labour market becomes, therefore, an important focus of study.

But it is not just geographers who have turned their attention to the labour market. Political sociologists and scientists have also posited the primary importance of the labour market. Offe (1985) claimed:

"the institution of the labour market, which treats labour power as if it were a commodity, constitutes the most significant feature of capitalist social structures" (p. 2). This is because "In capitalist societies the labour market is the main institutional solution to a dual allocative problem that must be solved in societies: on the one hand, the production system must be supplied with the labour inputs it requires; on the other, labour power must be provided with monetary (income) and social (status) means of subsistence. The labour market solves both of these allocative problems simultaneously" (p.14).

Again it is the interaction between different economic and social forces that makes the labour market an important area of study for political science. For instead of economic and social processes being studied separately, an examination of the labour market means that not only are the economic and social influences on change both acknowledged, but the interaction between these groups of processes can also be analysed (see for example Pahl 1984).

The recent locality studies have also argued for making labour markets a central feature of analysis. Cooke (1983), utilising the theory of discontinuous labour markets (Kreckel 1980), suggested it is possible to identify spatially differentiated labour markets resulting from the different outcomes of the restructuring of the space economy. This idea is then developed by arguing that it is through the labour market that the national and international restructuring processes interact with local influences such as the local class structure, civil society and the state (Cooke 1986, Pickavance et. al. 1986). So the labour market becomes not only a vehicle for examining the effect of social and economic forces on a changing locality, but also it is a device for identifying the influence of processes operating at different spatial scales.

It is important to recognise, however, that the labour market is not just an arena where other forces interact, instead the particular features of geographical labour markets have causal powers of their own. Savage et. al.(1987) argue that "once constituted ...the local labour markets have their own causal powers that cannot be reduced to those of their own constituent elements, and, further that these causal powers can be seen as locally based" (p.28). This view is supported by Peck (1988) who argued that local labour markets "although they are undeniably constituted of wider structures, are actually 'constructed' at the local level" (Peck 1988, p.10) and therefore an understanding of the operation of the local

labour market is a necessary part of an analysis of change in particular geographical areas. For example, the nature of state institutions intending to intervene in the local labour market will vary geographically according to the existing economic and socio-political features of the local labour market (Peck 1988).

Making the local labour market the foundation of locality studies has not been without its problems. For, although Cooke (1986) was able to identify labour markets to fit his various discontinuous categories, Warde (1985) suggested that a taxonomy of different labour markets could lack dynamism, neglect the important influence of gender, and become just a classificatory device which would not work so well in areas with diverse economies.

But the appeal of this approach is the fact that so many of the forces of change can be analysed through the study of the labour market. The effects of international and national economic and technological change manifest themselves through labour demand locally. However, forces operating at these broad spatial levels will also affect the local labour supply. The national and local states economic and labour market policies can also be analysed at the level of the local labour market, as can the effect of local social structures.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the possibility of using an analysis of the local labour market as a method for examining the role of policy in local change. It is hoped that the focus on the labour market will allow the impact of policy to be assessed in relation to the other forces affecting London Docklands. This approach does not imply the acceptance of any particular theoretical standpoint allied with any of the macro-theoretical frameworks outlined in chapter 1. Instead the thesis adopts the labour market focus of previous studies but remains theoretically eclectic in its interpretation of change. This eclecticism is preferable when studying a rapidly changing area like London Docklands because the main features of recent change are only just starting to

emerge. Therefore, a range of concepts may be needed to appreciate the different processes operating on the area. Indeed, Chapter 3 argues that previous interpretations of London Docklands from particular theoretical standpoints have often resulted in a rather narrow and misleading view of the area's changing economic and social structure. Nevertheless, although it is possible to make a case for examining local change through an analysis of the labour market, the labour market is not a straightforward concept and its features at the macro and micro level have been the subject of considerable debate. The following section outlines the nature of this debate and then Chapter 3 outlines a conception of the labour market which will be used to analyse change in London Docklands.

2.2 Theorising the labour market

2.2.1 Neo-classical approaches

The attention paid to the labour market by geographers is a comparatively recent phenomenon and perhaps stems from the uneven outcomes of the changing economic geographies of advanced western countries. Theoretical perspectives on the labour market have a longer history in economics and sociology. Neo-classical economists have drawn on and extended the ideas of Adam Smith (1776) in "Wealth of Nations", who argued that the labour market was largely homogenous, competitive and free, typified by jobs varying in terms of hardship that require different levels of compensation so that rewards reflect ability, and levels of supply and demand are determined by the market prices although lags and labour immobility may create temporary imbalances. The unrealistic nature of some of these assumptions was noted by Mill (1849) who claimed that the labour market was not homogenous but contained a number of non-competing groups, membership of which was determined by social rank. The restrictive early neo-classical assumptions were rejected

by the neo-classical proponents of human capital theory (Becker 1964). According to human capital theory the work force is not homogenous although workers are utility maximisers who are rewarded in relation to their productive value. Inequality within the labour market, therefore, stems from external factors such as education, work experience and skills which determine workers rewards. So individual workers are rewarded by an impartial labour market according to their inherited or acquired level of human capital.

However, there have been recent attempts to make this approach more sophisticated by arguing that a worker's human capital is a signal to employers rather than a strict determinant of productive value (Spence 1973). More recently, in neo-classical vein, Minford (1983) claimed that the labour market could operate in a free manner with demand and supply being mutually responsive, if it weren't for existing rigidities, such as trade unions, employment legislation and housing markets. This perspective was also adopted by a recent Government White Paper (Department of Employment 1985) which described the jobs market as the "weak link" (p.11) in the British economy.

Critics of human capital theory and the neo-classical view of labour markets have questioned the idea that external human capital factors determine workers' labour market experiences. In the USA Bowles and Gintis (1976) showed there was no systematic link between education and labour market reward. Instead education served to condition individuals for the world of work, where socio-economic status was a more important determinant of reward. In Great Britain empirical evidence suggested that workers were not utility maximisers and employers are concerned with more than just the education and skills of workers (Blackburn and Mann 1979). There are also a number of conceptual difficulties with the neo-classical approach. Pinch (1987) noted that neo-classical theories do not deal adequately with either,

the issue of whether low levels of human capital are the result or the cause of low female wages, or the problem of female concentration in certain occupations, without resorting to crude arguments based on notions of 'taste'. A further problem is that an individual's productive value is also determined by the nature of the job undertaken and the value of the good produced which are both factors internal to the labour market (Pinch 1987).

2.2.2 Dual labour market theory

In response to these limitations a number of other theoretical perspectives on the labour market have emerged stressing its divided nature. Marshall (1920), like Mill (1849), observed that since society was composed of a number of social levels, the labour market was heterogeneous containing a number of non-competing groups. Kerr (1954) also noted the divisions within the labour market and the existence of internal labour markets, a phenomenon he referred to as 'balkanisation'. But the 1970's saw the development of a broader alternative theory of the dual labour market associated in particular with the work of Doeringer and Piore (1971). This perspective posited the existence of internal labour markets some of which contained 'good' jobs with high wages, job security and favourable conditions. However, access was restricted, not just by ability, but by social and institutional barriers established by employers, workers groups and the state. Alternatively, 'bad jobs', typified by poor earnings, insecure employment and unfavourable conditions, were found in other labour markets where entry was less or unrestricted. These two different types of labour markets occur between occupations across the economy and within individual firms. But the key feature of Doeringer and Piore's (1971) argument is that this dual nature of the labour market was not just caused by institutional barriers to access but was closely linked to the changing nature of the economy. Doeringer and Piore

(1971) claim that the expansion of monopoly capitalism and technological innovation has increasingly led to an advanced capitalist economy typified by primary and secondary economic sectors. The primary sector is the domain of the large corporations who rely on a production process that involves intensive capital utilisation, high levels of technology and good rates of profit. In order to maintain the production process a stable work force is required. This is ensured by favourable rewards and job security. This allows the development of an internal labour market where employment levels and wages can be determined by non-economic factors, such as trade unions, due to the restrictions on entry of additional workers.

The secondary sector, by contrast, includes those areas of the economy where mainly small firms operate in a competitive and variable product market using labour intensive, low technology production methods. In order to maintain profits firms in this sector require a workforce that is low paid due to the high labour input and adaptable to changing demands. The result is a poor reward structure, high turnover, low unionisation and the use of the more docile elements of the labour force such as ethnic minorities, young people and women. But the effect of these two labour markets is that comparable workers receive very different labour market rewards and the problems this creates is summarised by Pinch as "not therefore unequal pay for equal work but unequal jobs for equally qualified persons" (Pinch 1987 p.1484).

So for Doeringer and Piore (1971) divisions within the labour market reflected a duality in the industrial structure. Bosanquet and Doeringer (1973) claimed that the dual labour market model could also be applied to the British situation, and they predicted increased duality in future. But the strict duality of jobs and industries is extended by other researchers who claim that it was necessary to allow for a stage of intermediate employment between the primary and secondary sectors (Bluestone et. al. 1973, Watchel and Betsey 1972). Further developments

to dual labour market theory have also been made by Osterman (1975) and Loveridge and Mok (1979).

But criticisms of this conception of a dual labour market came from those who, whilst accepting the existence of a primary and secondary sector, claimed that it had to be explained differently. Marxist interpretations of the labour market were developed by Gordon (1972), Reich et. al. (1973) and Edwards et. al. (1975). The growth of monopoly capital and large-scale factory production led to an increasingly homogenous workforce. Therefore, divisions within the labour force were characterised as deliberate attempts by capital to fragment and control the labour force, thus limiting worker solidarity in a system of mass production (Reich et. al. 1973). From this perspective internal labour markets in both the primary and secondary sectors were devices to ensure social control. Such a view of the labour market was rather one-sided. For instance, it did not acknowledge the ability of the labour supply, through collective organisation, to establish divisions within the labour market; and capital's demand for labour was viewed as the key factor determining the form of the labour market (Pinch 1987).

Similarly, the approach of Doeringer and Piore (1971) was mainly a demand-orientated explanation. It was far less precise when it comes to explaining the supply mechanisms which led workers either to the primary or to the secondary sector. The theory claimed that demand levels and employer discrimination forces certain social groups into certain sectors. Their position is then reinforced by the presence or absence of internal labour market structures and the accumulation of characteristics associated with different industries and occupations (Doeringer and Piore 1971). However, there is considerable empirical evidence that these acquired occupational and industrial characteristics are not as important as the theory suggests. McNabb's (1987) empirical analysis of the general household survey data for the United Kingdom found no support "for the view that

industry-related factors give rise to the differential treatment of workers.....However, for almost all workers, we find that education and work experience contribute considerably more to the dispersal of individual earnings, than does industrial affiliation" (McNabb 1987 p.271). Similarly, Mayhew and Rosewall (1979) examined occupational mobility amongst 10,000 male workers in the United Kingdom and found no evidence of occupational segmentation¹. At the same time as these findings were indicating that dual labour market theory over-emphasised certain demand factors, others were arguing that dual labour market theory did not adequately conceptualise the supply side of the labour market. (Humphries and Rubery 1984, Craig et. al. 1985)

The importance of supply factors in determining labour market status has not been totally ignored by exponents of the dual labour market perspective, but their effect has been described in a rather general manner. Broad cultural factors are called upon to explain supply-side effects. Therefore, the instability of migrant lifestyles and the need for labour market experimentation by youths are blamed for the concentration of such groups in the secondary sector of the labour market (Piore 1975). Fine (1987) dismisses such contemporary arguments as being "pop socio-psychology", resulting in explanations of labour market disadvantage that emphasise the inadequacies of individuals (Fine 1987, p. 10). But the underlying problem of both types of dual labour market theory is the failure to properly specify the role that labour supply might play in the creation of divisions in the labour market.

2.2.3 Segmented labour market theory

The lack of supply-side influences in dual labour market theory is stressed by researchers attempting to develop what has become known as a segmented theory of the labour market. Many of those involved in this research

were based in and around the Cambridge University Labour Studies Group (CLSG). The CLSG were concerned to develop a different explanation for the divisions within the labour market, or as they have become known, segments. Rubery (1978) identified the need to develop an analysis of the labour market that allowed for "a whole continuum of shades of segmentation across industries" and included "a fuller integration of the effect of worker organisation" (Rubery 1978, p. 35). This sort of argument was expanded to produce a theory of the labour market that posited sets of overlapping and segmented labour markets, contained a broad definition of demand and supply, and which also did not accept the neoclassical notion of equilibrium or human capital. The nature of demand would be determined by changes in product markets, the production process, technology and skill levels; whereas supply would be affected by trade union organisation, educational provision, social class, family and kinship structures, and other institutions involved in social reproduction (Wilkinson 1981).

Empirical research has established the extensive nature of segmentation stemming from these features of supply and demand. In a similar vein to dual labour market theory, segmentation has been linked to the demand for different types of workers to do differing jobs in particular industries. Therefore, segmentation has been found in the construction industry (Moore 1981), textiles (Morgan and Hooper 1982) and engineering (Whalley 1984). But unlike dual labour market theory, segmentation theory has also identified the causal influence of certain supply factors in creating labour market segments. Gender and marital status have been established as important determinants of individual work experiences, since they force certain workers into particular segments of the labour market (Hakim 1979, Martin and Roberts 1984, and Dex 1984). Similarly, evidence of racial discrimination in the labour market indicates that workers from ethnic minority groups will be concentrated in certain segments

of the labour market (Stewart 1983, Roberts et. al. 1983). Ashton et. al. (1982) find segmentation amongst youth workers stemming from social class and educational attainment. The concentration of youths into particular labour market segments was also revealed by the analysis of the British youth labour market between 1952 and 1972 of Hutchinson et. al. (1984), which found evidence of segmentation and concluded that explanations of this phenomenon had to take account of both demand and supply side factors. In all this work, unlike human capital theory, supply side influences on the labour market are not just related to an individuals productive ability but also to wider divisions within society

One of the important features of the work by the CLSG and the other empirical studies is that the process of segmentation, and the different conditions within each segment are determined not only by the broad effects of supply and demand but also by the interaction between supply and demand. Fine (1987), reviewing the work of the CLSG, claimed to identify four aspects to this interactive process. First, interaction often occurs as class conflict. Second, it is influenced by other social and economic forces, most notably the state and the family. Third, the interaction of supply and demand in turn creates institutions, such as trade unions, that consequently have an influence on future interactions. Finally, the process is, therefore, determined by the effect of economic and social forces whose influence is historically contingent and revealed by empirical analysis. To Fine (1987), writing from a Marxist theoretical perspective, it is the last of these four aspects that he finds the least acceptable since it leads to "the danger of ad hocery as the way of accommodating historical contingency (p. 18). Due to this gap in the theoretical framework, Fine (1987) claimed that segmented labour market theory as developed by the CLSG neglects to take account of theories of monopoly capital, the international nature of capitalism, the effect of

financial management on labour demand, and, most interestingly from the point of view of this thesis, the effect of uneven development on the labour market. More recently, however, there have been attempts to extend the understanding of labour markets to include some of these neglected dimensions.

2.2.4 Recent extensions to labour market theory

Re-definitions of earlier dual labour market theory have led to some confusing interchange of terminology. So that dual and internal labour market theory also claimed to identify and explain the phenomenon of segmentation. But the earlier differences in the causal role attributed to supply and demand factors by the exponents of dual labour market theory and by researchers building on the work of CLSG are still apparent.

There have been a number of attempts to widen the scope of dual labour market theory by incorporating labour markets into macro-theoretical frameworks of economic change. In the "Second Industrial Divide" Piore and Sabel (1984) suggested that the emergence of Post-Fordist economies had been accompanied by a more flexible labour force in terms of rewards and work organisation. The degree of flexibility in the labour force was determined by the industrial sector and certain social and political institutions, such as the nature of social security systems (Piore 1986).

This link between a Post-Fordist economy and a growing new flexible labour force has been taken further by Atkinson (1984, 1985). Using the results of a longitudinal survey of 72 firms Atkinson (1984) argued that firms in Britain have started to divide their workforce into 'core' workers who tend to have stable employment histories and 'peripheral' workers who are used flexibly. This is not a new idea, Morse (1969) claimed that, using a broad definition of peripherality, 45 per cent of Americans who worked in 1965 were in 'peripheral'

jobs mainly in agriculture, selling, and other parts of the service sector. Morse's (1969) explanation for this phenomenon was based on the impact of migrant workers and certain social transformations occurring after the second World War.

In contrast, Atkinson (1984) explained 'peripherality' as a consequence of the recession, an accompanying weakening of labour power, technical change, state legislation, and, most importantly, changes in business objectives as employers attempted to maintain profits and respond to competition by having a flexible work force. In this way changes in the labour market are linked to the restructuring strategies being undertaken by firms and, consequently, to changes in the international capitalist economy. Other writers arguing that flexibility is increasing throughout the British economy included Cross (1985), Curson (1986), and Walby (1987). Hakim (1987) argued that if part-time and temporary workers are taken to represent the flexible sector of the British workforce, then the increase in this type of worker from 30 per cent of the workforce in 1981 to 34 per cent in 1986 is a further indication of growing flexibility.

Redefinitions of radical dual labour market theory have also been attempted. Gordon et. al. (1982) attempted to link the nature of the labour market to the long term development of the American economy to allow the approach to take into account institutional and historical factors. As a result segmentation emerges from the 1920's onwards after preceding periods of firstly, proletarianisation and secondly, labour homogenisation. But Reich (1984) suggested that segmentation of the labour force is more associated with the period after the second World War rather than the 1920's.

However, both the emerging work on flexibility and the redefined radical labour market theory have recently been criticised on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Pollert (1988) utilised a variety of data sets to examine

the evidence for increased numbers of peripheral workers and flexibility in terms of changes in sub-contracting, temporary work, part-time work, self employment, outworking and homeworking. This identifies a methodological confusion. Increases in temporary and part-time work are taken in the flexibility literature as indications of increased worker peripherality in the private sector. However, they are largely accounted for by changes in the public sector. In other parts of the labour market, such as outworking and homeworking, Pollert (1988) found no evidence for an increase in activity that would indicate the growth of a periphery based on home or outworkers. The conclusion is that "the flexible firm model is left standing with few clothes....sectoral continuity is far more in evidence than change, with little evidence of polarisation between an (ill-defined) 'periphery' and a privileged 'core'" (Pollert 1988 p.56).

Pollert (1988) then turned her attention to the theoretical concept of flexible specialisation, examining the validity of its key components of the decline of mass production and mass markets, and the emergence of production flexibility based on new technology. The conclusion is that flexibility is nothing new and even if it is increasing, which is unproved, then it is not necessarily part of some radical break or 'second divide'. In addition, the empirical evidence indicates far greater complexity in the changing production process which in many industries does not herald the decline of mass production. Furthermore, the concept of a shift from mass to flexible production is "built on an elaborate historical edifice" which "is less secure than the confident style admits" (Pollert 1988, p.67).

Similar criticisms of the concept of flexible production are made by Fine (1987), who also casts a critical eye over the redefined radical dual labour market theories. He criticises Reich (1984) for analysing contemporary segmentation through an arbitrary definition

of core and periphery industrial sectors, that leaves out sectors that do not fit the model. Fine (1987) reaches a conclusion similar to other commentators (Brody 1984 and Gallie 1985) that "there is a wider set of anomalies between the theory and the evidence" (Fine 1987 p.47).

Scepticism towards the whole-hearted acceptance of a vision of a Post-Fordist economy and a related flexible segmented labour market have also appeared in the geographical literature. Gertler (1988) echoes Pollert's (1988) comments when he concluded that changes in the production process do not represent a new era, but are in fact the intensification of well established historical processes. The danger of assuming that flexibility is a generalised phenomenon found throughout the production process or labour force is also highlighted (Gertler 1988). Indeed, Peck and Townsend (1987) have shown how new technology, instead of ushering in flexible specialisation, can be used to respond to increased competition by refining a Fordist production process.

The implications of the various theories of the labour market for studies of change in one local area are numerous. The work of the CLSG and others has shown it is necessary to adopt a broad interpretation of the forces influencing labour supply and demand and also to analyse the nature of demand and supply interaction. Therefore, changes in labour demand in a particular spatial area will be the outcome of international and national forces. Equally the nature of labour supply is influenced by a range of factors including gender, age, marital status, social class, educational attainment and race, all of which may form the basis of segmentation. Supply will also interact with labour demand formally and informally through a variety of social institutions and state agencies.

The empirical results of the various approaches suggest that workers in any local labour market will be divided into a number of segments. Evidence of flexibility, however, may need to be treated with

caution. But even if segments can be identified there is still the major problem of specifying the relative influence of the different causal factors of segmentation. Humphries and Rubery (1984) attempted to deal with just this problem, when they argue that the system of production and the family have "a relatively autonomous" (Humphries and Rubery 1984 p.336) influence on inequality in the labour market. Perhaps the most important lesson to be learnt from these debates is the need to avoid embracing too readily generalised concepts. The danger of adopting an over-simplistic conception of the labour market and the difficulty of unravelling all the causal influences on its behaviour are very apparent in the literature on local labour markets, where attempts are made to take account of spatial effects and local complexity.

2.3 The geography of labour markets

The approaches utilised in the studies of spatial labour markets have often reflected the wider literature on labour market theory. The examples of this research presented here are from studies of urban areas since these have greater relevance for the proposed study. Indeed, a considerable amount of the research on local labour markets has been on inner urban areas. Some of this inner-city research illustrates the dangers of an over-concentration on the role of locally based forces. Rising unemployment in the inner areas of Britain's conurbations in the 1970s, provided the impetus for a series of studies attempting to explain this phenomenon. The Inner Area studies commissioned by the Department of Environment (DoE) were one example. In each of three area studies it was argued that high unemployment in inner urban areas was the result of unskilled workers being 'trapped' in areas that industry had abandoned (DoE 1977). But this notion of a locally-based cause is rejected by the findings of other studies in London. Evans and Russell (1976) and

Evans and Richardson (1981) both showed that the unemployment rates for skilled workers were just as varied across the capital as those for unskilled workers. Furthermore, Metcalf and Richardson (1976) in a study of London boroughs found no relationship between residents working in manufacturing in 1966 and unemployment in 1971, and in fact, the boroughs with the highest levels of redundancies in manufacturing had relatively low levels of unemployment. Therefore, these findings suggest that unskilled ex-manufacturing workers were not actually trapped in inner area locations deserted by industry. This was confirmed by Metcalf and Richardson's (1976) further analysis of the characteristics of inner urban residents, often referred to as the 'characteristics' approach to urban unemployment. They showed that for workers with particular skills the likelihood of being unemployed was uniform throughout London, with high levels of unemployment amongst the unskilled stemming from a lack of demand throughout the capital rather than local causes (Metcalf and Richardson 1976, see also Evans 1980).

One of the Inner Area Studies in the London Borough of Lambeth (HMSO 1977) suggested another locally-specific cause of high unemployment: the problem of 'mismatch' between the skills of the unemployed and local vacancies. But at the regional level Cheshire (1973) found that in a particular geographical labour market the characteristics of unemployed workers cannot be used to analyse the causes of unemployment. In a critique of the Inner Area Studies he argued:

"the observation that there are more unskilled workers (or any other category of relatively disadvantaged workers) unemployed in one spatial labour market compared to another is perfectly consistent with spatial differences in excess demand for labour; it does not imply any causal link from the number of unskilled people to the amount of unemployment", and therefore, "increased mismatch over time is consistent with a fall in the level of excess demand for labour just as demand

differences between areas may cause differences in the perceived 'mismatch'. This suggests that an observed degree of 'mismatch' at a particular point of time tells us, by itself, virtually nothing" (Cheshire 1979 p.34/35).

More recently, however, attention has returned to the issue of 'mismatch' as a labour market rigidity leading to continuing high levels of unemployment when the demand for labour increases (DoE/Department of Employment 1987). But from Cheshire's (1979) perspective inner area unemployment was seen as the outcome of long term changes in the geographical pattern of the excess demand for labour and the concentration of the poor in inner urban areas. In other words, it is a dimension of wider social inequalities not a mismatch. This was confirmed by empirical analysis, such as that by McGregor (1979) in Ferguslie Park, Paisley, where earlier he had found limited evidence that stigmatisation of local residents by employers was a cause of unemployment (McGregor 1977). But more detailed empirical research revealed that the concentration of unemployed individuals in certain areas did not create additional labour market disadvantage for these individuals. Therefore, he argued that this particular concentration of unemployed people was the outcome of housing market processes (McGregor 1979).

Cheshire (1979) claimed that the root of the problems of the Inner Area Studies is that the approach used was not based upon an adequate theory of the spatial labour market. As a result there was an over-emphasis on supply factors, which did not take account of the interdependent operations of labour markets and their sub-areas in large cities. Such a comment resembles the CLSG's call for a much broader conception of the labour market. Recent research has gone some way towards meeting the need for a more in-depth understanding of the supply and demandⁱⁿ urban labour markets.

Gordon and Lamont (1982) attempted to reveal the complex commuting and migration interdependencies of labour market sub-areas in the London metropolitan area. The conclusions were depressing for economic policy makers in Inner London since it was shown that commuting adjustments are the key response to changing levels of labour demand. Therefore, in areas 75 per cent open to commuting the effects of new job creation were dispersed throughout the wider metropolitan area. This was confirmed by Gordon's (1985 and 1988) more recent estimates of the small effects of local job creation on local unemployment rates. In addition, such studies of urban labour markets have also indicated that explanations of the high levels of unemployment must take account of the broad influence of the reorganisation of the national economy. Therefore, the distinctive features of inner urban labour markets, such as high unemployment and low skill levels, are not the cause of change. In fact, the cause of high unemployment in inner urban areas is now generally accepted to be the combined effects of the spatial nature of a national fall in labour demand and the operations of the housing market on the supply-side which concentrates disadvantaged groups in particular types of housing tenure that are most common in inner urban areas (Buck et. al. 1986). Unfortunately, it remains unclear exactly how housing affects unemployment. The relationship between local authority housing and unemployment could occur because of demand factors, such as employers use housing tenure as a pre-employment screening device (Buck et. al. 1986). Alternatively, it could be a supply-side phenomenon reflecting the extra incentive for mortgage holders to seek work (McCormick 1983). However, these findings that the key causes of change in local labour markets are broader national and even international forces, does not mean that studies of local labour markets are no longer of any value. On the contrary, the local labour market becomes the focus for research because it is through the mechanism of the labour

market that these broad processes interact at a local level. Therefore, any analysis of a local labour market will have to take account of a wide range of possible causal mechanisms that are derived from a number of spatial scales.

However, the research on the problem of urban unemployment cannot be neatly related to the different theories of the labour market. Despite the use of concepts of supply and demand, none of the different researchers could be described as neo-classical since none of them utilise the concept of equilibrium. Other researchers have attached themselves more explicitly to a particular theory of the labour market. A good example is the work on Bristol by Boddy et. al. (1986). In order to explain the distributional outcomes of economic restructuring they utilised concepts from not only the dual labour market theory of Piore and Doeringer (1971), but also from some of the research on segmented labour markets by Martin and Roberts (1984). Like dual labour market theory their approach was concentrated on the demand features of the labour market. They collected data from a series of "glimpses through a number of (well-placed) windows" (Boddy et.al 1984 p.137), namely interviews with key actors from employing establishments, and private and public sector employment agencies, such as job centres. Although this does not represent a comprehensive survey of the labour market, they concluded that there are three sectors in the local labour market which were either internal since access to jobs is restricted or external where entry is relatively open. The three sectors were: a low pay external market which is over-supplied; a smaller, well paid external market characterised by labour shortage; and a large high pay internal market. Women, young people and ethnic minority workers were over-represented in the low paid external market, a market that cuts across industrial boundaries to result in labour market segmentation within industrial sectors.

This study claimed that the main cause of this three tier framework was the recent economic restructuring in Bristol. Employers structured their new demands for labour on the basis of their perceptions of the nature of local supply. This in turn resulted in the use of certain recruitment criteria and channels which served to discriminate against those in the low paid external market. As a consequence, market divisions were maintained (Boddy et. al. 1986). Therefore, in keeping with dual labour market theory, changing labour demand was the main causal mechanism in structuring the labour market and its effects were reinforced by employer perceptions of the labour supply and discrimination. Some attempt was made to take account of supply factors for Boddy et. al. (1986) admit that "In many cases..... socially uneven employment patterns could not be traced so directly to discriminatory selection criteria and recruitment channels" (Boddy et. al. 1986). But, like much dual labour market theory, their discussion of supply influences was in fact rather brief. Social attitudes and gender differences in the distribution of tasks outside the labour market, are claimed to be two factors resulting in uneven labour market experiences. But empirical evidence of the effect of these two factors is only obtained from one industrial sector, insurance. Furthermore, although this research goes on to look in some detail at state responses to economic restructuring, it only concerns itself with local economic initiatives which affect labour demand. No analysis is offered of the ways in which the local, or central, state has tried to intervene directly in the local labour market to influence either the nature of supply or the interaction between supply and demand. But despite these criticisms, the study of Bristol is an interesting example of how labour market analysis can be used to appreciate the effect of internationally and nationally derived forces on a local area. Furthermore, it indicates the need for local research to specify how employers structure their demand for labour through

recruitment criteria and channels, since this process can influence the divisions within a local labour market.

Another study concerned to examine the effect of employers perceptions on the labour market was undertaken for Inner London (Davies and Mason 1986). This claimed to identify examples of employer behaviour which were limiting employment opportunities for disadvantaged Inner London residents. However, this type of research focusing on one particular labour market mechanism is in danger of attributing too much emphasis to a single factor. Employer behaviour may be a response to some undefined features of supply and demand rather than simply being the result of perceptions and attitudes. The dangers of a narrow approach to local labour market studies are emphasised by Peck (1988) who claimed that the local labour market must be conceptualised as a multi-dimensional segmented structure where change is determined by three 'partially autonomous' factors of demand, supply and the state. This approach replicates at the local level the theoretical framework used by the CLSG to describe the macro-level labour market.

There have been a number of attempts to identify segmentation in local labour markets and its geographical variation. Cooke's (1986a) notion of discontinuous labour markets viewed the labour market as segmented over space. He suggested that local labour markets can be categorised into one of six groups that reflect an area's economic structure - specialised industrial or diffusely industrial for example - and that each labour market will have a distinct social composition such as blue collar or white collar. This type of categorisation is based only on the broad features of a labour market's segmentation, and as Cooke (1986b) admits it will be necessary to map onto each locality the specific historical characteristics that lead to more detailed segments.

Ashton and Maguire (1986) attempt to identify in more detail the factors that lead to segmentation that are common to different local labour markets. Although



concerned with the youth labour market their empirical study of four labour markets - Leicester, St. Albans, Stafford and Sunderland - found that these different labour markets were each segmented according to skill, age and sex. This was caused by the supply-side effects of the social class and educational development patterns of young people which channeled different groups of young adults into separate labour market segments. The changes in labour demand in each labour market interacted with these supply-side influences through employer recruitment procedures, trade unions, employment legislation, state training policies, and employer discrimination to produce segments based on skill, age and sex. Clearly the nature and outcomes of these processes varied between the labour markets. However, it indicates that it is possible to identify common factors determining the nature of segmentation in separate labour markets.

A similar detailed empirical study of labour market segmentation was undertaken in Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Cousins et. al. (1982), but the results were slightly less clear cut. This involved a longitudinal survey of nearly 600 residents drawn from three working class areas. Perhaps because of the similar social characteristics of the areas examined and the depressed nature of the surrounding economy, labour market disadvantage was found to be widespread and not confined to any distinct minority. However, certain factors were identified to account for variations in employment histories. For example, the attitudes of individual workers towards changing jobs was a greater influence on work patterns than links to a particular industry or occupation. Also job changing was a method used by many to deal with the lack of labour demand and those whose attitudes meant they were unwilling to do this were often the most disadvantaged. As a result clusters of workers could be identified on the basis of work history and attitude and not by skill or occupation. So males were divided into six clusters that included settled less skilled marginals,

'cowboys', 'dead-enders', 'failing cowboys', stable and less skilled pessimists, and the work-centred (Cousins et. al. 1982). In this study, therefore, it was possible to identify segments of workers who shared the same labour market experiences. But due to the homogeneity of the sample in terms of social characteristics, it was attitudes determined by a variety of influences such as household background, which divided people into segments rather than characteristics to do with skill, age, occupation or industry.

Other detailed empirical studies of local labour markets have also revealed the existence of segmentation with its causes being similar forces whose relative influence varies between labour markets. In a study of 308 establishments and 854 young people in Chelmsford, Walsall and Liverpool, Roberts et. al. (1986a) found that labour demand, employers' recruitment methods, trade unions, state training agencies, attitudes and educational attainment were all an influence on the unequal work experiences and consequent segmentation amongst young people in different labour markets. This and other studies outlined have been of urban areas. But the nature and causes of segmentation have also been examined in rural local labour markets (Bradley 1984, Stern and Turbin 1986). The weight of empirical evidence in these different studies, indicates that segmentation is a reality within local labour markets and is, therefore, a local as well as national phenomenon.

These detailed studies of local labour markets which endeavour to uncover variations in the causes of segmentation cast doubt on research that too readily reads off local change from macro-theories. For instance, ILEA (1986) assumed Atkinson's (1984) core-periphery model is applicable to Inner London on the basis of very limited supporting evidence. Indeed, geographers have been guilty of a similar mistake, either by unquestioningly accepting the contents of different labour market theories or, alternatively, by using in a confused manner different

parts of the various theories. For example, Chandler and Lawless (1985) attempted to specify a framework within which to analyse local authority labour market policy. They argued that "in effect there may be a dual labour market operating within more deprived parts of the spatial economy" (Chandler and Lawless 1985 p.199). But this statement is made without any reference to any of the literature of dual labour market theory, does not specify the likely causes of the dual labour market and seems unaware of the numerous tests that have failed to identify a simple dual labour market in Britain. Boddy et al. (1986) seemed slightly more aware of the nature of labour market theory since they utilise ideas from dual and segmented labour market theory. But the only segmented labour market theory they referred to was that of Martin and Roberts (1984) which means they concentrated on race and gender and ignore other supply-side influences on segmentation. Even Pinch's (1987) review of labour market theory was not always clear on the nature of different theories. Dual theory is discussed in the same section as the segmentation approach and the review does not really specify the differences between the two perspectives. However, the evidence from both macro and local studies of the labour market is that segmentation can exist and will be determined by broad demand and supply factors.

In many of these studies of segmentation the influence of the state is considered, usually through its role as a provider of training and education. But as these studies also acknowledge the state can influence the labour market in many ways other than just through education and training. Indeed, there has been considerable analysis of the influence of the state on the labour market. This type of research is not concerned to specify the nature of the labour market. Instead, the aim is to identify the intentions of government policy at the national and local level and, using a variety of devices, indicate the impact of initiatives on the labour market. This literature gives an indication of the possible

methods for analysing government policy in London Docklands.

2.4 The state and the local labour market

Recently labour market policy in Britain has undergone a major transformation at the both the national and the local government level. In particular, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of initiatives and agencies attempting to intervene in the labour market. For the sake of clarity it is necessary to describe the nature of these different initiatives before going on to examine how their impact has been assessed.

2.4.1 National manpower policies

There are of course numerous government policies that indirectly and directly affect the labour market such as health, environment and transport policies. But at the national scale measures whose primary aim is to intervene directly in the labour market are usually categorised as manpower policy. Unfortunately, there is no precise definition amongst economists as to what constitutes manpower policy. Henning and Richardson (1984) referred to a traditional division of manpower policy into initiatives to influence supply, to influence demand and 'matching' measures. Alternatively, Ziderman (1978) suggested policy can be categorised into measures to stabilise the labour market, to remove market failure and to promote equity. Under both these definitions macro-economic fiscal and budgetary policies would be included in the definition since they affect demand and market stability. Wilson (1987) produced a more restricted definition of manpower/labour market policies dividing measures according to whether they affect employers labour market position, supply practices or labour market mechanisms.

Whichever definition is used the overhaul of manpower training instigated by successive Conservative administrations since 1979 has provided a number of examples of initiatives for each category. But this is not the first time that training in Britain has been reorganised. Fairley (1983) claimed that the 1964 Industrial Training Act and the 1973 the Education and Training Act which established the Manpower Services Commission were also major attempts to restructure national manpower policy. (In 1988 the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) had its name changed to the Training Agency (TA) and is referred to in this thesis as the MSC/TA.) However, in 1979 the Conservative Government's desire to control public expenditure, led to the budget and staffing of the MSC^{TA} being reduced (Sinfield 1981). But the persistent rise in unemployment in the early 1980's led to increased expenditure on employment and training initiatives. In the Government's view training had come to be viewed not just as a 'mopping-up' operation for the unemployed but as a broad strategy that "is an essential condition of our economic survival" and which must "be firmly work orientated" (Department of Employment 1984, p.4).

A series of White Papers have subsequently introduced new initiatives (Department of Employment 1984, Department of Employment 1985, Department of Education and Science 1985 and Department of Employment 1988). Initially expenditure on measures for adults, such as the Adult Training Scheme launched in 1985, declined as a proportion of the total training budget. But the recently established Job Training Scheme has extended adult training. The emphasis in the 1980's was switched to job training for young people and employment creation. Furthermore, in keeping with Conservative ideological commitments to the market and individual responsibility, initiatives were designed to promote enterprise and self-employment amongst their clients. Also training became

increasingly vocational and orientated to the needs of industry.

The various central government initiatives have been divided into Special Employment Measures (SEMs) and Special Training Measures (STMs) (HMSO 1986). According to the government SEMs were defined as initiatives to "provide temporary and permanent job opportunities for the unemployed. They are designed either to reduce the number of those in the labour market or to increase the number of available jobs" (HMSO 1986). These can be administered by both the MSC/TA and the Department of Employment and are viewed as being distinct from STMs which are also organised by these two institutions. The major SEMs in the 1980s have been the Enterprise Allowance Scheme and the Community Programme (now part of the new Employment Training scheme). By far the largest STM has been the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). However, there have been many other initiatives besides these². Accompanying SEMs and STMs have been initiatives to make Post 16 education more vocational and related to the needs of industry³.

There have been a number of studies attempting to assess the effectiveness of these policies and their impact on the labour market at the national level. The House of Commons Select Committee on Employment (HMSO 1986) expressed concern over the displacement and 'deadweight' effects of SEMs and STMs and recommended the adoption of policies aimed at creating permanent jobs for the long-term unemployed. Some of the most extensive measures have received considerable academic research attention. For example there have been four large empirical studies of YTS funded by central government agencies, which have all revealed the substitution effect of YTS and its crucial value to employers as a screening device (Deakin and Pratten 1987, Dore and Sako 1986, Main and Shelly 1988 and Roberts et. al. 1986b).

2.4.2 Local manpower policy

These national policies have had an uneven geographical effect. Generally, in the more prosperous southern and eastern regions of Great Britain a far smaller proportion of young adults go on YTS than in the less buoyant economies of the northern and western regions (YTS News 1988). The Enterprise Allowance Scheme also has an uneven spatial distribution of participation (McArthur and McGregor 1987). Furthermore, central government is now attempting to focus STM and SEM expenditure, especially through YTS, on inner urban areas (DoE/Department of Employment 1987).

This uneven pattern of policy provision is repeated at the local level of government, where some local authorities have developed their own manpower policies. The vast majority of local authorities are involved in some way with manpower policy usually as sponsors or managing agents for YTS or the Community Programme, although involvement varies according to the attitudes of local politicians or trade unions (McArthur and McGregor 1987). But even where there is local opposition to STMs and SEMs some local authorities have used national policies as the initial basis for their own local schemes. So the Labour authorities of Leeds, Sheffield and the former Greater London Council have all accepted MSC/TA funding for YTS and Community Programme initiatives to which they have contributed additional funding to ensure that participants are paid a wage agreed with local unions (Chandler and Lawless 1985).

A few local authorities have also endeavoured to develop their own manpower policies separate from those of national government. In London the GLC established a separate council Committee for manpower issues, the Greater London Training Board (GLTB), which produced the London Labour Plan (GLC 1986). This document represented an attempt to devise a strategic local manpower policy linked to economic development in London, which identified

gaps in existing provision. In its first full year of operation the GLTB spent over 7 million pounds supporting 2,500 training places and 200 jobs related to training activities (GLC 1985). McArthur and McGregor (1987) identified 8 sections in five different Acts of national legislation that were used by the GLTB to raise money for manpower policy expenditure, and observe that a similar strategic approach to manpower policy was adopted by Lancashire County Council, Sheffield City Council and West Midlands County Council. Further sources of funding for local authority training initiatives may be obtained from the European Social Fund, which will provide matching funds on an annual basis and usually in arrears for innovative training schemes.

But the public sector local authorities are not the only organisation devising local manpower initiatives. The role of the voluntary sector as a provider of training has been expanding in the last decade. But Mason (1983) noted the difficulties experienced by the voluntary sector groups in the London Borough of Hammersmith in attempts to establish innovative labour market measures, due to the dominant economic goals of funding agencies overriding the social goals of the voluntary sector. However, by 1985 the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (1985) estimated that up to 50 per cent of Community Programme places funded by the MSC/TA, were administered by the voluntary sector.

In order to summarise the numerous manpower initiatives pursued in local labour markets, McArthur and McGregor (1987) categorise measures according to whether they are designed to train for jobs, raise the general level of ability and skills, lever the disadvantaged into jobs, or generate new economic activity. The last of these include local attempts to promote self employment and new enterprises. But such measures are often not categorised as manpower policies. Instead, they are referred to as a local economic initiatives and it is the local economic initiative that has been used most often as

a device for intervening in local labour markets throughout Great Britain.

2.4.3 Local economic initiatives

The LDDC and the Enterprise Zone in the Isle of Dogs are two examples of the numerous attempts by national government to intervene in the economy of selected localities. The principal labour market effect of this type of measure is an alteration in the level and nature of demand for labour. Local authorities of all political shades have also developed their own brand of local economic intervention. Ward (1983) suggested that this recent penchant for local measures has a long history. In the last decade considerable research effort has been spent examining the origins, nature and impact of these policies. Examples include a book by Morison (1987) 'The regeneration of local economies', the journal Local Economy and the briefing documents on the latest policy instruments in Local Economic News produced by the Centre for Local Economic Strategies in Manchester, and the Local Economic Development Information Service provided by Glasgow Planning Exchange. A number of short reviews of these initiatives have been written (Bennington 1986, Viebla 1987, Church and Hall 1989) and these highlight the differences in the approach of central and local government. Conservative central government has established a series of new agencies, measures and coordinating structures to stimulate local economic development including Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), City Action Teams, Task Forces, Enterprise Zones, City Grants (formerly Urban Development Grants and Urban Regeneration Grants), Derelict Land Grants and revisions to the system of land register (See Church and Hall 1989 for further details). Also the Urban programme, initially established in 1978, provides funds for local economic projects in urban areas and other policy devices, such as the Enterprise Initiative started in 1988, are designed to

pay special attention to inner urban areas. Whilst most of these local economic initiatives are for urban areas, there are also centrally-funded agencies such as the Scottish and Welsh development agencies and the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas (CoSIRA), that attempt to stimulate local economies in particular localities and rural areas.

Central government initiatives, described as neo-Liberal by Chandler and Lawless (1985), reflect the ideological stance of the Conservative Party and emphasise the primacy of the market. They attempt to encourage private sector financed, demand-led approaches to economic regeneration, assisted by public expenditure on infrastructure and a reduction in bureaucratic hindrances. This contrasts with the 'New Left' approaches pursued by a number of Labour local authorities between 1981 and 1986 which aimed to 'restructure for labour' by using controlled public sector investment in new and existing establishments to enhance worker's control and ownership in the workplace. Some of these Labour authorities, such as Liverpool, Sheffield and the GLC endeavoured, despite rate capping, to maintain or expand their own workforces. In the middle of these two approaches politically, are what Boddy and Fudge (1984) describe as "mainstream approaches" (p.11) which use public funds to support private sector establishments often through the construction of premises and infrastructure and advice from an economic development office. It was this 'mainstream approach' that Mills and Young (1986) found to be most common in their survey of urban and rural local authorities. More recently, private and nationalised industry has become involved in local economic regeneration through organisations like Business in the Community and British Coal Enterprise Ltd.

These local economic initiatives are sometimes strategically linked to manpower initiatives. London provides an important example; here the London Labour Plan of the GLTB was designed to be integrated with the London

Industrial Strategy of the Greater London Enterprise Board. The Task Forces in inner urban areas were instructed by the Department of Trade and Industry to coordinate employment generation and training measures.

2.4.4 The reasons for intervention

The origins of these recent local labour market policies has received considerable attention. The context for these policies in many local authority areas was a rapidly declining manufacturing sector, job loss in the public sector, limited growth in the service sector and rising unemployment especially amongst the most disadvantaged groups of local residents. In these circumstances many local authorities understandably adopt the attitude that "something must be done" (Morison 1987). In addition, the failure of central government policy to stem this job loss or reduce unemployment levels in the early 1980's, encouraged many local authorities to extend, or develop for the first time, their economic development role (McArthur and McGregor 1987). Manpower policies are stimulated by similar concerns and, in addition, some training initiatives have stemmed from a fear of the long term employment effects of technological change (Kitchen 1983) and a belief amongst some local authorities that declining numbers of apprenticeships, reductions in private sector commitments to training and the nature of central government response were leading to the disappearance of quality training (GLC 1986a).

Further impetus to the development of local economic and manpower policies came from the local government reorganisation of Greater London in 1965, England and Wales in 1974 and Scotland in 1975, since this established strategic authorities at the metropolitan and county level with the resources to undertake economic development initiatives (Mawson and Miller 1986). More recently, Michael Heseltine, the Minister for the Environment during the period of rioting in the summer of 1981, stated that

"the jolt given by the urban riots of the 1980s provided the motive power" (Heseltine 1987 p.164) for a series of urban regeneration initiatives.

Other researchers have argued that the origins of local labour market interventions lie not only in pragmatic responses to economic circumstances, but also in wider causal mechanisms such as the nature of central-local government relations. For Duncan and Goodwin (1988) the local economic and manpower initiatives found throughout Great Britain occurred because of two fundamental contradictions in the nature of local government. First, local government had to adopt both an "interpretive and a representational role" (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p.274). This means that as well as representing the ballot box desires of a local population, local government is also interpreting and managing broader social and economic change. According to Duncan and Goodwin (1988) local circumstances will occasionally produce local authorities that chose to perform an interpretive role that opposes broader change, alongside a wide representational role. The rather over-used cases of Oldham, Poplar and Clay Cross are presented as historical examples of this type of local authority. It was argued that contemporary economic and social change has served to fragment the social geography of Britain which provides the local conditions for the production of oppositional policies. The radical 'New Left' economic initiatives, therefore, are contemporary manifestations of this process. But this led to major tensions in central-local relations due to the second contradictory role of local government which means that it became "both an agent of, and an obstacle to, central government" (Duncan and Goodwin 1988 p.274). This means that central government will aim not only to reduce the power of local opposition but also to establish where possible new agencies to ensure its policies are instigated locally. New central government legislation and agencies that intervene in local labour markets, such as UDCs, were seen as the

outcomes of national government's desire to centralise power and weaken local authorities (Duncan and Goodwin 1988). However, such theoretical analyses are based on evidence concerning the economic and political intentions of local economic and manpower initiatives. Far less information is available on the outcomes and impact of this locally variable mixture of central government and local authority measures.

2.4.5 Approaches to evaluation

The paucity of data on the effects of local economic and manpower policy is not surprising given the immense difficulties facing any attempt at policy evaluation. In an ideal world the best approach for evaluating the effects of a local initiative would be a complete cost-benefit analysis that would not only examine the impact of the measure itself but also contrast it with other alternative policy measures. However, a lack of data, poorly defined policy objectives, unclear policy alternatives and the inapplicability of the technique to policies providing financial assistance to industry, make cost-benefit analysis an inappropriate tool for studying spatial policy measures (Robinson et. al 1987).

But any attempt to evaluate local economic or manpower initiatives is faced with a number of often insurmountable practical difficulties. Lever and Moore (1986) identify five hindrances to an evaluation of spatial economic policy. These are the problems of dead-weight, displacement, duration, distribution and duplication (Lever and Moore 1986). The first of these, the dead-weight effect, is the 'policy off' scenario. In many urban areas where the local economy is subject to sudden unpredictable changes it will be very hard to determine what would happen without policy. Furthermore, Diamond and Spence (1983) pointed out that the severe nature of change in the national economy since 1978 means that it is not possible to represent 'policy-off' by

national trends. Displacement includes the negative effects of any policy which have to be calculated in a full analysis. Job loss in establishments not receiving assistance due to competition from firms obtaining financial aid would be an example. The problem of duration refers to the difficulty of choosing an appropriate timescale over which to analyse policy. For instance, can the affect of economic initiatives be assessed after only a year or is five years a more reasonable time to allow for policy to have an impact? Alternatively, should the success of training initiatives be judged by the immediate destination of participants or their labour market status after a certain length of time?. All of these three problems arise when attempts are made to calculate the economic additionality of policy in terms of new jobs. Storey (1983) outlined the difficulties of obtaining the data necessary to estimate whether a job in an existing or newly opened firm, is truly a new job in the sense that it would not have been created without a particular policy initiative.

The fourth problem is that of distribution. An evaluation of any local policy will have to include a decision, usually an arbitrary one, about the desirable distribution of any measured impact in order to provide criteria by which to judge an initiative. Many local measures are designed to affect a particular area and so evaluation will concentrate on that locality. But as well as spatial distribution, there is also the question of individual distribution. It may be appropriate to judge policy according to the individuals it affects rather than the areas it has an influence upon. The final problem of duplication occurs because of the multiplicity of initiatives in many areas which means that it is not always possible to rigorously separate out the impacts of different policies. Also other local policies, such as education and transport, can have an influence on the supply and demand-sides of the labour market. But as Lever and Moore (1986) admitted these problems occur

mainly once a decision has been made to undertake a quantitative analysis of a particular initiative. In addition, there is the broader issue of whether labour market policy should also be examined by means of a qualitative assessment. For instance, Chandler and Lawless (1985) suggested that since many Labour local authority economic initiatives were designed not only to stimulate local economies but also to raise needs-based planning on the national and political agenda, then it might also be necessary to evaluate policy in terms of its political impact. Indeed, a familiar conclusion of research on policy is that the impact on intangibles like workers' or individuals' morale, and on business confidence, may be far more significant than quantifiable impacts.

These sorts of problems have plagued all evaluations of local economic and labour market initiatives which have focussed on four issues. First, there have been a number of investigations into the costs of policy. Second, policy impact on particular economic and social variables such as employment and unemployment has been a major area of research. Third, there have been accounts of the efficiency of policy implementation. Fourth, a common issue to many studies is that of equity impact, involving a discussion of the beneficiaries of policy. Of course a number of studies deal with all four issues, although many concentrate on one. Furthermore, the issue chosen to be the focus of analysis often reflects the aims of policy. Therefore, policies targetted on the unemployed are often assessed according to their impact on the numbers registered as unemployed. Whereas training measures are evaluated according to changes in skill levels and the labour market destinations of trainees.

Local economic initiatives have been subject to far more in depth evaluative scrutiny than manpower measures. The ever present concern with levels of public spending has led to a number of attempts to calculate both direct costs and also the eventual national cost to the Treasury

of these measures. One of the most wide-ranging of such studies was by Campbell et. al. (1988) on Local Job Plans. This amalgamated the intentions of Local Job Plans from 60 local authorities and began by estimating the direct costs on the basis of wage costs, non-wage employment costs and procurement costs. Then net costs to the Exchequer were calculated by assessing the reduction in 'unemployment costs' which includes unemployment benefits and social security payments. Finally, the net cost analysis was extended using the public version of the Treasury model to estimate the macroeconomic effects of Local Job Plans on the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement, national price levels, Balance of Payments and the Money Stock which were then used to refine the measure of net cost (Campbell et. al. 1988). A number of other studies have calculated less precise measures of the costs of job creation for particular initiatives, including the urban programme (DoE 1986a), derelict land grants (DoE 1987a) and Enterprise Zones (House of Commons, Committee of Public Accounts 1986, DoE 1987b). The concern of central government to involve the private sector in local economic regeneration means that the impact of measures on investment has received considerable attention. The leverage ratio of public to private investment has become a leading indicator in judging the performance of Urban Development Corporations (National Audit Office 1988).

A very in-depth analysis of the affect of local financial assistance projects on employment occurred in the study of the Newcastle Metropolitan Region by Robinson et. al (1987). As well as looking at the impact on employment, this analysis utilises data on establishment location and residential distribution of employees in assisted establishments to assess the spatial labour market impact of the various initiatives. A similar concern with the spatial equity of policy impact is found in other studies (For example McArthur (1984) on

Clydeside, Hausner and Robson (1985) on inner-cities generally).

In comparison to the detailed empirical research on costs and employment impacts, the projects on the efficiency of implementation have to rely on more qualitative information. The National Audit Office (1988) cited examples of inefficiency in the regeneration strategies of the LDDC. In particular, the LDDC's failure to obtain independent evaluations on sites prior to a sale and the policy of selling by private negotiation rather than by tender. Very different efficiency criteria were used in a DoE (1986a) study of the economic impact of the Urban Programme on young people. This devised efficiency measures which included the feeling of 'ownership' by young people on the schemes, the extent of innovation in new projects, and coordination with other projects. It is fair to say that evaluations of efficiency are, perhaps quite rightly, very often determined by the nature of the initiative being analysed.

Local manpower initiatives have not been subject to such detailed analysis, probably due to their more limited use. However, this is not the case for national manpower initiatives which have received greater scrutiny. Davies and Metcalf (1985) compared the cost-per-job effectiveness of creating employment through tax cuts, public expenditure and SEMs. Other research has looked at the impact of SEMs on a variety of variables. Rajan (1985) and Bushell (1986) estimated the effect of the Young Workers scheme on employment in participating establishments, Main and Shelly (1988) found that YTS could claim some success in increasing the subsequent employability of young people, and Hutchinson and Church (1989) revealed the wage lowering effect of both YTS and the Young Workers Scheme.

Many of the studies of manpower policy in local labour markets have been concerned to describe the origins and implementation of policy. This is an understandable aim since local manpower policy on a major scale is a

relatively new concept. Davies et. al. (1984) undertook a very detailed survey of manpower initiatives, which they termed labour market policies, in three local areas between 1979 and 1981. The initiatives examined locally included national SEMs and STMs but there was also considerable analysis of local authority and voluntary sector schemes. Due to the variety of measures that existed in the three disguised areas of 'Highville', 'Slimville' and 'Richville', they divided policies into three broad groups: initiatives to modernise or restructure the labour market; those designed to 'mop up' the effects of restructuring; and measures to redistribute labour market benefits to the disadvantaged. The need for these definitional categories highlights a difficulty facing any examination of labour market policy, which is the sheer diversity of initiatives and the need, therefore, to define what constitutes labour market policy.

Interestingly, however, their tripartite division was not based on a detailed conceptual view of the labour market in which the measures were active. Instead, the choice was based on rather vague generalisations about the nature and implementation of policies that fall into each category, plus some vague references to the labour market. The division was justified on the grounds that:

"other typologies which are offered in the literature on public policy.....attempt to classify public policy only according to its stated intentions, and tend to refer to the formal mechanisms and appearance of policy making for the characteristics which they classify. Our classification, on the other hand, takes into account not only the formal intentions of the policy, but also its process during implementation, the characteristics of the problem which the policies attempt to address, and the environment within which their implementation is carried out. It is an attempt, then, to address the real complexity of public policy formulation and implementation" (Davies et. al. 1984 p.231).

This is undoubtedly a commendable aim. But to be achieved it is necessary to specify the contextual environment of policy, and apart from some very brief references to the differing economic circumstances of each study area, the interaction between local labour market and policy remained largely unexamined. This concern with implementation rather than the labour market itself means that the conclusions on evaluation highlighted failings of the management system that led to an uneven emphasis on certain policy goals. As a result social goals, such as labour market policies for women, were neglected because the implementation structure established was more orientated towards economic goals (Davies et.al 1984).

Most other research on locally devised manpower policies has been less in-depth but similar conclusions have been drawn. Chandler and Lawless (1985) utilise secondary sources to outline some of the policies developed by local authorities and suggest that effective implementation is limited by the control of resources in inflexible, market orientated national organisations and a lack of coordination between local agencies. As a result initiatives "inevitably appear somewhat ad-hoc, fire-fighting devices" (Chandler and Lawless 1985 p.205).

A programme of interviews with key personnel was used by McArthur and McGregor (1986) to evaluate labour market policies for the disadvantaged in Glasgow. The same approach has been used to review local authority manpower policies generally (McArthur and McGregor (1987)). This approach identifies a number of constraints on local policies including the imprecise legislation, a lack of coordination between agencies, and the rules attached to national programmes which restrict local innovation.

These evaluations, which are far from an exhaustive list, (see for example Hayton (1983) on training initiatives in Community Business or Memon (1988) on the impact of local business development schemes targetted on ethnic minorities), have been of a general nature, apart from the one by Davies et. al (1984). But there have

been no real attempts to measure their impact on local labour market characteristics such as employment or unemployment. Furthermore, most of these studies adopt a policy analysis approach to evaluation which tends to focus attention on organisational and political influences on policy. The labour market that forms the context for these various initiatives is usually discussed only in very general terms and is not analysed as a causal mechanism continually interacting with policy and helping to determine policy nature and outcome.

The importance of assessing the relationships between the labour market and the form and impact of policy is illustrated by some more detailed analyses of the local effects of manpower initiatives. These studies have often been off-shoots of national level studies of SEMs and STMs which drew their sample from a number of separate locations. For example, Dore and Sako's (1986) study of the Young Workers Scheme and YTS, revealed how the impact of YTS on employment levels, output, recruitment and training varied in the five different labour markets from which the sample was taken. Employment substitution was more prevalent amongst firms in the depressed labour market of Glasgow than in the more buoyant Reading area. This variation was partly explained by labour market differences between the two areas particularly in terms of unemployment and sectoral composition (Dore and Sako 1986). Using the same data base Church and Hutchinson (1989) found that the impact of YTS and YWS on wages varied considerably in the same five labour markets.

The impact of local labour market characteristics on national manpower initiatives is also revealed in studies of the Youth Opportunities Programme (Greaves 1984, Ng 1985), of YTS (Spencer et. al. 1986, Dutton 1986, Peck et. al. 1986)), and again of YTS, the Young Workers Scheme and the New Workers Scheme (Roberts et. al. 1986a). The study by Roberts et. al. (1986a) concludes that different local labour market forces create very different stresses in

their study areas. Therefore in Chelmsford the stress in the youth labour market was a shortage of well qualified and trained young people, whereas in Walsall and Liverpool the stress was a shortage of opportunities for the less well qualified young adults. The analysis concluded that "government measures were not alleviating but were being shaped by these stresses" (Roberts et. al. 1986c p.2). The spatial variation in national manpower policies is not exactly unexpected, but these various studies do emphasise the need to consider in an evaluation of policy the interactions between policy, labour supply, labour demand and the mechanisms of the labour market. Equally, the implementation analyses, especially that of Davies et. al. (1984), do suggest that the relations between central and local government, and the relations within organisations will continually reorganise the nature and aims of labour market policies. So an analysis of the labour market in a particular area, such as London Docklands, must take account of these political and organisational influences on policy determination and not just see policy as a response to the local labour market.

2.5 Conclusion

The theoretical literature on labour markets and the policy studies of labour market initiatives highlight the difficulties of analysing the effect of policy on the local labour market in London Docklands. The approach adopted here is guided by the different theoretical conceptualisations of the labour market, rather than being tied to one theoretical outlook. All the different theoretical perspectives, however, point to the need to study policy initiatives in a manner that takes some account of the other determinants of labour supply and demand. Only by doing this will it be possible to attempt to specify the relative importance of policy compared to the other causal processes. Policy is only one factor shaping the nature of labour supply and demand, and the

other determinants such as technology and the production process on demand, or social class and education on supply, may have a far more influential effect.

Equally, the local nature of interaction between supply and demand may not only be a target of policy but also an influence on policy outcome. For example, the recruitment policies of firms may have an important effect on the outcome of any policy designed to improve the awareness of vacancies amongst the unemployed. So it is important to examine the labour market mechanisms through which the supply and demand for labour interact. In order to do this it is necessary to outline the relationships that exist between different features of the labour market and this is attempted in the first section of the next chapter.

The studies of policy implementation and evaluation also suggest that the aims of labour market policy are often imprecise. Furthermore, policy goals are shaped by the implementation process and the nature of the labour market. Therefore, it is essential that studies of labour market policy do not view policy intentions in a simplistic manner. Instead it is likely that research will also be required to establish the actual intentions of policy and how these have been influenced by the organisational environment and local labour market.

However, once the aims of policy have been established, it is necessary for policy analysis to establish which criteria will be used to judge policy impact. As shown many previous studies have analysed the effect of measures in terms of costs, equity, efficiency and impact on particular economic and social variables. Often the aims of policy determine the criteria that are used.

Clearly any local labour market study designed to accommodate the implications of these conclusions will require a well specified methodology that is based on a robust conceptualisation of the local labour market. The following chapter sets out an appropriate conceptual model

of the labour market. This is followed by a discussion of the need for evaluation and the problems of its execution; and a description of the methodology for evaluating the effect of the LDDC on the labour market.

FOOTNOTES

1. Addison and Siebert (1979) review many other empirical tests that have not succeeded in identifying a dual or internal labour market.

2. The scale and nature of both SEMs and STMs has changed considerably between 1984 and 1988. In April 1984 597,000 people were involved in these schemes including 246,000 on YTS, 113,000 on the Community Programme, 94,000 on the Job Release Scheme, 92,000 on the Young Workers Scheme, 29,000 on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme, 2,000 on the Community Industry Scheme, 1,000 on the Job Splitting Scheme, 12,000 on the Temporary Short Time Work Scheme (since abolished) and 8,000 completing other now defunct initiatives such as YOPs and Training for Industry (MSC 1984). By 1988 823,000 people were on SEMs and STMs. Again YTS was the largest at 418,000, 221,000 were on the Community Programme, 96,000 on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme, 38,000 on JTS (now, along with the Community Programme absorbed into Employment Training), 19,000 on the Job Release Scheme, 19,000 on the New Workers Scheme (formerly the Young Workers Scheme), 8,000 in Community Industry, 4,000 on a Jobstart Allowance and 1,000 on Jobshare (previously Job Splitting) (MSC 1988).

3. The vocational education initiatives include the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI), the Non-Advanced Further Education (NAFE) scheme, the Open College and most recently the Schools Compact Schemes.

CHAPTER 3

AN APPROACH FOR THE STUDY OF THE LABOUR MARKET IN LONDON
DOCKLANDS3.1 A conceptual framework for the evaluation of labour
market change in London Docklands

The term labour market has become an important part of contemporary geographical language. Yet it is by no means a well defined term. From the viewpoint of an economist the labour market "is a loose agglomeration of numerous bargains, not strictly connected yet not wholly unrelated either" (Bliss 1988 p.1). This same general definition could be applied to the local labour market since a local labour market will be composed of a series of dynamic relationships between its different elements. There have been a number of recent attempts to construct conceptual models of local labour markets which are adaptations of the model devised by Holt (1969) based on stocks and flows of workers. These include Carmichael (1980), Hart (1981) and Worral (1987). Such models have two components. First, they identify the key elements and relationships within the labour market, and second, they contain some of the key influences on the nature of the elements.

Similarly, Figure 3.1 is a simple model of an urban labour market that describes the relationships within such a market as a series of flows. It utilises some of the features of previous descriptive models but tries to extend them where they are weakest, which is concerning the influences on the nature of labour supply and demand. It does this by incorporating some of the features of labour markets identified by the theoretical debate outlined in the previous chapter. Previous models of urban labour markets have included labour demand only as a broad homogenous element. If, however, the aim is to study the impact of local policy on labour demand it is

necessary to include the other influences on demand. The determinants of labour demand have been a long standing concern of macro-economic models of the national labour market. In particular, the relationship between labour demand and labour costs has received considerable attention, most recently from the new classical studies of the labour market by Minford (1988). Various models have been used to estimate the effects of macro-state policies, such as fiscal policies or interest and exchange rate policies (Nickell 1988). Macro-level analysis has also explored the effect of capital costs, adjustment costs and employer expectations on labour demand (Bliss 1988). However, as was shown in the previous chapter adherents to the dual or segmented labour market theories argue that the determinants of labour demand also include broader forces.

The strategy adopted by companies to their product markets is viewed as a key influence on the nature and scale of labour demand. Product market strategy is subject to either monopoly power or the ability to offer goods at a lower price than competitors due to the use of technology or cheaper production inputs. This means that the form of business organisation (which includes size and ownership structure), the level of technology and the nature of labour organisation can influence performance in the product market and, therefore, the demand for labour (Tarling 1981). The nature of both business and labour organisation and its impact on labour demand will, of course, vary greatly within and between industrial sectors (Bluestone and Stevenson 1981, Villa 1981). Furthermore, competition in product markets is often on a global basis and consequently international economic changes can have important effects on the demand for labour in national economies (Rowthorn and Wells 1986).

Studies of the determinants of geographical variations in labour demand have often been concerned with similar issues. There have been attempts to look at spatial variations in the relationship between labour

costs and labour demand. Moore and Rhodes (1981) examine regional wage convergence in Britain but found little evidence to explain this trend as the outcome of relative changes in the pressure of demand. Hart (1981), in a neo-classical conception of the local labour market, argues that wages may influence the time taken by firms to adjust their labour requirements to changes in output, but suggests that in the short term labour demand is determined by desired sales, planned stock changes, capital stock and technology. Worral (1987) takes a similar view and includes in his conceptual model demands for goods and services, along with technology as the two broad determinants of the demand for labour in a local labour market.

Geographical research, often not directly concerned with labour markets, has also identified a whole range of potential influences on the nature of labour demand. The macro-theoretical frameworks outlined in chapter 1 are all in part designed to explain the geography of labour demand in broad terms according to changes in the nature of advanced economies. Sectoral research has attempted to identify the determinants of demand in different industries. The decline in demand in manufacturing in urban Britain has been attributed to the restructuring strategies of firms in response to competition and the changing spatial division of labour (Massey and Meegan 1982). In a similar vein, Taylor and Thrift (1983) argue that the nature of business organisation, which varies according to establishment size, sector and ownership, produces variations in the nature of local labour demand. However, the location constraint analysis of the loss of urban manufacturing jobs also indicates that the production inputs of land and property can affect performance in the product market and influence local levels of demand for labour (Fothergill et al. 1987). Studies of the service sector have also revealed that the increase in labour demand is also a function of the broad forces of economic development. However, changed income

elasticities of demand and the desire of firms to lower the cost or improve the quality of outputs also exert an important influence (Daniels 1985).

Clearly, any conceptual model of the labour market is going to meet great difficulties trying to include all the possible determinants of the scale and nature of labour demand. Figure 3.1 contains some of the key influences revealed by the previous theoretical and empirical work outlined in this and earlier Chapters. The daunting range of determinants of labour demand has faced previous studies of local labour markets. Indeed, a common approach to obtaining meaningful generalisations has been to focus on key sectors of local economies. The study by Boddy et. al. (1986) of the Bristol economy is a good example of this approach. In order to explain changes in the local economy and labour demand, Boddy et. al. (1986) identify the five key sectors of the local economy and analyse employment in these sectors in their broader sectoral and corporate context. The change in demand in each sector is explained as the outcome of "competitive pressures, changes in market demand, technological change, changes in the production process, ...national government policies..and the specific corporate make-up" (Boddy et. al. 1986 p. 54). This study of London Docklands adopts a similar key sector-based approach. Thus, it examines the influence of LDDC policy on labour demand whilst taking account of other possible determinants of local labour demand.

The main influences on the level and nature of labour supply in a local labour market are also defined in Figure 3.1. Some of these, particularly skill levels and qualifications, are used by human capital theory to explain workers' labour market rewards. But segmentation theory suggests that the rewards and working conditions of workers are not just determined by human capital characteristics, but that various social forces interact with the labour market to lead certain workers into different segments. Previous studies outlined in the last

chapter suggest that gender, age, marital status, ethnic origin, and social class are the key influences on local labour supply. These social factors lead workers into different labour market segments in two ways. First, they interact directly with the changing demand for labour and employers' recruitment, selection and discriminatory criteria to lead individuals into certain types of jobs. Second, social factors indirectly influence the labour market because they determine educational attainment, work history/stability, skill levels and attitudes to work, which in turn affect the labour market experiences of individuals. Due to these direct and indirect effects of social forces Figure 3.1 outlines two types of labour supply determinant one being social factors and the other being worker characteristics. It must be accepted, however, that the two are strongly interrelated. A similar two tier approach was adopted by Buck and Gordon (1987) in a study of the causes of labour market disadvantage in certain expanding labour markets in Britain. Social class, ethnic origin, marital status and age were viewed as the important factors interacting with labour demand to create groups of disadvantaged workers. But equally these broad social forces also determined qualification levels and the stability of past work history which in turn influenced the potential of workers to experience disadvantage.

Previous conceptual models of local labour markets have been somewhat vague on the determinants of labour supply. Carmichael (1981) adopts a numerical approach to determining supply based on the levels of births, deaths, entrants, re-entrants, withdrawals and retirement. Worrall (1987) is rather less precise on the determinants of supply, referring vaguely to household inactivity and education as important factors. Also the earlier models tended to be devised for relatively closed labour markets (for instance Carmichael's (1980) work on Swindon), so there was no need to take acknowledge the effect of migration and commuting. But given the importance of

commuting and migration as mechanisms of labour market adjustment (Gordon and Lamont 1982, Gordon 1988), it is necessary to take account of their influence when examining an urban labour market in an area such as Docklands. For this reason Figure 3.1 also includes commuting and migration as a determinant of labour supply¹.

In macro-economics, however, the determinants of labour supply and demand are often examined through the empirical analysis of the elasticity of supply and demand for labour in order to take account of the affect of cyclical factors on employment levels (Hutchinson et. al. 1984). In addition, there are attempts to specify empirically through the use of equations the various forms of interaction between labour supply and demand. The relationships between employers and other elements of the labour market have been the subject of studies evaluating the empirical effect of discrimination on rewards and conditions (see Sloane 1985 for a review). Alternatively, job search models aim to quantify the effect on job search length and success, of the key influences of supply and the nature of jobs available (see McKenna 1985 for a review). The spatial aspect of the job search process has also led to the development of empirical models to examine the geographical variations in the process (Amrhein and MacKinnon 1985, van Dijk and Folmer 1985).

The aim of this thesis is not to undertake a detailed empirical evaluation of these various labour market interactions. In fact such an approach in the small LDDC area would be prevented by the lack of data. Instead, the conceptual model is designed to act as a framework for analysing LDDC policy. It should be noted that the model accepts that government policy could, in theory, intervene in any element or relationship of the labour market. In reality, however, policy tends to be concentrated on particular aspects of the labour market. Nevertheless, by viewing policy initiatives in the context of this conceptual model, it is possible to ensure

that a rigorous analysis of the impacts of policy is undertaken, in which policy is not viewed in isolation and due attention is be paid to other factors that will have an influence on the local labour. In this way it is hoped to avoid not only the type of fragmentary analysis Peck (1988) claims is found in many policy studies, but also, the inadequate conceptualisation of the labour market that Cheshire (1979) cites as the reason for the failings of previous research on inner urban areas. There are, however, many problems to be overcome in an evaluation of labour market change and policy impacts in Docklands. These are be discussed in section 3.3 later in this chapter.

3.2 The need for labour market evaluation in London Docklands

There are both theoretical and practical reasons for undertaking an evaluation of labour market change and policy in London Docklands. At the practical level the LDDC is a government devised policy initiative whose effectiveness has been the subject of considerable debate. Furthermore, it is an 'inner city' policy measure and such measures in the past have encountered considerable difficulties (Robson 1987). Therefore, a detailed evaluation of change in the LDDC area will allow an examination of whether the contentious LDDC has overcome some of the complex problems that have bedevilled other inner city policy makers which are discussed later in section 3.2.3. From a theoretical point of view a study of Docklands is necessary for two reasons. First, explanations of change in Docklands have so far concentrated on political issues and a number of important aspects of change remain unexplained. Second, a number of previous academic studies have used very general evidence to suggest the likely consequences of change in Docklands. It is pertinent to ask, therefore, whether these academic predictions have come to pass. The rest of this section

provides more detail on the need for evaluation by outlining the broad approach of the LDDC, the debate over policy impacts and the conclusions of previous research.

3.2.1 The LDDC - powers and functions

The LDDC was designated the managing body of the Docklands Urban Development Area by the Secretary of State for the Environment using the powers contained in the Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980. The Corporation is broadly directed to promote physical, economic and social regeneration in the area and, after a series of briefs and directives from the Secretary of State for the Environment, it was able to define a number of broad objectives (LDDC, 1987a). The former Chief Executive, Reg Ward, summarised its remit as being, "to bring land and buildings into effective use, stimulate existing and new industry and commerce, create an attractive environment, and ensure the right housing and social facilities were created to encourage people to live and work in the area" (Ward 1986, p.117).

The LDDC was equipped with a strong combination of power, incentives and money, but its strategy gives a leading role in the regeneration process to the private sector. The intention is to use public sector investment, a less bureaucratic planning system and a number of incentives to provide the necessary framework that will "prime the pump for private investment" (LDDC 1984 p.7). Thus the LDDC is meant to lever private investment into the area and achieve an eventual public/private leverage ratio of 1 to 5 (LDDC 1982).

The LDDC has very wide-ranging powers with respect to land acquisition. Since 1981 vesting orders, compulsory purchase orders and purchase by agreement have allowed it to build up a substantial land bank in an area of large scale dereliction. The LDDC area contains 5,200 acres, 2,000 of which were derelict in 1981. By 1988 the LDDC had acquired 1,975 acres and disposed of 660 acres,

so that it still owned 1,316 acres (LDDC 1988a). The LDDC was also granted powers of planning approval for the area, although it is not the statutory plan making authority for the area². The LDDC Chief Executive claimed it has used its powers to become an "unbureaucratic, fast moving organisation ..with a flexible development plan" (Ward, 1986). The LDDC's control over the planning process is strengthened by the fact that it has a non-elected board appointed by and accountable to the Secretary of State for the Environment. In practice, therefore, the LDDC has been able to ignore both statutory local plans and locally elected councillors. The justification for this lack of democratic accountability was that the regeneration of Docklands is such a major task that "a single minded development agency" (LDDC 1984 p.6) was needed which could achieve the scale and speed of development required to regenerate Docklands, whereas a local authority would be distracted by the everyday and the wide responsibilities of local government. Also it was argued that since the regeneration of Docklands required "a level of funding that only the Exchequer can afford" (LDDC 1984 p.6) then central expenditure required a strong element of central control.

The flexible planning regime is one of the main incentives the LDDC have to offer potential investors. Others result from the designation of an Enterprise Zone in part of the Isle of Dogs (Figure 1.1). In 1987 there were 23 Enterprise Zones in Britain (DoE/Department of Employment 1987), each offering exemption from local authority rates, development land tax (before its abolition in 1985), and industrial training levies; plus 100 per cent capital allowances against income and corporation tax for capital expenditure on industrial and commercial buildings, and a relaxation of certain planning controls and government demands for statistics. These incentives, which are attractive to businesses in general, but particularly to developers (DoE 1987b), have made the Isle of Dogs a focus of commercial and industrial

redevelopment. Elsewhere in Docklands the majority of available sites have been used for the construction of private housing for sale. The LDDC's powers and incentives have been backed by considerable sums of money made available by the Treasury. Between 1981 and 1986 the LDDC was provided with £60-80 million per annum by the DoE, and in the financial year 1987/8 it received £128 million grant-in-aid. In addition, the LDDC is able to spend on regenerative projects a proportion of the money it receives from the proceeds of land disposal. These were small sums prior to 1985 but for the financial year 1986/7 amounted to nearly £30 million and for 1987/8 nearly £60 million (LDDC 1988a). This has allowed it to implement a strategy, which is largely based on land acquisition and disposal, marketing and infrastructure provision. Thus, between 1981 and 1986 the LDDC spent 77 per cent of its budget on land acquisition, reclamation and treatment (LDDC 1987b).³

To ensure an acceptable rate of take-up of land by the private sector the LDDC has spent heavily on infrastructure and image promotion. The completion of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) in 1987 at a cost of £77 million provided a once inaccessible part of East London with a light rapid transport facility (Figure 1.1). But the DLR has a symbolic as well as practical function. It connects Docklands directly to the City of London and allows the LDDC to claim that the DLR "proves the psychological point, consolidating Docklands' position in relation to the City and the rest of London...As such the railway will play a vital role ensuring the commercial success of the new business community" (LDDC, 1987b p.12). Promoting the advantages of the DLR has been part of a much larger marketing project that is designed to change perceptions of the area and, in the words of the Chief Executive give the impression that Docklands is "a most accessible place - a hub, at the centre of things." (Ward, 1986 p.118).

The type of strategy adopted by the LDDC has been referred to variously as 'demand-led planning', 'leverage planning' and 'pump-priming'. Hall (1988) argued that, while the LDDC's approach was "an extremely flexible one ...it has all the elements of traditional planning: a strong transportation infrastructure....strongly differentiated activity areas, functional land uses, a strong sense of townscape...even a mix of housing" (p.42). Whichever way the LDDC's approach is characterised, its emphasis on private sector investment and minimising bureaucratic procedure reflects the ideology of the current Conservative government. As Ambrose (1986) suggests in a study of Docklands "it is necessary to keep this ideological dimension in mind when analysing events" (p.225). Also its emphasis on land redevelopment and physical regeneration has remained at the forefront of its strategy. In 1983 the then Chairman Sir Nigel Broackes stressed the importance of physical redevelopment to the House of Commons Select Committee on the Environment when he stated that the LDDC had "a pretty good record in filling up the Isle of Dogs which is our first priority" (HMSO 1983 p.21). Five years later the same view was also put to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment, when DoE officials emphasised that physical regeneration was the LDDC's priority (HMSO 1988b).

3.2.2 LDDC - the success?

Tackling the problem of derelict and vacant land has been seen by some commentators as crucial to solving inner city problems (Chisholm 1983) and it is in these terms that the LDDC has been most successful. Young (1986) argued that it is possible to claim that UDCs are a "success - in their own limited terms" (p.449) and Wood (1986), while describing urban policy in London, refers to the "real success in some areas such as Docklands". The rapid rate of land development has meant that between 1981 and 1988 5.2 million square feet of commercial and

industrial floorspace had been completed and a further 5.9 million square feet were under construction, the majority of this in the Enterprise Zone (LDDC 1988a). The scale and pace of housing development exceeded even the LDDC's hopes. In 1982 the LDDC projected that 13,000 new homes would be built in Docklands by 1991 (LDDC 1982). By 1987 11,975 dwellings were complete or under construction, leading the LDDC to revise its target for 1991 to 25,000 (LDDC 1987b). Large 'catalyst' projects, major developments that attract further investment, are acknowledged to have played an important role in this process. For example, the recently opened London City Airport in the Royal Docks is perceived to have been particularly important as an influence future investments (Ward, 1986).

The scale and pace of development has resulted in the LDDC achieving its leverage targets. The £1.2 billion of private sector money invested in the area between 1981 and 1986 gave the LDDC a public/private leverage ratio of 1:6.4 (LDDC 1986). By 1988 private sector investment had reached £4.4 billion leading to a leverage ratio of 1:10 (LDDC 1988b). These calculations, however, exclude very large scale expenditure by other areas of government such as the Department of Transport which will have to fund the major road and public transport improvements necessary to serve the area. The LDDC recently requested an extra £600 million from the DoE for road improvements. More than £1.5 billion of public and private money has been earmarked for transport improvements and further expenditure may also be required (Chartered Surveyor Weekly 1.12.1988 p.66). This expenditure will certainly affect future leverage ratios.

The undoubted success of the LDDC in making Docklands an attractive location for private sector investment is indicated by the enormous size of proposed future developments. Olympia and York, a Canadian property company, are to construct a 10 million square feet development of mainly office space at Canary

Wharf on the Isle of Dogs (Figure 1.1). This proposal is believed to have created a "bow-wave of momentum" (LDDC 1987b) that resulted in three major proposals being put forward in 1987 by developers for the Royal Docks. These adjoining schemes, if implemented, would result in the construction of nearly 9 million square feet of space that would include office, high technology, retail and leisure land uses. However, in September 1988 it was announced that for one of the three proposed developments, the LDDC and the developers had been unable to agree terms on land disposal and the scheme had been withdrawn (Chartered Surveyor Weekly 6.10.1988 p.5)

The collapse of this development is perhaps indicative that the pace of development in Docklands may slow down in the next few years. If all the proposed developments in Docklands were built there would be nearly 30 million square feet of office floorspace and 5 million square feet of other floorspace in the area by the end of the century (Applied Property Research (APR) 1988). This would provide the space to accommodate 120,000 office jobs and 40,000 other jobs (APR 1988). Recently, however, organisations monitoring the property market in Docklands have been questioning whether development on this scale will ever occur. The stock market crash on October 19th 1987 led to job losses in certain City activities but not a major decline. However, it did lead to a slowing down in office space demand in the City of London and the West End (Estates Times 24.2.1989 p.26). Many of the major developments in Docklands were hoping to benefit from firms relocating from central London and the City. Therefore, some commentators have argued that take-up of new space in Docklands will be slow and the market will take time to mature (Knight Frank and Rutley 1988). Consequently, detailed predictions of future employment levels in newly built space have been reduced to a more conservative 60,000 office jobs and 20,000 other jobs (APR 1988). But even if the future is less optimistic, credit must be given to the LDDC in that it has been able to

obtain unused and underused sites and turn them into attractive development opportunities for the private sector.

3.2.3 The LDDC - the controversy and the need for labour market analysis

Despite the sheer speed and scale of development the LDDC remains a contentious policy instrument. Early criticism was focussed on the undemocratic nature of the LDDC (Colenutt and Lowe 1981). Opposition has come from both the local authorities and long-established community groups. Additional criticism has concentrated on the lack of social and economic impact of the regeneration process on residents of the surrounding communities. The House of Commons Select Committee on Employment in a recent enquiry into UDCs heard conflicting evidence on this issue, but eventually the Conservative-dominated Committee recommended that UDCs should be charged "with greater responsibility for ensuring the communities both in the areas covered by UDCs and in the neighbouring areas benefit from regeneration" (HMSO 1988a p.xxv). Parkinson (1988) examined these issues in a comparison of the achievements of the the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC) and the LDDC according to three criteria of efficiency, accountability and equity. Efficiency was measured in terms of physical regeneration and private sector leverage, accountability by relations with local authorities and communities, and equity by the distribution of the benefits of regeneration. Parkinson concluded that the LDDC has been particularly successful in efficiency terms but from the point of view of accountability and equity "the LDDC record is particularly problematic" whereas the MDC "has a less controversial record' (Parkinson 1988 p.27).

One way that local residents can benefit from regeneration is through labour market changes or labour market policy. So an analysis of the causes of change in

the Docklands labour market will provide a practical contribution to the debate on the LDDC's economic and social effectiveness.

The Government clearly feels that the LDDC is a useful agent for inner-city regeneration. Recently new UDCs have been set up in Trafford Park (Greater Manchester), Manchester Central, Tyne and Wear, the Black Country (West Midlands), Teeside, Cardiff, Bristol, Sheffield and the extent of the MDC area has been extended. However, previous urban policy initiatives have been beset by a number of problems. Cheshire (1987) described urban policy as "political in the meanest sense of the word; point scoring and sweeping damaging issues under the carpet rather than seriously confronting them" (p.22). Robson (1987) identified a number of reasons why urban policy has failed to confront the economic and social problems of urban areas which include: poor targetting of initiatives on inner city residents, especially in terms of employment so that in many policy areas unemployment remains relatively high; a lack of coherence of different measures; government decisions, such as in respect of defence expenditure, which counteract the effect of urban policy; and contradictions between economic and social goals. It is important, therefore, to examine if the LDDC has overcome any of these problems and whether the extension of the UDC experiment to other cities is likely to tackle the problems of these urban areas.

3.2.4 Explanations of economic change in London Docklands

The contentious nature of LDDC policy has ensured considerable research by academics and other organisations on recent change. But this research has concentrated on certain issues to the neglect of others so that the causes of change remain unclear. The continued decline in traditional industries in Docklands has attracted attention. Much of the research on this issue, however,

has been mainly concerned with decline in the 1970's. In the five East London boroughs (the three Docklands boroughs and Greenwich and Lewisham) for example, employment fell by 10.1 per cent from 601,434 to 540,469 between 1971 and 1978, a rate of decline significantly greater than for Greater London as a whole (see Table 4.1). This comprised a 31 per cent decline in manufacturing and a 0.6 per cent growth in services. The lack of service sector growth occurred because of a decline in transport and communication jobs, mainly due to dock closure, which cancelled out growth in other service industries.

A variety of explanations have been offered to account for the decline in the Docklands and East London economy. Hardy (1983) outlines how overprovision in the Victorian period created future problems of profitability for the docks which were exacerbated by changing trade patterns and transport technology. The importance of technological change is stressed by Palmer (1986) who argues that it "is rightly invoked as the prime factor in the move of the Port downriver" (p.7). Writers with a structural interpretation, however, stress that the influence of technology must not be seen in deterministic isolation. Instead, it is argued that new technology stemmed from the capitalist nature of the shipping industry. It was introduced in an attempt to halt the decline in profits resulting from changing trade patterns that benefited ports on the European mainland and increased competition from other ports in the United Kingdom such as Dover and Felixstowe (Open University 1982). The gradual closure of the dock system between 1967 and 1981 has also been attributed to dock labour militancy (Oram 1970) but very little evidence exists of comparative labour costs between London and other ports. A DoE (1980) report provides evidence of the greater productivity at container terminals and wharves on the Thames compared to the Docks. But it is also claimed that the comparative cost advantage of certain European Ports stemmed not from

labour costs but government subsidy (National Ports Council 1974). Short sighted management by the Port of London Authority (PLA) is also blamed for dock closure (GLC 1985b). But Palmer (1986) argues that the PLA's choice of strategy was severely limited by its losses and a change of approach would have required substantial government support.

The loss of the docks also led to the closure of some dock-dependent companies. The scale of this negative multiplier effect is, however, open to debate. The Joint Docklands Action Group (JDAG 1979), a community pressure group, used information from a number of establishment surveys to claim that each dock job lost led to three further losses. However, an earlier and more detailed survey of 334 employing establishments found that only 11 per cent of firms felt proximity to the Docks was important and only 7 said they would close if the docks closed (London Docklands Study Team 1973). Perhaps more important in terms of local job losses has been the large multinational employers restructuring their operations and dis-investing in Docklands (Church and Hall 1986). Canning Town Community Development Project (1975) found that in the area around the Royal Docks 75 per cent of the 11,500 industrial jobs lost between 1966 and 1972 could be attributed to the actions of 6 multi-national companies. Increased competition and falling profits in combination with the local factors of ageing plant and the demand for land from other uses, led these firms to reduce their activities in Docklands and look for better rates of profit elsewhere. This restructuring argument has now been widely applied throughout East London to account for manufacturing job loss (Docklands Forum 1982, GLC 1985b, Tower Hamlets, Southwark and West Ham Trades Council 1982, Southwark Trades Union Support Unit 1984 and 1986). But the Southwark Trades Union Support Unit (1986) concluded that this process was slowing down because "the multinationals have nearly done their worst - there being not much left to close" (p.8).

Far less evidence has been collected to examine the applicability of the location constraint explanation of urban manufacturing decline (Fothergill et. al. 1987). Howick and Key (1982) surveyed 109 establishments in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in 1979 and found that the physical capacity of sites affected 21 per cent of all establishments and concluded that "the major supply-side constraint experienced by manufacturing plants in Tower Hamlets is lack of space for expansion" (p.182). More recent surveys have argued that the provision of industrial floorspace and land is sufficient for the demands of existing and new firms (London Borough of Newham 1982). Indeed, the LDDC in its evidence to the public enquiry into the London City Airport in 1983 argued that the loss of industrial space caused by the construction of the airport would not harm the economy of East London, where in 1982 there were 9.8 million square feet of vacant industrial and warehousing space (DoE 1985). Clearly, the rapid contraction of manufacturing in Docklands was not the outcome of some precise process, rather a combination of international, national and local factors resulting in rapid deindustrialisation. But it should be stressed that most research to date has been concerned with the late 1970's and early 1980's. So far there has been no detailed analysis of the extent to which the decline of manufacturing in Docklands has continued throughout the 1980's.

Equally, the expansion of certain parts of the service sector in the LDDC area and the Docklands Boroughs (see Tables 4.2 to 4.6) has received little attention. There is, however, passing mention in wider studies of the service sector. Daniels (1987) notes that the increased demand for office space in the City of London resulting from deregulation "has rejuvenated the economic prospects of east London Docklands" (p. 437). Parkinson (1988) also notes the importance of change in the City to the regeneration of Docklands but there is no indication as to just how exactly the City has affected the area.

Detailed studies of the service sector have been mainly concerned with the effect of offices on the local property market and economy. Research from a structural viewpoint has attempted to explain this office development as the outcome of a capitalist property industry based on landownership and the search for speculative profits (Open University 1982). But there is a lack of analysis into the sectoral characteristics of firms occupying new office blocks and the changes in these firms that have led to a willingness to locate in Docklands. Wood (1984) has explored the potential for the development of new producer service industries in Docklands. Generally, however, there has been no significant attempt to analyse the actual changes that have occurred in the Docklands service sector in the 1980's. This thesis, therefore, whilst not being primarily a study of local firms, will through its analysis of changes in labour demand start to fill in some of the gaps in our understanding of the changing Docklands economy in the 1980's. The results will outline in some detail the sectoral shifts in the local economy and indicate the causes of the decline in manufacturing and growth in services that has occurred since the LDDC was designated.

3.2.5 Explaining the role of the state in Docklands

The LDDC, however, is not the first attempt to regenerate the local economy and change its local labour market. Concern for the area's plight in the 1970s led to a number of political initiatives. The London Dockland Study Team, set up in 1971, was commissioned by the then Conservative government strategically to assess the area's problems and development potential. The following Labour administration funded a specially constituted strategic planning authority. The Docklands Joint Committee (DJC), established in 1974, was made up of representatives from central, metropolitan and local government, and the local community. It successfully completed a comprehensive,

land use, needs-oriented plan for the area, the London Docklands Strategic Plan. However, public-sector expenditure cuts, a lack of power for acquiring land and political in-fighting meant that the DJC's operational programme was soon behind schedule and many plans remained simply as plans⁴. The establishment of the LDDC in 1981 after the Conservative election victory of 1979 marked the start of a very different era of Dockland redevelopment in East London.

The recent theoretical debates within human geography are reflected in the attempts to explain the nature of the LDDC and its policies. A number of authors have linked the establishment of the LDDC to the changing nature of a capitalist economy. For Newman and Mayo (1981) the LDDC was an attempt to suppress community involvement in the development process, as part of the wider aim of the state to assist the restructuring of the economy in capital's favour. In a similar vein Cooke (1983) claimed that "what the state, through its planning system, is obliged to undertake under the conditions of late capitalism is to enable capital to take advantage of inherited patterns of uneven development" (p. 240) and he outlines five strategies used by the state to meet its obligation to capital. The most recent of these strategies is recycling which is typified by policies designed to allow capital to reuse, on its terms, workers from marginalised and underclass groups. An example of recycling "is the inner-city regeneration measure which is administered by Urban Development Corporations such as the London Docklands scheme. Here, a strongly privatistic planning approachresponsible to the central state, seeks to recycle the redundant inner-city labour force back into productive activity through a mixture of notoriously exploitative service employment (tourism, catering, entertainment etc.) and the ubiquitous small business" (Cooke 1983 p.248).

The view that state policies are a response to spatially uneven development is also accepted by Duncan

and Goodwin (1988) who view spatial state initiatives as a response to contradictory forces that demand different types of development in particular areas. From this perspective the LDDC can be explained as the result of the centralising policies of national government in the 1980's which are designed to diminish the role and influence of local government so that development reflects the demands by capital on central, rather than local, government (Duncan and Goodwin 1988). The importance of this political dimension is emphasised by Ambrose (1986) who claims that events in Docklands in the 1980's are the outcome of the conflicts and similarities between the aims of six interest groups: central government in the guise of the LDDC, land owners, commercial developers, volume housebuilders, local residents and local planning authorities.

The political economy of the LDDC and London Docklands, therefore, has received considerable attention from writers attempting to use theoretical concepts to explain the changes in the area. Many of these studies are based on extensive interviews with LDDC employees and local politicians (see for example Goodwin 1986, Duncan and Goodwin 1988, Brownill 1988). However, very few have gone a stage further and attempted an explanation of the economic and social changes that have actually occurred since the LDDC's designation in 1980. This is partly because up to about 1984 the changes in Docklands, especially in the local economy, were quite limited and general trends had only just started to emerge. Furthermore, it is only recently that detailed data on change has started to become available. But generally, previous descriptions of ~~of~~ economic and social change are brief and cursory. Klausner (1986), for example, used the history of redevelopment policy in Docklands to support his view that studies of the impact of state policy on local class relations must take account of the links between the sphere of consumption and production, rather than analysing them separately. His analysis of the

effect of LDDC policy is based on the results of two surveys, both of new residents in the same housing development in 1982, which may, or may not, be representative of the many other housing developments that have been built since then. Klausner (1986) concluded that local needs in Docklands were being ignored by policies pursued for the benefit of capital and that "LDDC policies demonstrate the pivotal importance of links between the spheres. Docklands demonstrate the vulnerability of a locality to a concerted two-sphere attack" (Klausner 1986 p.38). This conclusion is backed up to a limited extent by the housing data for the consumption sphere. However, it is also based upon the stated nature of LDDC policies for the production sphere, interpreted as the local economy, rather than on any evidence on how policies are affecting the economy in reality. In other words, it is assumed that policy impact will reflect policy intention.

A lack of information on the nature of change in the local economy can also result in explanations of change that are narrowly focussed on one or two causes of change with other factors neglected. For example, Klausner (1986) sees the LDDC as an agent of restructuring capital and argues that "in Docklands central government emerges as a major agent of change in helping private capital articulate and solidify its rendering of a new meaning to a locality" (Klausner 1986 p.38). But nowhere in Klausner's article is it clear how or why, apart from the pursuit of profit, capital wishes to bring 'a new meaning' to the reality. So that these other forces affecting the area remain largely unspecified and the state, in the form of the LDDC, appears to be the key cause of change.

Goodwin (1988) attempted to get round this problem, in very general terms, when he tries to explain change in London Docklands in terms of the relationship between general processes and local structures. But the general processes he identifies as stimulating change in Docklands are de-industrialisation creating derelict land and the

geographical changes within the global location of white collar jobs. The latter are typified by decentralised routine jobs and centralised control and professional jobs. The centralisation creates the demand for new office space in the centre of cities (Goodwin 1988). But such a broad explanation implies that Docklands will be on the one hand, an industrial wasteland deserted by the manufacturing industry. On the other an area where new jobs will be in offices dominated by control functions. In fact, many long standing manufacturing plants are still in the area. Furthermore, they have been joined by some recent arrivals in the manufacturing sector and a range of service sector industries, not just control functions, have recently expanded in the area. Also, with this approach a different type of problem can occur whereby the local consequences of change are generalised from these broad forces. As a result Goodwin (1988) concludes that because many new jobs in Docklands will be high grade white collar jobs, "the people of Docklands whose manual skills once provided the foundation for the hub of a trading empire, can now only enter the local labour market on the menial periphery" (Goodwin 1988 p.19). This is a similar conclusion to Cooke's (1983) belief that the LDDC will be recycling existing labour in exploitative industries. As will be shown later, the variety of forces affecting the local labour market, other than just the LDDC, means that the experiences of local people are more varied than these broad conclusions suggest.

3.2.6 Policy analysis in London Docklands

But this lack of depth to any of the theoretically guided studies of the economic changes in Docklands, does not imply a shortage of policy analysis trying to assess the economic impact of the LDDC's policies. Many of these studies have been undertaken on the Isle of Dogs (see Figure 1.1). This is because, the Isle of Dogs has been the focus of commercial and industrial development in

Docklands since 1982 when the area was designated as an Enterprise Zone. Indeed, a DoE report in 1986 indicated that the number of firms in the Isle of Dogs Enterprise Zone had risen from 105 to 270 between 1981 and 1986 which resulted in an increase in the number of jobs in the area from 641 to 3,700 (DoE 1986b). A more recent study revealed that the exemption from rates was by far the most important incentive in the Isle of Dogs, with 93 per cent of firms in the zone judging it to be the most beneficial measure (DoE 1987b). However, this report also estimated that only 45 per cent of firms in the Isle of Dogs Enterprise Zone represent additional firms that have been attracted by the incentives on offer (DoE 1987b).

The impact of the Enterprise Zone in the Isle of Dogs has been criticised from a number of perspectives. In terms of tackling local unemployment, a local community group surveyed 1,400 jobs in firms in the Enterprise Zone and claimed that only 28 were filled by local residents from the Isle of Dogs (Association of Island Communities 1985). The same criticism of a lack of local recruitment by new firms was made by the Isle of Dogs Neighbourhood Committee, London Borough of Tower Hamlets (1987), using a survey of 277 firms on the Isle of Dogs. This survey found that of employees in firms established in the Isle of Dogs after 1981, 5.5 per cent lived in the Isle of Dogs and 13 per cent in the whole of the surrounding borough of Tower Hamlets, compared to 21 per cent and 35 per cent respectively, in firms established before 1981.

Empirical policy output studies have also analysed economic change in the LDDC area as a whole. The LDDC itself in its annual reports provides figures of total employment change. Between 1981 and 1987 the total number of jobs in the LDDC area had risen from 27,213 to 36,385 (LDDC 1988a). These figures based on an analysis of the 1981 Census of Employment and a survey of employing establishments between 1986 and 1987, are claimed to indicate that "the regeneration effort began to take effect" (LDDC 1988a, p.4).

Political opponents have argued that aggregate figures hide important changes within the local economy. For example, the Docklands Consultative Committee (DCC), an organisation that represents four of the five East London boroughs, claimed few jobs created are actually new jobs and most are transferred from elsewhere. Consequently, there is little net growth in the Docklands economy (DCC 1988). The DCC used data from the answers to Parliamentary questions which showed that of the 7,897 jobs that came to Docklands between 1981 and 1986, 5,059 were transfers from elsewhere and 2,838 were new to the local economy. They went on to argue that since "according to information provided by the LDDC some 7,000 jobs have been lost in Docklands since 1981 as a result of firm closures, relocations and redundancies. Thus, there has been a net loss of over 4,000 jobs since the inception of the LDDC" (DCC 1988 p.19). A similar but slightly scaled down claim was put by the London Borough of Southwark. They measured the scale of job loss by the 3,350 notified redundancies in the LDDC area and argued that there was a net loss of 500 jobs in the LDDC area between 1981 and 1987 (HMSO 1988b).

This type of empirical data certainly provides ammunition for those involved in the political debates over the appropriate direction of LDDC policy. But again this type of analysis is vulnerable to the same mistakes as some of the theoretical work. The LDDC becomes viewed as the main, and sometimes only, agent of change in the local economy. This means that the restructuring of the local economy is explained in only very general terms and the other influences operating on the local labour market are largely ignored. Indeed, there is an interesting paradox in some of the arguments of the LDDC's opponents. Although the LDDC is viewed as the main cause of job growth and job loss, it is accredited with no influence on the local labour market because it has failed to reduce unemployment or provide jobs for local residents. In fact, most policy analysis of the LDDC's economic effects,

like the theoretical analysis, ignores a number of the forces causing change in the local economy and labour market. In particular, there has been no detailed analysis of the effect of LDDC policy on labour supply apart from the studies examining the recruitment of local residents to new firms in Docklands. But the labour supply in Docklands is subject to other influences besides the local labour demand and any examination of policy impact on the labour supply must incorporate these other forces of change.

So the understanding of recent change in Docklands remains limited. The continuing decline in the manufacturing sector has been partly explained by some of the earlier work on job loss in the area. Studies from a number of theoretical perspectives have examined the national and, to a lesser extent, the local political influences on the emergence of the LDDC and its policies. Policy analysis of LDDC output has begun to describe, rather than explain, the effects of the LDDC on the local economy and local labour market. But equally much is still left unexplained. Job loss has continued in the mid 1980's and whilst some of the explanations of the early 1980's may still be relevant, it is equally possible that other forces operating at different spatial scales may have taken their place by the mid-1980s. LDDC policies for regeneration have received considerable attention, but research has tended to focus on the LDDC's approach to physical redevelopment and its belief that economic regeneration will follow as a consequence. However, the LDDC has devised a number of initiatives directly aimed at job creation and labour market intervention. It is necessary, therefore, to specify the nature of these policies and examine if they are a factor causing change locally, in addition to the physical regeneration promoted by other LDDC policies. Also these economic and labour market policies will be one of many causes of change and it is necessary to avoid the implication of other work that the LDDC is the main agent of change. It is almost

certainly true that the LDDC is an important influence but it is also necessary to take account of the other factors causing change in labour demand and labour supply. These other factors have been rather cursorily dealt with to date. But although there is clearly a need for an evaluation of change in the Docklands labour market, such a study will face numerous difficulties.

3.3 The problems of evaluating labour market policy in London Docklands

Chapter 2 described the five hindrances to an evaluation of spatial economic policy of dead-weight, displacement, duration, distribution and duplication identified by Lever and Moore (1986). They all apply to an assessment of labour market policy in London Docklands but there are some additional problems as well. For the LDDC area it would be almost impossible to measure the dead-weight, policy-off situation (what would have happened without the LDDC). Docklands has been subject to previous central and local government policy initiatives and their effect has never been analysed in detail. Also the LDDC area is a relatively small area in which the economy can be markedly altered by a few major establishment closures or openings. This means that using regional or national economic trends to represent 'policy-off' and then comparing these to local events could be a very misleading exercise. However, one of the aims of measuring 'policy-off' is to ensure the impact of policy is not over-estimated. This project attempts to do this in a different way by taking account of other forces which have affected the local labour market, so that the impact of policy is not exaggerated.

The displacement effects of policy will be particularly hard to assess in the case of the LDDC. For example its policies to stimulate labour demand through assistance to companies in Docklands may alter the market conditions unfavourably for competitor companies outside

the area. But the area is part of a large metropolitan area in which many other forces may cause such a situation to arise. The difficulty of estimating local economic displacement effects is illustrated by a recent study of Enterprise Zones. In order to examine the effects of Enterprise Zone property incentives on local property markets, the study went to great lengths to compare like with like, collecting comparable data by age, type, use and size on properties inside and outside zones (DoE 1987b). The large data requirements for estimating displacement are simply beyond the financial and time budgets of this study which focusses on the targets of policy and is unable to consider some of the unintended displacement effects of the LDDC.

Since this thesis analyses the impact of LDDC policy between 1981 and 1987 using a variety of data collected between 1985 and 1987 it also has to confront the problem of duration. Wood (1986) argues that "Docklands is certainly being transformed, but it is too early to judge the significance of this change for the economy of London or the welfare of Londoners" (Wood 1986 p.72). In addition, the proponents of the LDDC would claim, quite legitimately, that the scale of dereliction and decline in Docklands prior to 1980 means that the task of regeneration was inevitably a long term process and there is a danger of premature assessment. However, a number of the key trends in the redevelopment of the area have already been established. It is certainly possible to assess the role of policy and other forces in causing these trends. It will be shown as well, that the trends in Docklands have been established long enough to consider first, how the labour market has started to respond, and second, the determinants of this response.

A further duration related problem is caused by the fact that LDDC policy is, of course, dynamic and has changed during the years of this analysis. However, as is described below in the section 3.4, the analysis of policy evolution and implementation was a continual piece of

research that was on-going throughout the whole period of the study. This meant that changes in policy could be analysed and where possible incorporated in the research that followed.

The spatial location of the LDDC area also creates problems for the selection of spatial and individual criteria for assessing the distributional effects of policy. The 8 square miles of Docklands is strongly integrated with the wider London and regional labour market. The three Docklands boroughs experience considerable levels of in and out-commuting (see Table 4.7). Therefore, the effects of any policy initiatives are likely to be dispersed throughout London and the whole South East region. As a result, the use of any smaller spatial area for the evaluation will be somewhat arbitrary and not include all the effects of policy. However, there are two reasons for selecting a smaller spatial area in which to evaluate policy. First, the theoretical and methodological difficulties of separating out the influence of LDDC policy in a large spatial area are immense. Second, many LDDC labour market initiatives are targetted primarily on the Urban Development Area (see Figure 1.1) and also on the surrounding three Docklands boroughs. So, although it is not ideal given the way labour markets operate in London, the spatial and individual impacts of policy will be assessed mainly within the LDDC area but also on the boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Newham and Southwark.

Within these two spatial areas, however, there is a major problem of the duplication of policy impact. A number of other agencies have been implementing measures some with and some without LDDC assistance. Indeed, the LDDC has often tried to encourage other organisations to instigate labour market policies rather than take action itself. Therefore, it is necessary to take some account of the effect of other labour market measures when evaluating LDDC policy.

The indirect pursuit by the LDDC of policy aims through the encouragement of other agencies indicates the problem of specifying LDDC labour market policy aims. The intentions of certain measures are spelt out in Annual reports or Corporate Plans, whereas the concerns of other initiatives are less easy to pin down. Therefore, a prerequisite for an analysis of policy impact in Docklands will be research on the process of policy evolution and implementation, like that undertaken by Davis et al. (1984). This is necessary to establish the aims of the various initiatives. As a result, a further problem for spatial policy analysis, that of definition might be added to Lever and Moore's (1986) list of potential problems.

The difficulties raised by these policy analysis problems for an evaluation of the LDDC, indicate that a complete analysis of labour market change and policy in even just the LDDC area is an enormous task. An analysis of the nature and effect of policy on all the elements and relationships in the conceptual model would therefore clearly be a major research project. A full examination of the determinants of changes in labour demand would on its own require an in-depth survey of firms in the LDDC area. Equally, the effect of policy and other forces on the local labour supply would necessitate a detailed study of all the different types of workers resident in the area. These surveys would also have to be supported by research on the intentions and activities of all policy agencies.

Nevertheless, the need for a study of LDDC labour market policy has been demonstrated earlier. The next section sets out the methodology for such a study. The methodology is guided by the conceptual model developed at the start of the Chapter. This means that the evaluation of policy impact is rigorous and pays considerable attention to the other forces of change in the labour market. As a result, the analysis makes a useful contribution to the understanding of economic change in London Docklands.

3.4 Methodology

The conceptual model of the labour market (Figure 3.1) provides the structure for this analysis and a variety of methodological techniques are used to study the effect of policy on different elements and relationships in the labour market. In order to analyse a number of different aspects of the Docklands labour market a considerable number of primary and secondary data sources were utilised. The primary data collected for this thesis was based on three questionnaire surveys, one of employing establishments in Docklands, one of the residents of newly built owner occupied housing in the area, and one of young adults who had previously been pupils at the only secondary school in Docklands. Other primary data was gathered through participant observation and interviews in policy organisations to assess the aims and evolution of policy.

The questionnaire surveys of employing establishments and new residents, however, were conducted by other researchers as well as the author. Involvement with these two studies was considered useful for two reasons. First, primary data was being collected that was relevant to the aims of this thesis. Involvement in these two projects allowed access to the raw data which could then be specifically analysed to study the effect of LDDC policy and other forces in the labour market. Second, involvement also allowed the author to determine the nature of some of the primary data obtained. Both projects were extensive pieces of research, and this generated large amounts of primary data for this study that would not otherwise have been collected. Furthermore, some of the data gathered in this way was original to the thesis project since it was additional to the other projects; was collected purely for the purposes of this thesis; and was not analysed by the researchers undertaking the other projects. The next section outlines the nature of these two surveys and also describes the

methods and aims of a third questionnaire survey undertaken solely by the author.

3.4.1 Questionnaire survey of employing establishments.

The survey of employing establishments was part of a larger project studying the wider labour market effects of the Youth Training Scheme and the Young Workers Scheme in the London Borough of Newham in 1984/5 and 1985/6. This project was administered by Dr. G. Hutchinson, Department of Economics, Queen Mary College, London University⁵. It involved a face-to-face questionnaire survey with 200 employing establishments in the London borough of Newham. Each establishment was interviewed twice in an 18 month period to produce a longitudinal data set. The first set of interviews are referred to as round one interviews and the second set as round two.

53 of the firms were in the part of Newham that is within the LDDC area and these interviews were conducted by the author. Since the survey was concerned with the wider labour market effects of one SEM (the Young Workers Scheme) and one STM (YTS) targetted on young people it generated a considerable amount of data on the employment of young people and training provision within establishments. Nevertheless, it also produced information on a number of other characteristics of the surveyed establishments. In addition, in order to explore the effect of LDDC policies, an additional questionnaire concerning the labour market effects of new Docklands residents in owner-occupied housing was devised by the author and inserted in the main questionnaire for the 53 Docklands firms (See Appendix 1 for both the main and additional questionnaire in both rounds of interviews).

Both the main and additional questionnaires were piloted in a survey of 12 establishments in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Some major changes were made to the additional questionnaire after the pilot. Originally establishments were asked general questions about

recruitment methods and the residential locations of employees but these questions obtained only vague answers. It was decided, therefore, to focus on recruitment methods and residential locations for new recruits rather than for all employees. This was more fruitful since information was obtained on new recruits in the main questionnaire and firms were able easily to provide further accurate answers by consulting the files on recent recruits. The revised additional questionnaire was piloted on four firms in the Docklands area of Tower Hamlets and found to be acceptable.

Together the two questionnaires collected information on a number of variables relevant to this study, including the following key components by establishment:

- recent changes in employment levels and the causes of change;
- establishment industry type, ownership, work organisation;
- recruitment methods, selection criteria, recruitment problems;
- characteristics of most recent recruits;
- the labour market effects of LDDC housing policy and the residents of new owner-occupied housing;
- use of Apprenticeships and YTS.

There is one important point to make about some of the employment data collected by the sample. Since the survey was primarily designed to analyse the impact of an SEM and an STM targetted at youths, a number of the questions were focussed on youth workers. Therefore, some of the detailed data on for example recruitment, was only collected for occupations within establishments that could, in theory, be done by youths. These occupational categories usually included the majority of an establishments workforce but excluded professional, managerial, and some technical occupations. It also excluded occupations where youths cannot legally be

employed. Whenever the data used in this analysis is only for occupations that could be done by youths, it is made clear. However, it should be stressed that much of the general employment information collected referred to the whole establishment.

A disproportional random stratified sample of firms was selected from the lists of firms in the 1981 employment census (the latest available at the time) and also from lists of firms established after 1981 gained from various sources. The sample was stratified into four employment size groups (10 and under, 11-49, 50-199, 200 and over employees) and four industry groups (manufacturing, construction, services with a high proportion of non-manual employees and services with a low proportion of non-manual employees). The sample was disproportional because it was designed to give greater emphasis to large establishments in order to ensure that there were enough large firms to provide reasonable numbers in each of the industry/size groups. This was useful from the point of view of this study since it meant that the nearly all the largest private sector employers in Docklands at the time were included in the survey. Also many of the new firms selected were from the recently established industrial estates in the Docklands part of Newham which allowed a comparison of the characteristics of firms established before and after the LDDC was designated.

The questionnaire answers were coded onto a separate coding sheet devised for use in all the five survey labour markets. The data for Newham was computerised at Queen Mary College and the analysis for this project was done by the author using the SPSS-X package. The characteristics of the total sample of 200 firms have been described elsewhere (Hutchinson et. al. 1985, Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). The main features of the sample of 53 firms in the Docklands part of Newham are summarised in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

TABLE 3.1
Sample establishments: by size
and broad industry category

Broad industry category	Size				Total
	1 - 10	11 - 49	50 - 199	200+	
Manufacturing	5	4	7	6	22
Construction	-	2	1	-	3
Services - high proportion of non-manuals	4	2	1	-	7
Services - low proportion of non-manuals	10	4	5	2	21
Total	19	12	14	8	53

TABLE 3.2
Sample establishments: by age

	Number of establishments
Under 3 years	20
3 - 5 years	4
5 - 20 years	19
Over 20 years	10
Total	53

Due to non-responses, gone-aways and refusals a total of 75 firms had to be selected from the 1981 census of employment and the lists of new firms to obtain a sample in the first round of interviews of 55. In the second round of interviews 2 firms refused to be re-interviewed and were excluded from the analysis. This gave a total sample of 53 establishments. By industry the sample firms split almost evenly with 25 being in manufacturing or construction and 28 in the service sector. There are 31 firms with less than 50 employees and 22 with more than 50. The sectoral breakdown in Table 3.3 shows the firms are concentrated into certain categories. Food, drink and tobacco is the largest manufacturing category and over two-thirds of the service sector firms are in the Distributive trades or Transport. This reflects the character of the local economy in Newham Docklands.

It should be noted that the questionnaire was confidential. Therefore, when sample firms are referred to they are not usually named. However in some larger firms respondents agreed to be named. Also some of the questionnaire data has become public knowledge by other means. Thus in a few cases the firms are named. Although a sample of 53 firms is quite small, it is nevertheless a useful sample for two reasons. First, it provides data relating to over a quarter of the jobs in Docklands and information on the major demanders of labour in the area. Total employment in the 53 firms amounts to 8,073 jobs and the 8 firms with more than 200 employees were, at the time, the eight largest private sector employers in Docklands. The LDDC 1985 census estimated total employment in Newham Docklands to be 9,746 and 28,000 in the whole of Docklands. Second, as Table 3.2 shows 24 of the 53 firms were established in 1981 or after, which allows some meaningful comparisons to be made between firms that are new to the area and older firms that are often declining in terms of employment. Thus, the survey provides detailed data at establishment level that can be

TABLE 3.3
Sample establishments: by
standard industry category

Category	1980 Standard Industrial Classification	number of establishments
04	Mineral oil processing	1
06	Gas, electricity and water	1
08	Metal manufacture	1
10	Chemical industry	2
12	Manufacture of metal goods	1
13	Mechanical engineering	5
20	Food, drink and tobacco	8
22	Leather, footwear and clothing	1
24	Paper, printing and publishing	2
26	Construction	3
27	Wholesale and distribution	6
28	Retail distribution	8
31	Transport	6
33	Insurance, banking, finance and other services	1
34	Public administration and defence	2
35	Medical and other health services	1
36	Other services	4
	Total	53

used to examine the impact of certain policy measures in the context of other factors that cause change in the Docklands labour market. Furthermore, the 53 firms were interviewed twice which allows the effect of policy over time to be examined.

3.4.2 Questionnaire survey of new residents.

A survey undertaken by the GLC provided the data on residents in newly built owner-occupied housing. The GLC Docklands housing survey, June 1984 (GLC 1985b), was administered by Mr. R. Williamson from the Industry and Employment department of the GLC. The aim was to obtain data through an interview survey on the socio-economic characteristics of the households in owner-occupied housing in Docklands constructed since 1981. The interviews were undertaken by the GLC and a total of 265 were completed in the parts of the LDDC area in Newham and Southwark. The author was involved in devising the contents of the questionnaire and was allowed to rework some of the results to analyse the findings for households in just the Newham part of Docklands (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the questionnaire). This survey collected a wide range of information, but the components useful to the aims of this project were:

- economic activity of household members, including occupation, place of work and household income;
- changes in occupation or place of work since locating in new housing;
- planned length of residence and intended next location.

The survey was conducted only on major new housing estates where the construction of housing for owner-occupation had been virtually completed. 7 estates were identified as being suitable for the survey, 4 in Newham and 3 in Southwark. A random sample of 300 addresses was prepared by GLC interviewers with the aim of surveying at least 250 households. 35 non-responses or refusals meant that a total of 265 households were interviewed, 225 in

Newham and 40 in Southwark. The data was coded and computerised by the GLC Industry and Employment Department.

The data used in this thesis is only from the 4 estates in Newham and the GLC provided special print-outs of the data for these estates. The reason for focusing on the estates in Newham was that the data was being collected, in part, to analyse the interaction between new residents and the local labour market. The survey of employing establishments in Newham was the main source of data on employers' attitudes and behaviour regarding new residents therefore it was more appropriate to analyse the labour market characteristics of new residents in Newham rather than in Southwark where new residents would be unlikely, due to the difficulty of access, to have much contact with firms in Newham. This data on 225 new households in Newham provided information on the economic activity of 225 heads of households and 173 partners which can be used to indicate how the local labour supply in Docklands has started to change and how the new residents interact with the local labour market.

3.4.3 Questionnaire survey of young adults.

In addition to primary data collected through involvement with other projects a further survey was undertaken on the labour market experiences of young people, conducted solely by the author in the summer of 1986. 151 individuals were interviewed, who were aged between 17 and 21 and had formerly been pupils at George Green school on the Isle of Dogs, which is the only secondary school in London Docklands. This was a cross-sectional survey, but it also collected data on the interviewees' labour market experiences over time by asking respondents to complete a calendar of their labour market history since leaving school. This data is used to examine the interaction between youth labour supply and LDDC policy initiatives. However, for analysing the

effects of labour market policy, longitudinal data can be particularly useful since it allows the measurement of the difference policy devices make over time, rather than just their impact at a specific point in time (Daniels 1981). In order to allow some longitudinal analysis to take place therefore, the sample of young people was selected so as to include a number of respondents who had taken part in a previous survey, so that the results of the two surveys could be compared.

This earlier survey had been undertaken between 1982 and 1984 by Mr. P. Ainley, a teacher at George Green school. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 91 ex-pupils of the school one year after they had left the school. This sample of 91 comprised 31 individuals who had reached statutory minimum school leaving age (SMSLA) in 1981 who were interviewed in 1981/2, 30 who had reached SMSLA in 1982 who were interviewed in 1982/3 and 30 who had reached SMSLA in 1983 who were interviewed in 1983/4. These respondents had been selected at random from mixed ability classes and were, therefore, representative of all levels of educational achievement. The results of these interviews were written up in a Ph.D thesis at Goldsmith's College, London University (Ainley 1986). The thesis was a sociological study of the transition process of young adults from school to work and used George Green school for the sake of convenience because Mr. Ainley was a teacher at the school. The study was far less concerned with the impact of policy than this project. Also the questionnaire was designed to obtain mainly qualitative data whereas the survey conducted by the author was designed to collect a considerable amount of quantitative data. Nevertheless, the results of the two surveys provided some opportunities for longitudinal analysis. The aim, therefore, was to re-interview as many of the original 91 as possible and compare the results from the two surveys. However, the original survey had not been coded for analysis on a computer. But Mr. Ainley's questionnaires were available and it was possible to code

the handwritten answers to allow statistical calculations to be made. They could then be compared to the results for the same respondents when they were interviewed for a second time in 1986. This generated longitudinal data for 69 individuals. However it was also the intention to make some general comparisons between the results of the first and second surveys. Therefore it was necessary to ensure that the sample characteristics were similar. When one of the original 91 respondents could not be contacted or refused to be interviewed they were replaced by an individual of the same gender and the same year with approximately similar educational qualifications. This process helped to maintain the characteristics of the original sample of 91. Additional respondents not interviewed in the first survey were selected from school class registers which also provided an address. Ensuring similarity of educational attainment with original respondents was made possible by access to school records.

In addition the sample was expanded using the names and addresses on the school class registers to a total of 151 respondents by interviewing 30 individuals who had reached SMSLA in 1984 and 30 who had reached SMSLA in 1985. These individuals were selected at random from 2 classes in each year apart from the males reaching SMSLA in 1985 who had to be picked from 3 classes. It was decided not to interview individuals who had reached SMSLA in 1985 and had stayed on into the sixth form, since they would have had no real labour market experience on which to base their answers. The sixth form was small that year and their exclusion did not alter the nature of the sample.

Therefore, in 1986 151 individuals were interviewed, who were aged between 17 and 21 and had left George Green school between 1981 and 1985. The total sample comprised 76 boys and 75 girls. Of the 91 interviewed between 1982 and 1984, 69 (75 per cent) were re-interviewed in 1986, to provide comparable data on individuals. But the method for replacing those not contacted meant that broad

comparisons could be drawn between the findings in the first and second surveys.

The response rates are given in Table 3.4 below. The rates are broken down by year and gender. For each of these groups a target number is given followed by the number of letters sent, the number of individuals with whom contact was made, and the number of refusals. Overall, 268 letters were sent, 204 individuals were contacted of whom 53 refused to be interviewed giving a response rate of 74 per cent. The 64 non-contacts do not mean that large numbers of ex-pupils had left the area. More often, individuals were busy or not at home when the author called to interview them and despite further visits a time for interview was never obtained. There were, however, problems tracing individuals who had changed address and it could be argued that the survey might be biased towards those living at the same address as that on the school register. Strenuous efforts were made to contact individuals who had moved with some considerable success since 35 (25 per cent) of respondents were interviewed at a different address to that given on the school register.

A response rate similar to that for the total sample was obtained for re-interviews. 69 (75 per cent) of the sample interviewed in 1982-84 were interviewed again in 1986 and the 22 non-responses included 9 refusals and 13 non-contacts. Replacements for the 22 non-reponses were obtained by sending 61 letters to individuals, 39 of whom were contacted to obtain 22 responses. Individuals not interviewed previously were more likely to refuse to be interviewed in 1986.

The questionnaire used was piloted on 20 young people contacted through a youth club in West London. Numerous design problems were revealed by this pilot. The questionnaire was re-drafted and re-piloted on a group of 11 young people contacted through the same youth club. This re-drafted questionnaire worked well and with a few minor alterations formed the final questionnaire. All the

TABLE 3.4
Sample of young adults : response rates.

Year	Gender	Target	Letters sent	Non-contact	Contact	Refusals	Interviews
1981	Male	17	17	3	14	1	13
in original sample							
1981	Male	4	14	8	6	2	4
not in original sample							
1981	Female	14	14	2	12	1	11
in original sample							
1981	Female	3	7	2	5	2	3
not in original sample							
1982	Male	14	14	2	12	2	10
in original sample							
1982	Male	4	16	5	11	7	4
not in original sample							
1982	Female	16	16	1	15	0	15
in original sample							
1982	Female	1	1	0	1	0	1
not in original sample							
1983	Male	15	15	3	12	3	9
in original sample							
1983	Male	6	11	2	9	3	6
not in original sample							
1983	Female	15	15	2	13	2	11
in original sample							
1983	Female	4	12	5	7	3	4
not in original sample							
1984	Male	15	28	10	18	3	15
1984	Female	15	19	2	17	2	15
1985	Male	15	41	10	31	16*	15
1985	Female	15	28	7	21	6	15
Totals		151	268	64	204	53	151
(not column total)							

* Includes 3 not eligible because in 6th form.
 In original survey indicates respondents interviewed previously
 by P. Ainley.

questions asked in the original survey between 1982 and 1984 were also contained in the 1986 questionnaire which was correspondingly extended to cover a number of other issues. The questionnaire was made up of 15 sections and a calendar for the respondents' labour market experience (see Appendix 3 for a copy of the questionnaire). Many of the questions were structured so as to obtain a quantifiable measure of attitudes and behaviour but there were also some open-ended questions that generated more qualitative data. In general, whenever respondents were asked about their attitudes on an issue further questions were designed to measure actual behaviour in relation to this issue, so that the results contained information not only on what young people thought but also on what they did. The key elements of the questionnaire were :

- family, educational and domestic characteristics;
- employment history generally and especially in the local area;
- job search behaviour and attitudes;
- attitudes and behaviour in respect of training and other policy initiatives.

The main aims of the survey of young adults was to examine the forces, especially policy, influencing the experiences of the labour supply and how the local labour supply had interacted with the changing local labour market. Clearly young people represent only a small portion of the local labour supply. There are, however, a number of theoretical and practical reasons for examining labour market change through the experiences of young people. Richardson and Lynch (1984) in a large study of youth unemployment in London argue that young people are "relatively uncontaminated" (1984 p.95) because they have not yet developed long-established skill labels. Therefore, studies of young people aiming to explain differences in labour market experiences do not have to take account of extensive variations in skill levels, since in this respect a group of young people will be relatively homogeneous. Also a sample of young people are

approximately the same age and so there is no need to take account of labour market differences stemming from age differences. Furthermore, relatively few young people are married or have dependants. So the affect of marital status and dependants on labour market behaviour of a sample is reduced, although for a small number they maybe a very important influence. Instead, Richardson and Lynch (1984) claim that the important factors affecting young peoples labour market experiences will be educational success, family background and race.

Since the aim of this thesis is to examine the affects of policy, a study of young people is a sensible way to proceed because there are fewer factors influencing their labour market experiences than for adults. Therefore, it will be easier to discern the impact of policy from the other causes shaping individual experiences. In fact, the sample of young people in Docklands are not only relatively homogen^eous in terms of acquired skills, age, marital status and numbers of dependents. But as will be shown in more detail in Chapter 7, the sample is homogen^eous in a number of other ways. Untypically for an inner city area, the catchment area of the school had remained mainly white working-class. In 1981 only 9 per cent of the population in the LDDC area lived in a household where the head was from the new Commonwealth or Pakistan (Census of Population 1981) despite the presence of some very large ethnic minority communities elsewhere in the three Docklands Boroughs. Consequently only 17 per cent of the sample are members of ethnic minorities. Also many of the occupations of respondent's parents were quite similar and there was very little variation in terms of housing tenure with most of the sample living in public or private sector rented accommodation. This homogeneity of the sample makes it far easier to study the effect of policy than it would be amongst a group of relatively heterogeneous adults.

A further, more practical reason, for studying young people is that, as is described in the next chapter, many

of the labour market initiatives in Docklands in the first half of the 1980's were specifically aimed at young people. Therefore, this study of policy is designed to assess the impact directly on the main target group.

The only drawback with this data set is that it does not relate directly to the data sets on employing establishments and new residents. The vast majority of respondents in the survey of young adults lived on the Isle of Dogs and had few links through work with the neighbouring borough of Newham where the two other surveys were compiled. It would have been interesting to examine the direct interaction between labour demand, the establishments, and supply, the young adults. However, the two data sets from Newham do examine the direct interface between demand and one portion of labour supply in the form of new residents. Also a survey of young adults in Newham Docklands would have been more problematic to undertake due to the difficulties of obtaining a population from which to select a sample. The population of Newham Docklands was under half that of the Isle of Dogs (LDDC 1986) and the nearest secondary school is outside the LDDC area. This would have made it harder to ensure that the majority of the sample were residents of the LDDC area. Furthermore, there would have been no previous survey to allow longitudinal analysis. Also, and perhaps most importantly, the commercial and industrial regeneration of Docklands had been focussed on the Isle of Dogs and many of the labour market initiatives were operating from bases on the Isle of Dogs. Therefore, the impact of policy is likely to be most apparent amongst residents of the Isle of Dogs making it a better area to study the effects of labour market initiatives. But despite being collected in two different geographical areas, the three data sets do allow a detailed analysis of changes occurring in the different elements and relationships of the labour market in Docklands.

3.4.4. Primary research - participant observation and key actor interviews.

Along with primary data collected through three surveys it was also necessary to generate primary data by participant observation and interviews. LDDC reports, both published and unpublished, and a number of other publications provided secondary evidence on the LDDC's stated intentions for labour market policy. Often, LDDC policy statements are only concerned with general aims and developments in the different areas of Docklands. The references to the labour market policy are frequently brief.

Therefore, primary research was undertaken in order to establish the institutional importance of LDDC labour market policy and the detailed intentions of initiatives. This involved data being collected through a series of formal interviews and also by participant observation. The interviews were with some of the Chief Officers of the LDDC. These interviews were structured in the sense that the author asked a series of prepared questions, but the nature of the questions varied in each interview depending on the point of time in the research programme (some Chief Officers were interviewed more than once) and the responsibilities of the interviewees.

Participant observation was easily undertaken because the author's PhD research was sponsored by an ESRC Collaborative Award in the Social Sciences which allowed the author to work in the LDDC for at least 3 months of each year. Two forms of participant observation took place. The first was attendance at meetings between LDDC officers in which the author was often playing a participatory role as well as observing. The second form of participant observation was less conventional in research terms and involved obtaining information through informal conversation with officers as opposed to formal meetings. No data gained in this second manner is used on its own to support any findings. Instead this information

was utilised either to devise questions to put to Chief Officers in formal interviews, or to develop input to meetings at which the author was participating so as to examine in more detail the issues raised in conversations with individual officers. This was not a straightforward process, but it is believed that information gained from participant observation and interviews can form the basis of a reliable assessment of LDDC policy evolution and aims.

Interviews and participant observation were not only used to analyse the labour market policy of the LDDC. There were also a number of other agencies whose remit is to influence the elements and mechanisms of the labour market in Docklands. These included central government organisations such as job centres, local authority initiatives sponsored by economic development departments, bodies funded solely by the LDDC and voluntary sector organisations receiving monies from a variety of sources. The plethora of organisations and initiatives that existed in and around the LDDC area prevented a detailed description of the aims of all these different bodies. Instead, since the aim of the thesis was to study the LDDC, attention was focussed on those organisations which the LDDC was trying to link into its own policies. These included: agents of central government whom the LDDC was encouraging to adopt a more expansive role in Docklands; some voluntary sector groups receiving LDDC support; organisations set up by the LDDC but who operated in an independent manner. In order to establish the aims and the scale of operations of these different bodies a series of interviews were undertaken with certain key individuals and also meetings, both public and private, were attended at which these same key individuals were discussing the role of labour market policy. Meetings and interviews took place with senior officers of the local office of the MSC/TA, job centre managers, careers officers and the directors of various training initiatives. Data obtained in this way allowed a clear picture to be developed of the

aims of the different organisations responsible for labour market policy.

3.5 Analysing labour market change in London Docklands

The use of four primary data sources might be taken as an indication of a fragmentary approach. However, a range of sources is essential given the subject matter. The variety of policy devices and the sheer complexity of labour market change require a selection of data sources. It would be impossible to produce a detailed study of the Docklands labour market with just a single survey. One of the primary sources, participant observation, is used in the next chapter to specify the exact aims of LDDC policy. This is a prerequisite for accurate policy analysis because the approach adopted in this thesis initially assesses each measure according to its broad aims. Therefore, like previous impact studies outlined in Chapter 2, the impact of policy on certain variables is examined. For instance, the effect of demand-side policies on job creation is considered, as is the impact of training measures on destinations of trainees. However, as already argued, an assessment of policy based purely on its aims runs the risk of ignoring other important labour market forces. Therefore, the conceptual model also guides the analysis that follows. The model divided up the labour market into a demand and supply side where different key forces play causal roles. However, the model also acknowledged the important effects on the labour market of the interaction process between supply and demand. In keeping with the model, policy measures for the demand side of the labour market are considered separately, in Chapter 5, from supply-side initiatives, examined in Chapter 6, in order to take account of the different forces affecting the contrasting sides of the labour market. However, in each of these chapters the relationship between policy measures and the interaction process between supply and demand is also considered.

This means that the impact of initiatives on the interaction process is considered and vice-versa.

Nevertheless, a full analysis of policy, as well as studying the demand and supply-side initiatives separately, must also consider their concurrent affects on some aspect of the labour market. For the combined impacts of different labour market policies may be slightly different to their individual outcomes. This is done through the study of school leavers which examines the influence of policy and the many other labour market forces on the lives of young people. As a result, the analysis that follows in the next four chapters represents the first comprehensive analysis of the impact of the LDDC on the labour market. Furthermore, the analysis is guided by a conceptual model which includes the other crucial influences on labour market change. In this way, it contributes to the explanation of change in Docklands by identifying some of the key factors of change in this urban area.

FOOTNOTES

1. Migration and commuting levels are themselves also determined by a variety of labour market forces, such as unemployment levels, and and non-labour market forces, such as environmental attractiveness. These non-labour market forces are excluded from the conceptual model for two reasons. First, the model could be extended continually and there is a need to decide on a limit to the model's scope. Second, policy initiatives attempting to influence the non-labour market determinants of migration and commuting, such as environmental or transport policy, come outside the scope of labour market policy which is the concern of this project.

2. The Local Government Planning and Land Act for 1980 enables other powers to be conferred on a UDC including those of a housing, fire, highway maintenance, sewerage, public health and building control authority. But the

LDDC has not been given these powers.

3. This excludes the cost of one large transport infrastructure project, the Docklands Light Railway, which cost £77 million (LDDC 1986).

4. For detailed analyses of the DJC see Ledgerwood (1985) for a behavioural study, Newman and Mayo (1981) for a class-based interpretation, and Goodwin (1986) for a political analysis based on a locality approach.

5. This project based in the borough of Newham was part of a larger study involving a questionnaire survey of 200 employing establishments undertaken in each of five separate labour markets. These were Motherwell, Preston, Reading, Torquay and the London Borough of Newham. The survey of 1000 firms was coordinated by the Technical Change Centre, 114 Cromwell Road, London SW7 and funded by the MSC/TA and the Department of Employment.

CHAPTER 4

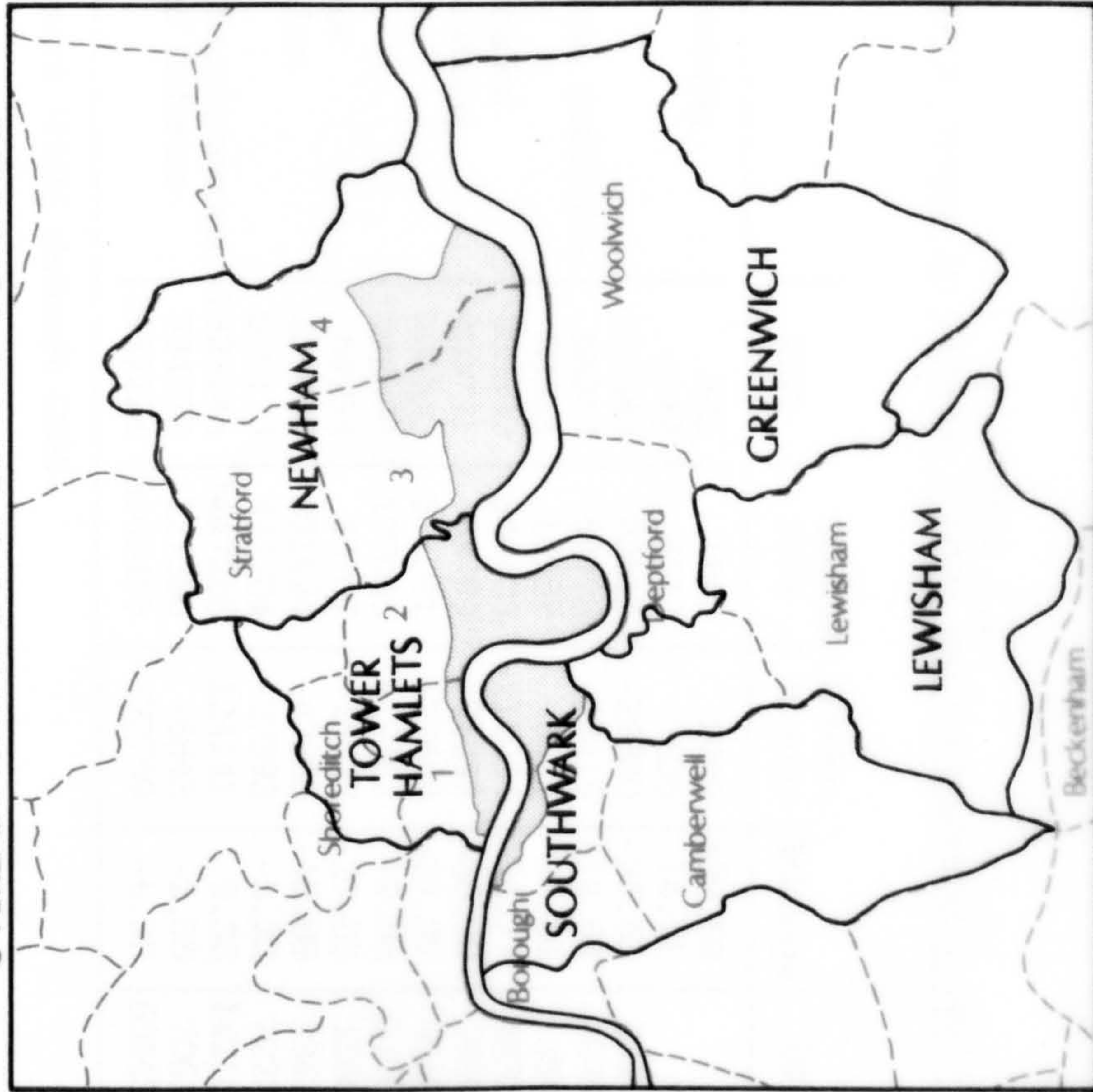
LOCAL ECONOMIC AND LABOUR MARKET POLICY IN LONDON
DOCKLANDS

4.1 The labour market context.

When the LDDC was designated in 1980 it took responsibility for an area that contained a declining and depressed labour market. The surrounding East London labour market was in a similar state. The employment changes that had occurred in the 1970's are described in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4. The data used is from the Censuses of Employment for 1971, 1978 and 1981. The smallest geographical area for which this data is available is the Job Centre Area and the three spatial scales for which data is presented are based on the amalgamation of some of these areas. Tables 4.2 and 4.4 contain information for an area referred to as Docklands Job Centres. This area contains the five job centre areas that overlap with the LDDC area (see Figure 4.1). Tables 4.1 and 4.3 contain information for Greater London as defined by local government boundaries and an area called East London. East London is often defined as the 5 local authority boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Newham, Southwark, Lewisham and Greenwich (see Figure 4.1) (Ham 1983). However, it is not possible to amalgamate job centre areas so that they fit exactly local authority boundaries. The East London area, therefore, is defined for this analysis by 12 job centre areas (see Figure 4.1). It excludes a small part of Lewisham but includes a small part of the boroughs of Lambeth and Hackney.

Table 4.1 outlines employment change in East London and Greater London between 1971 and 1978. Like many inner-urban areas, East London experienced employment decline with the loss of 10 per cent of total jobs compared to 7 per cent in Greater London. The major manufacturing sectors in East London of food, drink and

Fig 4.1 JOB CENTRES IN EAST LONDON
OVERLAIN WITH FIVE EAST LONDON BOROUGHES



LDDC area
 Docklands job centres 1. Seapney 2. Poplar 3. Canning Town 4. East Ham 5. Bermondsey

TABLE 4.1
Employment change in Greater London and East London : 1971 - 1978

1968 Standard Industrial classification	Greater London				East London			
	1971	1978	change	%change	1971	1978	change	%change
01 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	341	1840	1499	439.59	0	16	16	0.0
02 Mining and quarrying	4112	4717	605	14.71	58	224	166	286.21
03 Food, drink and tobacco	112442	82612	-29830	-26.53	33412	23391	-10021	-29.99
04 Coal, petroleum and chemical products	68343	54928	-13415	-19.63	8956	5943	-3013	-33.64
05 Metal manufacture	23533	14957	-8576	-36.44	3541	2795	-746	-21.07
06 Engineering and allied trades	460439	346405	-114034	-24.77	49323	33700	-15623	-31.67
07 Textiles, leather and clothing	100791	63799	-36992	-36.70	29895	16519	-13376	-44.74
08 Other manufacturing	283740	206091	-77649	-27.37	46692	36240	-10452	-22.38
09 Construction	196397	177035	-19362	-9.86	37594	27522	-10072	-26.79
10 Gas, electricity and water	64734	46707	-18027	-27.85	13600	9447	-4153	-30.54
11 Transport and communication	439807	391924	-47883	-10.89	93421	63899	-29522	-31.60
12 Distributive trades	525177	497784	-27393	-5.22	72225	66831	-5394	-7.47
13 Financial, professional, miscellaneous	1323145	1447286	124141	9.38	142102	179904	37802	26.60
14 Public administration and defence	334223	327380	-6843	-2.05	70615	74038	3423	4.85
Total employment	3937224	3663465	-273759	-6.95	601434	540469	-60965	-10.14

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE68.

TABLE 4.2
Employment change in the Docklands
Job Centre areas: 1971-1978

1968 standard industrial classification	1971	1978	change	%change
01 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	0	1	1	0.0
02 Mining and quarrying	58	224	166	286.21
03 Food, drink and tobacco	20906	15525	-5381	-25.74
04 Coal, petroleum and chemical products	3039	2458	-581	-19.12
05 Metal manufacture	1924	1272	-652	-33.89
06 Engineering and allied trades	12580	7536	-5044	-40.10
07 Textiles, leather and clothing	16475	9047	-7428	-45.09
08 Other manufacturing	11554	9143	-2411	-20.87
09 Construction	6057	6375	318	5.25
10 Gas, electricity and water	2935	2211	-724	-24.67
11 Transport and communication	47770	25698	-22072	-46.20
12 Distributive trades	20518	20548	30	0.15
13 Financial, professional, miscellaneous	35704	39502	3798	10.64
14 Public administration and defence	12030	11944	-86	-0.71
Total employment	191550	151484	-40066	-20.92

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE68.

tobacco, engineering and textiles lost 30 per cent, 31 per cent and 45 per cent of their jobs respectively, and were all declining faster than in London as a whole. There was a similar rate of decline in transport and communication in East London. However other parts of the service sector were expanding. There was a small growth in the public administration and a 27 per cent expansion in financial, professional and miscellaneous services, which is three times the rate of growth in Greater London. Table 4.2 provides the figures for 1971-78 for the Docklands Job Centres area where the rate of decline was even more marked. 1 in 5 jobs were lost in this area in this period. Textiles and engineering declined faster than in East London and Greater London. The greatest losses, however, were in transport and communications which was by far the largest sector in this area in 1971 but which lost 22,000 jobs, a decline of 46 per cent. In this period there was a 10 per cent growth in financial, professional and miscellaneous services, a rate of increase similar to that for Greater London.

In the late 1970's the pace of decline in these areas quickened. Economic change between 1978 and 1981 in East London and Greater London is shown in Table 4.3. The annual rate of job loss in London had risen from just below 1 per cent per annum to 1.25 per cent per annum and in East London the annual rate had increased from 1.5 per cent to 2.1 per cent. In this period it was food, drink and tobacco and other manufacturing that shed the largest numbers of manufacturing jobs in East London, with the percentage fall in both sectors being double that in Greater London as a whole. Again, decline in the Docklands Job Centres area was even more severe (see Table 4.4). The annual rate of decline had risen from just below 3 per cent to nearly 5 per cent and more jobs were lost in the service sector than manufacturing, due to the loss in transport and communication being accompanied by a loss of 5,000 public administration jobs and 2,600 jobs in the distributive trades. However, even in this period of

TABLE 4.3
Employment change in Greater London and East London : 1978 - 1981

1968 Standard Industrial classification	Greater London				East London			
	1978	1981	change	%change	1978	1981	change	%change
01 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	1840	1814	-26	-1.41	16	9	-7	-43.75
02 Mining and quarrying	4717	6909	2192	46.47	224	259	35	15.63
03 Food, drink and tobacco	82612	73105	-9507	-11.51	23391	17258	-6133	-26.22
04 Coal, petroleum and chemical products	54928	51300	-3628	-6.61	5943	4651	-1292	-21.74
05 Metal manufacture	14957	11111	-3846	-25.71	2795	1723	-1072	-38.35
06 Engineering and allied trades	346405	302804	-43601	-12.59	33700	32155	-1545	-4.58
07 Textiles, leather and clothing	63799	48940	-14859	-23.29	16519	11854	-4665	-28.24
08 Other manufacturing	206091	183259	-22832	-11.08	36240	28641	-7599	-20.97
09 Construction	177035	163322	-13713	-7.75	27522	24117	-3405	-12.37
10 Gas, electricity and water	46707	45071	-1636	-3.50	9447	9266	-181	-1.92
11 Transport and communication	391924	373878	-18046	-4.60	63899	55972	-7927	-12.41
12 Distributive trades	497784	471074	-26710	-5.37	66831	62717	-4114	-6.16
13 Financial, professional, miscellaneous	1447286	1509092	61806	4.27	179904	204361	24457	13.59
14 Public administration and defence	327380	281611	-45769	-13.98	74038	53044	-20994	-28.36
Total employment	3663465	3523290	-140175	-3.83	540469	506027	-34442	-6.37

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE68.

TABLE 4.4
Employment change in the Docklands
Job Centre areas: 1978-1981

1968 standard industrial classification	1978	1981	change	%change
01 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	1	0	-1	-100.0
02 Mining and quarrying	224	142	-82	-36.61
03 Food, drink and tobacco	15525	12453	-3072	-19.79
04 Coal, petroleum and chemical products	2458	1633	-825	-33.56
05 Metal manufacture	1272	711	-561	-44.10
06 Engineering and allied trades	7536	7228	-308	-4.09
07 Textiles, leather and clothing	9047	5757	-3290	-36.37
08 Other manufacturing	9143	6432	-2711	-29.65
09 Construction	6375	6293	-82	-1.29
10 Gas, electricity and water	2211	2288	77	3.48
11 Transport and communication	25698	17910	-7788	-30.31
12 Distributive trades	20548	17902	-2646	-12.88
13 Financial, professional, miscellaneous	39502	43657	4155	10.52
14 Public administration and defence	11944	6838	-5106	-42.75
Total employment	151484	129244	-22240	-14.68

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE68.

intense decline there was still a 10 per cent increase in financial, professional, miscellaneous service jobs in the Docklands Job Centres area.

Table 4.5 provides data on the economic structure of the LDDC area for 1978 and 1981. This data was derived by the author and other employees of the LDDC, by extracting all the paypoint references for Docklands from the confidential establishment-level Census of Employment tapes for each of the three Docklands boroughs. In both years just over half the jobs were in services and the rest in manufacturing and construction. The scale of decline is even greater than for the Docklands Job Centres area. 10,000 jobs were lost in the LDDC area, a decline of 27 per cent. A quarter of these jobs were lost in the largest manufacturing sector which was food, drink and tobacco and over 1,000 jobs were shed by other manufacturing. But just over 40 per cent of the jobs lost were in the transport and communication sector due to the closure of certain docks in this period. A few sectors exhibited growth. These increases were, however, very small.

Accompanying the economic decline in Docklands and East London had been an extensive loss of population. Between 1971 and 1981 the population of Greater London fell by 9.9 per cent compared to 11.8 per cent in Newham, 13.8 per cent in Tower Hamlets and in Southwark 19.2 per cent. But generally this part of east London was losing population.

By 1981 the local population had the economic characteristics associated with this declining area in London. Table 4.6 indicates the industries in which residents of the Docklands boroughs work compared to Greater London and Inner London (see Figure 4.2 for definition of Inner London). About a quarter of residents in Newham and Tower Hamlets worked in manufacturing, which were the two highest figures for any Inner London borough (GLC 1984) and are well above the figure of 19 per cent for Greater London. In all three Docklands boroughs the

TABLE 4.5
Employment change in the LDDC
area: 1978-1981

1968 standard industrial classification	1978	1981	change	%change
01 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	-	-	-	-
02 Mining and quarrying	180	88	-92	-51
03 Food, drink and tobacco	9340	6631	-2709	-29
04 Coal, petroleum and chemical products	1153	768	-385	-33
05 Metal manufacture	679	601	-78	-11
06 Engineering and allied trades	2035	1163	-872	-43
07 Textiles, leather and clothing	240	175	-65	-27
08 Other manufacturing	2183	1171	-1012	-46
09 Construction	2137	2068	-69	-3
10 Gas, electricity and water	358	424	66	18
11 Transport and communication	9697	5576	-4121	-42
12 Distributive trades	3180	3240	60	2
13 Financial, professional, miscellaneous	4202	4203	1	0
14 Public administration and defence	1877	1075	-802	-43
Inadequately described	-	30	-	-
Total employment	37261	27213	10048	-27

Source : LDDC 1987(b) Censuses of Employment

TABLE 4.6
Industry of residents aged 16 and over, who are in employment, in
Greater London, Inner London, Docklands boroughs, Docklands wards : 1981 (percentages).

1980 Standard Industrial classification	Tower Hamlets	Newham	Southwark	Docklands wards	Greater London	Inner London
0 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	0.01	0.06	0.05	-	0.1	0.1
1 Energy/water supply industries	1.1	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.5
2-4 Manufacturing	23.9	25.4	17.2	23.4	19.0	16.2
5 Construction	6.8	7.9	6.9	7.0	6.6	6.1
6 Distribution, hotels/catering;repairs	17.5	16.9	17.1	17.4	9.7	9.6
7 Transport/communication	11.2	13.1	10.9	13.6	19.1	19.1
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	12.3	11.6	12.2		18.0	
9 Other services	25.8	21.8	32.8	37.0	27.5	45.9
Inadequately described	1.4	1.2	1.2		-	
Total residents in employment	59140	88130	95290	27600	3078700	1119400

Source : 1981 Census of population, SAS 10% table 4.4 NOMIS dataset pop.
 (note column totals do not equal 100% due to rounding and figures exclude residents
 working outside the UK.)

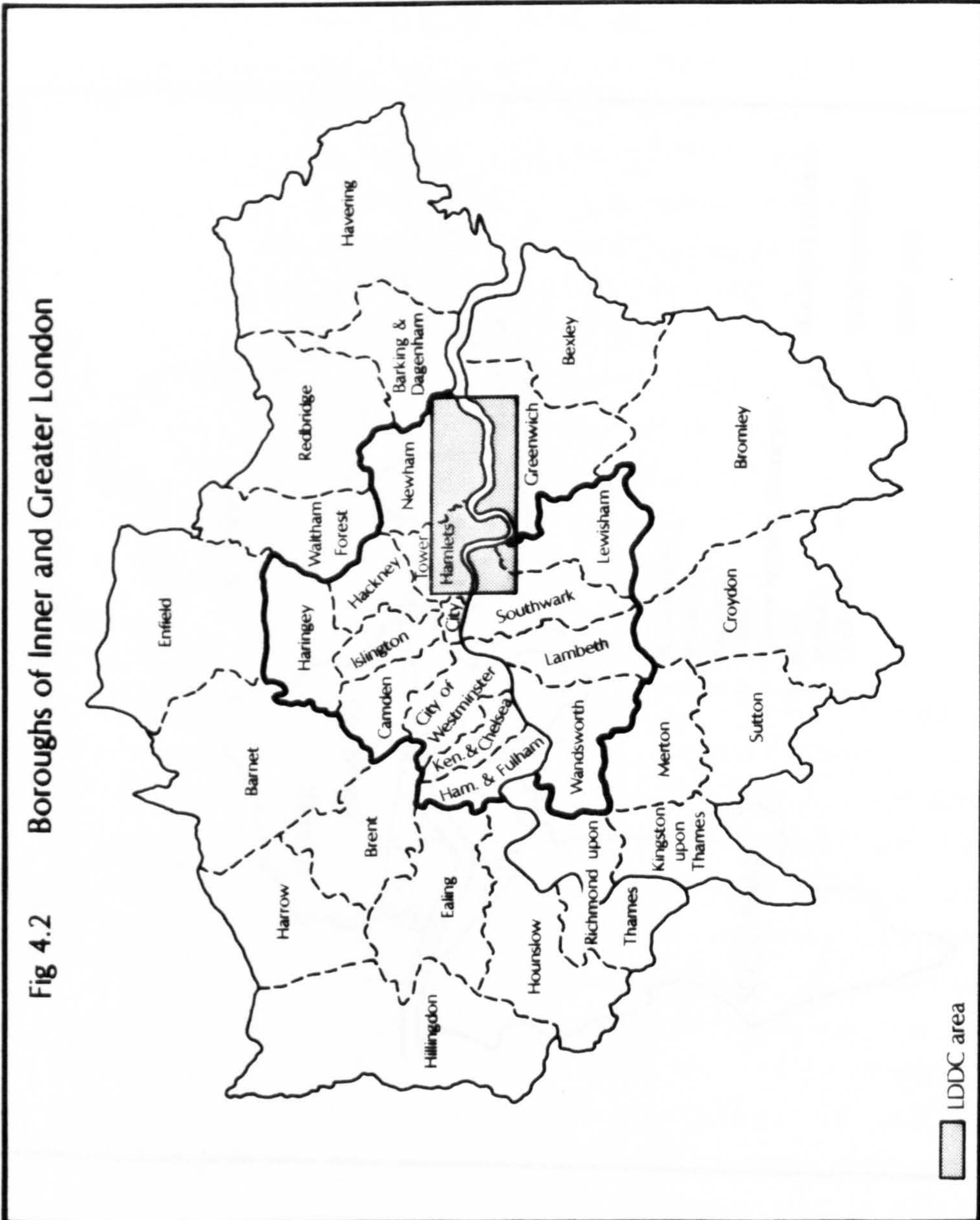
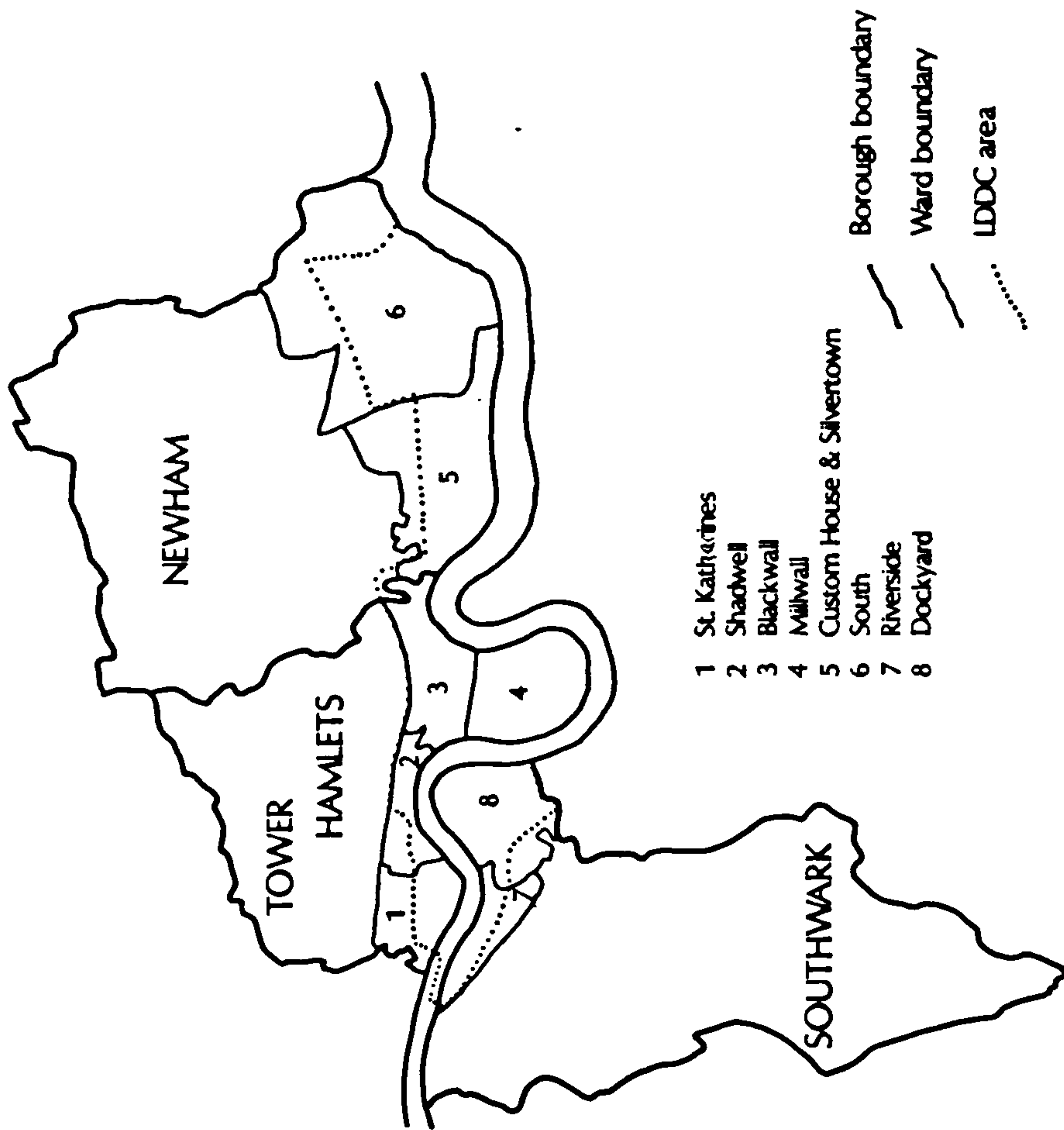


Fig 4.3 Boundaries of Docklands wards



proportion of residents working in transport and communication is above that for Greater and Inner London. But in Greater London 18.1 per cent of residents worked in Banking and Finance, whereas in the Docklands Boroughs the average figure was 12 per cent. The figures for Southwark differ slightly to those for Newham and Tower Hamlets since there is a higher proportion of residents in other services and a lower proportion in manufacturing.

Table 4.6 also contains a further column entitled Docklands wards. This provides the amalgamated data for the 8 Census of Population wards which overlap with the LDDC area (see Figure 4.3). The LDDC boundary cuts through wards and enumeration districts and delimits an area with a population of just under 40,000 in 1981 (LDDC 1986). The Docklands wards cover a larger area and contain a population of just over 68,000. But the data for these wards give an indication of the characteristics of the residents of the LDDC area and the neighbouring areas. The proportions of residents from the Docklands wards in particular industries are, in fact, very similar to those for residents in Newham and Tower Hamlets.

The commuting patterns of residents of the Docklands Boroughs vary according to industry (Table 4.7). In Greater London in 1981 45 per cent of residents worked inside their borough of residents (GLC 1983). In Newham and Southwark the figures were very similar but in Tower Hamlets over half of the residents with jobs worked in the borough. Interestingly, 54 per cent of working residents in the Docklands wards worked within the area covered by the wards and this is probably a reflection of the poor public transport system to the area in 1981. Table 4.7 also shows that the borough of Newham, where 51 per cent of jobs are done by borough residents, was far more closed in terms of commuting than Tower Hamlets and Southwark where 35 per cent and 33 per cent of jobs are done by borough residents. Manufacturing, distribution and catering, and other services were the sectors with above average proportions of jobs occupied by borough residents

TABLE 4.7
Percentages of persons in employment who worked within borough of
residence by industry : and percentages of jobs within a borough
done by residents of the borough by industry : 1981.

	Tower Hamlets	Newham	Southwark	
1980 Standard industrial classification	Persons in employment who worked within borough	Jobs within borough done by borough residents	Persons in employment who worked within borough	Jobs within borough done by borough residents
1 Energy/water supply industries	44	19	39	17
2-4 Manufacturing	59	37	42	31
5 Construction	51	37	54	36
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	51	35	54	38
7 Transport/communication	33	25	42	26
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	22	15	23	18
9 Other services	64	44	68	38
All persons in employment/jobs	51	35	46	33

54% of residents of Docklands wards in employment work within the Docklands wards.

Source : Census of population SAS 10% sample Table 44 NOMIS dataset pop.

and local residents working within the borough. Whereas, the commuting patterns for banking and finance were very different. Few residents working in this sector worked within the boroughs and only a small proportion of the jobs in banking and finance within the boroughs were actually done by borough residents.

The labour market status of residents in the Docklands boroughs is, however, also indicated by their occupational characteristics. Table 4.8 contains data for the Socio-economic groups (SEGs), which are based on occupation, of economically active residents in Greater and Inner London, and the Docklands boroughs and wards. The figures for Southwark are quite similar to those for Inner London apart from the high proportion of unskilled manual residents. But out of all the London boroughs, Tower Hamlets and Newham had the lowest proportion of professionals, employers and managers as residents. This also applies to the other non-manual SEGs (GLC 1984). In addition, these two boroughs had the highest proportion of skilled manual residents out of all the Inner London boroughs (GLC 1984). In Newham 29 per cent of residents were semi or unskilled manual and the figures for Southwark and Tower Hamlets were 30 per cent and 35 per cent respectively. In fact, out of all the London boroughs, the proportion of unskilled manual residents is highest in Newham, Tower Hamlets and Southwark. Table 4.8 also provides comparable figures for the Docklands wards where the occupational characteristics of economically active residents were quite similar to those for Tower Hamlets as a whole. But the proportion of unskilled residents was even higher at 13 per cent. So the labour market that formed the context for the LDDC area was typified by decline in ^{all} manufacturing and ~~some~~ service sectors. Although the financial, professional and miscellaneous sector was growing in the 1970's, the working residents were concentrated in the declining industries with high proportions of the economically active in manual and low skill occupational categories.

TABLE 4.8
Percentage distribution of economically active persons by socio-economic group (SEG) in Greater London, Inner London, Docklands boroughs, Docklands wards : 1981.

Socio-economic group	Tower	Newham	Southwark	Docklands	Greater	Inner
	Hamlets			wards	London	London
Professional employers and managers SEG 1,2,3,4,13	7.1	7.8	10.3	6.9	17.1	14.5
Intermediate and junior non-manual SEG 5,6	25.6	30.4	32.4	25.2	37.1	34.5
Skilled manual SEG 8,9,12,14	23.4	23.4	20.1	22.0	19.6	18.4
Semi-skilled manual SEG 7,10,15	24.1	22.1	19.4	22.8	15.8	18.6
Unskilled manual SEG 11	11.6	8.7	10.9	12.9	5.5	7.4
Other SEG 16,17	8.1	7.7	6.8	10.2	4.9	6.7
Total economically active	70000	101100	109000	36310	3370800	1268700

Source : 1981 Census of population SAS 10% sample table 50 NOMIS dataset pop
 (see appendix 3 for full description of seg groups).

In addition, unemployment levels were some of the highest in London. Table 4.9 shows that between 1971 and 1981 the rate of unemployment in each of the Docklands boroughs had doubled to 13 per cent in Newham and Southwark, and 16 per cent in Tower Hamlets. The rate in Tower Hamlets was the highest of any London borough at that time (GLC 1983). In the geographically smaller Docklands Job Centres area unemployment had also nearly doubled from 11,339 to 20,166 in the three year period 1978-1981. In the LDDC area the situation was equally bad. The 3,553 unemployed individuals (HMSO 1988b p.39) constituted an unemployment rate of 21.7 per cent in April 1981, which rose rapidly to 25.7 per cent in January 1982 (HMSO 1988b p. 109). But these figures serve to emphasise the severe nature of the unemployment problem in the early 1980's in Docklands and its surrounding area. It was in these inauspicious circumstances of rapid job loss, declining demand, extensive commuting patterns and high level unemployment that the LDDC was established.

4.2 LDDC labour market policy

4.2.1 Stimulating labour demand

The aim of this thesis is to assess the labour market impact of the LDDC and in order to do this it is necessary to establish the nature of LDDC policy. This is not a simple task since the LDDC's policies in the labour market are often not precisely stated and have been subject to change as a result of pressures from both within and outside the LDDC. However, the broad aims of LDDC policy in respect of labour demand are well established. They reflect the broad regenerative strategy with its emphasis on land, infrastructure and marketing outlined in Chapter 3. Indeed, each year since 1984 the LDDC has published a Corporate Plan which sets out in the opening pages eight broad objectives, mainly concerned with land and infrastructure issues and none of which

TABLE 4.9
Unemployment in the Docklands boroughs; the Docklands job centre area; the LDDC area.

Percentage of the economically active population in the working age group who are unemployed	Tower Hamlets		Newham		Southwark		Greater London	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
	7.5	16.1	6.1	13.0	6.3	13.1	4.7	9.0

Source : 1971 Census of population Greater London County Report, Table 18
1981 Census of population SAS Table 9 NOMIS dataset pop.

Registered unemployed persons	Docklands Job Centre Areas	
	June 1978	June 1981
	11339	20166

Source : NOMIS dataset PUB

Registered unemployed persons	LDDC Areas	
	July 1981	January 1982
	3553	3866
Unemployment rate	21.7%	25.7%

Source : HMSO 1988b p.39 and p.109

mention economic or labour market goals. Policies in these latter areas are set out later in the same Corporate Plans. It is claimed that the "task of reviving the Docklands economy is central to regeneration" (LDDC 1984) and it is to be achieved, as mentioned in Chapter 3, by using incentives and marketing to attract businesses to occupy the newly constructed industrial and commercial premises. The incentives include the financial benefits of the Enterprise Zone and a streamlined planning bureaucracy. In addition, the LDDC provides further incentives through business counselling and assistance. The aim of these services is to promote the "retention, modernisation and expansion of local firms, together with the attraction and consolidation of new firms" (LDDC 1987a p.21). Advice and counselling is given through the LDDC's Business Development Team and the Docklands Business Club. The LDDC is also able to use powers under the Inner Urban Areas Act (IUAA) 1978 to provide assistance, often in the form of rent relief grants, to existing firms who wish to expand or modernise their activities. Recently the LDDC has decided to target IUAA grants on the small-firms sector (LDDC 1987). The cost of business advice and assistance was estimated at £1 million per annum for 1987-88 (LDDC 1987). Also the LDDC aims "to ensure that existing Docklands jobs remain in the UDC or within its catchment area through its policies for business development...and relocations" (LDDC 1983 p. 12). In order to retain jobs in the area in firms who are affected by the redevelopment process, the LDDC is able to provide disturbance compensation at a level above the minimum legal requirement specified in the Land Compensation Act 1973.

The aim of these measures to stimulate labour demand is to attract to Docklands firms in the growth sectors of the UK economy and "this has meant paying particular attention to encouraging 'sunrise' industries into the area" (Ward 1986 p.119). In 1983 the LDDC defined the growth sectors as "firms in the new telecommunications and

information technology fields, supporting office services for the City financial and other sectors, printing and media activities, bio-technology, leisure, tourism and a whole range of supporting activities" (LDDC 1983 p.13). The justification for this attempt to create a new economic structure in Docklands is that it will "ensure the area's long-term regeneration by laying the foundations of a community based on employment that would last" (Ward 1986 p.119).

Primary research served to confirm the nature of the LDDC's approach to the demand side of the labour market. The commitment to stimulating labour demand through the use of demand-led planning was stressed by one of the LDDC's Chief Officers, who stated that the aim was to allow "those who create jobs to operate in Docklands with maximum freedom as they would wish to....this leads to more jobs than would normally occur with policies that interfere with developers and employers costs....we aim to make it as simple as possible to create jobs" (Interview Mel Hague LDDC Chief Officer Operations 10.2.1986). The former Chief Executive made a link between LDDC policies and the economic strategy of Conservative central government when he claimed that "we want to attract growth sector firms to Docklands because like the government we don't see any future in old, lame-duck industries....and with our advice and grants we are doing our bit to help the small-firms sector" (Interview Reg Ward LDDC Chief Executive 12.2.1986). But the LDDC's emphasis on the provision of premises, marketing and incentives has many similarities with traditional local economic initiatives pursued by many local authorities (Boddy and Fudge 1984). However, the reference above by Reg Ward to "old, lame-duck industries" must raise some scepticism about the importance attached by the LDDC Chief Executive to retaining and assisting existing firms since many are in industrial sectors that are declining nationally. Nevertheless, in interviews with Chief Officers and participant observation it was always stressed that the

LDDC's desire to support existing firms was sincere, but they were not prepared to adopt what some officers referred to as a 'blanket approach'. This meant that, as stated in Corporate Plans, the Corporation would assist firms to modernise and expand, and it would use its powers to minimise the affects on business of relocation. However, it would not and, indeed could not due to terms of reference from the DoE, support unviable business with long term subsidy (Interview Peter Turlick LDDC Director of Business Development 23.4.1985). Therefore, support to existing firms was usually in the form of one-off loans, although continuing advice and counselling were available.

Although it is possible to specify the LDDC's local economic strategy to stimulate the demand side of the local labour market, it is far less easy to clarify the other aims of LDDC policy for both the demand and the supply-side of the labour market. But the aims of such initiatives have, until very recently, rarely been precisely stated in public documents. Furthermore, these policies have evolved and changed over time. Therefore, to analyse the affect of LDDC policy it is necessary to use primary and secondary sources to outline the main priorities of LDDC labour market policy and ensure that the impact analysis undertaken between 1984 and 1986 addresses the correct issues.

4.2.2 The evolution of LDDC labour market policy

The lack of publicly defined goals and the changeable nature of LDDC policy for the supply side of the labour market partly stem from the organisational environment in which initiatives have been developed. Therefore, an understanding of the aims of policy requires some appreciation of the bureaucracy and organisation that will have influenced policy evolution. There is of course a large body of literature concerned with organisational theory, bureaucratic behaviour and power relations in the policy-making process (general studies include Wilding

1982 and Ham and Hill 1984; Urban studies include Pahl 1975 and Saunders 1979.). It is not the intention here to provide a comprehensive analysis of policy evolution. Instead, some of the important organisational and political influences on LDDC policy will be highlighted in order to establish the labour market priorities of the LDDC.

At the launch of the LDDC in 1981 the Chief Executive and the Corporation Board established an organisational structure that remained in place, apart from a few minor alterations, until 1988 when a new Chief Executive was appointed. This involved a "broad, flat-top management" (LDDC 1983 p.55) structure with five Chief Officers, one each responsible for Architecture (includes Planning), Surveying (includes Land Management), Operations (includes Strategic and Corporate Planning), Finance (includes Administration) and Industrial Development (includes Enterprise Zone). Each Chief Officer was responsible for a series of departments and overlying the departmental structure were four area teams. The LDDC was divided up into the four administrative areas of Wapping, the Surrey Docks, the Isle of Dogs and the Royal Docks, with each area team coordinating activities in one of these areas. The crucial decision-making meetings in this structure were the Executive Management Team's weekly meeting where Chief and senior officers devised detailed strategy chaired by the Chief Executive and this meeting reported to the fortnightly meetings of the Board chaired by the Chairman. There was, however, no department specifically responsible for employment or labour market issues. Instead, it was decided to divide activities in this field. At various times between 1981 and 1986 the officers given responsibility for specific labour market initiatives were from the departments of corporate planning, housing (accountable to Chief officer for Surveying/Land), and industrial liaison (accountable to Chief Officer for Industrial Development/Enterprise Zone).

In addition to this internal staff structure, the LDDC was also designed to be "a small, streamlined organisation complemented by extensive use of external private sector skills" (LDDC 1983 p.55). This meant that extensive use was made of consultants for advice on a wide range of policy issues. Participant observation over a period of three years between 1984 and 1986 revealed this organisational structure to be an important influence on supply-side labour market policy which generally lacked direction and a coherent framework. In principle, supply-side labour market policy was handled within area teams according to the decisions of each area team Director. Co-ordination was meant to be undertaken by a member of the business development team who was appointed Training co-ordinator in 1982 and Employment and Training co-ordinator in 1984. However, these duties were in addition to his business development tasks and these other titles were referred to by one consultants' report as "something of a misnomer...under resourced...and a part-time job" (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987 p.63). Indeed, it transpired that the management of certain training initiatives was dealt with by another officer in the Hi-tech unit (HMSO 1988b). However, other LDDC officers from area teams and some not attached to area teams, also took on responsibility for devising and implementing certain labour market initiatives. Many of the individual officers given responsibility for labour market policy at various times during the research period all claimed that, while they took their duties seriously, it was not worth devoting too much time to these matters since Chief Officers did not rate labour market policy as a priority issue.

In addition, a number of unpublished consultants' reports generated much information and numerous recommendations. Officers responsible for labour market issues argued that the quality of consultants' reports ranged from those that provided useful information clarifying the problems of the local labour market, to

those that exhibited considerable naivety. However, the value of consultants' reports was limited by the LDDC's organisational structure. As one of the LDDC officers stated, "Consultants' recommendations are all very well.....but we aren't set up to implement them....and a lot of people here (the LDDC) just aren't interested anyway" (Meeting of LDDC officers 15.11.1985 parentheses added).

In this organisational environment, it is perhaps not surprising that there seemed to be some disagreement amongst LDDC officers about the nature of labour market problems let alone appropriate policies. Other agencies were often blamed for failing to tackle the labour market problems of the Docklands area. One senior officer claimed that "the MSC along with the Local Education Authorities have failed this part of London" (Interview Mel Hague LDDC Chief Officer Operations 10.2.1986). But more frequently the social characteristics of local residents were seen to be the cause of labour market difficulties. Stereotypical views, sometimes based on personal intuition rather than factual evidence, abounded amongst LDDC officers. The former Chief Executive claimed that "the low horizons operating in education in East London" (Ward 1986) were responsible for low skill levels amongst local residents and hence the low numbers of local residents employed in new firms in the Enterprise Zone. At a meeting with the MSC/TA and community representatives, LDDC Officers responsible for labour market policy claimed that the poor perception of training amongst local residents made it very difficult to implement training policies (meeting of LDDC, MSC and community representatives 16.6 1986). Similarly, a senior careers officer responsible for the area covering Docklands noted that he had come across local parents who were "talking down the local training opportunities" (Meeting with careers officers 20.2.1986). A different view was held by LDDC community liaison officers, one of whom claimed that local unemployed residents were not

interested in obtaining jobs in new firms, either because they were only motivated towards work in traditional industries, or because they were 'cash rich' from work in the informal economy (LDDC meeting 5.4.1985).

By 1986 LDDC officers were admitting that the internal organisational structure and a lack of understanding of the area's labour market problems had led to an incoherent supply-side labour market policy. A report to the LDDC's Executive Management Team (the main LDDC decision-making committee) in March 1986 by LDDC officers responsible for labour market policy, which was approved and passed onto the LDDC Board, stated that previous initiatives had "been generated without the benefit of an overall training framework or strategy" (LDDC 1986b p.1). An internal review of supply-side labour market policy led to an LDDC officer being given responsibility for establishing a coherent strategy. This individual stated in reference to LDDC training measures "that we are giving up our ad-hoc approachand our habit of simply tacking on training to the jobs of already over-worked Corporation employees" (Stuart Innes LDDC Community Liaison officer speaking at a Conference on Education in East London at Queen Mary College, London University, 21.3.1988).

A lack of a coherent policy framework meant that other proposed measures for the supply side of the labour market encountered difficulties familiar to much British urban policy. Namely, coordination with other agencies with different aims (Robson 1987). LDDC officers responsible for labour market policy described at several meetings their attempts in 1984 and 1985 to establish a computerised job vacancy listing placed in a local supermarket and to employ an individual as a 'job searcher' to track down local vacancies. But both the Department of Employment and the MSC/TA felt this sort of initiative was within their sphere of responsibility. In addition, because of the labour market problems of all the East London area, the MSC/TA were at this time unprepared

to devise initiatives especially for the Docklands area. One of these officers claimed that he was "fed up with trying to persuade the MSC to take account of the changes occurring in Docklands" (LDDC meeting 15.11. 1985). Furthermore, the officer appointed as training coordinator had indicated that the DoE were reluctant to allow LDDC expenditure on these projects with ongoing costs (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987 p.51).

However, despite the lack of a coherent LDDC strategy for the supply side of the labour market and the limiting effects of the LDDC organisational environment. It is still possible to identify certain priorities and policy initiatives on the demand and supply-side of the labour market that can form the focus of analysis.

4.2.3 The LDDC: other demand-side labour market policies

As already stated the LDDC's primary labour market policy is on the demand side of the labour market. Economic regeneration through demand-led planning, incentives, business assistance and the encouragement of growth sectors is intended to stimulate the demand for labour. But the LDDC has also developed initiatives designed to alter the nature of labour demand and its interaction with the labour market. Although certain LDDC officers were sceptical of the interest of its Chief Officers and the Board in local unemployment, the LDDC did have a strategy, albeit rather unstructured, for specifically increasing the demand for local labour. The LDDC hoped that this would be partly achieved by market forces since the benefits of economic growth will 'trickle down' to local residents in the form of new job opportunities. For instance, a former Vice Chairman of the LDDC, John Mills, told a meeting of a community group, the Docklands Forum, that the employment effects of Canary Wharf would be significant and "this many jobs coming to Docklands are bound to have some effect on local unemployment" (Monthly meeting of Docklands Forum

17.3.1986). This will occur in the long term as labour turnover in new and relocating firms creates new vacancies. One of the LDDC officers responsible for labour market initiatives argued that "people in Britain change their jobs, what is it, once every three years...so if there are 20,000 jobs in Docklands by 1990 that will give about 7,000 vacancies every year some of which will go to local residents" (Meeting of LDDC officers 24.11.84). In the short run, the LDDC hoped job vacancies would occur as a result of the service sector expansion needed to support the new economic and social structure. As Paul Beasley, the former Mayor of Tower Hamlets and ex-member of the LDDC board argued, "Eastenders are traditionally good at servicing people" and could, thus, gain jobs in supporting industries, such as shops and taxi companies (London Weekend Television 1985).

However, political pressure from outside the LDDC, especially from local community groups, and the recognition in the LDDC that there was "a low level of recruitment of local labour by incoming firms" (LDDC 1986) meant that there have been a number of initiatives to increase the demand for local labour over and above that demanded through market forces and the 'trickle down' effect. Senior LDDC officials have been wary of such initiatives if they involved trying to exert an influence on employers. One Board member claimed that "it is the employers who regenerate Docklands...We can't do anything which will upset them" (meeting LDDC, MSC and community representatives 16.6.1986). The former Vice Chairman, John Mills expressed the same concern in reference to Canary Wharf when he stated that "everyone wants a pound of flesh....even the government is being awkward...How will we all look if the whole thing collapses because everyone is trying to get too much out of it" (Meeting of Docklands Forum 17.2.1986).

Despite these reservations measures have been developed to affect the hires/recalls link between labour supply and the demand for labour so that local residents

obtain jobs in incoming or newly established firms. Until recently, the construction industry has been the focus of this policy activity. The community groups, the Docklands Forum and the Association of Island Communities, both argued that given the number of construction jobs in Docklands (approximately 2,000 in 1985, LDDC (1988b), and the manual skills of many local residents, some attempt should be made to ensure building contractors used some local labour at least. LDDC officers admit that this external pressure was partly responsible for the decision in 1985 to encourage contractors to use local labour (Meeting LDDC officers 6.3.1985). This involved the insertion of a clause in instructions to tenderers which stated that "the contractor is asked to note that the LDDC encourages, wherever possible, the use of local work people and local suppliers of materials, plant, equipment and services on the works" (HMSO 1988b, P.132). Local people were defined as residents of the three Docklands boroughs and contractors were asked to state in their tender documents how they intended to ensure the requirements of this clause were met. Particular attention was paid to this matter in connection with the construction of the Docklands Light Railway and the Association of Island Communities received help from the GLC's contract compliance unit to monitor the use of local labour. This type of initiative was continued in late 1986 and 1987 with the opening of the Docklands Light Railway and the London City Airport. The LDDC encouraged the employers responsible for these two facilities to utilise local labour wherever possible.

4.2.4 LDDC supply-side policies - the housing market

The LDDC has been more active in trying to influence another aspect of the labour market. A number of initiatives have been devised by the LDDC to try and alter the determinants and nature of the labour supply. The LDDC has spent considerable sums of money on training in

an attempt to improve the skills and qualifications of local residents, especially the young. In addition, the LDDC's housing policy, as well as being a device to promote social and physical regeneration, has also aimed quite deliberately first, to change the characteristics of the local labour supply and second, to utilise this changed labour supply as an incentive to attract new companies and, thus, stimulate labour demand. The House of Lords Select Committee, that took evidence from petitioners for and against the establishment of the LDDC, observed in its report on the LDDC's area and constitution that "private investors will not put money into Docklands on a large scale unless they are encouraged by the presence of an environment attractive to them, including the availability of some private housing" (HMSO 1981 p.12). At the time of designation the LDDC area contained 14,727 households, only 5 per cent of whom were owner occupiers, compared to 83 per cent renting from a local authority or the GLC, with the remainder being other forms of renting. In its 1983 Corporate Plan, the LDDC indicated that it wished to change this tenure structure to one similar to that for the whole of Inner London, whereby 30 per cent of households were owner occupiers (LDDC 1983). But by 1988 the target in the Corporate Plan had moved to the average tenure levels for England and Wales of 66 per cent owner occupation (LDDC 1988c).

This strategy for the housing market was closely linked to LDDC plans for the labour market. Since 1983 each LDDC Corporate Plan emphasised this relationship by containing a form of words roughly similar to those in the 1983 Plan which stated that "a wider choice of housing is being provided, in terms of size, price, style and identity in order to attract the range of residents the area needs to create economic development, particularly skilled workers, professionals, managerial staff and entrepreneurs" (LDDC 1983 p.24). One of the aims of housing policy, therefore, was to change the characteristics of the labour supply so that it was more

attractive to inward investors. Goodwin (1988) argues that there is a "hidden link"(p.20) between LDDC labour market and housing policies. According to Goodwin (1988) the LDDC have identified "a surplus of the wrong type of people for the specific type of regeneration the LDDC has in mind" (p.13) and the aim to change the characteristics of local residents is "vital to enhancing the image, and hence land values, of the area" (p.23). Goodwin (1988) is undoubtedly correct to make the links between labour market policies and the broader aims of the LDDC's strategy. But this still leaves unanswered the question of whether this policy has been a significant factor in causing change in the labour market. To answer this question, it is necessary to examine first, to what extent this policy has altered the supply side of the Docklands labour market and second, whether these changes have been having the intended affect of stimulating labour demand.

4.2.5 LDDC supply-side policies - training

The training strategy of the LDDC also represents an attempt to change the characteristics of local labour supply. But with this policy it is existing, rather than new, residents who are the focus of an attempt to "help adapt and raise the skills of local people where necessary" (LDDC 1983). The main justification for this strategy according to the former Chief Executive is "to assist local people become adept in skills required to take up the many opportunities created by new industries moving into Docklands" (Ward 1986 p.124). In addition, LDDC officers argued that the focus of these policies must be wider than just Docklands and that "Docklands must be viewed in the context of the wider labour market....one should attempt to match the unemployed in Docklands to London jobs" (LDDC 1986 p.2). The LDDC has also argued that training local residents "will also of course be an important incentive in attracting firms" (LDDC 1983 p.12).

These aims were confirmed in an internal consultant's report by Peat Marwick McLintock (1987) which the LDDC commissioned to review its training policies. This report, however, found that the objectives of training policies were not always clear. However, the report argues that the LDDC Board supported the main thrust of a paper on training in December 1982 which contained certain aims for a training policy. These were "assisting existing and new industry in Docklands to meet its skill requirements; improving job opportunities for Docklands people both in Docklands and elsewhere; enabling other organisations involved in training to perform their role effectively" (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987 p.17).

Given the incoherent approach to labour market policies it is not always easy to separate out LDDC training policy from other initiatives. For instance, a reply to a Parliamentary Question about LDDC training initiatives listed seven main initiatives involving £2.2 million in expenditure (Hansard 23.3.1987 Q.189). But in a later letter to the Docklands Forum (6th April 1987) from the former Vice Chairman, John Mills, one of these initiatives, technical regeneration of Docklands, turned out to be a series of conferences for businessmen and possible future measures, rather than an actual initiative. However, the information contained in this letter, along with the LDDC's written evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee (HMSO 1988b), provide details of training initiatives supported by the LDDC. The first major measure supported by the LDDC involved spending £458,000 between 1985 and 1988 on the provision of premises and equipment for a Docklands information technology training centre (ITEC) on the Isle of Dogs. This provides mainly YTS training monitored by the MSC/TA in office automation and electronics for currently about 70 to 80 trainees per year. The second major initiative funded by LDDC has been Skillnet, which is a collaborative project with the two local education authorities, Newham and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). Skillnet

is an educational broker, co-ordinating existing training provision and using LDDC and European Community money to provide additional vocational, sometimes employer-led, courses, often of shorter length than traditional training schemes¹. These additional short courses, called Quickstart, have been available to those aged 25 or under living in East London and provide training mainly in office skills, electronics, motor servicing and basic accounting. Skillnet also offers counselling and careers advice through a drop-in centre and has run a customised training course for new recruits of a new large retail employer in Docklands. In addition to these two major initiatives the LDDC has spent just over £1 million supporting a variety of initiatives including: an advertising leaflet to promote YTS construction training; two watersports training centres; the Delta YTS training centre in north Woolwich providing training in catering, office skills and hairdressing; Stepney Green YTS furniture workshop; a small YTS scheme in Bethnal Green; a Community Programme building training project; an office skills and childcare training project for adults; and providing computer and electronic equipment for local further education colleges². However, of all these initiatives only the ITEC, Skillnet, the leaflet advertising YTS construction schemes, the Delta training centre, the furniture workshop, one of the watersport centres and the computer equipment to local colleges had incurred LDDC expenditure by mid-1986 when the majority of the primary research for this thesis was completed. For this reason only the impact of these initiatives is assessed and measures funded at a later date are not discussed. It should also be noted that Skillnet was just being established by mid-1986 and this initiative was analysed by further primary research through interviews and participant observation in 1987.

4.2.6 LDDC supply-side initiatives - encouraging other agencies

These directly funded initiatives, however, did not represent the only aspect of the LDDC strategy for training. Much effort was expended by Corporation officers trying to encourage other agencies to take a lead role in local labour market initiatives. The 1983 Corporate Plan states that local residents will benefit from "MSC and its own (the LDDC's) training initiatives, to enable them to compete successfully for local jobs" (LDDC 1983 p. 12 parentheses added). Although the LDDC was annoyed by the MSC/TA's view that "they did not see that they had a remit to create any special area within London" (HMSO 1988b p.123), it did recognise that the MSC/TA were the statutory training provider and would hopefully meet some of the training needs of the area. One of the Chief Officers was insistent that "one should not be too negative about training in Docklands.....the MSC programmes will have some effect ...and we are encouraging them to set up more schemes" (Interview 10.2.1986 Mel Hague, LDDC Director of Operations) and one of the LDDC officers, giving evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment, argued that "the designers of the Corporation saw the MSC as being the primary government agency for training in Docklands" (HMSO 1988 p.123). The same attitude was applied to training provided through educational institutions with the LDDC claiming that "we have responded in the past to the prime providers - ILEA and the London Borough of Newham - and relied on their system of prioritisation" (HMSO 1988b p.118). But it was not just the public sector that the LDDC encouraged to become more involved in training in Docklands. Private sector employers were also urged to devote more resources internally or externally to training activities. As a result in early 1987, two of Skillnet's employees were secondees from private sector companies. The importance attached to other agencies was

emphasised by the LDDC internal review of training in 1986 which identified three training objectives for the LDDC to pursue: to be a focal point for existing provision; to be responsive to training needs and demands; to continue encouraging existing and incoming companies, the MSC/TA,, existing providers and other agencies to make much fuller use of existing resources in and around Docklands; and to secure additional resources for Docklands (LDDC 1986b). The last of these objectives was already being pursued prior to the 1986 internal review. Therefore, to analyse the effect of LDDC policy on training it is necessary to look wider than just LDDC funded measures and to assess the impact on the local labour market of initiatives provided by other agencies. However, this is far from straightforward since the other agencies were operating a whole range of schemes. The MSC/TA was promoting the national SEMs and STMs mentioned in Chapter 2, Further Education colleges and local authorities had been running training, counselling and information facilities for many years. The best recent example would be ILEA establishing the first school's compact in Britain, which guarantees school leavers job interviews with employers in return for improved school performances, and the LDDC is one of the participating employers (ILEA 1987a). Also private sector companies have been training their workers using government schemes, such as YTS and day release, and in-house training ranging from apprenticeships to management courses. Instead of trying to assess the specific impact of each of these different measures devised by other agencies, this thesis attempts to measure their impact in the context of the wider labour market by analysing how the demand-side of the labour market, in the form of employing establishments, and the supply-side, in the form of local young adult residents, have been affected by these various training schemes and other labour market initiatives.

This strategy of exhorting other agencies to become more involved in labour market initiatives has also been

adopted by the LDDC in an attempt to intervene in the interaction between labour supply and the labour market, by altering the job search process of local residents. The LDDC's abortive attempt to employ a 'job-searcher' indicated an acceptance that local recruitment might be improved by better information on vacancies. But the result of this failure was not entirely unsatisfactory, for it led to discussions with the the Department of Employment and in 1985 a job centre was opened, on the Isle of Dogs, to provide vacancy information. In addition, a job club was started offering occupational guidance and help with job searches. Again the LDDC did not actually fund this initiative, but it played a role in the evolution and development of this measure and it is, therefore, necessary to include this attempt to intervene in the job search process in an analysis of LDDC labour market policy.

4.3 Conclusion

The new job centre can be used by anyone but many of the measures just described are targetted on young people. This partly stems from the fact that many of the initiatives devised or supported by the LDDC were linked to national schemes aimed at the youth labour market, such as YTS. But the LDDC also took a decision to focus on young people. The former Chief Executive claimed that "we have a substantial proportion of our workforce in the lower age range of 16 to 35. Therefore in planning for the future we have to look primarily at the job prospects of those lower age groups and the children coming out of schools" (HMSO 1983 p. 16). This suggests that the young people were not just the target of supply-side measures, but also were intended to be the prime local beneficiaries from policies to stimulate labour demand. This was confirmed in discussions with LDDC officers and in an interview with one of the Chief Officers it was stated that "the young will find it easiest to adapt to new jobs

and that's why we've targetted training towards them" (Interview Mel Hague LDDC Chief Officer Operations 10.2.1986). Indeed, the LDDC were prepared to admit to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment that there had been an over-concentration on people aged between 18 and 25 and there was a need for more labour market initiatives for older people (HMSO 1988b). But given this targetting of labour market policy, part of the empirical analysis of this thesis is also focussed on young people.

It is also important to note that the vast majority of primary data for this thesis was collected by the late summer of 1986. Since that date there have been some changes in the LDDC's labour market strategy. An internal review of training policy in 1986 partly led in 1987 to the establishment of a youth enterprise centre and a Social Facilities Programme Unit within the LDDC to coordinate and develop the approach to training. However, until July 1988 all the officers working in this unit were doing so part-time since they had other responsibilities in the LDDC (HMSO 1988b). But the new unit secured increased funding for certain initiatives, such as Skillnet, and negotiations with the MSC/TA eventually led to the establishment of a Docklands Liaison group comprising officers of the two organisations. At the same time Olympia and York, the developers of Canary Wharf, agreed in their Master Building Agreement to encourage the recruitment and training of local people. A further agreement, the Tower Hamlets Accord, was signed by the developers with the Borough of Tower Hamlets which aimed to providing 2,000 jobs on Canary Wharf for local residents, and has since led to the establishment of two construction training schemes (HMSO 1988b). There are plans to sign a similar agreement between one of the major developers in the Royal Docks, the LDDC and the London Borough of Newham. But despite new initiatives in 1987 and 1988 the LDDC's approach to the labour market has received considerable criticism. The House of Commons

Select Committee on Employment noted that "there is no simple link between physical redevelopment and tackling unemployment amongst local residents" and added that the "LDDC's approach to training and education has been very limited, poorly monitored and not at all successful....failing to have precise objectives and targets" (HMSO 1988a p.xv). The new Chief Executive, Michael Honey, has reorganised the management structure of the LDDC so that there is a new employment division and a new community division. Also certain training co-ordinating groups have been set up with the local authorities. But it is unclear what the effect of the LDDC's internal reorganisation has been since it transpired that the LDDC and DoE were in March 1989 still negotiating the 1988 Corporate Plan, which affects the budgets of these new Departments.

These recent changes in labour market policy do not, however, lessen the value of the empirical research conducted between 1984 and 1986. The aim of the thesis is to assess the impact of policy whilst taking account of wider forces. As will be shown the main trends of change in Docklands had started to emerge by this period. Furthermore, the broad approach of the LDDC to the labour market has not changed significantly. The emphasis is still primarily on stimulating labour demand through physical redevelopment, accompanied by supply side policies for housing and increased training. The next chapter utilises primary data, especially the survey of employing establishments, and secondary material to outline the main changes in the economy of Docklands and to examine the effect of policy and other processes on the demand side of the labour market.

FOOTNOTES

1. Skillnet's funding is complex. The LDDC provided £1.1 million for 1985-1990 which was nearly all spent by early 1987 (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987). This had released

£0.5 million from the EEC Social Fund (HMSO 1988b). ILEA and the London Borough of Newham Education Authority make contributions in the form of reduced cost courses laid on for Skillnet. More recently, Skillnet has received further funding through the allocation of £4.4 million from the LDDC over five years (ILEA 1987b).

2. By the financial year 1986/7 the LDDC had spent £2.1 million on local primary and secondary schools which could be interpreted as a policy to alter the nature of the local labour supply. However, 99 per cent of this money was spent on physical infrastructure and one consultant's report concluded that the "main justification for a significant number of educational projects is that they contribute to environmental improvement, rather than to educational attainment" (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987 p.30). Therefore, the educational expenditure might better be described as physical regeneration rather than an intervention in the labour market and for this reason is not considered in this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

THE IMPACT OF THE LDDC ON THE CHANGING DEMAND FOR LABOUR

5.1 Economic change since 1981

The East London economy and labour market have undergone significant change since 1981 both within and outside the LDDC area. Table 5.1 outlines the nature of economic change in Greater and Inner London between 1981 and 1984, and Tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 provide comparable information for each of the Docklands boroughs. In this period of national economic decline London as a whole lost 2.68 per cent of its total employment and Inner London just under 0.82 per cent. In both geographical areas the production industries of manufacturing, construction, and energy/water supply declined markedly along with transport and communication. This was offset by significant employment growth in banking, finance, insurance, leasing and smaller growth in other services.

Although the three Docklands boroughs exhibited similar trends, there are also differences in the employment performances of the three boroughs. Tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 show that whereas employment declined by 9 per cent in Newham and nearly 4 per cent in Tower Hamlets, in Southwark there was an increase of 0.5 per cent. In all three boroughs the manufacturing sectors declined, whereas in Newham the percentage decline was less than in Inner London or Greater London whilst in Tower Hamlets and Southwark it was higher. But the differences in economic performance occur in the service sector. Banking, finance, insurance, leasing jobs grew by 24 per cent in Southwark, by 26 per cent in Tower Hamlets, and by 16 per cent in Newham. However, in Southwark there was also expansion in transport and communication, and other services, and in Tower Hamlets a growth in distribution, hotels, catering offset the losses in transport and communication and other services. But in Newham all other parts of the service sector experienced decline with

TABLE 5.1
Employment change in Greater London and Inner London : 1981 - 1984

1980 Standard industrial classification	Greater London				Inner London			
	1981	1984	change	%change	1981	1984	change	%change
1 Energy/water supply industries	55525	51132	-4393	-7.91	34099	32388	-1711	-5.02
2 Extraction/manufacture: minerals/metals	72950	59652	-13298	-18.23	26301	19800	-6501	-24.72
3 Metal goods/vehicle industries etc	301404	239686	-61718	-20.48	74524	60102	-14422	-19.35
4 Other manufacturing industries	310239	269662	-40577	-13.08	181811	160659	-21152	-11.63
5 Construction	161407	138768	-22639	-14.03	73071	61153	-11918	-16.31
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	686722	682610	-4112	-0.60	368451	364465	-3986	-1.08
7 Transport/communication	368347	338996	-29351	-7.97	222210	200965	-21245	-9.56
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	565970	631220	65250	11.53	432963	468664	35701	8.25
9 Other services	1034666	1050075	15409	1.49	607710	636381	28671	4.72
Total employment	3557230	3461801	-95429	-2.68	2021140	2004577	-16563	-0.82

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE80.

TABLE 5.2
Employment change in the London
Borough of Tower Hamlets 1981-1984

1980 standard Industrial classification	1981	1984	change	%change
1 Energy/water supply industries	1744	1212	-532	-30.50
2 Extraction/manufacture: minerals/metals	1816	851	-965	-53.14
3 Metal goods/vehicle industries, etc	4365	2803	-1562	-35.78
4 Other manufacturing industries	14755	11724	-3031	-20.54
5 Construction	3522	3280	-242	-6.87
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	13663	16251	2588	18.94
7 Transport/communication	9074	8001	-1073	-11.82
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	11613	14600	2987	25.72
9 Other services	23778	22384	-1394	-5.86
Total employment	84330	81106	-3224	-3.82

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE80.

TABLE 5.3
Employment change in the London
Borough of Newham 1981-1984

1980 standard Industrial classification	1981	1984	change	%change
1 Energy/water supply industries	1674	1456	-218	-13.02
2 Extraction/manufacture: minerals/metals	2646	2189	-457	-17.27
3 Metal goods/vehicle industries, etc	5092	4829	-263	-5.16
4 Other manufacturing industries	11434	10186	-1248	-10.91
5 Construction	2489	2089	-400	-16.07
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	13002	11190	-1812	-13.94
7 Transport/communication	12667	9539	-3128	-24.69
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	6350	7386	1036	16.31
9 Other services	19587	19390	-197	-1.01
Total employment	74941	68254	-6687	-8.92

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE80.

TABLE 5.4
Employment change in the London
Borough of Southwark 1981-1984

1980 standard Industrial classification	1981	1984	change	%change
1 Energy/water supply industries	3616	2732	-884	-24.45
2 Extraction/manufacture: minerals/metals	1235	938	-297	-24.05
3 Metal goods/vehicle industries, etc	7712	5981	-1731	-22.45
4 Other manufacturing industries	15201	12641	-2560	-16.84
5 Construction	5982	5299	-683	-11.42
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	22337	21790	-547	-2.45
7 Transport/communication	14283	16846	2563	17.94
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	14591	18157	3566	24.44
9 Other services	45119	46332	1213	2.69
Total employment	130076	130716	640	0.49

Source : 1980 Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE80

considerable losses in transport and communication. Nevertheless, certain clear-cut trends had established themselves in the early 1980's. The de-industrialisation and loss of transport and communication jobs of the 1970's had continued undiminished. The expansion of banking, finance, insurance, leasing was also a feature of the 1970's which continued between 1981 and 1984. Indeed, the expansion in this sector in Southwark was the major contributor to the boroughs small employment growth between 1981 and 1984. Employment levels in other services and distribution, hotels, catering remained almost level in the three boroughs as a whole during this period. These economic trends provide the local context for recent change in Docklands which has followed a similar pattern.

Table 5.5 examines the nature of employment change by gender and part/full-time. In Greater London male part-time jobs increased by 6.5 per cent and female full-time employment rose by 0.46^{per cent}. In all other categories there was a decline, especially male full-time and female part-time. In Inner London there was a slightly different pattern with an increase in both male and female part-time employment. But there was also a 1.7 per cent increase in female full-time jobs. In the three Docklands boroughs the picture is again different. In Newham and Tower Hamlets there was a decline in all categories, apart from a small absolute increase in male part-timers in Newham, but the percentage decline is least in female part-time jobs. In Southwark the numbers of part-time jobs had fallen and there had been an increase of over 1,050 full-time female jobs and a smaller increase of 300 male full-timers. One development common to all three boroughs, and not reported in Table 5.5, has been in the banking, finance, insurance, leasing sector, where the vast majority of the increase in employment was accounted for by rises in full-time jobs split roughly evenly between males and females (NOMIS 1989 Data set CE80). But generally from these figures it is not possible to discern

TABLE 5.5
Percentage employment change by gender part/full time
in Greater London, Inner London, the Docklands boroughs : 1981-1984.

	Greater London 1981-4	Inner London 1981-4	Tower Hamlets 1981-4	Newham 1981-4	Southwark 1981-4
Total male employment	-4.08	-2.49	-4.22	-9.68	0.38
Total female employment	-0.77	1.55	-3.13	-7.75	0.66
Total full time employment	-3.0	-1.57	-3.13	-9.19	1.24
Total part time employment	-1.21	3.41	-7.19	-7.88	-2.82
Total male full time employment	-4.79	-3.36	-4.45	-11.11	0.42
Total male part time employment	6.51	10.27	-0.53	12.93	-0.21
Total female full time employment	0.46	1.70	-0.12	-4.25	2.96
Total female part time employment	-3.15	1.14	-9.05	-12.60	-3.46
Total employment	-2.68	-0.82	-3.82	-8.92	0.49

Source : Censuses of Employment NOMIS dataset CE80.

any precise pattern of employment change by gender or part/full time.

In the LDDC area the extent of change has been even more marked. Table 5.6 describes the economic structure of Docklands in 1981, 1985 and 1987. The 1981 data is from the Census of Employment, and the 1985 and 1987 data are from employment censuses commissioned by the LDDC. The latter were extensive pieces of research and are believed to provide reasonably accurate information on the area's economy. For example the 1987 census covered 93 per cent of employing establishments and those not covered were all small firms or sole traders (RI Specialist Units 1988). Since 1981 total employment in employing establishments rose by 9,172, from 27,213 to 28,180 in 1985 and then to 36,385 in 1987. In addition in 1987 there were also 5,668 in other employments which was mainly comprised of construction jobs on temporary sites and employees paid from a paypoint outside the area (RI Specialist Unit 1988). Table 5.6 indicates that by 1987 there were three dominant sectors which are other manufacturing; distribution, hotels, catering; and banking, finance, insurance, leasing. These three sectors now account for 69 per cent of total employment in the LDDC area and have all experienced recent growth. The other manufacturing sector underwent decline between 1981 and 1985 but since then has increased by 4341 jobs. Nearly half of this growth is accounted for by the relocation of four national newspaper print works from the Fleet street area of London, formerly the centre of national newspaper printing in Britain. These four are The Guardian; Daily/Sunday Telegraph; Associated Newspapers (printers of the Daily/Sunday Mail); and News International (printers of The Sun, The Times, The Sunday Times and the News of the World). These establishments contain 1,924 workers (RI Specialist Units 1988) and will be joined in the near future by The Financial Times and Reuters. The same situation prevails regarding the growth in banking, finance, insurance, leasing where 4,286 jobs

TABLE 5.6
Employment change in the LDDC
Area : 1981-1985-1987

1980 standard industrial classification	1981	1985	1987
0 Agriculture, forestry, fishing	0	33	31
1 Energy/water supply industries	645	480	367
2 Extraction/manufacture: minerals/metals	1368	392	338
3 Metal goods/vehicle industries, etc	1130	1931	1777
4 Other manufacturing industries	7901	3871	8212
5 Construction	1964	1603	1465
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	4220	9001	8077
7 Transport/communication	5652	3031	2506
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	1452	3498	8643
9 Other services	2851	4340	4969
Not properly classified	30	0	0
Total employment	27213	28180	36385

Source : RI Specialist Units Ltd. (1988) pF21, pF25
LDDC (1988b) p.EMPL 12,5

out of the 7,193 increase in employment in this sector were accounted for by the relocation of 7 large establishments from the City of London (RI Specialist Units 1988).

The distribution, hotels, catering sector grew by nearly 5,000 jobs between 1981 and 1985 but declined slightly after 1985. This recent decline stems from the need for a number of firms in this sector to move within or out of the LDDC area, often as a result of the redevelopment process. Indeed, of the 583 firms that had to move within or out of Docklands between 1985 and 1987, 34 per cent were in this sector (RI Specialist Units 1988). However, a considerable amount of the expansion in this sector is in retail distribution outlets. For example, two Asda retail grocery superstores opened between 1982 and 1984 and employ about 750 workers between them. Other Do-it-yourself (D-I-Y) and household goods retail outlets next to the Asda store in Beckton employ about 500 workers. In the Surrey Docks a 280,000 square feet Tesco grocery superstore, a W H Smith and a British Home Stores provide nearly 1,000 jobs.¹ Despite the decline between 1985 and 1987 this sector is also set to grow in the future as new retail developments open at Tobacco Dock in Wapping, North Quay and Canary Wharf in the Isle of Dogs and current proposals for the redevelopment of the Royal Docks contain a huge 2.3 million square feet of retail space.

The other sector in the LDDC area to experience noticeable growth is other services. This expansion of 2,100 jobs is not the result major growth in one particular part of this sector. Instead it stems from small-scale expansion in leisure industries, tourism and the public sector. These sectoral changes meant that, despite a decline in transport and communication, by 1987 71 per cent of jobs in the LDDC area were in the service sector as opposed to 52 per cent in 1981.

In addition, there has been a change in the gender and part/full-time status in jobs in the LDDC area similar

to the changes occurring in the Docklands boroughs. Between 1985 and 1987 the proportion of jobs in Docklands that were male full-time jobs fell from 72 per cent to 66 percent, whilst female full-time jobs increased from 20 per cent to 26 per cent of employment in the LDDC area. There was also a small fall in the proportion of female part-time jobs and an increase in male part-timers (RI Specialist Units 1987).

These broad sectoral changes, however, conceal other aspects to the restructuring of the Docklands economy. Table 5.7 provides data on the scale and nature of employment change in the LDDC area. The net change of 9,172 jobs between 1981 and 1987 was comprised of an inflow of 20,137 jobs and an outflow of 11,145 jobs. The inflow resulted from both new start ups and firms relocating to Docklands. The outflow, which amounts to 40 per cent of the jobs in the area prior to LDDC designation, has occurred through establishment in-situ contraction, closure and relocation. The job losses associated with each of these processes occur through notified redundancies, unnotified redundancies and natural wastage. 2,206 of the jobs lost were in 40 firms employing 10 or more people that closed down between 1981 and 1987 making their workforces redundant. A further 1,346 notified redundancies occurred as a result of in-situ contraction. Of the 3,552 total redundancies in the LDDC area, 559 were in transport or wholesale distribution, 65 in other service sectors and the remainder in manufacturing (LDDC 1988b). The remaining 7,500 jobs were lost in ways other than through notified redundancies. A number of un-notified redundancies will have occurred in firms where less than 10 people were made redundant and the Department of Employment estimate that notified figures should be inflated by 40 per cent to account for such losses (Employment Gazette 1983). In addition, redundancies amongst part-timers and people on short term contracts do not have to be notified.

TABLE 5.7
Dynamics of employment change in
the LDDC Area : 1981-1987

Total employment 1981	27213
Gross employment decrease 1981-7	-11145
Gross employment increase 1981-7	20317
Net change 1981-7	9172
Total employment 1987	36385

Gross employment increase comprised of :

Employment in newly created establishments	4593
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Employment in firms relocating from outside the LDDC area	15724
-----------------------------------------------------------------	-------

Gross employment increase	20317
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Gross employment decrease comprised of :

Notified redundancies	
2 - 4 Manufacturing	2928
6 - 7 Transport/communications wholesale distribution	559
8 - 9 Other services	65
Total	3552
(2206 firm closure, 1346 other redundancies)	

Un/notified redundancies and other job loses	7593
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Gross employment decrease	11145
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Source : RI Specialist Units Ltd (1988) p.12, pF21.
LDDC (1988b) p.EMPL5,2

These job losses have been more than offset by the inflow of jobs. However, for the purposes of explaining employment change it is necessary to establish if these inflowing jobs are 'new' jobs, in the sense that they have not existed elsewhere before, or whether they are relocations from elsewhere in the British economy. Table 5.7 shows that 77 per cent of the inflows were transfers from elsewhere. This is a higher figure than that for the period 1981 to 1986 when 64 per cent of the 8,000 jobs that came to Docklands were transfers (HMSO 1988b). So that the proportion of transfers has now increased mainly due to the influx of print jobs. So any explanation of change must take account not just of the causes of new job growth but also must stress the forces leading to job relocation into Docklands. The remainder of this chapter uses primary and secondary sources to develop an explanation of these changes in the economic structure of the LDDC area and consequently attempts to assess the effect of LDDC policies to stimulate labour demand.

5.2 Accounting for employment change

5.2.1 Job growth

At one level the LDDC's aim to stimulate labour demand through property-led regeneration, so as to produce an economy based on sectors expanding nationally, seems to have been a success. Banking, finance, insurance, leasing is part of the nationally expanding producer service sector (Marshall 1988) and has grown rapidly in the LDDC area. The expanding retail sector would come under the LDDC's supporting activities target sector. The printing industry was also one of the LDDC's target growth sectors for relocation to Docklands. This link between policy aim and outcome might suggest that policy has been the main influence on change. But it is necessary to be more cautious in an assessment of policy effect. At an empirical level it could be argued that the national

newspaper industry was not technically a growth sector in employment terms since most of the relocations have resulted in job loss. The Daily and Sunday Telegraph were moved to Docklands after negotiation with print unions and in the process nearly 500 jobs were shed (The Times 24 March 1983). News International, on the other hand, moved to Wapping without consulting the print unions and dismissed 5,500 workers (Melvern 1986). Furthermore, other target sectors have not as yet expanded in Docklands. The LDDC had hoped to attract a range of 'hi-tech' activities in telecommunications, information technology and bio-technology (LDDC 1983). One consultant's report, commissioned to review past and future employment change, noted that certain telecommunications installations had come to the area but these were very low employment generators. It added that "to our surprise, Docklands has not yet attracted any of the major hardware manufacturers, or computer services companies.....all of whom have recently acquired space in Central London" (APR 1988 p.25). This suggests that other forces are determining the activities of firms in the 'hi-tech' industry which prevent LDDC policy having an effect upon them.

Equally, however, there is plenty of empirical evidence to show that LDDC incentives and policies have played a major role in attracting firms to Docklands and, thus, stimulating labour demand. A survey of 241 firms which had moved to the Isle of Dogs since 1981 found that for 19 per cent financial incentives were the main reason for moving there, while another 18 per cent cited the availability of premises (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1987). But other data suggests it is necessary to examine whether other forces were attracting or driving firms to Docklands. As the empirical data for the three Docklands boroughs has shown the expansion of finance, banking, insurance, leasing was occurring throughout the Docklands boroughs which suggests that other processes besides LDDC policy may be at work. Furthermore, in the other growth

sectors of retail and print, certain firms now operating in Docklands had been planning a move to Docklands prior to the LDDC's establishment. The Asda superstore was built, but not opened as a retail unit before 1981 and the relocation of News International had been planned in the 1970's when construction on the site in Wapping started. In fact, as well as being influenced by LDDC policy, many of the private sector companies which have relocated to, or opened in, Docklands, especially in the three key growth sectors are participating in a wider restructuring process as a response to changes in technology and the competitive conditions of the global economy. This fact has been recognised by the LDDC which has quite deliberately and opportunistically harnessed the spatial outcomes of this restructuring process to bring a number of businesses to the area.

The increase in the number of jobs in finance, banking, insurance and leasing is a good example of this process in operation. As already shown a large amount of the increase in this sector stemmed from firms transferring or expanding their activities from the City of London. Many of these firms have been attracted by lower rents in Docklands and the suspension until 1992 of rates in the Enterprise Zone (Estates Times 24.2.89). However, the demand for this space stems from global changes that have been occurring in the financial service industry. There have been two recent studies of the changing employment structure of the City of London (Thrift et. al. 1987, Rajan and Fryatt 1988). Both identify similar factors to explain the recent increase in employment in financial services in the City of London. Between 1981 and 1984 employment in finance, banking, insurance, leasing in the City of London local authority area expanded by 8,100 from 178,500 to 189,000, an increase of 4.6 per cent. However, since 1984 growth has been very rapid. Rajan and Fryatt's (1988) study of the City examines employment in the six major financial services activities and estimates that employment in these

activities rose from 157,000 in 1984 to 195,000 in 1987, a growth rate of 25 per cent. The causes of this sudden increase stem from the restructuring of what Thrift et. al. call the "New International Financial System" (p.3). The third world debt crisis of the late 1970's led to the "securitisation" (Rajan and Fryatt 1988 p.18) of debt. Commercial banks ceased to be the main intermediaries of flows of capital and interest-bearing bonds became the main system for the organisation of debt. As a consequence, for many borrowers and lenders it became cost effective to diversify into new forms of securitised borrowing, such as Euro-bonds, which were increasingly obtained on an international basis (Rajan and Fryatt 1988). At the same time this diversification and internationalisation was also being encouraged by the investment patterns of pension funds and insurance companies. These organisations represent the most significant source of funding on many stock exchanges and in their search for high quality investments were becoming increasingly international in their investment patterns, demanding more sophisticated, customised products, leading to further diversification by intermediary organisations (Thrift et. al 1987). These processes of internationalisation, diversification and securitisation were assisted by new information technology that allowed a dramatic increase in turnover and efficiency. As a result in the late 1970's the City of London was ceasing to be a competitive location due first, to the expense of capital formation through exchange floors and fixed commissions and second, the regulated demarcation of function between jobbers and brokers (Thrift et. al. 1987). Government deregulation, starting with the reduction of foreign exchange controls in 1979 and leading up to the Big Bang in the form of the Financial Services Act in 1986, removed the competitive disadvantages of London. As a result London was able to take advantage of its location in global time zones and become, along with New York and Tokyo, one of the three cities where world activity in

financial services was becoming increasingly concentrated. This "spatial concentration" (Thrift et. al 1987 p.14) of activity in London led to the influx of foreign companies and capital, and to a series of takeovers and mergers as companies tried to enter new markets and diversify their operations (Rajan and Fryatt 1988). It was these processes of securitisation, internationalisation, diversification, concentration, facilitated by government deregulation and new technology that led to the recent expansion of employment in this sector. In the survey of 490 institutions by Rajan and Fryatt (1988), these processes were continually referred to by the companies themselves as the reasons for expanding employment. This expansion of employment in the City in the mid-1980's has created a demand for new office space in the City, partly as a result of the need for more floorspace, but also because of the demand for buildings that can accommodate sophisticated information technology (Daniels 1987). However, this growth in demand has also led some companies to relocate or expand into areas neighbouring the City of London including the West End and Docklands (Financial Times 3 March 1989).

It is perhaps too early to tell exactly how the effects of this restructuring of the international financial system will manifest themselves in Docklands. But already there are clear links between this international process and the expansion of the finance, banking, insurance, leasing sector in the area. A good example is provided by Banque Arabe Internationale d'Investissements (BAII), a foreign bank that relocated their operations to London Bridge City in Docklands in 1987. The company were short of space due to expansion of employment in their previous office in the City near Liverpool Street. In addition, in 1987 BAII, in order to diversify their operations, took over the stockbroking company of Shepherd and Chase. Therefore, to bring these different operations together in one place and overcome existing space constraints the company undertook a

relocation (Meeting BAI employee 4.5.1988). Other companies from the same sector cite the cheaper rents as a reason for relocation to Docklands, stemming from the 100 per cent increase in office rents in the City of London since 1984 (Estates Times 24 February 1989). However, these rent differentials occur because of the pressure for office space in the City caused by the global restructuring process. Daniels (1987) summarises these effects when he states that:

"A relatively small number of key cities, most notably London, New York and Tokyo are the principal beneficiaries of this process. London, and in particular the City, continues to be transformed by the internationalisation of services....Deregulation (the so-called Big Bang) has stimulated further rapid change and placed new demands upon the City and its environs.... there has been a major upswing in demand for office space.....which has rejuvenated the economic prospects of east London Docklands." (p. 437)

Of course the Docklands area has not been a passive respondent to the internationalisation of the financial sector. Prior to Big Bang 1,690 jobs in this sector came to Docklands between 1981 and 1985 mostly in offices at St.Katharine's Dock on the edge of the City. The LDDC have continued to respond to, and exploit, the changes that have occurred since then. The ^{then} Chief Executive claimed that "the City is entering into a major phase of evolution and expansion which coincides with Docklands' ability to offer uniquely convenient and appropriate space for that expansion" (Ward 1986, p.125).

The increase in retail outlets can be explained in a similar fashion. The expansion of retail provision in part reflects the demand created by the growing population of the area. But the expansion is also synonymous with a national growth and restructuring in retailing. Indeed, the expansionist strategy that brought two Asda superstores to Docklands has already been described in the geographical literature (Jones 1981). Jones (1981) notes

that Asda, one of the pioneers of superstore shopping, expanded in the north in the early 1970's from their original base in Leeds. By the late 1970's the company were using their increased profits "to concentrate their expansion in the south east of England" (Jones 1981 p.200) and, thus, move into the market areas of their southern-based competitors. Jones (1981) goes on to predict that due to the difficulties in obtaining planning permission in the South East of England, "Asda's experience suggests that superstore proposals which form part of wider urban development and redevelopment schemes may find favour with planning authorities and thus future superstore development may tend to be concentrated within urban areas" (p.200). The relevance of these conclusions to Docklands was confirmed during an interview with one of the Docklands Asda store managers as part of the survey of employing establishments. The manager argued that first, and foremost, the store opening in Docklands was part of the companies expansion into its competitors markets in the South East of England, which was designed to maintain the companies rate of expansion. Also planning permission, even prior to the LDDC had been relatively easy to obtain, and, in addition "we felt that the outlets of our competitors nearby... were in many ways low quality outlets...and...we could compete successfully from here" (Interview 31.1.1985). Tesco's have also opened a grocery superstore in Docklands for similar reasons. Their store in the Surrey Docks is claimed to be one of the largest and highest standard grocery superstores in South East London. It is calculated to be within twenty minutes' drive of 900,000 Londoners (Chartered Surveyor Weekly, 3 December 1987).

These new openings within Docklands are, therefore, closely tied in with expansion and restructuring within grocery retailing. Wrigley (1987) reports that the concentration of retail capital in a number of major corporations has brought increased competition for key sites for food and household goods superstores, as the

corporations expand from their traditional areas. He also predicts, however, that these corporations, who are now as economically important as some of the large manufacturing corporations, will continue their "existing policies of diversification into more rapidly growing and more profitable sectors of retailing, particularly out-of-town D-I-Y..centres and households goods retailing; sectors where annual profit increases of 40 per cent per annum have been achieved regularly in the 1980's" (Wrigley 1987 p.1206). Therefore, it is not surprising to find alongside the Asda superstore in Beckton, a large Currys (Hi-Fi goods) and Texas Homecare (DIY) warehouses. The Surrey Docks also includes large branches of British Home Stores (household goods) and W H Smith (household goods and stationery). In this context the growth of retailing in London Docklands is hardly unexpected. Sites in Docklands are surrounded by a large urban catchment area and have space for car parks. Nearby high-street shopping centres are often poor quality environments and provide limited competition. The sites are now recognised as good potential locations for corporations looking to expand their operations, especially in the increasingly profitable grocery, household goods and DIY markets. Naturally, the growth of the retail sector has been actively encouraged by the LDDC who commissioned studies of the areas shopping potential to provide marketing data to attract companies. The LDDC also recognise the importance of shopping facilities as a magnet to attract new residents to the area and thus maintain the housing market (LDDC 1988a). Here again, therefore, LDDC policy has harnessed the momentum of commercial restructuring to bring economic change to London Docklands.

The other industry that has become a major part of the Docklands economy is newspaper printing, the restructuring of which has been well researched (Melvern, 1986). The pressure for rationalisation, technological change, reductions in manning levels and alterations in union and management relations had been increasing

throughout the 1970's in London's Fleet Street. Change would allow many newspapers to alter radically their profit levels. However, the extensive reorganisation needed could, for many Fleet street firms, be achieved most easily by a change in the geographical location of printing capacity (Melvern 1986). In the case of News International, Rupert Murdoch the Chairman of the parent company News Corporation predicted in the 1985 annual report that profits would increase dramatically without disputes and demarcation lines. This would allow the funding of new investment in profitable parts of the media industry, notably satellite and cable television (News Corporation 1985). Docklands, therefore, provided the sites and convenient location near central London, that allowed the print industry to be reorganised. The LDDC encouraged this relocation process by ensuring sites were prepared, equipped with infrastructure and available at a suitable price. But as with the growth in the retail sector and in finance, banking, insurance, leasing, the expansion of printing jobs in Docklands was also the outcome of both global and national economic processes.

The influence of these other forces on the key growth sectors in Docklands makes it very hard, if not impossible, to accurately assess the effect of LDDC policy on labour demand in the area. Clearly the influx of these firms has been assisted by the LDDC's planning policies, incentives and the availability of premises. But equally the demand for these premises may not have existed without the wider restructuring processes. The LDDC's influence is best seen in terms of its ability to harness and exploit these national and international forces. This begs the question is the LDDC a reactive or pro-active agency? The answer is of course both. The LDDC has been reactive to the restructuring process of the British manufacturing and service sector. In the case of retail, financial services and printing Docklands has benefitted from the broader changes in these sectors: whereas change in other industries, most notably 'hi-tech', has not

produced the new firms the LDDC hoped for. Nevertheless, the LDDC has certainly pro-actively intervened in the local property and land market. It has also used grants under the Inner Urban areas to create new jobs and directly increase labour demand. The LDDC estimate that these grants by 1988 had created 1,830 new jobs (HMSO 1988b). However, this also suggests that nearly 40 per cent of the 4,593 new jobs created between 1981 and 1987 (see Table 5.5) were the result of some additional public sector expenditure. This suggests that increasing labour demand in Docklands in terms of new jobs has not been an easy task even during the more favourable national economic climate since 1984. However, as already stated the LDDC hopes turnover in relocating companies will provide vacancies in future, even if these jobs do not represent a net increase in the demand for labour. So the increases in labour demand must be linked to LDDC policy. However, there are other forces at work that have an equally important influence on job growth in the local economy.

5.2.2 Job losses

The same combination of global industrial restructuring and local policy has also determined job losses. Due to the limited data available it is not possible to account for all of the 11,145 jobs lost in Docklands between 1981 and 1987 (see Table 5.3). However, where evidence does exist it can be used to discern some of the key processes at work. The loss of manufacturing jobs in Docklands has continued to occur in the branch plants of multi-national corporations which have embarked on major rearrangements of their UK operations. A good example is the former Crosse and Blackwell soup canning factory in Newham Docklands. Crosse and Blackwell are a subsidiary of the Swiss multinational Nestle and since the late 1970's has seen its share of the British canned-soup market fall from over

20 per cent to around 8 per cent due to competition from retailers' own brand products (GLC 1986b). The response to this situation by Nestle was to develop a new aseptic carton for soups and rationalise their canning operations. This led to the closure of the plant in Docklands with the loss of 450 jobs and the intensification of production at the two other Crosse and Blackwell plants in Scotland (GLC 1986b and Interview 24.2.1985 Mel Hague LDDC Director of Operations).

The interviews with employing establishments also provide evidence of the causes of manufacturing job loss. The 6 manufacturing firms employing more than 200 employees and 6 of the 7 employing between 50 and 199 employees were owned by multinational companies from the United Kingdom, Canada, USA, and Holland. Only 1 of these 12 branch plants had expanded employment in the two year period between the interviews. In the remainder job loss had occurred mainly as a result of natural wastage but also via notified redundancies. The total employment losses in these 11 declining plants amounted to just over 1,600. If these are added to the 420 redundancies at Crosse and Blackwell, which occurred during the interview period, then this accounts for nearly 2,100 job losses in a two year period. This represents nearly 20 per cent of the gross employment decline in Docklands between 1981 and 1987.

The restructuring strategies that led to these losses were varied. The largest single loss, nearly 700 jobs, was at the Tate and Lyle sugar refinery and packing plant. These stemmed from the parent companies' profitability problems in its UK refining activities due to a shrinking market and European Community import quotas for sugar cane. This led in 1987 to the failed takeover bid for British Sugar, Britain's main beet sugar producer, as an attempt by Tate and Lyle to improve profits by a virtual monopoly control of sugar refining in Britain (Tate and Lyle 1987). The introduction of new technology at the refinery in Docklands had only slightly eased the

problem. But reducing the size of the workforce was still necessary to retain even small profit levels at the Docklands plants (Interview Tate and Lyle 6.1.1986). More recently Tate and Lyle announced the likely future closure of their packaging plant in Docklands with the loss of 586 jobs, amidst speculation that the cause of this development was the opportunity for large windfall profits from land price increases in Docklands (Financial Times 4.12.1987).

Other large manufacturing plants employing more than 200 workers were also experiencing profitability problems. For a cigarette manufacturing plant a fall in UK demand was cited as the principal reason for job loss. The effects of the recession on product markets had also led to employment decline in four other large manufacturing firms. In two of these firms the parent company was diversifying away from the product markets served by the Docklands plants due to a lack of foreseeable future growth. Two other firms had been effected by takeovers of their parent companies which had led to the worldwide reorganisation of operations in the company as a whole. In both cases this had involved job loss in the Docklands plants as productive capacity was switched to other subsidiary firms elsewhere in the UK. In one of these two firms old premises prevented the introduction of certain new technology and so production had to be switched to another plant outside London. In the other establishment the new parent company reduced and specialised the range of products being produced, but then decided that some of these specialist products were better produced at another plant within the group. It is clear, therefore, that the various restructuring strategies adopted by the multi-national parent companies of Docklands manufacturing plants were partly responsible for job loss in Docklands.

This does not mean, however, that the LDDC does not have any influence over existing firms. The Inner Urban Areas Act allows the LDDC to provide assistance to

existing firms, outside the Enterprise Zone. The LDDC claim that under this act 1,527 jobs have been retained in Docklands (LDDC, 1987b). The LDDC Director of Business Development felt that this figure represented a considerable impact. He argued that by 1987 there were 16,000 jobs in Docklands in firms that had been in existence prior to 1981 and nearly 10 per cent of these had been retained by LDDC policy (Interview Peter Turlick LDDC Director Business Development 11.10.1987). However, it is not clear from the LDDC's monitoring of IUAA grants measures whether the jobs would have been retained without assistance.

At the same time, however, the processes set in motion by LDDC policy may have led to job losses. Compulsory purchase orders, or at least the threat of them, have forced some firms to leave, while others have simply taken advantage of the rapidly rising land prices and either closed down or relocated, selling a valuable site in the process. The London Borough of Southwark speculated that a number of firms had left Southwark Docklands because "inflationary land values caused by LDDC activities enabled them to make large profits on the sale of land and move out, often to greenfield sites" (HMSO 1987b p.221). However, during the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment enquiry into UDCs, members of the Committee suggested that other factors such as high costs of rates and the pressure of operating in London had been responsible for these relocations. As a result the representatives from Southwark had to admit that "obviously there are a range of pressures" (HMSO 1987b p.226). Nevertheless, there are a number individual examples of jobs being lost as a result of the regeneration process. A transport company, WBS Transport, with 400 employees was forced to move from sites in Greenland and Royal Docks to make way for development. The company found alternative premises in Thurrock, Essex which was too far away for some local residents to remain employees. A year later the company had gone out of

business (HMSO 1988b). However, opponents of the LDDC, who were using this example to criticise LDDC policy towards existing firms in their evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment enquiry, had to admit that it was not clear whether the eventual closure of this firm had been precipitated by relocation (HMSO 1988b). Also on a number of other occasions members of the Committee suggested that many existing firms in Docklands may have been operating from premises where historical factors had led to rents below the market level. Hence, the loss of this advantage would have forced them out of business anyway (HMSO 1988b). But no evidence was presented to the Committee to support or dismiss this argument.

However, it does seem that relocation can have detrimental affects on labour demand in Docklands. An LDDC internal report states that between 1981 and 1987 85 firms were relocated by the LDDC outside Docklands and a further 100 firms were being assisted with relocation. The same report also notes that a high proportion relocated within a reasonable travel to work distance for any employees that might be Docklands residents. But this also suggests a small proportion were relocating a substantial distance away, resulting in a loss of employment opportunities from the area (LDDC 1987c). This was confirmed by a survey of firms that had left the Isle of Dogs between 1984 and 1987, in which attempts were made to trace over 200 firms but only 29 successful interviews were held (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1987). 8 firms had moved because their site was required for redevelopment and 7 because leases on rented property controlled by the LDDC were not renewed. In the majority of cases existing employees kept their jobs after the firms had moved. However, interviews with the owners of five firms who had closed down since moving from the Isle of Dogs suggested that jobs had been lost as a result of relocation (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1987). Although the numbers of jobs lost in this way are small,

it seems clear that some job opportunities are being lost through the process of redevelopment. This would not be the first time large scale urban redevelopment in Britain has led to employment decline. Therefore, the loss of employment through the redevelopment process, combined with job loss occurring through corporate restructuring indicates that the LDDC has not been very successful in its aim of maintaining enterprise and employment stability. Nevertheless, labour demand has increased in the Docklands area since 1981, reversing a long established process of decline. But the primary and secondary evidence presented in this section indicates that whilst LDDC policy has had an influence on labour demand, other factors such as competition, product market changes, corporate strategies and technological change have also been important influences.

5.2.3 The LDDC and other policies to increase local labour demand.

Increasing labour demand was only one part of the LDDC's approach to the local labour market. It is now necessary to see if primary and secondary evidence can be used to indicate the impact of its other labour market initiatives. The local labour market in Docklands and the surrounding area has continued to exhibit major problems. Table 5.8 indicates that male unemployment in the LDDC area rose sharply between 1981 and 1984 to a peak of just under 30 per cent. The female rate peaked at 15.2 per cent in early 1985. Since then the male rate has declined to 22.8 per cent and the female rate to 11.2 per cent in October 1987. Although the male rate is below that for 1981, this stems from the changed denominator for the rate in Docklands due to the increase in population. The total number of unemployed people was 4,377 in October 1987 compared to 3,553 in 1981. However, the rate of male unemployment in the LDDC area has fallen faster than in the Docklands boroughs, where it fell from a peak of 23.7

TABLE 5.8
 Unemployment in the Docklands boroughs and the IDDC area : 1981 - 1987.

	IDDC area		Docklands boroughs	
	Number M	Rate per cent F	Number M	Rate per cent F
1982 July	2836	717	28358	7727
1982 January	3089	777	31495	8366
1983 January	3498	1072	36303	11425
1984 January	3640	1192	37718	13175
1985 January	3699	1284	39170	14092
1986 January	3820	1207	41356	14354
1987 January	3653	1224	40619	13821
October	3303	1074	36248	12083

Source : HMSO (1988b p.39)

per cent in 1986 to 20.6 per cent in October 1987, compared to 9.4 per cent in Greater London (London Research Centre 1987). So despite changes in recording unemployment rates, a growth in employment nationally and local regeneration policies, unemployment in the local labour market remains high, affecting 1 in 5 of the economically active males.

Against this background the LDDC devised its labour market initiatives to increase the demand for local labour, to change the characteristics of the labour supply and to encourage the expansion of the activities of other agencies concerned with the labour market. At a general level the initiatives to increase the demand for local labour do not seem to have been particularly successful. The LDDC hoped that local labour would be demanded to fill vacancies in relocating firms or in supporting services. The effect of this 'trickle down' process can be measured generally by commuting patterns and specifically by the characteristics of recruits filling new vacancies. An internal LDDC report, approved by the Board, noted limited recruitment of local labour by incoming firms, since "firms which have come to Docklands since 1981 are less likely to employ local labour than existing firms. Of employees in all Docklands firms 44 per cent lived in the 3 Docklands Boroughs whereas the comparative figure for arrivals since 1981 is only 29 per cent" (LDDC 1986 p.2). Similar findings were obtained by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (1987) survey of firms on the Isle of Dogs which found that 29 per cent of employees in the Isle of Dogs' firms established after 1981 were from the surrounding borough of Tower Hamlets, but for firms established before 1981 the figure was 60 per cent.

Data on commuting patterns, however, only generally assess the 'trickle down' effect. Other sources of data provide a more accurate measure of the use of local labour to fill vacancies by incoming firms. An earlier survey by Roger Tym and Partners (1984) obtained data on 166 employees who were newly recruited to firms which had been

established in the Isle of Dogs Enterprise Zone after 1981. 35 per cent of these employees were found to come from the Docklands boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham. However, these data were obtained by a general question on the proportion of new recruits who lived locally. The survey of 53 employing establishments conducted for this thesis provides more accurate data on new recruits. In both rounds of interviews firms were asked to provide information on any new employees recruited in the last year. But this data was not based on a general question. Instead, part of the questionnaire obtained information on new recruits to particular job categories. Firms were then asked to provide data on the characteristics of each of these new recruits, preferably by consulting personnel files. Only reliable information was used and vague guesses by company personnel officers were ignored. Table 5.10 shows data on the characteristics of 431 new recruits to Docklands firms, 154 in firms established prior to LDDC designation and 277 in firms which came to Docklands after 1981.

However, the survey of employing establishments was part of a wider questionnaire to examine the effects of YTS and YWS, the particular job categories in which new recruits worked were all jobs that in theory could be done by young people aged 18 or under. As a result none of the new recruits were in professional or managerial jobs and only a very small number were supervisory jobs. Table 5.10 shows the characteristics of jobs in which new recruits were working. In firms established after 1981 over half the new recruits were in junior non-manual jobs, whereas in older firms, which were mainly in the manufacturing or transport sector, new recruits tended to be in manual jobs. Table 5.9 also contains further information on the characteristics of new recruits. Here it can be seen that there were further differences between firms established before and after 1981 in terms of the residential locations of new recruits. 112, 26 per cent, of new recruits came from the borough of Newham, but for

TABLE 5.9
Numbers, residential locations and previous labour market
status of new recruits in sample establishments

	Round 1 interviews 1984-5	Round 2 interviews 1985-6	Round 1 + Round 2
Total number of new recruits	244	187	431
Number of new recruits in firms established for 5 or more years	73	81	154
Number of new recruits in firms established for less than 5 years	171	106	277
Number of new recruits with residential address in Newham	65	47	112
Number of new recruits with residential address in Newham who were registered as unemployed before taking job	18	11	29
Number of new recruits with residential address in LDDC area	6	9	15

TABLE 5.10
Employment characteristics of new recruits
by age of sample establishments

Socio-economic group	percentage of new recruits	
	firms established for 5 or more years	firms established for less than 5 years
Junior non-manual SEG 6	37	57
Personal service workers SEG 7	14	11
Skilled manual SEG 9	12	8
Semi-skilled manual SEG 10	23	9
Unskilled manual SEG 11	13	14
Other SEG's	1	1
Total	100%	100%
Total recruits	154	277

firms established after 1981 only 18 per cent of new recruits came from Newham, compared to 41 per cent in older firms who seemed to make greater use of local labour. There was little difference in the pattern of local recruitment between the two rounds of interviews; 23 per cent of the recruits covered by round one interviews were from Newham, compared to 30 per cent of the second round recruits. However, for the 112 new recruits who were residents of Newham it was possible to identify only 15, 3.5 per cent of the total number of new recruits, who lived in the LDDC area. More significantly only 29 of these 112 locally-resident new recruits were known to have been previously registered unemployed. Of these 29, only 9 were working in firms established since 1981. Therefore, new recruits to firms in Docklands were far more likely to be re-entrants to the labour markets or people changing jobs. This was a similar finding to the study of Gatwick Airport by Parsons (1983), which revealed that large proportions of new employees to firms in the airport, sometimes up to 80 per cent, were recruited from other jobs.

The data on new recruits, who were mainly in lower grade jobs, suggests that the hoped for 'trickle down' effect leading to an increased demand for local labour has only occurred on a very limited scale. Three important conclusions could be drawn from this evidence; first, the majority of new recruits, especially amongst firms established after 1981, were not from the borough of Newham; second, very few were from the LDDC area; third, the locally unemployed were not obtaining many jobs in new firms. This situation confirms the findings of studies of metropolitan labour markets (Gordon and Lamont 1982, Gordon 1985, Buck et. al. 1986) that the major effects of employment growth, in any particular metropolitan location, are spatial adjustments in commuting patterns, and spatial adjustments in the female rates of participation and concealed unemployment. The evidence presented above concerning the commuting patterns of

employees in Docklands firms generally and new recruits, in particular, indicates that the lack of 'trickle down' probably stems from the commuting adjustments in the wider London labour market.

However, it is possible that other labour market relationships may operate in such a manner as to limit the interaction between local labour demand and supply. The survey of employing establishments provided data on the nature of firms' recruitment channels and selection criteria which are two of the key determinants of the link between expressed demand for labour in the form of vacancies and labour supply. Information on recruitment channels used by the 53 surveyed firms was obtained for the job categories that could be done by young people. The survey obtained data on the main recruitment methods to 231 job categories in the first round and slightly less in the second round. There was very little difference in the overall pattern of main recruitment methods used between the two rounds of interviews and, therefore, Table 5.11 contains the data on recruitment methods by Socio-economic Group for the first round of interviews in 1984/5 only. The most important point to emerge is that for 122 of the 231 job categories the main recruitment channel was either off-chance enquiries, personal contacts, internal channels or company waiting lists. In all these cases the job vacancy is never transmitted to the wider local labour market and this clearly prevents many people from applying. Personal contacts was the most cited main recruitment method and it went hand-in-hand with off-chance enquiries because as it became known within a company that vacancies were about to occur, employees would advise friends and relatives to submit off-chance enquiries. Several of the firms using off-chance enquiries saw it as a form of selection criterion since it exhibited initiative by the applicant. In addition, a number of firms added suitable unsolicited applicants to the waiting lists of potential employees they maintained.

TABLE 5.11
Main recruitment methods for job categories in Round one interviews (1984-5).

	Other SEG's	Junior non- manual SEG 6	Personal service workers SEG 7	Skilled manual SEG 9	Semi-skilled manual SEG 10	Unskilled manual SEG 11	Total
Off-chance enquiries	-	8	1	-	-	9	18
Personal contacts of staff	3	27	3	5	13	10	61
Internal channels	2	9	-	9	2	-	22
Waiting list	-	7	-	8	3	3	21
Job centre	-	11	4	2	12	8	37
Private agency	-	12	-	-	1	-	13
Local press	-	9	11	-	3	3	26
Regional press	1	5	1	2	1	-	10
National press	4	2	-	-	-	-	6
Local schools/careers office	-	4	2	-	1	1	8
Other	-	5	1	2	-	1	9
Total	10	99	23	28	36	35	231

Of the methods that transmit information more widely the most often cited was the Job Centre. However, for a number of firms the Job Centre was used primarily for the lowest grade, least skilled jobs since it was argued that the Job Centre produced the lowest calibre of applicants. The use of the Job Centre to obtain low skill workers was reported to be a national phenomenon in the large scale Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (WIRS) (Millward and Stevens 1986). In fact, the WIRS data on nearly 2,000 firms found, like this survey of employing establishments, that the most cited main recruitment methods of firms were personal contacts, the Job Centre or the press (Millward and Stevens 1986). A few firms from Newham Docklands, wishing to avoid large numbers of applicants from Job Centres, used methods where they felt applicants were screened before interview by recruitment agencies or careers offices. Two other firms had to have potential recruits screened in a different way since they were bound by pre-entry closed shop agreements. Thus, they had to accept employees provided by the union (these fall in 'other' category in Table 5.11). This suggests that trade unions, which used to have a major effect on the labour market in Docklands through their strength in the Docks and traditional manufacturing companies (Hill 1976), are no longer such an important influence at least in terms of recruitment. Establishments not affected by closed shops provided plenty of anecdotal information indicating that clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled vacancies advertised in the local press would generate ample applicants within one or two days. Nevertheless such recruitment methods are not the norm. It seems reasonable to speculate therefore that the imperfect flow of information may partly be responsible for the low levels of recruitment of local labour to local vacancies. Some recruitment channels, such as informal contacts, may benefit the local labour force if they serve to keep information in the local area. But it seems more likely that the opposite will occur with vacancy information not being transmitted

to the locally unemployed. Therefore the existing interaction between labour demand and supply limits the impact of new initiatives.

Other studies of urban labour markets have suggested that the selection criteria used by firms can limit the chances of applicants from particular areas obtaining employment (Boddy et. al. 1986, Davies and Mason 1986). Therefore, it is also possible that the selection criteria used by firms might further limit the use of local labour by local firms. The evidence from the survey of firms is not particularly clear on this issue. In 36 of the 209 categories that could be done by young people some form of written test was given to applicants and for 95 categories some importance was attached to formal qualifications such as 'O' levels. However, for over half the job categories formal qualifications were not necessary. Firms tended to utilise experience as a measure of ability instead. Although more detailed research would be needed to examine the potential discriminatory effects of written tests, there was nothing to suggest that these factors would prevent residents of the borough of Newham, with adequate skills, from obtaining jobs. Employers were also asked direct questions to examine if a history of long-term unemployment or regular job changing were used as selection criteria. Only 10 of the 53 firms claimed they would view an applicant with these characteristics negatively. The remainder of firms took the view that if an individual had the skills required then such factors as long term unemployment or regular job changing did not matter.

There were, however, two small firms which were blatantly racist in their recruitment and claimed they would never employ a coloured person but these cases, although disturbing, were rare. Also the personnel manager of one of the larger private sector firms had a very negative attitude towards residents of the borough of Newham claiming "that people around here don't want to work...Honestly we've given up looking round here"

(Interview 11.12.1984). Therefore, in trying to explain the limited 'trickle down' effect in London Docklands, recruitment methods seem to be having more of an influence on the interaction between the supply and demand for local labour than selection criteria. These and other supply-side mechanisms, such as commuting adjustments, which determine the nature of labour supply in a small part of an urban area, have prevented the increase in labour demand in London Docklands from having a significant impact on the demand for local labour. It is these types of interconnections between different elements and relationships in the labour market that can be established by a study of local economic and labour market policy based on the conceptual model outlined in Chapter 2. In an effort to combat the effect of these relationships in the labour market the LDDC has pursued other policies to increase the demand for local labour.

5.2.4 The effect of other local labour demand policies

The other initiatives designed to increase the demand for local labour were intended to intervene directly in the interaction between labour supply and demand and get local Docklands residents directly into jobs in Docklands. The Executive Management Team of the LDDC decided in 1984 that the local employment clause in construction contracts could not be a legal requirement (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987), but it was hoped that it might lead to local labour being used for construction work. The monitoring of the GLC's contract compliance unit suggested this strategy had not worked on the construction of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR). Peter Wade of the Association of Island Communities reported that the results of the monitoring project indicated that usually less than 1 per cent of DLR construction workers were residents of Docklands boroughs and summed up the dissatisfaction: "We keep hearing this magic word monitoring. All that ever does is tell us how many jobs we

haven't got. What we need is job guarantees" (The Docklands Forum monthly meeting 22.4.1986). But it was not just the contractors who were not particularly concerned by the local labour clause. The internal LDDC report on the disposal of a housing site by tender at Swedish Quays in the Surrey Docks area, showed that 8 companies submitted detailed development briefs, but only 5 deemed it necessary to indicate how they would employ local labour. The contract was awarded to one of the three companies that had ignored the local labour clause, mainly because they were prepared to pay the highest price for the land (LDDC 1985a). This seems to confirm the claim of one of the LDDC officers that the local labour clause had "not been taken seriously" by many Corporation employees (Meeting LDDC officers 3.10.1985). The Construction Industry Training Board, however, stressed to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment that such local labour clauses are notoriously difficult to implement because the main contracting companies have large numbers of permanent employees which they would have to make redundant to employ local labour. Furthermore, the operations of sub-contractors are very changeable and not easily influenced by policy (HMSO 1988b). Again wider demand-side forces severely restrict the impact of local policy, which it seems, was being half-heartedly pursued.

Other initiatives have been more successful. The LDDC 1987/8 Annual Report notes that the attempt to encourage the use of local labour by the companies running the DLR and London City Airport had been successful since a third of employees on the DLR and 70 per cent of workers at the London City Airport are residents of the three Docklands boroughs (LDDC 1988a). Unfortunately, the evidence is confused. An internal consultant's report confirmed that 32 (36 per cent) out of the 88 staff on the DLR were residents of the three local boroughs, it also suggested that "a similar proportion of airport staff were from the three boroughs" (Peat Marwick and McLintock 1987). In addition, recent redundancies amongst the

airport staff have seen a number of residents from the three boroughs lose their jobs (The Docklands Forum monthly meeting 12.12.1988). Whatever the precise figure for the Airport may be, it seems that in both cases the proportion of local labour used is above the average for Docklands establishments established after 1981. The initiative, therefore, has met with some success. However, the numbers were very small compared to the scale of the unemployment problem in the three boroughs. In fact, the LDDC has devoted far more resources and attention to measures aimed at the supply-side of the labour market than at measures to link specifically local residents to new jobs. It is to these initiatives ^{that} we turn in the next chapter.

More recently, similar initiatives to specifically link local residents to local labour demand have been devised by other agencies. The commitment by Olympia and York, the developers of Canary Wharf, to recruit local labour has led to a number of schemes to recruit residents of the borough of Tower Hamlets into construction jobs. This has resulted in all new recruitment to the main contractors and sub-contractors on Canary Wharf being co-ordinated through an on-site office. By October 1988 70 of the 700 jobs on the site were held by local residents, but 49 of these were already employed with a contractor and simply transferred to work on Canary Wharf. (Information obtained by participant observation at a meeting of the Construction Training in Docklands group, attended by employees of Olympia and York, 11.10.1988.)

Prior to these developments, the LDDC's property-led approach to stimulate labour demand has had some effect, but the increase in labour demand in Docklands is also the outcome of broader national and international economic forces which makes it very difficult to specify the direct impact of LDDC policy. Policies to retain existing jobs have been somewhat less successful with job loss occurring as a result of corporate restructuring strategies and the localised effects of LDDC policies. The hoped for

'trickle down' of job opportunities to residents of the Docklands boroughs seems to be happening on a rather limited scale, especially when the characteristics of new recruits to Docklands firms are examined in more detail. Some policies to link local residents to local job vacancies have been a success, whilst others have had only a very limited effect. In summary, the LDDC's policies are only one of many influences on the demand-side of the local labour market and the interaction between labour demand and supply. Other forces often have an equally important impact, sometimes serving to limit and disperse the effects of LDDC policy initiatives. The next chapter examines how the LDDC's supply-side policies have intervened in and interacted with the other mechanisms and features of the local labour market.

FOOTNOTES

1. This information on employment in retail units was obtained from a number of sources. The data on Asda was obtained during interviews of employing establishments discussed in more detail later in the Chapter. Local authority economic development officers provided the data on other stores in Beckton and in Surrey Quays.

CHAPTER 6

THE IMPACT OF THE LDDC ON THE CHANGING SUPPLY OF LABOUR

6.1 Introduction

The LDDC's policies for altering the characteristics of the labour supply have, as noted in the previous chapter, evolved and changed since 1981. There are now a range of LDDC-funded initiatives providing training. Other agencies have also devised schemes to influence the nature of the local labour supply. However, the most long standing LDDC initiative on the supply-side of the labour market has been the intention to change the nature of the local labour supply through its housing policy. The links between the housing and labour markets will clearly take a period of time properly ^{to} evolve. But data collected for this thesis can be used to examine whether this link has started to emerge. The labour market aims of the LDDC's housing policy are to provide a skilled and professional workforce for new and existing firms. The intention is also to bring residents to the area who may provide an injection of entrepreneurial talent. The first two sections of this Chapter analyse the labour market impact of this housing policy. The first section uses the findings of the survey of new residents it examines the characteristics of new residents and their links with the labour market in Docklands. The second section draws on data from the survey of employing establishments which is used to study the effect of housing policy on the recruitment patterns of firms and the interconnections between firms and local residents. After this the Chapter assesses the impact of LDDC's other supply-side labour market policies that were outlined in Chapter 4. Therefore, the third section examines the effect of initiatives instigated primarily by the LDDC. And the fourth section analyses the outcome of LDDC's aim that

other agencies should develop further their measures for the supply side of the local labour market.

6.2 New residents and the labour market

The general characteristics of the new residents in owner-occupied housing covered by the survey are shown in Table 6.1. Data was obtained for both the 225 heads of households and 173 partners. The results provide an overwhelming picture of a new resident population comprised of young working couples. 51 per cent of households contained two people, nearly always a married or co-habiting couple, and 22 per cent were single person households. Over three-quarters of household heads were aged under 35 and average age was 28. 94 per cent of household heads were in full time work and only 3 were unemployed. Furthermore, 70 per cent of partners were employed with the vast majority working full-time. The youthful characteristics of new residents were hardly surprising given that many of the units were specifically designed for small families. They were also relatively cheap due to LDDC policies to promote affordable housing. Clearly new residents in expensive warehouse conversions in Wapping may have different characteristics. But the LDDC's policy has been to ensure that "average house prices on Corporation land are well below Greater London prices" (LDDC 1985b p.6). Furthermore, according to LDDC predictions for the units on future sites (LDDC 1988b), the type and relative cost of housing on the four estates surveyed in Newham will be characteristic of much new housing in Docklands. Therefore, the age characteristics of the sample may well be typical of new Docklands residents.

The influx of new residents has certainly been successful in achieving the LDDC's aim of introducing new characteristics to the local labour force. The composition of the sample in employment by Socio-economic group is shown in Table 6.2 and by industry type in Table

TABLE 6.1
New residents in sample : household,
size, age and economic status.

Number of people in household	Number of households			%
1	49			22
2	113			51
3	37			16
4	19			8
5	7			3
Total	225			100

Age of head of household	Number of heads of household			%
0 - 20	2			*
20 - 25	46			20
25 - 30	78			35
30 - 35	49			22
35 - 40	18			8
40 +	32			14
Total	225			100

Gender of head of household and partner	Head of household	%	Partner	%
Gender :				
Male	197	88	11	6
Female	28	12	162	94
Total	225	100	173	100

Economic status :				
Full time	212	94	122	70
Part time	-	-	19	11
Retired	4	2	-	-
Unemployed	3	1	2	1
Sick and disabled	1	*	-	-
Student	3	1	2	1
Housewives not working	2	*	28	16
Total	225	100	173	100

* less than 1 percent.

Column totals not always 100% due to rounding

6.3. In each table comparable data is given for the borough of Newham extracted from the 1981 Census of Population. 29 per cent of heads of household in employment were professional workers, employers or managers and 16 per cent of partners came into this category. The comparable figure for the borough of Newham was 7 per cent. Very few of the new residents were skilled or unskilled manual workers, but 19 per cent of heads of household and 15 per cent of partners were semi-skilled manual workers compared to 22 per cent in the borough as whole in 1981. The largest category of new residents was intermediate or junior non-manual. 43 per cent of head of households were in this group and 69 per cent of partners. These findings indicate that new residents have higher skill levels than existing residents and are more likely to work in non-manual jobs.

Respondents in employment were concentrated in particular industries. The industrial category containing the largest number of residents was other services. This was followed by banking, finance, insurance and leasing. The proportions in these industries were well above those for the borough of Newham in 1981. In addition, the manufacturing industry did not employ many new residents. So according to the results of the survey many new residents may already have the skills and industry experience necessary to work in the growing service sector of Docklands. The housing policies of the LDDC have already, and will continue to, alter the characteristics of the labour supply in Docklands. However, this does not necessarily mean that these changes have had the intended beneficial effect on the local economy in terms of providing new workers and entrepreneurs for Docklands' firms. It is necessary, therefore, to look in more detail at the connections between new residents and the wider labour market.

The first point to make is that in the wider labour market context the presence of these new residents does not really constitute a marked change in the nature of

TABLE 6.2
New residents in sample and residents in the
borough of Newham : socio-economic group.

SEG	Head of household	%	Partner	%	Economically active residents in borough of Newham %
Employers and managers SEG 1,2	34	16	10	7	6
Professional workers SEG 3,4	28	13	12	9	1
Intermediate and junior non-manual SEG 5,6	92	43	97	69	30
Skilled manual SEG 9	8	4	1	*	19
Semi skilled manual SEG 7,10	41	19	21	15	22
Unskilled manual SEG 11	6	3	-	-	5
Others/self employed SEG 12,13,14,15,16,17	3	1	-	-	17
Total	212	100	141	100	100

* less than 1 percent

Column totals do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Source : 1981 Census of Population SAS 10% sample Table 50 NOMIS dataset pop (see Appendix 3 for full full description of SEG groups)

TABLE 6.3
New residents in sample and residents
in the borough of Newham : industry

1980 standard industrial classification	Head of household	%	Partner	%	Newham residents in employment %
1 Energy/water supply industries	8	4	1	*	2
2 Extraction/ manufacture: minerals/metals	-	-	-	-	
3 Metal goods/ vehicle industries, etc	13	6	1	*	25
4 Other manufacturing industries	23	11	10	7	
5 Construction	12	6	2	1	8
6 Distribution, hotels/catering; repairs	23	11	22	16	17
7 Transport/ communication	34	16	13	9	13
8 Banking, finance, insurance, leasing, etc	41	19	34	24	12
9 Other services	58	27	58	41	22
Total employment	212	100	141	100	100

* less than 1 percent

Column totals do not equal 100% due to rounding.

Source : 1981 census of population SAS 10% sample Table 44
 NOMIS dataset pop.

labour supply for local firms. The data on new recruits to firms in Newham Docklands presented in the previous chapter demonstrated that the catchment area of firms extends well beyond the boundaries of the local borough. As already stated 26 per cent of the 431 new recruits, for whom data was obtained, came from the borough of Newham. Table 6.4 provides data on the residential location of all new recruits. Over a third came from outer London and 23 per cent from outside London, from Essex and Kent in particular. This suggests that the catchment areas of establishments were spatially extensive. As a result, many of the new residents had previously lived at an address within these wide catchment areas. Table 6.5 indicates the previous address of heads of households and partners. A couple moving into Docklands generally came from the same previous address, but for those who moved separately, two addresses were obtained, giving a total of 249 previous addresses. 28 per cent of previous addresses were within the borough of Newham and 14 per cent came from the neighbouring borough of Tower Hamlets. Another 40 per cent had lived elsewhere in London and 9 per cent came from Essex and Kent. The remaining 10 per cent had migrated from other parts of Great Britain and one respondent had previously lived abroad. Therefore, the vast majority of new residents previously lived within the catchment areas of new and existing firms. But their increased proximity caused by moving to Docklands could still provide advantages to local firms. This issue is examined later in the third section of the chapter.

As yet, however, few links had been established between the new labour supply, in the form of new residents, and local labour demand. Table 6.6 provides data on the work addresses of heads of household and partners. 22 per cent of heads of household worked in the City and 26 per cent in the London borough of Westminster. These figures were reversed for partners, of whom over one quarter worked in the City of London area. Only 15 per cent of heads of household worked in the borough of Newham

TABLE 6.4
Residential locations of new
recruits in sample establishments.

Residential address	Number of recruits Round 1 and 2 interviews	%
Newham	112	26

Residential address Inner London/elsewhere	65	15

Residential address Outer London	155	36

Residential address Outside London	99	23

Total	431	100

See Figure 4.2 for a definition of Inner and Outer London.

TABLE 6.5
New residents in sample : address of previous
accommodation prior to moving to Docklands.

	Heads of households and partners	%
Newham	70	28
Tower Hamlets	34	14
Inner London elsewhere	69	28
Outer London	30	12
Essex and Kent	22	9
Elsewhere in United Kingdom or abroad	24	10
Total	249	100

 Column totals do not equal 100% due to rounding
 See Figure 4.2 for a definition of Inner London

TABLE 6.6
New residents in sample :
work address.

Location	Heads of household	%	Partner	%
City	47	22	36	26
Westminster	54	26	31	22
Newham	32	15	27	19
Elsewhere Inner London	21	10	20	14
Outer London	28	13	16	11
No fixed work address	14	7	1	1
Outside London	11	5	8	6
Not specified	5	2	2	1
Total	212	100	141	100

See Figure 4.2 for definition of Inner London.

and 27 per cent of partners likewise. These are very different journey to work patterns to those for Newham residents in the Census of Population (1981) which showed that 46 per cent of Newham residents worked within the borough. Only 5 (3 per cent) of the 353 heads of household and partners worked within the LDDC area and all ^{of these} except one, had worked in the area prior to moving house. In fact, a recent change of job was not something many respondents had undertaken. In keeping with Gordon and Lamont's (1982) study of the London labour market, new residents adjusted their commuting patterns rather than change jobs when migrating. This is not surprising since the majority of respondents were in their first owner-occupied house and probably desired stable employment to assist with mortgage payments. Only 21 heads of household and 6 partners had changed jobs. But the vast number of respondents were not looking for work locally. Only 13 respondents claimed to have looked for work in the LDDC area, 4 of whom were unemployed at the time of interview. So as yet, there is little evidence that new local residents have started to have links with local firms. These links may start to occur in the future.

However, Table 6.7 shows that many of the new residents were likely to move in the near future. 183 households were able to give some indication of their future plans regarding housing. 10 per cent of these had already sold or put their house on the market and a further 51 per cent planned to move within the next five years. Therefore, even the future establishment of links between new residents and the labour market is in doubt, if turnover remains rapid in the new Docklands housing.

The data on the economic characteristics, previous addresses, commuting patterns, job search patterns and future plans of new residents indicate that the link between new residents and the labour requirements of new and existing firms had not yet emerged. The contact between local residents and the wider labour market is the result of numerous complex interactions, such as the

TABLE 6.7
New residents in sample :
planned future moves.

	Head of household	%
House on market/sold	18	10
Move within next 2 years	30	16
Move within next 5 years	65	35
Move within next 10 years	36	20
Stay for more than 10 years	34	19
Total answers	183	100
Don't know	42	-
Total households	225	-

adjustment of commuting patterns when respondents moved to Docklands. It is these interactions that determine where local residents work and their labour market experiences. So again the labour market mechanisms operating in the metropolitan area limit the effect of LDDC policy measures designed to influence the local Docklands labour market. But proponents of the LDDC might argue that the influx of new residents will help build confidence in the area. Indeed the LDDC's 1985 internal Housing review approved by the Board stated that "the Corporation has created a vigorous housing market which represents unqualified confidence in the economic prospects of Docklands" (LDDC 1985b p.1). This seems to suggest that the new residents are also part of the LDDC's strategy to revitalise the local land market and to raise investor confidence. The level of housing construction mentioned in Chapter 3 suggests this strategy has succeeded. But the data from the survey of new residents illustrates that the planned effect of housing on the labour market has not occurred in terms of this new labour supply taking up employment in Docklands firms. Nevertheless, it is possible that the presence of new residents may still have an effect, possibly in the future, on the manpower needs and plans of local firms. The next section uses data from the survey of 53 employing establishments to assess the impact of LDDC housing policy and to examine further the interaction between firms and new residents.

6.3 Labour demand and the links with LDDC housing policy

In order to assess any current or potential impact of new housing on firms in Docklands it was necessary to understand how these firms related to the local and wider labour market. The data on new recruits in the last chapter and earlier in this chapter (see Tables 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 6.4) suggests that firms' links with the labour market are spatially extensive. Although the nature of these links to the labour market suggest that new

residents may make little difference to the pool of labour firms are drawing on, it is still possible that the existing links with the labour market are far from perfect for the employing establishments. Firms may be having difficulty recruiting certain types of labour that would not be shown up in data on the individuals they actually recruit. Furthermore, the data on new recruits was for jobs that could in theory be done by young people, which excludes professional, managerial and supervisory staff. Therefore, it is important to examine whether firms have any problematic links with the local labour market, such as recruitment difficulties or shortages of particular types of worker, that might be altered by the presence of new residents.

Assessing recruitment difficulties or personnel shortages is fraught with difficulties. Surveys of skill shortages in individual firms often use length of duration of a vacancy as a measure of shortage (Lewis and Armstrong 1986, Northcott and Rogers 1984). Questions on the duration of vacancies were included in the pilot survey. Unfortunately, firms were only able to give very vague answers referring more generally to recruitment problems for certain types of worker. Therefore, it was decided to obtain data on this issue through general questions on recruitment difficulties, skill shortages and the effect of new residents, rather than trying to obtain precise measures on these matters. Nevertheless the value of this data is enhanced by its longitudinal nature. All 53 firms were interviewed in both rounds of interviews. Therefore, it is possible to assess any changes in skill shortages and recruitment difficulties that might be the result of policy.

The results of these questions are summarised in Table 6.8. In the first round of interviews 15, 28 per cent, of the 53 firms encountered recruitment difficulties which affected output, investment or general efficiency. By the second round in this was down slightly to 12 firms, 23 per cent. The problem amongst sample firms in 1985/6

TABLE 6.8
Labour recruitment problems
in sample establishments

Labour recruitment problems	Number of establishments Round 1 interviews 1984-5	Number of establishments Round 2 interviews 1985-6

Recruitment problems effecting output/ efficiency/investment		
Yes	15	12
No	37	40
Don't know	1	1

Difficulties recruiting from local area		
Yes	24	19
No	28	33
Don't know	1	1

Due to local recruiting difficulties recruit over wider area than would normally expect		
Yes	17	14
No	7	5

Due to local recruiting difficulties types of worker that are difficult to recruit locally		
Employers/managers	SEG 1,2 1	1
Professional	SEG 3,4 2	3
Non manual	SEG 5,6 9	9
Skilled manual	SEG 9 18	11
Semi skilled manual	SEG 7,10 4	5
Unskilled	SEG 11 2	1

therefore, seems slightly less severe than for firms in a large scale survey of British industry in 1986 which found that 34 per cent of companies considered their output was limited by skill shortages and recruitment problems (Confederation of British Industry/Training Commission 1987). When surveyed establishments were asked if they encountered difficulties recruiting within the local area, the number answering 'yes' fell from 24, 45 per cent, in the first round to 19, 36 per cent, in the second round. Most of these firms felt they had to recruit over a wider area than they would normally expect in order to overcome these difficulties. But over half the firms claimed not to experience difficulties recruiting locally. As one personnel officer put it "we get so many applicants for most of our jobs....we don't pay much attention to where they come from". However, there were for some firms local and general recruitment difficulties which might be eased by the influx of new residents. But to examine further the relevance of new residents to these recruitment difficulties it is necessary to outline the nature of these difficulties and the attitudes of firms to the labour supply represented by new residents.

The most frequently cited type of worker which establishments found difficult to recruit locally from the borough of Newham were skilled manual workers, often foremen. This affected 18 firms, 34 per cent, in the first round of interviews and 11, 21 per cent, in the second. In the first round of interviews the difficulty for 16 of the 18 firms related to obtaining skilled engineering workers who could use micro-electronic production technologies. This is not just a local shortage but part of a national shortage for this type of skilled worker (Attenborough 1984). The same problem was encountered by firms who were experiencing difficulties recruiting professional staff, since in all such firms the staff needed were science graduates, who were also in short supply nationally (Department of Employment/Department of Education and Science 1984).

These examples confirm the point made by Fothergill et al. (1984) that many of the recruitment problems and skill shortages of urban firms are national shortages experienced by all firms in the national economy. The second most frequently encountered local recruitment difficulty was obtaining non-manual workers which was cited in both rounds of interviews by 9 firms, 17 per cent. In all cases, this was primarily a difficulty of finding good quality secretarial staff. Nearly all firms concerned felt this problem did not stem so much from a local shortage, but had more to do with poor public transport to Docklands and the higher wages available elsewhere in London, especially in the City. In the second round 5 firms, 9 per cent, had problems finding semi-skilled workers. But 3 of these felt the problem was short term and would probably be overcome by more extensive advertising. A very small number of firms even encountered difficulties obtaining unskilled workers locally!

The pool of labour supply represented by new residents could potentially help overcome some of these local recruitment problems. As shown in table 6.2 over half of the new residents were in intermediate or junior non-manual jobs and could in future be drawn on by firms with shortages in these sectors. However, very few new residents worked in skilled manual jobs which provided the greatest recruitment difficulty for local firms. But new residents could represent a useful labour supply to local firms for reasons other than just their skill levels. If existing local residents are seen by employers as a poor quality labour force, perhaps in terms of social characteristics such as attitudes to work or militancy, then it is possible that new residents might be useful to employers.

In order to see if there were problems with the local labour supply besides recruitment, firms were asked if they found local labour to be of poor quality. 12 firms, 23 per cent, answered 'yes' in the first round and

10 in the second round. Firms that did answer 'yes' to this question, rarely gave a precise reason why local labour was of poor quality. Three quarters of the first round firms who felt the local labour supply was of poor quality referred generally to poor qualification levels or lack of skills. In other words it was the human capital characteristics, rather than the social ones that were seen as a problem by these firms. However, 10 of the 12 first round firms who felt that local labour quality was of a poor quality were firms that employed 49 or less workers. All but 1 of the firms employing more than 200 workers stressed that they found the quality of local labour to be perfectly adequate. Indeed, 1 claimed that the excellent workforce, many of whom lived locally, and industrial relations was one reason why the parent company had decided not to relocate the firm to a location outside London. So although a small minority of firms felt the local labour supply was of a poor quality, this did not seem to be a major problem of the local labour market that would be altered by local residents. However, it is possible that new residents may have certain human capital characteristics, such as educational qualifications, that may prove useful to some local establishments. But no data have so far been obtained on these characteristics of local residents.

In all the answers to the questions on recruitment difficulties and labour quality there was very little difference between the responses given by firms established in Docklands before 1981 and those set up after this date. For example, of the 24 firms who experienced recruitment difficulties within the borough of Newham, 13 were establishments set up before 1981 and 9 were new firms; out of a total of 24 new firms and 29 established before 1981.

The attitudes of employers to the existing labour supply was followed by questions concerning their attitudes to new residents as a pool of labour. The intention was to examine if firms saw new residents as a

potential supply of labour currently or in future. The survey asked respondents if local housing shortages had ever created difficulties either for obtaining new recruits or because existing employees had moved away. No firms felt a lack of housing had lost them existing employees and only one firm felt it had created difficulties recruiting for certain shift jobs. The general feeling was that workers were prepared to commute long distances and would, therefore, be able to find suitable accommodation somewhere within commuting distance.

There was also a deliberately open-ended question referring directly to the new owner-occupied housing in Docklands. Firms were asked if the new housing might affect the quality of the local labour market and consequently their businesses. The statistical results are shown in Table 6.9. Most firms were quite negative towards the potential effect of new housing on the local labour supply. In the first round of interviews only 12, 22 per cent, of the 53 firms thought the new housing would have an effect on the quality but by the second round this had fallen to only 7 firms, 13 per cent. In the second round of interviews 3 firms actually stated that they had thought initially that new residents would be a possible source of labour. However, recruitment experiences over the period between the two interviews had convinced them that this was not the case. One firm had actually leafleted 250 homes on the new estates with adverts of secretarial vacancies, but this had led to only 4 applicants of which only 1 was suitable for interview. The number of firms who thought the new residents would not effect the quality of the labour supply rose from 17, 32 per cent, in the first round of interviews to 25, nearly half, in the second.

Several firms indicated that the questions on new housing were quite hard to answer, because they did ^{not} view the labour market in such a localised way. A number of firms stressed that in order to operate and obtain labour

TABLE 6.9
Attitudes of sample establishments to
effect of new housing on labour supply.

	Number of establishments round 1 interviews 1984-5	Number of establishments round 2 interviews 1985-6
Housing will have a positive effect	12	7
Housing will not have an effect	17	25
Housing might have a positive effect but unlikely to be significant	13	16
Don't know	11	5

in London, an establishment had to be linked into a catchment area extending well outside London. The presence of new local housing estates would not influence this existing relationship between firms and their respective catchment areas. In addition, four firms felt that the manual semi-skilled, 'dirty' jobs in their businesses were not the kind of work new owner-occupiers would be looking to undertake. One of the largest manufacturing employers had noted that there was a high turnover of residents on the new estates and felt that it represented an unstable catchment area which would not provide the stable workforce it required. Two firms with between 50 and 200 workers felt that the mortgage repayments of many new residents would prevent them from taking jobs in their businesses since wages were generally low.

A number of the firms who felt new residents would supply a pool of useful labour, offered specific reasons. Three firms who were short of secretarial staff hoped that new residents with relevant skills would be interested in working locally. However, all three qualified this hope by observing the greater rewards for secretarial work elsewhere. The only firm that felt it would draw significant amounts of labour from the residents of new housing was the Asda superstore. The personnel manager for the Asda store argued that household partners would provide a source of part-time female workers. Indeed, there was evidence that this link was already occurring. The data on new recruits to Docklands firms, outlined in the previous chapter, had identified 15 as being residents of the LDDC area. Of these, 6 worked in Asda and 3 were residents from the new housing estates.

Generally, however, firms did not feel that new residents in Docklands made any major difference to the pool of labour from which they drew their employees. However, LDDC housing policy had clearly altered the nature of the local labour supply. The characteristics of new residents showed them to be more orientated to

professional, managerial and non-manual jobs in the service sector than existing residents. Nevertheless, the data on the characteristics of the new residents indicated that many were already from the catchment area of Docklands firms and that few had formed links through work or job search with the local labour market. Only a few firms imagined such links between new residents and local firms would occur in the near future. Furthermore, they would be unlikely to alter significantly recruitment problems or the quality of the local labour force. Instead, the overwhelming impression is that the interaction of new residents and Docklands firms with the wider labour market was a complex process. Therefore the intended interaction between local labour demand and the characteristics of new residents occurred only on a very limited scale. As with LDDC initiatives to stimulate the demand for local labour, the mechanisms of the wider labour market prevent LDDC housing policy having a major effect on the local labour market in Docklands. In other respects, the LDDC housing policy by stimulating investment from the private sector has made a significant impact in Docklands. The next section analyses the impact of other LDDC initiatives on the supply-side of the labour market and examines the extent to which these measures have managed to intervene in the broader processes affecting the Docklands labour market.

6.4 Other LDDC-supported supply-side initiatives

There are a number of other ways a local agency can intervene in the supply-side of the local labour market. The LDDC could, in theory, devise initiatives that would affect the cost of the local labour force or the incentives to work. Few local agencies in the United Kingdom could, or would, attempt to instigate such policies, and the LDDC is no exception. The main approach of the LDDC to altering the supply-side of the local labour market has been through policies to increase the

skills of local residents through training. As mentioned in Chapter 3 this can involve the direct funding of such measures or the encouragement of other agencies to take a more active role in training. The first training initiative to receive financial backing from the LDDC was the Docklands ITEC which opened in July 1984. This is one of just over 200 ITECs in the United Kingdom that provided training for 12,000 young people in 1988 (YTS News 1989).

As with all LDDC training programmes the aim of the ITEC is to raise the skills of local residents so that they can take up employment in Docklands or elsewhere, and also to ensure adequate labour is available for new employers (LDDC 1983). The ITEC staff and trainees are funded by grants from the MSC/TA and the Department of Trade and Industry, with LDDC funds being used to cover the balance of capital and running costs (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987). The training courses are in electronics, office practice and programming leading to recognised qualifications. The impact of the ITEC can be examined in terms of its aim to assist local residents in obtaining employment by analysing the destinations of ex-trainees. The aim of raising skill levels is assumed to have been achieved at the end of the course since most trainees come straight from school with low skill levels. The evidence on the impact of the ITEC from different sources contains some discrepancies. The LDDC's evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee claimed that 72 people were trained in 1986 with all of them finding jobs (HMSO 1988b). Figures on ex-trainees obtained from the ITEC itself are slightly different. Table 6.10 indicates the destination of trainees who finished the course in 1985 and 1986. In 1985 38 trainees started the course. 6 left or were asked to leave before completion and 2 transferred to another scheme. Of the 80 who started in 1986, a quarter dropped out and 8 transferred to another scheme. Those who were asked to leave, dropped out or transferred usually did so in the first three months of the year. Apart from this drop out rate the ITEC has been very

TABLE 6.10
Destination of Docklands ITEC
trainees on completion of training.

Destination	Started course 1985 number	Started course 1986 number	Total 1985 and 1986
To employment	24	43	67
To unemployment	3	4	7
To further education	3	4	7
Transferred to another YTS scheme before end of ITEC course	2	8	10
Dropped out or asked to leave by ITEC before end of ITEC course	6	21	27
Total completing ITEC course	30	51	81
Total leavers	38	80	118

Source : Peat Marwik McLintock (1987).

Interview ITEC manager Peter Lyons (12.6.86).

successful as a route into employment or into further training. Only 7 of the 81 who completed in 1985 or 1986 were unemployed upon leaving, whilst 82 per cent went into employment and 9 per cent onto further training.

The ITEC has also had some success in having an impact on local residents. The four London three character postcode areas which overlap the LDDC area are E1, E14 E16 and SE16. Table 6.11 shows that 31 per cent of ex-trainees and those still training in 1987 were from the four Docklands postcodes, 48 per cent were from elsewhere in the three Docklands boroughs and one in five were from elsewhere in London. However, the proportion of trainees from the more local Docklands postcodes area appears to have fallen. Only 9 out of 41 current trainees are from this area, as opposed to 54 of the 134 ex-trainees. One of the training managers at the ITEC who had been responsible for organising its establishment, claimed he was disappointed that more of the trainees were not local residents. He felt local schools could do more to direct their pupils to the ITEC. Indeed, by 1986 only two of the ITECs trainees had previously attended George Green secondary school on the Isle of Dogs (interview Peter Lyons, ITEC manager 12.6.1986). But one of the local careers officers complained that the ITEC's entry requirements were too stringent for what was in effect a YTS scheme, since considerable attention was paid to formal educational qualifications and a written test, which would have the effect of excluding significant numbers of local school leavers (Meeting with Careers Officers 3.4.1986). Another complaint levelled against the ITEC was that it had not done enough to expand its range of provision (meeting LDDC officers 3.9.1986). In 1987 the ITEC appointed consultants to examine the possibilities of extending its provision, especially to female labour market re-entrants (Queen Mary College 1988). But in an effort to speed up this process the Board of the ITEC dismissed some of the existing management and appointed a new Director in 1988 (Meeting

TABLE 6.11
Residential address of
Docklands ITEC trainees.

Residential address	Left ITEC by January 1987		Still in January 1987		Total former and current trainees January 1987	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Docklands postcodes						
E1	13	4	17	8		
E14	34	4	38	19		
E16	7	1	8	4		
SE16	0	0	0	0		
Elsewhere in 3 Docklands boroughs	50	47	97	48		
Outside 3 Docklands boroughs	30	12	42	21		
Total	134	68	202	100		

For a definition of Docklands postcodes see Figure 7.1.
 Source : Peat Marwick McLintoch (1987)

Interview ITEC Manager Peter Lyons (12.6.86).

with LDDC Chief Officer 14.6.1988). The ITEC has certainly fulfilled some of the LDDC's aims for training initiatives, especially raising skill levels so that local residents can obtain employment. But in the context of the thousands of unemployed residents of the three Docklands boroughs, it is a very small scale measure. Also as with other labour market initiatives it is unable to remain solely targetted on local residents so that one in five trainees come from outside the Docklands boroughs.

The other major LDDC training initiative, Skillnet, has been on a considerably larger scale. The agreement to establish Skillnet was signed between LDDC, ILEA and the London Borough of Newham in May 1986. These three sponsors have representatives on the Policy Board along with a community representative. As well as raising skill levels in areas relevant to the local economy, Skillnet was also designed to coordinate existing provision of training, avoid duplication of provision, improve access and increase the level of high technology training (ILEA 1987b). The aim was to meet the needs of employers and maximise employment opportunities for local residents. Skill levels would be raised by improved access to courses with easy entry requirements and rapid credit accumulation. The first initiative of Skillnet was a programme of 'Quickstart' schemes. This provided 1,086 training places on 43 different modular courses for residents of the three Docklands boroughs who were unemployed and aged under 25. This age limit reflected the LDDC's concern to target training at young people but was also necessitated by the regulations for courses that attracted money from the European Social Fund. Each module consisted of 200 hours of instruction divided between classroom and distance learning. A trainee could take up to three modules concurrently, or fewer part-time. Subjects ranged from community catering and fast foods to driving and building. (All information from interview Terry Keen, former Skillnet Director 7.9.1986). Quickstart was launched amidst a blaze of publicity.

Indeed, advertising costs were estimated at £140,000 which LDDC consultants considered to be "excessive and inappropriate" (Peat Marwick and McLintock 1987 p.47). Furthermore, the then Director admitted that many of the courses were being "hastily prepared". (Interview Terry Keen, former Skillnet Director 7.9.1986)

The result was perhaps predictable. Large scale publicity attracted 3,000 enquiries many of which came from people who were over 25 or lived outside the Docklands boroughs. The high level of enquiries meant that 1,000 people were allocated training places but only 427 were actually taken up, defined as trainees attending regularly and only 286 - a quarter of the original target - finished a course (Interview Graham Baan, Skillnet Director 17.11.1987). By far the most popular courses, which achieved nearly a 100 per cent take up rate, were those where trainees were taught to drive free of charge (ILEA 1987b). After this false start the second round of Quickstart courses were slightly less ambitious, allocating 329 places. Again a number of places were not taken up with the overall take-up rate being 63 per cent (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987).

In March 1987 a new Director was appointed, who claimed he had "devised a more realistic business plan....to avoid some of the early mistakes" (Interview Graham Baan, Skillnet Director 17.11.1987). This plan argued that Skillnet should concentrate on training in the four key sectors of office, retail, airport services - connected to London City Airport - and construction. However, more recently, a Skillnet report argued that the complexities of providing construction training demanded either leaving its provision to other agencies or a considerable change in Skillnet's role (Skillnet 1988). Nevertheless, the reorganisation led to more detailed preparation of courses, improved counselling of applicants and a series of enrolment days. Therefore, for the first time courses were oversubscribed, with over half the 265

places on offer for the third phase of Quickstart being filled by members of ethnic minority groups (ILEA 1987b).

In addition to Quickstart schemes, Skillnet was chosen in early 1987 to run an MSC/TA sponsored Local Collaborative Project. In this project two industrial liaison officers were meant to identify the skill needs of employers in the LDDC area and encourage local firms to work with local training providers. Several officers of Skillnet have since admitted that the Local Collaborative Project was defeated, primarily because of the enormity of the task. In fact, this was one reason why the two industrial liaison officers left before the project was fully completed (Meeting Skillnet Research Liaison Group 14.3.1988).

The scale of its operation and the number of training places being supported suggest Skillnet could have a significant impact on the local labour market. The poor beginning for the Quickstart initiative indicates that Skillnet certainly had some early problems with policy definition and implementation. The success of the more recent Quickstart programmes suggest that the appointment of the new Director and the development of a business plan had begun to iron out some of the early 'teething' problems. Nevertheless, in mid 1988 the Director stressed that Skillnet was still finding it very difficult to establish its precise role in Docklands. In order to fulfil its role as a 'brokerage' agency, Skillnet required detailed knowledge of the training needs of existing and incoming firms, and the nature of all local public, private and voluntary sector training provision. However, this information had proved difficult, if not impossible, to collate. Therefore, whilst Skillnet was now clear how to proceed in some areas, such as the provision of office technology training, it remained uncertain about the scale of employer needs for other skills and the possibility of duplicating existing provision (Interview Graham Bawn, Skillnet Director 22.6.1988).

The aim of targetting the initiative on residents of the three boroughs had been a success, but as with all other initiatives it had not proved possible to contain the impact of Skillnet within this area. Table 6.12 outlines the area of residence of people offered Skillnet training places on the Quickstart initiatives for 1986 and 1987. For the first phase of Quickstart, 35 per cent of those offered places came from outside the three Docklands boroughs. After this the Board of Skillnet decided that Skillnet's target catchment area should include other East London residents from the boroughs of Hackney, Greenwich and Lewisham (Interview Graham Bann, Skillnet Director 17.11.1987). By the third phase of Quickstart, 69 percent of people offered places came from the Docklands boroughs, 21 per cent from the other East London boroughs and 10 per cent from outside the East London boroughs.

Scepticism towards Quickstart has centred around the value of training modules that provide 200 hours of tuition/distance learning in particular narrow skills, and whether such training will meet the aim of significantly raising local skill levels (Church and Ainley 1988). The Director of Newham Community College argued that his fear of Quickstart courses was that they would "merely train people to do a few specific tasks....and they won't train people for structured careers" (John Baillie speaking at a Conference on Education in East London at Queen Mary College 21.3.1988). These fears seem to be somewhat allayed by the destination data for Skillnet trainees. A postal questionnaire was sent to former Skillnet Quickstart trainees. The results of this are presented in Table 6.13. which shows that over half of those sent questionnaires did not elicit a reply. However, the answers obtained appear to indicate that so far Quickstart has been primarily a route into further education and training. Only 5 per cent of respondents were unemployed, while just over a quarter were in employment. 38 per cent were on a further Skillnet course and 38 per cent in some other form of training. If this trend continues then many

TABLE 6.12
Residential address of Skillnet Trainees
offered places on Quickstart courses.

Residential address	Quickstart phase 1		Quickstart phase 2		Quickstart phase 3	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Tower Hamlets	184	22.8	83	29.2	65	22.9
Newham	202	25.0	73	25.7	57	20.1
Southwark	141	17.4	56	19.7	75	26.4
Hackney	74	9.2	14	4.9	19	6.7
Greenwich and Lewisham	78	9.6	36	12.7	40	14.1
Elsewhere	129	16.0	22	7.8	28	9.8
Total	808	100.0	284	100.0	284	100.0

Total numbers are less than actual total of training places offered due to a number of trainees being offered places whose address was unknown.

Source : ILEA (1987 from Further Education Unit DES Survey).

TABLE 6.13
Destination of skillnet trainees
on Quickstart courses.

Destination	Quickstart phase 1		Quickstart phase 2		Quickstart phase 3		Total trainees	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Further skilled training	40	31	29	40	4	8	73	30
Other training	49	38	19	26	28	56	96	38
Employment	37	28	18	25	15	30	70	27
Unemployment	4	3	6	9	3	6	13	5
Total responses	130	100	72	100	50	100	252	100
Non responses	159		86		36		281	

Source : ILEA (1987 from Further Education Unit DES Survey)

former Skillnet trainees will acquire further skills and the local skill base will be raised and expanded. However, since many Skillnet graduates are still training it is too early to tell how the majority will perform in the wider labour market. A preliminary assessment of the Skillnet initiative indicates that despite its inauspicious beginnings, it has managed to achieve its initial aim of providing training targetted on unemployed residents of the Docklands boroughs. The scale of the operation means that significant numbers of people can be affected. The future will tell whether the initiative has truly intervened in the local labour market and significantly altered the characteristics of the local labour supply.

The remaining LDDC-funded initiatives for the supply side of the labour market have all been of a much smaller scale. For most of these initiatives very little monitoring was undertaken. Consultants commissioned by the LDDC and charged with assessing the value for money of these various measures commented on the lack of "evaluation reports with information on outcomes....the absence of monitoring reports" (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987 p.53). But what information does exist suggests that even the collective impact of these initiatives is small. For example, the other training initiatives that had received funding by the end of 1986 were the Delta Training Workshop where £60,000 from the LDDC allowed the premises to be extended to cater for 50, rather than 20 trainees; the Stepney Green Furniture Workshop where £135,000 expanded capacity from 25 to 70 YTS training places; the Shadwell Basin Watersports Training Project which received £78,000 to help support just over 20 Community Programme trainees per year; and the Bethnal Green Youth Training Centre (now closed) where the LDDC paid £3000 in 1986/7 to fund 7 YTS places occupied by Docklands residents (HMSO 1988b). Monitoring data on all these initiatives is fragmented. Anecdotal data for the Shadwell Basin scheme suggests 80 per cent of trainees

were from the Docklands boroughs with the majority obtaining work afterwards, but mainly part-time (Peat Marwick McLintock 1987). According to the LDDC about two thirds of trainees from the Delta and Stepney Green Workshops have found full-time employment (HMSO 1988b). But even if these initiatives go some way towards meeting LDDC goals of providing training for local residents, together they only amount to 140 training places per year. Unfortunately there is no data available on the extent to which the training being offered has raised skill levels. Indeed, the LDDC Training and Employment Coordinator described the funding of these initiatives as the "best we can do in the circumstances. . . . it's only a start. . . . clearly they aren't going to make much difference" (Meeting LDDC officer 27.5.1986). Their support from the LDDC stems from the period when the LDDC approach to the labour market was fragmented, which may explain the lack of monitoring. By contrast Skillnet represents an attempt to adopt a more coherent, wide-ranging approach to intervention in the supply-side of the labour market.

The LDDC has also devised an initiative to affect the interaction process between labour supply and the labour market. In 1985 the LDDC officer responsible for Training and Employment organised a meeting of the main current and future construction contractors in Docklands, the Construction Industry Training Board (CITB), the MSC/TA and the Docklands Forum community group. This meeting identified three problems facing the construction industry: a skills shortage in Docklands, a need for increased training provision and a low take-up of YTS places provided by the CITB despite the over-subscription on non-YTS courses (Meeting LDDC officers 18.11.1985). It was agreed that the LDDC would fund an advertising leaflet, backed by the CITB and the Docklands Forum, to promote construction YTS schemes. 30,000 leaflets were produced and distributed throughout Docklands in early 1986. According to the CITB this resulted in only 3

trainees from the Docklands boroughs taking up CITB YTS places. This was attributed to a lack of demand from residents of the Docklands boroughs (HMSO 1988b). The other organisations involved blame different factors for the low response, such as the use of only job centres and careers offices to distribute the leaflets, and particularly the informal nature of the meetings with the construction companies which resulted in the problems of low take-up and skill shortage were never properly being analysed.

This analysis of policy based on secondary empirical data, primary interviews and participant observation indicates that the ITEC and the other initiatives, besides Skillnet, are mainly small scale and, although many ex-trainees obtain employment, they have only a very limited effect on the local labour market. Interestingly, it might be expected that small scale schemes would be able to control carefully their links with the local labour market and ensure that the aim of targetting initiatives on local residents was achieved for most of the training places on offer. The data on ITEC trainees shows that even this small scale scheme draws over 20 per cent of its trainees from outside the Docklands boroughs. This does of course raise the question as to what proportion of local residents on a training scheme constitutes successful targetting. But the point is that even small initiatives are unable to control the spatial mechanisms of the labour market and prevent commuting effects dispersing some of the policy impact over a much wider area. Skillnet has also encountered the same problem and expanded its catchment area in recognition of the varied residential locations of trainees. Furthermore, training initiatives have experienced inefficient implementation through poor monitoring and evaluation, in the case of the smaller scale measures and low take-up, in the case of Skillnet. However, Skillnet is the only supply-side measure funded by the LDDC that seems relevant to the scale of the labour market problems of the Docklands

boroughs. Unfortunately, the impact of this initiative on the skill levels and the employment of local residents in Docklands jobs cannot yet be assessed.

Up to this point, this section has assessed the effect of LDDC initiatives in terms of efficiency of implementation and the achievement of the policy aims, such as raising skill levels and assisting local residents to obtain job opportunities. This same approach could also be adopted to all the other labour market initiatives in the area implemented by the public and voluntary sectors. For example, it would be technically possible to examine the characteristics of users of the Job Club of the Isle of Dogs in order to assess its impact on local residents. However the aim of this thesis is to focus on the affect of the LDDC and therefore analysis looks at the policies of other agencies that have been encouraged by the LDDC.

6.5 Encouraging other agencies in the labour market

One of the LDDC's policies for altering the characteristics of local labour supply was to encourage other agencies to provide more training. In particular, it was hoped the MSC/TA and employers would make a commitment to training in Docklands. A similar approach has been adopted by central government inner-city policy generally, whereby the recent document 'Action for Cities' (DoE/Department of Employment 1987) outlined the increasing importance of STM's, such as YTS, in tackling inner-city employment problems. In the case of Docklands, however, the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment argued that both the MSC/TA and the LDDC had been remiss in taking seven years to establish the Docklands Liaison Group where officers meet regularly to devise and coordinate training measures (HMSO 1988a). By far the largest MSC/TA initiative was YTS and, as already mentioned in Chapter 4, the LDDC was hoping that YTS would be extended in Docklands. The majority of YTS provision

in East London occurs in employing establishments (MSC 1986). Therefore, the increased development of YTS would involve an extension of training provision by both the MSC/TA and establishments. Data ~~is~~ available from the survey of 53 firms in Newham Docklands on the level of employer-based YTS training and apprenticeships in this part of Docklands. This provides a good opportunity to examine the extent to which employers and the MSC/TA are involved in training in Docklands and the reasons for the level of involvement. In turn, this data can be used to examine if these organisations are, as the LDDC hopes, increasing their training commitment in Docklands. 252

In the borough of Newham as a whole provision of YTS was increasing during the period of the survey of employing establishments. In March 1985 there were 830 YTS places available in Newham, the vast majority in employing establishments rather than specialist training agencies. By late 1986 the number of operational places was nearly 1,300 (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). Newham, however, has a low take-up rate of YTS places. In March 1985 only 451 places of the 850 available were taken up and the careers service estimate that 300-350 of these were residents of Newham. This represents about 10 per cent of the relevant population of young people in Newham and is a participation rate close to the London average but considerably below the national average of 20 per cent (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). The 200 establishments in the complete survey contained approximately 75 per cent of YTS trainees in Newham (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). Table 6.14 outlines the characteristics of firms providing YTS places amongst the 53 establishments in Newham Docklands. What is immediately noticeable is the very low level of YTS trainees in Docklands firms. In the first round of interviews 32 YTS places were provided in Docklands establishments and these were all filled by trainees. By the second round the number of places and trainees had fallen to 29 because one firm had become what is referred to as a YTS 'sleeper'. That is it was

TABLE 6.14
YTS training provision in
sample establishments.

Firm 1	Manufacturing. 200+ employees. 5 clerical YTS places.		
Firm 2	Manufacturing. 200+ employees. 14 clerical, manufacturing production and maintainence YTS places		
Firm 3	Manufacturing. 200+ employees. 2 clerical YTS places. "SLEEPER" so did not have YTS trainees in Round 2		
Firm 4	Manufacturing. 50 - 199 employees. 2 manufacturing production and maintainence YTS places		
Firm 5	Service sector with low proportion of non-manual workers. 200+ employees. 5 clerical YTS places		
Firm 6	Service sector with high proportion of non-manual workers. 11 - 49 employees. 3 clerical YTS places		
Number of firms providing YTS places		Round 1 Interviews - 6	Round 2 Interviews - 5
Number of trainees in firms providing YTS places		Round 1 Interviews - 32	Round 2 Interviews - 29

registered as being a provider but had chosen not to accept trainees for that year. As a result the total number of firms providing YTS places fell from 6 to 5. The 29 trainees in the second round represent only 6 per cent of the trainees covered by the whole survey of 200 firms in Newham. Furthermore, the MSC/TA records for 1986 indicated that there were no employing establishments providing YTS places in Newham Docklands that had been excluded from the survey (Meeting officers from MSC/TA North East London area office 13.5.1986). One of the 5 firms providing places in Docklands in the second round of interviews, Tate and Lyle, was responsible for its 14 trainees. 3 of the 5 firms using YTS and the 'sleeper' employ more than 200 people, out of a total of 8 firms of this size. The survey of 53 firms included 27 firms employing less than 50 people, but only 1 of these made use of YTS. This lack of YTS provision amongst small firms is not repeated in the rest of the borough. In the second round of interviews, 60 per cent of the trainees covered by the total survey of 200 firms were in establishments employing less than 50 people (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). Another feature of the participants was that all 5 firms and the 'sleeper' had been in existence for at least five years. None of the 24 newly established firms in Newham Docklands were involved in YTS.

This lack of training provision amongst small and newly established firms is repeated for apprenticeships. Table 6.15 describes the features of firms involved in apprenticeship provision and the type of training provided. Interestingly, in each round of interviews there were 32 apprentices training in 10 firms which is slightly more than the number of YTS trainees in the sample firms. 3 of the 8 establishments with more than 200 employees trained apprentices and of the remaining 7 firms, 4 employed between between 50 and 200 workers and 3 were in firms with less than 50 employees. The majority of firms with apprentices were manufacturing

TABLE 6.15
Apprenticeship training provision
in sample establishments.

Firm 1	Manufacturing. 200+ employees. 2 apprentices. Metal shaping.
Firm 2	Manufacturing. 200+ employees. 21 apprentices. Electro-mechanical. Also 14 YTS trainees.
Firm 3	Manufacturing. 50 - 199 employees. 1 apprentice. Electro-mechanical.
Firm 4	Manufacturing. 50 - 199 employees. 1 apprentice. Electro-mechanical. Also 2 YTS trainees.
Firm 5	Manufacturing. 11 - 49 employees. 1 apprentice. Non-metal manual.
Firm 6	Manufacturing. 1 - 10 employees. 1 apprentice. Non-metal manual.
Firm 7	Service sector with a high proportion of non-manual workers. 11 - 49 employees. 1 apprentice. Non manual.
Firm 8	Service sector with a low proportion of non-manual workers. 200+ employees. 1 apprentice. Non manual.
Firm 9	Service sector with a low proportion of non-manual workers. 50 - 199 employees. 2 apprentices. Electro-mechanical.
Firm 10	Service sector with a low proportion of non-manual workers. 50 - 199 employees. 1 apprentice. Electro-mechanical.

establishments with only 2 of the 32 apprentices being in non-manual positions. Just under two-thirds of the apprenticeships were in one establishment. This was the Tate and Lyle sugar refinery which also provided half the YTS places in sample establishments. This commitment to training stemmed, in part, from a long standing paternal relationship between the firm and the local area. (Interview Tate and Lyle 6.1.1986). Again, however, provision in new establishments was virtually non-existent. Only one of the apprentices was based in a firm established within the last five years. Nationally the annual intake of apprentices fell by 60 per cent between 1981 and 1983 (YTS News 1989) which was mirrored by a similar decline in sample establishments. Tate and Lyle claimed that new technology and falling employment levels resulted in the annual intake of apprentices being halved since 1980 (Tate and Lyle interview 6.1.1986). Of the other nine companies with apprentices only two had any in their first year of training. The other seven recruited apprentices intermittently when there was felt to be a need. Indeed, one was replacing apprentices with YTS trainees. Most firms using apprenticeships indicated that the number of places was likely to decline further in the future.

The survey also asked firms if they were involved in the Young Workers Scheme (YWS). The complete survey of 200 firms in Newham contained 24 establishments in the first round of interviews that were participating but by the second round of interviews only 6 were still using YWS (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). None of these firms were in Newham Docklands. In fact the survey asked firms if they had ever heard of YWS. In the total sample of 200 firms, 60 per cent of firms in the first round of interviews had not heard of YWS and in the second round, astonishingly (since this was a re-interview) 25 per cent of firms claimed not to have heard of YWS (Hutchinson and Spillane 1986). The level of awareness is even lower amongst the 53 Docklands firms. In the first round of

interviews 47, nearly 90 per cent, of firms had not heard of YWS, and despite explanations of the YWS programme by interviewers in the first round, only 23 firms, 43 per cent, claimed they had heard of YWS, by the second round of interviews.

The overall picture that emerges from this data is that in this part of Docklands employer involvement in YTS and apprentice training provision is low. The MSC/TA had not succeeded in developing its main scheme, YTS, in Newham and Docklands. Training provision was particularly low in new firms. In addition, the manpower information channels concerning MSC/TA schemes, such as YWS, seem to be incredibly poor. It should be emphasised that the lack of involvement in formal YTS or apprenticeship training could not be explained by the presence of firms own in-house training schemes. 39 firms, 74 per cent, were not involved in YTS or apprenticeship training. But only 12 of these firms provided employees with some formal off-the-job training. In 10 of the 12 firms this involved block release for a short period of time, usually 1 or 2 weeks, to learn some additional skills (often clerical and word processing skills). Only in two firms was the training conducted over a long period of time. 27 firms, therefore, out of a total of 53 were not involved with YTS, apprentices or off-the-job training. 20 of these were firms established within the last five years, out of a total of 24. The lack of formal training provision amongst new firms was not confined to Newham Docklands. The 1987 Docklands employment census commissioned by the LDDC revealed a low level of training provision generally, with 70 per cent of establishments providing no training, not even short in-house courses (RI Specialist Units 1988). The data from this survey of Newham Docklands establishments, however, suggests that the increased provision of training through employers and MSC/TA schemes, which the LDDC hoped would play a role in altering the characteristics of the area's labour supply, has not occurred. This is not necessarily the fault of

any one agency. However, it is necessary to examine the reasons companies have for provision and non-provision, because this may help reveal the influence of other labour market forces, besides policy measures, on the level of training.

The establishments with YTS trainees were asked the private and social reasons for participation. The private reasons included factors such as savings on training or labour costs. Social reasons included the seriousness of youth unemployment or the firms obligation to society. The main social and private reasons cited the most times in the first round of interviews were then presented to firms in the second round and respondents were asked to rank each reason on a scale from 1 (very important) to 5 (not very important). Of the six firms in Docklands who were involved with YTS only one said the firm's obligation to deal with youth unemployment was an important reason for participation. 5 of the 6 firms said savings with labour costs was a very important reason for involvement, 4 cited help with the training budget as very important and all 6 claimed that YTS as a screening method was important or very important. The value of YTS as a screening method for potential employees was found to be one of the main reasons for participation in YTS at the national level (Dore and Sako 1986). Although only a few firms from Docklands were involved in YTS, it is clear that the reasons for involvement were economic and relate to a desire to ensure that their expressed demand for labour is adequately met.

Economic factors also lay behind the high level of non-participation in YTS amongst the Docklands firms. Between the first and second round of interviews 11 establishments had considered taking on YTS trainees. 9 of these firms cited the opportunity to screen employees as the main reason for considering involvement. But the main reasons these 11 establishments decided not to participate in YTS are listed in Table 6.16. The most cited reason was essentially an economic one, in that the

TABLE 6.16
Reasons given for remaining outside YTS
for firms who had considered participating.

Reason	Number of firms citing reason
Parent company decision	4
Off-the job training too much	3
Expanding too rapidly	1
Affect production of other workers	1
Too much paperwork	1
Disagreement with the MSC	1
Total	11

parent company of the establishment in Docklands had decided that other branches of the parent company could accommodate YTS trainees more readily without affecting efficiency. Other economic reasons for deciding not to participate despite consideration included: the belief by 3 firms that YTS involved too much off-the-job training when trainees were not undertaking productive activity; a feeling by 1 firm that they were expanding too quickly to accommodate trainees; and another firm believed trainees would unfavourably distract other workers from their duties. Only 2 of these 11 firms had decided not to participate for administrative reasons, 1 because the paperwork was too great and one because of a disagreement with the MSC/TA. So the majority of firms who thought about but decided against participating in YTS did so because they felt it would harm efficiency or output.

All 47 non-participants were asked to comment on the nature of YTS. In the first round respondents were asked an open ended question as to why they did not participate in YTS. The responses provided four main reasons for non-participation. In the second round respondents were asked to rank these reasons on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The results of this ranking exercise are given in Table 6.17. 34 of the 47 non-participants agreed, some strongly, that firms should not be involved in YTS unless they were able to offer suitable trainees a job. This display of magnanimity may be easy for firms not involved with YTS. But many of these 34 firms stressed that since they would not be recruiting many young people in the future they were unlikely to be able to give a suitable trainee a job. Therefore, these firms link their attitudes to training to their demand for labour. On the other reasons for non-participation, firms were of a more mixed opinion. 14 strongly agreed that they should not get involved because YTS was a cheap labour scheme and 13 strongly disagreed. Most non-participants felt they could not give an opinion on whether there was too much red tape surrounding the

TABLE 6.17
Ranking of statements made about YTS
by non-participants.

Statement	Rank	Number of respondents
No involvement in YTS unless job to offer suitable trainee	1	20
	2	14
	3	7
	4	3
	5	3

YTS is just a cheap labour scheme	1	14
	2	5
	3	14
	4	5
	5	13

We prefer to train young people ourselves	1	18
	2	9
	3	13
	4	0
	5	7

There is too much red tape surrounding YTS	1	6
	2	3
	3	31
	4	3
	5	4

Total respondents = 47		
1 = Agree strongly		
5 = Disagree strongly		

scheme. A majority of firms agreed or strongly agreed that they preferred to train young people themselves and most of these were firms providing off-the-job training or apprenticeships.

This information on non-participants and participants in YTS indicated that economic factors, such as labour demand, output and efficiency were important determinants of training provision. This suggests that encouragement from the LDDC or the MSC/TA is unlikely to increase training provision dramatically. Indeed, of the 47 non-participants in YTS only 3 reported that they might use it in the future. Other forces operating in the labour market seem to determine a firm's involvement in training. Therefore, as with other LDDC initiatives wider forces limit the impact of policy. Consequently, the hoped for increase in employer and MSC/TA provision has not occurred.

This review of LDDC initiatives for the supply side of the local labour market suggests that the impact of these measures has been limited. The evidence from the survey of new residents and employing establishments indicates that the effect of new housing on the local labour market has been small. Furthermore, it is unlikely to grow significantly in the near future. Commuting patterns and adjustments mean that many of the new residents in new owner-occupied housing work in central London and are not linked to the Docklands labour market. In addition, Docklands firms were orientated to a wide catchment area that will not be affected by the presence of new residents. However the occupational characteristics of new residents were to a limited degree different from those of residents in the borough of Newham in 1981. But establishments still felt that the presence of new residents was unlikely to alter their recruitment difficulties. Many other supply-side initiatives designed to raise skill levels through training that were supported by the LDDC were rather too small to exert a significant influence on the labour market. It remains to be seen

whether the larger Skillnet initiative will overcome its initial problems and will make a difference to the labour market experiences of local residents. The need for additional training provision is illustrated by the very limited use of YTS and apprenticeships in the sample of employing establishments, despite the LDDC's hopes for increased provision. It is fair to say that all these measures had some effect on the supply-side of the labour market. But, as with the demand-side initiatives, other forces in the labour market, such as commuting patterns and current links between a firm's demand for labour and its catchment area served either to disperse the impact of these policies over a wide geographical area or to limit their effect in the Docklands area. Indeed, the influence of these other forces on the local labour market usually appeared to be considerably greater than the LDDC's policies. It is for this reason that the next chapter focusses in further detail on the interaction of policy and non-policy forces in the local labour market. The last three chapters have used primary and secondary evidence to establish the nature of LDDC policy and then to analyse the impact of each policy measure whilst taking account of the other forces on the labour market. It is now necessary to complete the study of policy in Docklands by extending this approach using a piece of analysis that simultaneously examines the impact and interaction of all the different forces and policies causing change in the local labour market. The next chapter does this through an in-depth study of the youth labour market based on a survey of young adults who were formerly pupils of George Green school on the Isle of Dogs.

CHAPTER 7

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE LABOUR MARKET IN LONDON DOCKLANDS

7.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters examined the role of policy as a cause of change in the demand and supply sides of the local labour market in Docklands and discussed, in particular, the role of policy as a cause of change. In both chapters it was clear that other determinants of supply and demand were often a more pervasive influence on the labour market than LDDC policy. Furthermore, the LDDC area is of course part of the wider metropolitan labour market, which means that changes occurring outside the area also have an important impact within Docklands. But in both these chapters each policy initiative was examined in its own right. It is now necessary, therefore, to assess the concurrent and combined effects of all these different non-policy and policy influences on the local labour market in London Docklands. The data set used for this analysis is a survey of young adults. The results of this survey are used in two stages of analysis. The first is a description of the nature of the labour market experiences of young people and an assessment of the influence of the key demand and supply-side forces outlined in the conceptual model. In the second stage the findings are used to analyse the impact of labour market policy on the young people, whilst taking account of the influence of the other forces identified in the first stage of analysis. In this way the wider economic and social factors that determine the experiences of young people can be analysed. This is followed by a discussion of the role of the policies of the LDDC and other agencies.

7.2 Previous studies of the youth labour market

As stated in Chapter 3, the advantage of studying a sample of young people is that they are relatively homogenous in terms of age, skill and marital status. Thus, there are fewer factors influencing their labour market experiences to be considered and the influence of policy is somewhat easier to discern than with adults. Chapter 3 also mentioned some of the main supply side determinants of the labour market experiences of young people such as, family background, social class, educational attainment and race. The importance of these factors has been established by successive post-war studies of the youth labour market which were concerned to describe and explain the nature of the transition young people underwent between school and work. Ferguson and Cunnison (1952) in a follow-up study of all the 14 year-old boys leaving Glasgow's schools in 1947 identified a transition process in the working class life cycle just after leaving school, whereby young people followed certain well defined paths into settled employment and later settled family life. Bazalgette (1978) claimed in his study of Coventry that "it was evident that there were two transitions in which young men and women were engaged simultaneously. The most obvious was...the transition from school to work...The change of role here was from the pupil role to the role of employee. The other transition underlay that organisational one. This was the transition from childhood to adulthood...This is, of course, a long drawn-out transition in present-day Britain, unmarked by any ritual indicating change of status or responsibility. The lack of ritual...has consequences for different aspects of life: the key one...is the act of leaving school which becomes in the young person's mind, the ritual changeover point from being a child to becoming an adult" (p.47).

Further research on this two-fold transition established that for many working-class young people it

was a very uniform and limited process (Liversidge 1962). But other researchers studying the period after leaving school found evidence of resentment to authority (Keil et. al. 1966), regular job changing (Miller and Form 1964) and discontentment (Wilmott 1966). They suggested that for some young people this transition was not a smooth process. However, later more detailed sociological studies have tended to refute this (Roberts 1971), and Ashton and Field (1976) reported that "contrary to a fairly widely accepted belief expressed in the literature, most young people did not experience severe problems of adjustment in the course of their transition from school to work" (p.11).

In the 1970's sociological explanations of the transition process tended to view this period in young people's lives as a socialising process preparing them for the world of work. Ashton and Field (1976), developing the ideas of Carter's (1962) study of Sheffield, examined in detail the relationship between school, family life, social class and work. The important influence of the family was indicated by their estimate that in the 1950's and 1960's between 40 and 50 per cent of sons leaving school entered the same type of work as their fathers. They went on to argue that the relationship between class, school and work could be conceptualised in terms of three channels through which young people moved during and after school. The first of these led middle class young people through the upper stream of comprehensives to professional, managerial and other white collar jobs. The second led upper working class youngsters through the middle streams of comprehensives to skilled manual or secretarial work. In contrast, the third channel was the route to semi-skilled and unskilled jobs through the lower streams of schools followed by lower working class young people (Ashton and Field 1976). Although, there is more recent evidence of social mobility later in life between these streams (Goldthorpe 1980), Ashton and Maguire (1986) claim that the majority of young people fall into

one of these channels, with later mobility being very much a function of prevailing economic conditions. The important influence of educational attainment on early labour market experiences has been confirmed by other detailed empirical studies (MacLeod et.al. 1983, Lynch 1987, Elias and Blanchflower 1987). But for Ashton and Field (1976) and Ashton and Maguire (1986) education was only one element along with class and family background that influences individual social development and ensures most young people move through one of the three defined channels. These social influences at home and school mean "that as young people move through these channels they acquire a distinctive outlook and orientation to work which functions to direct them to certain parts of the labour market" (Ashton and Maguire 1986 p.8). As a result the transition process was a smooth one for most young people because the reality of work confirms prior expectations. For example, lower working class youths came from backgrounds where little value was placed on education, which led to poor educational performance, allocation to lower streams and low expectations of the labour market. Consequently, these young people were confined, mainly to semi-skilled and unskilled jobs (Ashton and Field 1976). Willis (1977) put forward similar arguments when he claimed that working class culture and peer group pressure or views were also an important part of the socialisation process preparing young people for work. As Furlong (1987) explained these theories rest on the notion of the 'occupational self concept', meaning that young people were able to interpret their social position and act upon their impressions of the labour market. The research to support this approach was developed in the 1960's and early 1970's, when the youth labour market was relatively buoyant. However, the rapid rise in youth unemployment in the late 1970's led others to argue that this 'socialisation' explanation of the transition process, whilst of importance, was

inadequate on its own to account for the early labour market experiences of young adults.

Roberts (1977, 1984) rejected socialisation explanations which claimed that individuals interpret the available labour market opportunities and act accordingly. He argued that the nature of labour demand is the dominant influence on the transition process. The smooth transition process of the post-war years contrasted with the problematic and unpleasant labour market experiences of young people at all other times since the industrial revolution caused by the fluctuating demand for cheap youth labour during these other periods. Therefore, the behaviour and decisions of young people must be explained primarily by the prevailing demand for labour referred to as the "opportunity structure". As Roberts (1977) claimed "neither school leavers nor adults typically chose their jobs...they simply take what is available" (p.3).

Studies of young peoples' labour market aspirations (Raby and Walford 1981) and Roberts et al. (1986a) own study of Liverpool, Walsall and Chelmsford provided evidence of the effect of job opportunities on the labour market aspirations of young adults, which suggests that young people adapt their attitudes during the transition process according to the changing demand for labour in their local area. Therefore, the attitudes of young people were not just a result of the socialisation occurring at home and school, but were mainly determined by the specific 'opportunity structure' in their local labour market. Roberts et al. (1986a) went even further to claim that the transition process has altered fundamentally: "in the future most young people will commence full-time permanent employment at a later age, following phased transitions involving various combinations of earning, training and learning" (p.12). In a similar vein Willis (1984) argued that high youth unemployment prevents young people obtaining a wage and, therefore, they do not have the status or lifestyle associated with waged employment. Consequently, they are

left in 'suspended animation' (Willis 1984 p.19) unable to make the transition to adulthood.

However, others have argued that socialisation processes still exert an important influence on the transition process and the labour market experiences of young adults. Hutson and Jenkins (1987) in a detailed study of young people in South Wales have argued that despite unemployment and limited job opportunities, the transition process is not significantly altered. Parental and peer group pressure meant that most young people wish to acquire adult status as quickly as possible. Achieving adult status does not necessarily require a permanent stable job but can be obtained, in the eyes of parents and peers, by acquiring material possessions and a stable lifestyle. Therefore, parental pressure and, most importantly, financial assistance encourage young people to accept low paid, temporary or part time work, and allowed many young people in South Wales to acquire the necessary possessions and lifestyle characteristics associated with adulthood. As Hutson and Jenkins (1987) pointed out "young people continue - despite all the odds stacked against them - to achieve adult status...life - of a sort - goes on" (p.107).

The overriding conclusion of the Hutson and Jenkins (1987) study was that family and social class still exert a strong influence on the labour market aspirations and behaviour of young people. Furlong (1987) suggested that "we need a synthesis of the 'socialisation' model and the 'opportunity structure' model. Both models contain some truth" (p.68). Furlong (1987) argues the two approaches are not, in reality, too far apart and suggests that the behaviour of young people in the labour market, in part, stems from the socialisation process. But the choices individuals can make are constrained by the opportunity structure which will vary across time and space. The work by Ashton and Maguire (1986) on four separate local youth labour markets confirmed this conclusion. In addition, to the affect of family, class and education on

youth labour market experiences, they claimed that labour market behaviour is "powerfully influenced by the type of work or segment of the labour market first entered, the state of the economy and the character of the local labour market" (p.6). This research extended the earlier work by Ashton et. al. (1982) which identified the segmented nature of the youth labour market. Youths were concentrated in certain segments of the labour market due to the nature of labour demand, employers recruitment procedures, trade unions and certain legal controls. In addition, youths themselves were segmented in the labour market. As already mentioned class, education and family background channelled different types of young people into different segments of the labour market. But this segmentation was also based on gender, so that males and females from similar social and educational backgrounds would be in very different labour market segments. Gender segmentation was the result of both social forces and employers' recruitment practices (Ashton et. al. 1982, Ashton and Maguire 1986).

These findings from research on youth labour market segmentation and the conclusions from the debate over the transition process serve to reinforce the points made about labour markets in Chapter 3. Namely, supply-side forces such as family background, class and education exert a powerful influence over the labour market experiences of young people. Indeed, change in the nature of the labour supply may well stem from these forces. In addition, the 'opportunity structure' on the demand-side of the labour market will also help to determine their behaviour in the labour market.

However, the transition process has not been the only concern of research on the youth labour market of importance to this thesis. The sharp increase in youth unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s has received considerable attention, as researchers sought an explanation for this phenomenon which might form the basis for policy measures. Econometric studies based on data

for the 1970's, identified demand conditions as being the main determinant of youth unemployment (Metcalf 1979, Layard 1982, Wells 1983, Raffe 1987). These results indicated that, although the relative costs of young workers were a cause of youth unemployment in the 1970's, the most important influence in the 1980's was the recession and the consequent decline in demand for youth labour (Raffe 1987).

However, there have been a number of studies attempting to determine the factors that cause the uneven distribution of unemployment amongst different groups of young people. These again highlight the influence of supply side factors on youth labour market experience. Lynch's (1987) study of 1922 school leavers in London found that education, race, and unemployment in a respondent's family, all increased the likelihood of unemployment. Raffe (1984) and Main (1985) also found a higher incidence of unemployment amongst youths from working class households. Other studies have confirmed the influence of race: all other things being equal young blacks experienced higher rates of unemployment than white youths (Roberts et. al. 1983). Furthermore, Lynch (1985 and 1987) identified a 'scarring' effect of long-term unemployment so that the likelihood of a young person gaining employment is further reduced the longer they are out of work. This is synonymous with the influence of the stability of work element of the conceptual model (see Figure 3.1). In addition, these studies tend to confirm that the distribution of youth unemployment replicates existing patterns of inequality. For this reason Lynch (1987) argued that the high rates in Inner London stem from the concentration of disadvantaged youths in these areas. Others have gone further and argued that high rates of youth unemployment reinforce and strengthen existing dimensions of disadvantage.

Several studies have noted the increasing polarisation in labour market experiences between the qualified and the less qualified (Jones 1984, Raffe 1984,

Payne and Payne 1985). Roberts et. al. (1986) claimed that in Walsall and Liverpool social polarisation amongst young people is characterised by a division between those who have been able to discover a pathway to adult employment and those who haven't, many of whom are still awaiting their first job. In addition, "many victims of polarisation felt locked-out, apparently for ever. Possible routes-out via education, training, low-wage stop gaps, self-employment and migration were proving either non-existent or blind-alleys" (Roberts et. al. 1986 p.6). This suggests that in the more depressed areas of Britain a proportion of young people are becoming part of a permanently out of work sub-class. Ashton and Maguire (1986) came to a similar conclusion claiming that long-term unemployed youths in Sunderland formed a distinct group within the youth population.

The findings of this research on youth unemployment identify a number of forces that clearly have an important influence on the labour market experiences of young people. The impact of recent policy initiatives on the youth labour market has also been examined, often as part of these studies of youth unemployment. Chapter 2 summarised the results of labour market policy analysis which attempted to assess the implementation, costs and impacts of SEMs and STMs. A number of these studies were of measures aimed specifically at youths, such as YTS or the Young Workers scheme. (For example Main and Shelly 1988 and Hutchinson and Church 1989 on YTS; Rajan (1985) and Bushell (1986) on the Young Workers Scheme.) But there has been some debate over the role of these initiatives as a force of change in the youth labour market. Frith (1980) claims that since so many young people are surplus to the needs of industry "the long term strategy of the MSC is the development of a state run secondary labour market for the young" (p.40). Roberts et al. (1986) took a similar view when they argued that YTS and the Young Workers Scheme have played an important role in preventing some young people achieving the transition to

adulthood and therefore, they have contributed to the polarisation of young people's prospects. In contrast, Ashton et. al (1987) claimed that the wider forces that lead to a segmented labour market diminish the importance of YTS. Thus "YTS is undoubtedly having an impact on the youth labour market but this impact is mainly on the margins, and is more likely to modify its operation, than to transform it" (p.168). This conclusion, is based on the results of a survey of 1,786 young people and suggests that a study of the youth labour market in London Docklands must be careful in the amount of influence attributed to policy measures.

The collective conclusions of the recent youth labour market research into the transition from school to work, youth unemployment and the impact of policy contain a number of implications for an examination of these issues in Docklands. The former pupils of George Green school on the Isle of Dogs will be undergoing a dual transition from school to work and from childhood to being an adult. The characteristics of the transition process will be primarily reflected in aspirations, attitudes and labour market experiences. However, that transition process may have changed somewhat due to economic conditions. Despite these changes, the key supply-side factors of family background, class and educational attainment will still be exerting a crucial influence on the transition process. In addition, race and the 'scarring effect' of long-term unemployment are other important supply-side factors determining an individual's route through the transition process. Demand-side factors will also be important in explaining the transition process, in particular the fall in demand for youth labour may have led to polarisation in the labour market experiences of young people. Also, the above research has indicated that the interaction of demand and supply side forces produces a youth labour market segmented particularly by class, gender and educational attainment.

The above findings of research on youth labour markets tend to confirm the applicability of the conceptual model developed in Chapter 3. Consequently, an examination of the transition process of young people in London Docklands may well reveal the existence of a divided and segmented labour market which is determined by a range of supply and demand-side influences. Labour market policy will also determine the transition process, but an assessment of its influence must recognise the importance of the other forces in the labour market. Therefore, the analysis which follows starts by establishing the nature of the transition process through a description of the aspirations, attitudes and labour market experiences of the sample. This includes a discussion of the causal influence of supply and demand-side factors on this process. After this the impact of policy measures is considered. In this way policy will be considered in the context of the other processes affecting the labour market.

7.3 Young adults in London Docklands - basic features of the sample

Some of the basic characteristics of the sample were described in Chapter 4. The 151 individuals who had left George Green school, were aged between 17 and 21 years and comprised 76 males and 75 females (see Table 3.4). 69 had been interviewed by P. Ainley between 1982 and 1984. More detail on the basic features of the sample indicated the working class characteristics of the population on the Isle of Dogs. The data on parental occupation indicated family backgrounds typical of an area where the local economy had been dominated by manufacturing and dock-related industries. Table 7.1 lists the economic status of parents at the time of interview. 1 in 3 fathers were working as skilled manual workers and a further 16 per cent were semi or unskilled manual workers. Only 7 per cent of fathers were in the supervisory SEGs of employers,

TABLE 7.1
Sample of young adults : economic status of
parents at time of interview.

Socio-economic group	Fathers		Mothers	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Employers and managers SEG 1,2	1	*	-	-
Professional workers SEG 3,4	-	-	1	*
Intermediate non-manual SEG 5	2	1	5	3
Junior non-manual SEG 6	13	9	29	19
Personal services SEG 7	4	3	30	20
Foreman and supervisors manual SEG 8	7	5	-	-
Skilled manual SEG 9	49	33	6	4
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	17	11	5	3
Unskilled manual SEG 11	8	5	16	11
Self-employed SEG 12	5	3	2	1
Retired	6	4	1	*
Sick/disabled	3	2	2	1
Housewives	-	-	35	23
Unemployed	11	7	11	7
Don't know	20	13	5	3
Deceased	5	3	3	2
Total	151		151	

* Less than 1 percent. Column totals do not equal one hundred due to rounding.

intermediate non-manual or skilled foreman. Surprisingly, only 11 fathers were unemployed which represented 10 per cent of the economically active fathers. However, it became apparent towards the end of the survey that some respondents, in answer to the question 'what do your parents do now', were giving parental occupations even when parents were out of work. So the figure for unemployment will be an underestimate. However 9 per cent of respondents also came from families where the male wage earner was sick, retired or deceased. Many mothers were concentrated in lower grade jobs: 39 per cent were working in junior non-manual or personal service jobs and 14 per cent were in semi or unskilled jobs. 11 per cent of the economically active mothers were registered as unemployed. In addition, 23 per cent of mothers were described as housewives. Although a large proportion of fathers were skilled manual workers, many working parents were concentrated in low grade jobs. The working class background of the sample is also indicated by the tenure characteristics of the sample. 82 per cent of respondents lived in council-owned property, which is a higher proportion than for all Docklands households in 1986 (LDDC 1988a).

Parental occupation and class are only two features of family background which might have an effect on the transition process. The influence of family background may also depend on the amount of contact with parents. Most respondents were still in contact with one or other of their parents, since 87 per cent of respondents still lived with one or both parents. Only in the older age groups had individuals moved into dwellings away from a parental home. However, a number of respondents did not come from intact family backgrounds. Table 7.2 describes the number of respondents whose parents were known to be divorced or deceased. A total of 45 respondents, 30 per cent, came from families where the parental relationship was not intact. There were, however, a small number of respondents whose immediate family included more than just

TABLE 7.2
Sample of young adults : respondents from
families where one parent is absent.

Cause and nature of absence	Number of respondents	%
Father deceased	4	3
Mother deceased	3	2
Divorce/separation now live with mother	29	19
Divorce/separation now live with father	5	3
Divorce/separation now live with other relatives	4	3
Total	45	30

parents or siblings. A few now had families of their own. 86 per cent described themselves as single, but 4 per cent were married, 6 per cent cohabiting, 4 per cent were engaged to be married and 4 per cent had children. Of the respondents who were married or cohabiting all except one had moved from their parental home. However, respondents who had moved away from their parental home rarely left the local area. Table 7.3 shows that 77 per cent of the sample still lived on the Isle of Dogs (defined as Millwall and Blackwall Census of Population Wards, see Figure 4.3). Of those who lived elsewhere in the borough of Tower Hamlets all lived in the Bow and Poplar area just to the north of the Isle of Dogs. 7 lived outside borough of Tower Hamlets but 3 of these still worked in the borough and the 2 respondents living outside the South East were students with a parental home in the area. All 7 maintained social contacts with the area. The vast majority of respondents, therefore, still lived in the local area and even those who had moved away maintained some sort of contact with the Isle of Dogs.

A further indication of the working class nature of the sample were their educational qualifications (see Table 7.4). 60 per cent of the sample had no qualifications or very few. The category 'very few qualifications' was defined as 1 to 4 qualifications but no 'O' Level ABC grades or Certificate of Schools Examination grade 1 (1 to 4 but no ABC 0 or CSE1). The females were better qualified than the males. Only 25 per cent of females had no qualifications as opposed to 46 per cent of the males. The qualifications individuals had gained since reaching SMSLA are described later in this chapter. But the low level of attainment on reaching SMSLA between 1981 and 1985 was quite normal for East London. Indeed, in 1984 in the borough of Tower Hamlets the educational performance of 15-16 year olds in state schools was the lowest in any inner London borough. Indeed, of pupils aged 15-16 on the school role only 6 per cent obtained 5 or more higher grades (ABC 0 or CSE1)

TABLE 7.3
Sample of young adults : residential location.

Residential location	IOD Number	%	LBTH but not IOD Number	%	GLC but not LBTH Number	%	South-east not GLC Number	%	Outside south-east Number	%
On reaching SMSLA	130	86	20	13	1	*	-	-	-	-
When interviewed in 1986	117+	77	27	18	3	2	2	1	2	1

+ Includes 13 respondents living on the Isle of Dogs but at a different address from that on reaching SMSLA.
 * Less than 1 percent. Row totals do not equal 100% due to rounding.
 IOD - Isle of Dogs
 LBTH - London Borough of Tower Hamlets

TABLE 7.4
Sample of young adults : educational qualifications.

Gender	4+ ABC O level or CSE1		Any but inc. 1 to 3 ABC 0 or CSE1		5+ any but 1 to 4 but not ABC 0 or CSE1		not ABC 0 or CSE1		No qualifications		Total Number %
	Number %	Number %	Number %	Number %	Number %	Number %	Number %	Number %			
Male	7	9	9	12	7	9	18	24	35	46	76 100
Female	8	11	15	20	15	20	18	24	19	25	75 100
Total	15	10	24	16	22	14	36	24	54	36	151 100

ABC grades at O level or CSE grade 1 are considered passes at O level

(London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1986). In the survey of young people analysed here, 10 per cent gained 4 or more higher grades. Similarly, in Tower Hamlets in 1984 30 per cent of those aged 15-16 on the school role achieved no qualifications (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1986) and in the sample the figure was 36 per cent. This data, therefore, suggests that the sample, in terms of educational attainment, was representative of young people in East London.

A further social dimension to the sample is the race characteristics of respondents. As stated in Chapter 3, 17 per cent of the sample were of non-European origin. This group was too small to carry out separate analyses of the effect of race. However, it should be noted that the educational attainment of these respondents was similar to the sample as a whole. Therefore, just over half of non-European origin respondents had no or very few (1 to 4 but no ABC O or CSE1) qualifications. Thus, having established some of the basic family, social and educational characteristics of the sample, we can now turn to an examination of the transition process these young people have undergone.

7.4 Changing aspirations

As described earlier in the Chapter, one way in which research on youth labour markets has analysed the transition process is by studying changing aspirations. The changes in the employment structure of Docklands and Tower Hamlets, and high rates of local unemployment might be expected to have altered young people's aspirations for work and led to either a lowering of career goals due to job loss or a switch in aspirations to new industrial sectors. However, current aspirations compared to those held ten years previously show the danger of jumping to such conclusions. A preliminary 10 per cent survey of all 16 year-old pupils in Tower Hamlets leaving school in 1976, the earliest years for which figures were still

available in the borough's careers office, was indicative of the local pattern of aspirations before high levels of youth unemployment were established (Stepney Careers Office 1977). At their careers interview before leaving school 412 individuals provided data concerning the job to which they aspired. This showed that for most boys a skilled manual job or trade was the most popular aspiration, with office work the equivalent for girls. Listing aspirations in order of popularity, electronics was the year's favourite for boys, while office/banking was the first preference for girls. The data from the Tower Hamlets careers office 1986 'live register' shows striking similarities with the group of ten years previously. Nevertheless, 59 per cent of the 391 boys on the register expressed a preference for a practical skilled manual job. However, unlike 1976, very few of them specified the precise trade in which they aspired to work, which might reflect diminishing opportunities. It is not necessarily, however, evidence of a lowering of aspirations. Careers officers indicated that each year often produced a different 'craze' for trades from the boys they interviewed. Peer group communication meant that one year word went round that a motor mechanic was the best trade to enter, while in another year painting and decorating for the local authority was seen by a large number of boys as the most desirable occupation. But the careers officers felt that this 'herd instinct', as they called it, was less apparent in the 1980's, possibly due to the more limited opportunities in any particular trade. Nevertheless, peer group behaviour was still believed to be an important influence on some individuals (Meeting Careers Officers 3.4.1986). The most popular aspiration for girls remained in 1986 as in 1976, junior clerical work, with 42 per cent of girls wishing to enter this job (Stepney Careers Office 1986).

The aspirations of the sample of 151 young adults show how intentions change with a more extended labour market experience compared to those on the 'live'

register. Once more, aspirations might have been expected to fall as unemployment rose, but in fact this older group had aspirations above those of young people recorded at the careers office. Aspirations tended less towards manual work and more towards non-manual work (see Table 7.5). In particular, 17 per cent of respondents aspired to work in jobs that were intermediate non-manual (SEG 5). This included several seeking welfare work, nursing, design and management jobs. In addition, 58 per cent aspired to junior non-manual or personal service jobs. Whereas under half this, 24 per cent, aspired to manual jobs in SEGs 9, 10 and 11 and the majority of these were working in a manual job at the time of the interview. This not only differs from the 1986 careers office register but also from the earlier aspirations of the 91 individuals interviewed between 1982 and 1984 which are shown in Table 7.6. A year after leaving school 43 per cent of these 91 respondents aspired to a manual job in SEGs 9, 10 and 11 and 39 per cent to a non-manual jobs. So rather than lowering their aspirations, some respondents, mainly males, had transferred them to other areas of work upon realising the limited opportunities in traditional manual work. This is confirmed by the changing aspirations of the 69 respondents who were surveyed in both rounds of interviews, shown in Table 7.7. In the first round of interviews the largest category of aspirations was skilled manual, which accounted for two-thirds of male aspirations. This category fell by the second interview as did aspirations for jobs in personal services. In contrast there were marked increases in numbers aspiring to intermediate or junior non-manual jobs, and 7 of the 69 wanted to be self-employed or run their own businesses.

The maintenance of aspirations in spite of rising youth unemployment, along with the increased emphasis on non-manual aspirations are the outcome of a number of forces. Parental role models clearly had an influence on aspirations. The data on all aspirations and parental

TABLE 7.5
Sample of young adults : aspirations.

Socio-economic group	Number of respondents	%
Professional workers		
SEG 4	2	1
Intermediate non-manual		
SEG 5	26	17
Junior non-manual		
SEG 6	41	27
Personal service workers		
SEG 7	20	13
Skilled manual		
SEG 9	30	20
Semi skilled manual		
SEG 10	4	3
Unskilled manual		
SEG 11	2	1
Self-employed		
SEG 12	8	5
Members of the armed forces		
SEG 16	1	*
Anything	5	3
Don't know	11	8
Inadequately described	1	*
Total	151	

* less than 1 percent. Column totals do not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

TABLE 7.6
Sample of young adults : aspirations of 91
respondents interviewed between 1982 - 1984.

Socio-economic group	Number of respondents	%
Professional workers SEG 4	1	1
Intermediate non-manual SEG 5	15	16
Junior non-manual SEG 6	20	22
Personal service workers SEG 7	7	8
Skilled manual SEG 9	29	32
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	4	4
Unskilled manual SEG 11	6	7
Anything	5	5
Don't know	2	2
Inadequately described	2	2
Total	91	

Column totals do not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

TABLE 7.7
Sample of young adults : aspirations of 69
respondents when interviewed between 1982 - 1984
and when interviewed in 1986.

Socio-economic group	Aspirations in 1982-4 Number	Aspirations in 1986 Number
Professional workers		
SEG 4	1	2
Intermediate non-manual		
SEG 5	9	13
Junior non-manual		
SEG 6	13	24
Personal service workers SEG 7	12	7
Skilled manual		
SEG 9	22	12
Semi skilled manual		
SEG 10	4	2
Unskilled manual		
SEG 11	3	-
Self-employed		
SEG 12	-	7
Anything	2	1
Don't know	3	1
Total	69	69

occupations was coded for statistical analysis firstly into one of the 403 KOS (Key occupations for statistical purposes) categories. These were then amalgamated into SEGs. This allowed a very detailed comparison between KOS's for aspirations and parental occupations. 17 per cent of respondents currently aspired to the specific KOS in which one of their parents worked. These were mainly males who aspired to the same skilled trade as their father or females aspiring to non-manual jobs done by their mothers. A number of respondents were quite specific about their desire to follow in their parents footsteps. 2 boys had actually worked alongside their self-employed fathers, one as a mechanic and one as a carpenter, before going on to get a similar job in another company. Although parents can be an important influence, it is not always a straightforward process and a number of respondents indicated that they aspired to a particular career as a reaction against their parental role models. One male claimed that he wanted a non-local office job, preferably in banking, because his father "always worked in factories on the Island (the Isle of Dogs)...and he never earned much money". Similarly, a female whose parents both worked in offices and wanted her to get an office job, revealed that she was trying to become a nurse because "it's got to be more useful than what my mum and dad do." However, parental influence is stronger in the period just before and just after leaving school. This is confirmed by a comparison of respondent's aspirations on reaching SMSLA and aspirations at the time of interview. Respondents were asked what job they wanted to do when they left school and also what jobs their parents were doing at the time. 12 per cent of respondents answered that they couldn't remember but 28 per cent aspired to a job that was in the same KOS category as the job of one of their parents, compared to 17 per cent for currently held aspirations. This is not altogether unexpected for as the respondents got older they probably started to develop their own attitudes to work as parental influence

declined. However, the maintenance, raising and changes of aspirations stems from the influence of other forces as well as family background.

For those in continual work with well-paying jobs aspirations were easily maintained. This was indicated by the fact that two-thirds of those currently in work aspired to the job they were already doing or to a job that would be obtained through promotion from their existing job. However, aspirations had been maintained across the sample including individuals for whom unemployment had been a regular occurrence since leaving school. There seemed to be two key factors to take into account. First, as is described in the next section, 94 per cent of the sample had been in work at some point since reaching SMSLA and the experience of work however infrequent or exploitative helped to maintain the self-image and aspirations. Indeed, many of the 42 respondents who were unemployed at the time of interview were optimistic about obtaining what was often referred to as a 'proper job'. 35 of the 42 unemployed respondents felt they had a very good or fairly good chance of finding work in the next six months, and 19 thought their chances were good or very good within the next month. This is perhaps a reflection of the fact that although the local labour market in Docklands was depressed, the City and West End of London were relatively buoyant labour markets.

The second factor that seemed to have played a role in maintaining or altering aspirations was peer group communication. No empirical data was collected on this issue but a number of respondents indicated that they estimated their own labour market prospects on the basis of the experiences of others. Respondents were often aware of each other's whereabouts and working experiences even if they were not friends. Therefore in the questions on job search methods 9 of the 84 respondents currently in work claimed that the knowledge that a peer group member had obtained a similar job influenced their decision to apply for their current job. As one boy said "I was doing

this really bad job washing-up in a hotel....then I heard this bloke from school had got a job at the post office and I thought they must be taking anybody...so I applied, got the job".

Therefore aspirations had been influenced by a variety of factors. Parental and family background was an important influence on a number of respondents, especially in the period closest to SMSLA. Demand-side factors are clearly an important influence in shaping aspirations and were probably responsible for the shift of aspiration to non-manual jobs. This is a good example of Furlong's (1987) conceptualisation of the transition process as a time when individuals make choices within certain constraints. However, aspirations are only part of the transition and individuals may find that their aspirations are not necessarily matched by their actual labour market experiences. The next three sections, therefore, move on to examine the forces that have shaped the employment and unemployment patterns of respondents since reaching SMSLA.

7.5 Recent changes in labour market status

The changes in aspirations of certain members of the sample suggest an element of adaptation to the changing Docklands and London labour market. This adaptation is even more pronounced when the labour market experiences of respondents are examined. A respondent's labour market status at a particular point in time was categorised as one of the following:

- i) In paid work (IPW)
- ii) Unemployed (U)
- iii) In training (IT)
- iv) Not in paid work but not unemployed (NIPW)

A respondent was defined as unemployed if he/she was registered as unemployed or not in paid work/training and actively seeking employment. 40 out of 42 defined as unemployed were actually registered as unemployed. A respondent was described as being in training if he/she

was in a full time training scheme such as YTS and the community programme, further and higher education, or apprenticeships. Respondents were regarded as not in paid work but not unemployed if they were not in paid work or training but were not currently looking for work.

The labour market status for all respondents at the time of interview in the summer of 1986 is shown in Table 7.8 broken down by gender. 55 per cent were in paid work, 28 per cent were unemployed, 15 per cent were in training and 2 per cent were not in paid work but not unemployed. This is of course only a cross-sectional analysis at one point in time and the levels of various categories can fluctuate.

Nevertheless, these aggregate figures for labour market status seem to suggest a fairly constant labour market situation. The figures in Table 7.9 indicate the labour market status in 1984 of the 91 respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982 and 1983, compared to their status in 1986. Also the status in 1986 of the 60 respondents reaching SMSLA in 1984 and 1985 is described. The unemployment rate for the respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982 and 1983 hardly changed between 1984 and 1986 (down from 29 per cent to 28 per cent) and was the same as the rate for respondents who reached SMSLA in 1984 and 1985. These rates of unemployment were in keeping with local youth unemployment rates. The rate for 16-24 year olds on the Isle of Dogs has increased from 18.7 per cent in 1981 (Census of Population 1981) to between 29.5 per cent and 37 per cent in 1986, depending on the population changes assumed (calculated using MSC/TA figures and GLC population projections). In addition, Table 7.9 shows that for respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982, and 1983 there was a slight increase in the proportion in paid work between 1984 and 1986 from 47 per cent to 55 per cent. This change was accompanied by a decline in the proportion in training rather than in the proportion unemployed. The results in Table 7.9 suggest

TABLE 7.8
Sample of young adults : Labour market status
at time of interview.

Gender	In paid work		Unemployed		In training		Not in paid work but not unemployed		Total Number %
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Male	38	50	21	28	17	22	-	-	76 100
Female	46	61	21	28	5	7	3	4	75 100
Total	84	55	42	28	22	15	3	2	151 100

TABLE 7.9
Sample of young adults : labour market status
in 1984 and 1986.

Labour market status	Status in 1984 of respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982, 1983		Status in 1986 of respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982, 1983		Status in 1986 of respondents who reached SMSLA in 1984, 1985	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
In paid work	43	47	50	55	35	58
Unemployed	26	29	25	28	17	29
In training	20	22	13	14	8	13
Not in paid work but not unemployed	2	2	3	3	-	-
Total	91	100	91	100	60	100

the lack of any major change in labour market status over time at this aggregate level of analysis.

However, more detailed analysis reveals a continually changing and fluid labour market, even if overall levels of those in paid work or unemployed remain stable. Table 7.10 outlines the status in 1984 of the 91 respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, 1982 and 1983 and then relates this information to the same respondents' status in 1986. 64 respondents changed their labour market status at least once. For example, 36 per cent of those who were in paid work in 1984 were either unemployed or in training in 1986 and 50 per cent of those who were unemployed in 1984 were in paid work in 1986. Therefore paid work, unemployment and training have been experienced by many respondents. A simple analysis at two points in time only begins to hint at the complexity of the labour market histories of this group of young people. It is necessary therefore to look in more detail at the length of time individuals were spending in paid work, as unemployed or in training to start to reveal fully the nature of change and adaptation in the youth labour market in Docklands.

The data collected in the calendar in the questionnaire provided data on respondents' labour market status for each month since leaving school. 16 per cent of the respondents were in paid employment continually since reaching SMSLA. Alternatively, 21 respondents, 14 per cent, had never been in paid employment and this included 6 permanently in training, 2 permanently unemployed and 13 whose time since reaching SMSLA may have included training, unemployment or periods not in paid work but not unemployed. Also 25 per cent of the sample had spent less than a fifth of their time since leaving school in paid work. But it should be emphasised that this includes some of the best qualified respondents who have been continually in higher or further education and others who have been continually on long running apprenticeships.

TABLE 7.10
Sample of young adults : Labour market status change 1984 - 1986.

Labour market status in 1984	Status in 1986								
	I.P.W.		U.		I.T.		N.I.P.W.		Total %
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Total I.P.W. = 43	26	60	11	26	4	10	2	4	100
Total U. = 26	13	50	8	31	5	19	-	-	100
Total I.T. = 20	11	55	5	25	4	20	-	-	100
Total N.I.P.W. = 2	-	-	1	50	-	-	1	50	100

Percentage figures represent a precentage of the particular status group in 1984 and therefore row totals = 100%

I.P.W. = In paid work, U. = Unemployed, I.T. = In training, N.I.P.W. = Not in paid work but not unemployed.

Labour market experiences examined in terms of periods of unemployment further indicate the contrasting labour market experiences within the group. Encouragingly, 38 per cent of respondents had never experienced a period of unemployment since reaching SMSLA with 69 per cent having spent less than a tenth of their time since reaching SMSLA as unemployed. However, there is a clear polarisation within the sample between those who had never or rarely experienced unemployment and those for whom unemployment had been the major part of their labour market experience since leaving school. Only two respondents had been continually unemployed since reaching SMSLA. However, 10 per cent of the sample had spent over half their time as unemployed. In addition, 25 per cent had been unemployed for over 33 per cent of their time since leaving school. An important point to make here is that the young unemployed in the sample were not some permanently unemployed sub-group as has been found in other metropolitan areas (Roberts et al, 1986, Ashton and Maguire 1986). Rather at any one point in time between 25 and 35 per cent of the sample were unemployed; but this group was by no means comprised of the same permanently unemployed individuals. There was a large flow of individuals in and out of unemployment and a relatively small stock of long term unemployed youths. Indeed, 27 of the 42 unemployed respondents had been unemployed for six months or less, and of these 13 had been unemployed for less than 2 months. However, for 25 per cent of respondents unemployment has occupied a large amount of their time since reaching SMSLA. But these periods of unemployment were broken up by periods in work and training. This group of 25 per cent of respondents who have been unemployed for over a third of the time since leaving school will be referred to as the lower quartile. They are not simply comparable to the unemployed respondents. Indeed, of the 42 respondents unemployed at the time of interview only 26 were members of the lower quartile. Furthermore, the lower quartile seem to be set

apart from the 69 per cent of respondents who had spent less than a tenth of their time unemployed. Interestingly, only 6 per cent of respondents fall in the intervening category of being unemployed between 10 and 33 per cent of their time since reaching SMSLA. So, although the sample came from similar class backgrounds there is considerable segmentation within the group in terms of labour market experiences. Possible explanations for this situation are discussed in the next section.

The calendar data on status also indicated that 54 per cent of respondents had been on a training scheme at some point since reaching SMSLA. However, very few individuals had experienced a period of being not in paid work but not unemployed. Those currently in this situation were all girls with children apart from one looking after a sick mother.

Predictably, educational qualifications were a key influence on labour market status. Table 7.11 breaks down labour market status at the time of interview according to educational qualifications gained on reaching SMSLA. 39 respondents, 26 per cent, were in the two highest qualification categories having at least 1 ABC 0 or CSE1 (usually more than 1). Of these, 36 (92 per cent) were in work or training, whereas the corresponding figure for the lowest two categories of qualification was 59 per cent. 60 per cent of respondents were in the lowest two categories of qualification (no qualifications or 1 to 4 but not ABC 0 or CSE1). 39 per cent of these least qualified respondents were unemployed compared to only 5 per cent of the respondents in the two best qualified groups. This corresponds with the findings of previous studies that young people with the lowest qualifications are the most likely to be unemployed. (Richardson and Lynch 1986, Elias and Blanchflower 1987). In keeping with these conclusions the vast majority of the lower quartile were poorly qualified. 22 of the 38 lower quartile respondents had no qualifications and only 10 had 1 to 4 but no ABC 0 or CSE1. Of the remainder 4 had 5+ but no

TABLE 7.11
Sample of young adults : labour market status at
time of interviews by educational qualification.

Labour market status	4+ ABC O level or CSE1 Number		Any but inc 1 to 3 ABC O or CSE1 Number		5+ any but not ABC O or CSE1 Number		1 to 4 but not ABC O or CSE1 Number		No qualifications Number
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
In paid work	7		20		15		19		23
Unemployed	1		1		5		14		21
In training	7		2		2		3		8
Not in paid but not unemployed	-		1		-		-		2
Total	15(10%)	24(16%)	22(14%)	36(24%)	54(36%)				

Numbers are out of the total of 151.

ABC 0 or CSE1, and 2 females had one '0' level each as well as some CSE's below grade 1.

However, there were many respondents with no qualifications or none of any significance that were not part of this lower quartile. Furthermore, there were poorly qualified respondents who had been in virtual permanent employment since reaching SMSLA. In fact there were 90 respondents who were in the two least qualified groups (no qualifications or 1-4 but no ABC 0 or CSE1). Of these 44 were in work at the time of interview but this included only 2 members of the lower quartile. Therefore 42 of the 90 least qualified respondents were in work when interviewed and were not part of the lower quartile. The differences between the lower quartile and equally poorly qualified respondents not in the lower quartile are discussed later. But this indicates that although educational qualifications are an important factor determining the labour market experiences of respondents, they cannot explain all of the variation in experience.

This basic data on labour market experiences of respondents since reaching SMSLA has started to indicate some of the broad differences in labour market experiences between respondents. Already some interesting findings have emerged. A substantial number of respondents have been able to stay in paid work almost continuously since reaching SMSLA. Youth unemployment is not typified by some permanently out of work sub-group, instead the situation seems to be characterised by the experiences of a lower quartile group who have been unemployed for a substantial period of time since reaching SMSLA but who have also experienced periods in work and in training.

7.6 Changing employment patterns

The shift in aspirations from manual to non-manual jobs indicates one form of labour market adaptation during the transition process. This adaptation process was even more pronounced when the jobs done by respondents were examined. The pattern of regular job changing noted in

studies of youths in the 1960's (Miller and Form 1964), was not occurring on a large scale amongst this sample. 14 per cent had never worked, 33 per cent had done just one job and 25 per cent two jobs since reaching SMSLA. 10 per cent had done 3 jobs and the remaining 18 per cent had done 4 or more jobs. The most jobs any respondent had done since reaching SMSLA was 8.

The questionnaire was not designed to obtain information on all the jobs done by respondents. Instead, it collected data on the respondents' longest jobs, current jobs at the time of interview (if different) and, in order to examine the impact of change in Docklands, jobs done on the Isle of Dogs.

55 per cent of respondents were in work at time of interview and the type of jobs they did, as described by SEG, are shown in Table 7.12. Also listed are the types of jobs done by respondents in the job in which they spent the longest time. The final column gives the jobs by SEG being done one year after leaving school by the 91 individuals interviewed between 1982 and 1984. It is significant that 74 per cent of current jobs and 64 per cent of longest jobs were in junior non-manual or personal service SEGs. In fact, junior non-manual jobs were dominated by three occupations: 23 per cent of longest jobs were junior clerical jobs, as were nearly a third of current jobs; 12 per cent of longest jobs and 21 per cent of current jobs were secretarial; and 12 per cent of both current and longest jobs were in shops or selling. These compare markedly to the figures for the 91 individuals in the first set of interviews between 1982 and 1984, when 59 per cent of those in work were in manual jobs in SEGs 9, 10 and 11, and only 41 per cent were in non-manual or personal service jobs, mainly girls in secretarial jobs. The concentration of work in manual jobs seems to have weakened. However, aspects of the traditional gender divisions still existed in that only 4 of the 46 females in work at the time of the interview were in manual jobs. Similarly of the 22 females, who were in work, interviewed

TABLE 7.12
Sample of young adults : type of jobs undertaken by respondents.

Socio-economic group	Current job (Number of respondents whose current job in SEG)	%	Longest job (Number of respondents whose longest job in SEG)	%	Number of respondents who left in 1981-1983, whose job one year after leaving school in SEG	%
Junior non-manual SEG 6	59	70	74	56	16	31
Personal service workers SEG 7	3	4	10	8	5	10
Skilled manual SEG 9	11	13	18	14	9	18
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	2	2	13	10	10	20
Unskilled manual SEG 11	9	11	15	12	11	21
Total	84	100	130	100	51	100

Percentage figures are based on column totals and not the total number of respondents.

between 1982 and 1984 only 3 were in manual jobs and only 2 males worked in a junior non-manual job. Therefore, it seems that males faced with declining job opportunities in traditional manual jobs have responded by working in increasing numbers in non-manual jobs. Thus, of the 38 males currently in work, 20 worked in manual jobs in SEGs 9,10 and 11, but nearly as many, 18, worked in junior non-manual jobs. This shift by males into non-manual work was most clearly epitomised, albeit on a small scale, by the change in jobs done by 32 males interviewed in both the period 1982-4 and also in 1986. When they were first interviewed, only 3 had ever worked in a non-manual jobs and all of these were as shop assistants. By 1986 the longest job done by 20 of these males was a non-manual job. In addition, 17 were currently in work, of whom 11 were in junior non-manual jobs. So the changes that have taken place have been based partly around the reduction of gender divisions of work, but only in one direction, with males adapting to changing labour market conditions by taking up non-manual occupations more often done by females. Ashton et. al. (1982) described the segmentation of the youth labour market which concentrated youths into a narrow range of occupations. However, it seems that the segment may be becoming narrower in terms of occupations as the number of youth manual jobs declines.

This adaptation to labour market change is not just displayed in employment patterns. The 42 unemployed respondents were asked questions about the type of work they were seeking and the occupation of the last job for which they had applied. The results of these questions are shown in Table 7.13 and indicate that unemployed respondents were mainly seeking work outside 'traditional' Docklands jobs. Half the unemployed respondents were seeking any job or any job within limits, including not wishing to move house or work for very low pay. 25 unemployed respondents had been seeking work in non-manual or personal service work; whereas only 12 had been seeking manual work in SEGs 9,10 and 11 and two of those seeking

TABLE 7.13
Sample of young adults : type of work
for which unemployed respondents have
been looking and have applied.

Socio-economic group	Number of unemployed respondents looking for type of work	Number of unemployed respondents who applied for type of job
Junior non-manual SEG 6	20	13
Personal service workers SEG 7	5	7
Skilled manual SEG 9	5	4
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	2	4
Unskilled manual SEG 11	5	6
Anything	13	Not applied for any 3
Anything in limits	8	Don't know applied for so many 5

Some respondents gave more than one occupational type of work they were looking for. Therefore the first column total is greater than 42 which is the total number of unemployed respondents.

unskilled manual work were in fact looking for jobs as office messengers (defined as being in SEG 11) in the City and West End of London. The jobs applied for indicate that unemployed respondents were seeking work in jobs which reflected the labour market situation facing them. Over half of the most recent jobs applied for were in junior non-manual or personal service occupations and 4 of the 6 unskilled manual jobs were in the office sector as cleaners or messengers.

The unemployed respondents, like their employed peers, provided answers to the questionnaire which suggested they were flexible and willing to adjust to the changing labour market. Indeed, they mostly exhibited an astute awareness of the labour market opportunities available. This was well illustrated by the data on wage expectations shown in Table 7.14. The pilot study suggested that respondents were often unaware of their gross pay and a far more accurate assessment could be given of net, take-home, pay. For this reason wage data was collected on take-home pay. Part-time wages were rounded up for a 38 hour week to give a full-time equivalent. This was used to calculate the average wages in longest and current jobs shown in Table 7.14 which are both greater than the average wages unemployed respondents were prepared to accept and expected to earn. This suggests realistic wage expectations amongst the unemployed. Also the figures for expectations and actual wages are close enough together to indicate that the unemployed were aware of the going rates for jobs in the labour market.

The data presented so far on labour market experiences indicates that respondents had been adapting, in terms of jobs done and sought, to the changing labour market. Young people have started doing non-manual service sector jobs in increasing numbers because these are the jobs that are available. However, although the changing labour market will force some individuals to adapt, other respondents may freely chose to change jobs

TABLE 7.14
Sample of young adults : actual wages and
unemployment respondents expected wages.

	Take home pay per week £
Average wage in longest jobs	77.38
Average wage in current jobs	87.41
Average wage in longest jobs on Isle of Dogs	72.12
Average lowest wage that unemployed respondents prepared to accept	66.61
Average wage that unemployed respondents expected to earn	72.84

on the basis of their own perceptions of the labour market. This is illustrated by the data collected on the reasons respondents left or thought of leaving their longest job. Of the 64 respondents who had already left their longest job and of the 22 still in their longest job who were seriously thinking of leaving, Table 7.15 lists their reasons for carrying out or contemplating such action. Although pay was the most mentioned reason, many left or thought of leaving for what they perceived to be a better future. 40 per cent left or thought of leaving because the job had no prospects; or they felt they could get a better job; or they obtained a better job than their longest job. This gives the impression that significant numbers of the group were prepared to adapt to labour market change in order to advance themselves through work. Quotes from one male interviewed first between 1982-4 and again in 1986 encapsulate this desire. In 1982 he claimed that "ever since I was small I wanted to go in the docks and do what my dad did, but that closed down". By 1986 his horizons had broadened considerably and he said that "I did a couple of jobs in a factory and then I realised that you got much better pay and promotion in office jobs....I got myself a job in the City". Undoubtedly, changing labour demand was the key factor in explaining the changes in employment patterns, but it is important to acknowledge the influence of supply-side factors, such as a desire amongst some respondents to advance themselves. In summary, the shift to non-manual service sector work, especially by males, reflects the alterations in job opportunities. However, for a number of respondents employment was only a part of their labour market history. There was a considerable polarisation between the experiences of those who had been in work or training nearly continuously, and the lower quartile of respondents who had spent at least a third of their time since reaching SMSLA unemployed. The analysis now endeavours to explain the phenomenon of the lower quartile.

TABLE 7.15
Sample of young adults : reasons for leaving
or thinking of leaving longest job.

Reason for leaving or thinking of leaving	Number of respondents mentioning reason
Redundancy	9
Dismissed	3
Unfairly dismissed	4
Not right type of job	6
Boring	9
Pay	16
Relations with other workers	3
Relations with managers	8
Felt exploited	2
Conditions at work	10
Journey to work	2
No prospects	11
Felt could get better job	11
Got better job	12
Bad hours	2
Domestic problems	1
Only temporary	8
Irregular work pattern	1
Other	5

The total number of respondents asked for this information was 86 (ie. 66 who left longest job and 22 thinking of leaving). But respondents could give more than one reason for leaving and so column total is greater than 86. Percentage figures would be as a percent of 86 and are little different to actual numbers.

7.7 The lower quartile

Although the lower quartile comprises only 38 respondents, it is a large enough sub-group on which to base some general conclusions, especially when compared to the non-lower quartile respondents. This group of 38 respondents were not permanently unemployed. 10 of the lower quartile have never worked but only 2 of these had been permanently unemployed, the other 8 having been on a training scheme. Nevertheless, 8 had done one job since reaching SMSLA, 12 two jobs, 3 three jobs and 5 at least five jobs. Therefore, over half of this group had done at least two jobs. The periods in work were not always short. The longest duration in a single job varied considerably amongst members of the lower quartile. For 9 the longest job lasted less than six months, but 5 of these had only left school a year. Whereas for 13 of this group their longest job had lasted over 12 months. So periods of unemployment, although lengthy, were broken up by periods of work. In addition, 19 exactly half the lower quartile, had at some point started a training or educational scheme. This included 4 individuals who spent a short time back at school, 8 who started YTS, 2 who started an apprenticeship and 5 who had been, or were, on the community programme. However, the average time spent in training was only five months and only 3 individuals had completed a scheme. At the time of interview 6 of the lower quartile were in paid work, 4 in training, 26 were unemployed and 2 were not in paid work but not unemployed. Yet, despite these jobs and training schemes, the lower quartile did not seem to have developed a settled pattern of regular work. Long periods of unemployment were common. Indeed, the labour market histories of the lower quartile appeared to follow a 'chequered' pattern; they spent far longer unemployed than most of their peers. The data from the questionnaire can be used to examine a number of possible explanations for these 'chequered' careers of the lower quartile.

The group was evenly divided by gender, comprising 20 females and 18 males, and was evenly spread amongst all five year groups. More surprisingly perhaps, respondents of non-European origin were not over-represented in the lower quartile. 8 of the lower quartile were of non-European origin. This is 19 per cent of the lower quartile respondents and non-European origin respondents comprised 17 per cent of the total sample. Race may well be an important factor in explaining the 'chequered' work history of the 8 lower quartile respondents who are of non-^{European} ethnic origin but the wider phenomenon of the lower quartile cannot be explained by race characteristics alone. Equally, the characteristics of the lower quartile are not purely a function of gender or age. But, as stated earlier, the one characteristic that was common to all those in the lower quartile was a lack of qualifications. Earlier data suggested a strong link between educational and labour market performance. A lack of educational qualifications was clearly a key influence on the lower quartiles' work histories. However, there were as many equally poorly qualified respondents not in the lower quartile and other possible influences must be examined.

The changing demand for labour had been an influence on the labour market experiences of the whole sample and it is possible that there are certain demand-side forces causing the 'chequered' careers of the lower quartile. The characteristics of the lower quartiles' longest jobs are shown in Table 7.16. 11 of the longest jobs of the lower quartile were in junior non-manual or personal service occupations and 17 in manual occupations in SEGs 9,10 and 11. In addition, 6 of the lower quartile were currently in paid employment (4 in their longest job). For longest jobs there is a stronger orientation to manual work than amongst the sample as a whole. What is more interesting is the detailed nature of these 28 longest and 6 current jobs illustrated in Table 7.16. All except one of the longest and current jobs were full time but very

TABLE 7.16
Sample of young adults : type of longest job
done by lower quartile respondents.

Socio-economic group	Number of lower quartile respondents	Detailed K.O.S categories
Junior non-manual SEG 6	8	Inc. 3 clerks, 2 typists, 2 sales assts, 1 sports leader
Personal service workers SEG 7	3	Inc. 2 waitresses, 1 kitchen hand
Skilled manual SEG 9	8	Inc. 1 printer, wood sawyer, dyer, driver, trimmer, lathe turner, plumber, welder
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	5	Inc. 2 warehouse, 3 production line
Unskilled manual SEG 11	4	Inc. 1 general labourer, 2 messengers, 1 cleaner
Total	38	

few of these jobs offered stable employment or the chance to acquire further skills and some were very menial. 5 females in the lower quartile had obtained clerical or typing jobs. But none of these jobs could be categorised as secretarial. Jobs categorised as secretarial for this survey involved not just a single skill such as typing or filing but the use of a wide range of office and personal skills. The 2 females in typing jobs claimed that these jobs were of a typing pool nature and involved no other duties apart from typing. The other non-manual jobs were also low grade. The three in clerical jobs were all office juniors with very limited responsibilities mainly for filing. The male who had worked as a sports leader had the job only on a temporary basis. 2 females had worked as assistants in local shops, but left the jobs complaining of being underpaid. The jobs technically categorised as skilled manual often involved only limited skills. The printer, plumber and welder had all in fact been assistants to craftsmen rather than learning skills themselves and all 3 mentioned that their jobs involved a large amount of work as a general labourers. The dyer, trimmer and wood sawyer were all involved in routine almost production line jobs. Only the driver and lathe turner were doing jobs that involved regular use of their individual skills. The semi and unskilled manual jobs were mostly lifting and carrying type jobs apart from one as a cleaner and 3 on a production line. So many of the longest and current jobs are, according to respondents themselves, in low grade occupations.

This is emphasised by a comparison to the longest jobs, described in Table 7.17, of the 58 respondents who had no or very few qualifications, but were not members of the lower quartile. 6 of this group had never worked because they had been in training virtually all the time since reaching SMSLA. But 33 of the 52 longest jobs done by this group were in non-manual or personal service occupations, which is a far higher proportion than that for the longest jobs of the lower quartile. Therefore,

TABLE 7.17
Sample of young adults : type of longest job
done by lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents.

Socio-economic group	Number of lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents	Detailed K.O.S categories
Junior non-manual SEG 6	29	Inc. 10 clerks, 7 secretarial, 8 sales assts, 2 typists, 1 computer operator 1 telephonist
Personal service workers SEG 7	4	Inc. 2 chefs, 1 hairdresser, 1 kitchen hand
Skilled manual SEG 9	8	Inc. 3 printers, 1 plasterer, electrical engineer, mechanical engineer, mechanic, welder
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	8	Inc. 4 production line, 2 postmen, 1 hospital porter, 1 general builder
Unskilled manual SEG 11	3	Inc. 2 messengers, 1 general labourer
Total	52	

the lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents seem to have been more involved in the sample-wide shift to non-manual work than the lower quartile. Also many of this group are in higher grade jobs than the lower quartile. In the non-manual occupations, 7 had obtained secretarial jobs requiring diverse personal and office skills; 3 of the 10 clerks claimed to be in supervisory positions responsible for other employees; 4 of the 8 shop assistants had worked in relatively well-paid jobs branches of national department store chains; 2 individuals had acquired skills through their jobs for 1 to become a telephonist and 1 to be a computer operator. In addition, 2 of the 4 personal service workers were assistant chefs, who had a certain degree of individual responsibility.

A number of the longest jobs of lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents in manual SEGs 9, 10 and 11 had high grade characteristics. In SEG 9 the mechanic, mechanical engineer and plasterer had all started apprenticeships. Despite leaving before completion they had acquired enough skills to be employed as skilled workers in their longest job. In the skilled manual occupations only the welder was an assistant to a craftsmen, the remainder were skilled employees working mainly without guidance. Furthermore, some of the semi-skilled longest jobs had positive features. For instance, the 2 postmen, the hospital porter and 1 of the machine operators were all members of trade unions (only 6 respondents in the whole sample had been members of trade unions in their longest jobs). This data on the occupations of lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents does not imply they all had good and satisfying jobs. However a considerable number of this group had obtained jobs that required responsibility and allowed skill development. Whereas no member of the lower quartile had yet obtained a job of this nature.

The longest jobs of the lower quartile had further characteristics which indicate that they were inferior

jobs compared to those obtained by the rest of the sample. For instance, the average weekly take-home pay of the longest jobs of the lower quartile was £60.24. This is substantially less than the average wage for the longest jobs of the total sample which was £77.38 and the longest jobs of lowly qualified non-lower quartile respondents which was £71.82 per week. The same is true for current jobs where the average weekly take home wage of the six members of the lower quartile is £73.00 as opposed to £87.41 for the whole sample. Furthermore, only 3 of the lower quartiles' longest and current jobs provided any form of training apart from an introduction to the job. These 3 had received informal on the job training. Equally many of the longest and current jobs of the total sample did not provide training. However, 28 per cent of longest jobs and 32 per cent of current jobs for the total sample did provide some form of training which is proportionally far greater than for jobs done by the lower quartile. In addition, none of the jobs done by the lower quartile involved responsibility for the work of others. Admittedly, only 10 per cent of longest and current jobs done by the total sample were responsible for the work of others but none of these were lower quartile jobs. Finally, the reasons lower quartile respondents gave for leaving longest jobs also gave an insight into the nature of these jobs. 12 were effectively forced to leave their longest job; 5 because the job was temporary, in 2 cases the job provided only irregular employment and income, 3 were made redundant and 2 were dismissed. The reason most often cited for leaving a longest job was the pay or conditions of work, which was mentioned by 16 lower quartile respondents. Another 8 claimed their relationships with management was one reason for leaving. These are very different reasons to those given by the total sample; 40 per cent of respondents in the total sample left a job for a perceived better future either, because they had a better job or, because they felt they would get a better job.

The data on the jobs done by the lower quartile when examined collectively suggests that the vast majority are failing to obtain the type of job that might form the basis for regular employment and a more stable labour market history. Again it must be stressed that this does not imply all the jobs obtained by respondents not in the lower quartile are ideal jobs. But the lower quartile are far more likely to obtain jobs that are poorly paid, require little skill, lack responsibility, provide no training, and are sometimes temporary. So just as with the sample as a whole, the nature of labour demand has been a key influence on the labour market experiences of the lower quartile and one reason why they lower quartile are experiencing 'chequered' labour market histories. However, this does not explain why lower quartile respondents are obtaining these low grade jobs whilst other respondents have been able to avoid them. It could be that the attitudes of the lower quartile are such that they are quite happy in these jobs. It is to this, and other, possible supply-side influences that we now turn.

The findings for the whole sample revealed the influence of family background on the chosen career of some respondents. This influence seems to be slightly less important in the case of the lower quartile. Only 3, 8 per cent, of the lower quartile aspired to a job in a KOS category that matched the KOS of a parental occupation, compared to 20 per cent of the non-lower quartile respondents. In addition, Table 7.18 lists the economic status of parents at the time of interview. As with the total sample (see Table 7.1) fathers are heavily concentrated in skilled manual occupations and mothers in non-manual or personal service jobs. The only difference in terms of parental economic status between the lower quartile and the total sample occurs in the figures for unemployment and 'don't knows'. In the total sample 22 parents were described as unemployed by respondents. However, 11 of these were the parents of lower quartile respondents. So members of the lower quartile were more

TABLE 7.18
Sample of young adults : economic status of
parents of lower quartile respondents
at time of interview.

Socio-economic group	Fathers Numbers	Mothers Numbers

Intermediate non-manual SEG 5	-	-
Junior non-manual SEG 6	3	8
Personal services SEG 7	1	4
Foreman and supervisor- manual SEG 8	2	-
Skilled manual SEG 9	12	2
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	2	1
Unskilled manual SEG 11	2	3
Self-employed SEG 12	-	-
Retired	1	-
Sick/disabled	1	1
Housewives	-	9
Unemployed	5	6
Don't know	8	3
Deceased	1	0

Total	38	38

likely to come from a family background containing an unemployed parent. Previous studies have noted a higher incidence of youth unemployment in homes where other members of the household were unemployed (Raffe 1984, Lynch 1987). This was also indicated by the findings of a recent survey of 767 16 year olds in Tower Hamlets (ILEA 1988). Data were collected on the characteristics and destinations of 767 former pupils six months after reaching SMSLA. 185 came from a household where the father was not working and only 13 per cent of them had a job compared to 28 per cent for the sample as a whole. Therefore, although the numbers are small, it is possible that unemployment amongst parents might make unemployment seem more acceptable and this may have been an influence on the 'chequered' labour market histories of the lower quartile.

Family background measured in terms of intact families may also have affected the lower quartile's labour market histories. Indeed, Table 7.2 indicated that 30 per cent of total respondents were from non-intact families. The percentage figure for the 38 lower quartile respondents is over 50 per cent, since 22 of this group come from families that are not intact. Therefore, that the absence of one or other of their parents may lie behind the 'chequered' labour market histories of the lower quartile. This is supported by the findings of the ILEA (1988) survey of 16 year olds in Tower Hamlets. 12 per cent of those who were from a household where the father was absent were unemployed, compared to 5 per cent for all former pupils (ILEA 1988). Again, however, the numbers are quite small in the case of the lower quartile. Therefore, a complete examination of this issue would have required a more detailed psychological questionnaire designed to reveal the actual influence of a non-intact family on labour market behaviour.

Another way in which family background might affect the labour market process was through the 'contacts' provided by family members or relatives. These proved to

be an important source of information about job opportunities. This may work to the advantage of those with the most extensive 'contact' networks. There is no doubt that 'contacts' were a very important method for finding jobs as just over 70 per cent of lower quartile longest and current jobs were found in this way. For the longest and current jobs of the total sample the comparable figures were 57 per cent and 54 per cent. Other job search methods had not proved so successful for the lower quartile. 3 had found a longest or current job by visiting a firm on the off-chance, 3 through the job centre, 2 through local press adverts and 1 by writing letters. Clearly, the lower quartile are using 'contacts' to find jobs. Thus, family characteristics do not prejudice the job search process of the lower quartile. Nevertheless, other features of family background, such as unemployment and divorce amongst parents may be important supply-side influences that lead the lower quartile into 'chequered' labour market experiences.

It might be expected that the unsatisfactory labour market histories of the lower quartile would lead to a lowering of aspiration and motivation. If this were to occur, it is possible that the lower quartile would develop attitudes, such as a disregard for stable employment, that would further exacerbate their predicament. However, the findings of the survey suggest this is not the case. Current aspirations of the lower quartile, listed by SEG in Table 7.19, exhibit a reasonable appreciation of the nature of the local labour market. Over half of the lower quartile aspired to non-manual or personal services jobs. As with the total sample, a small proportion of the lower quartile gave the answer don't know or anything. Nevertheless, in general the aspirations of the lower quartile reflected labour market opportunities.

In addition to their aspirations, the lower quartile's labour market behaviour indicated a positive attitude to employment. 18 (47 per cent) of the 38 lower

TABLE 7.19
Sample of young adults : aspirations
of lower quartile.

Socio-economic group	Number of lower quartile respondents

Junior non-manual SEG 6	15
Personal service workers SEG 7	6
Skilled manual SEG 9	5
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	2
Unskilled manual SEG 11	3
Anything	2
Self-employed	2
Don't know	3

quartile respondents had turned down one or more jobs since reaching SMSLA, which is admittedly higher than the corresponding figure of 36 per cent for the total sample. However, this may well be a reflection of the nature^{of} the jobs the lower quartile are being offered. Of the total sample respondents who turned down a^{job} 21 per cent cited not the right type of job as the reason and 19 per cent had a better job. These reasons were mentioned by only 3 lower quartile respondents. The main reasons for the lower quartile turning down a job were pay and poor employer/conditions. So it is probably not that the lower quartile as individuals are less willing to work, it is simply that the lower quartile get offered more of the lower grade type of job that the sample as a whole would turn down. Therefore, it would be misleading to see the lower quartile as more 'workshy' than the rest of the sample.

In addition, data on the 26 unemployed lower quartile respondents indicates that they were flexible about the jobs they would undertake. All 26 claimed they were currently looking for work and nearly half were looking for anything going, 7 for a junior non-manual or personal services job and 5 for manual jobs. 3 of the 26 would not consider a wide range of jobs because they wanted a particular type of work and 3 did not want factory work, 1 did not want an office job and 1 would not accept a lowly paid job. As with the unemployed respondents as a whole, lower quartile unemployed respondents were, in general, prepared to be flexible in the type of work they would do and were not unduly restricting their chances of finding employment by only considering certain types of job. Furthermore, all 26 had recently applied for a job in occupations such as, clerks, shop assistants, kitchen hands and warehouse workers. Therefore, it seems that the lower quartile are not causing their 'chequered' labour market careers by being inflexible.

However, a number of the unemployed lower quartile respondents had worked in the informal economy which might act as a deterrent to adopting stable work patterns. 10 unemployed respondents had worked in the informal economy and 7 were members of the lower quartile. These 7 included 2 respondents who worked regularly each week in the informal economy. The remaining 5 worked irregularly in the informal sector, 2 had done so in the last month and 3 had not done so for over a month. All these 7 claimed they were actively seeking work and only for 2 did the combined income from benefit payments and the informal economy provide an alternative to paid employment. Therefore, apart from 2 respondents, employment in the informal economy does not seem to be an influence on the 'chequered' labour market histories of the lower quartile.

The evidence on the attitudes and supply-side characteristics of the lower quartile do not provide a neat explanation for the phenomenon of the lower quartile. The lack of qualifications, plus possibly parental unemployment and a lack of intact family backgrounds, lead the lower quartile to meet the demand for low grade labour. It may be just by luck that similarly lowly qualified respondents have not ended up in similar jobs. These jobs are poorly paid, require few skills, lack responsibility or prospects, and provide little training. Consequently, respondents leave these jobs or often they are forced to leave. As a result they are unable to establish the stable labour market histories of their peers, for whom unemployment is a rare event. Therefore, their time since reaching SMSLA is typified by periods in work and regular periods of unemployment. This polarisation between the lower quartile and the rest of the respondents, means that there is an additional form of segmentation within the youth labour market. There is a small group who seem unable to gain the higher grade youth jobs and are confined to a segment of low quality jobs. This creates a particular type of youth unemployment problem. As already stated, youth unemployment in

Docklands is not typified by a permanently unemployed subclass. Instead, at any one point in time a large number of young people are unemployed. Although many are able to find work again, the jobs they are finding do not lead to stable employment and many return to being unemployed at a later date.

Thus, the lower quartile seems to have made the transition to being workers. They are not in limbo between school and work as Willis (1984) suggests. It is just that the work obtained does not provide the lower quartile with a stable employment pattern. The experiences of one twenty year old girl summarised the feelings of many of the lower quartile: "I've had three jobs and they've all been bad, one made me redundant, one paid 45 pound a week before tax and the other was only a short thing that lasted three months...I just hope I get a proper job sometime".

It is a combination of demand and supply-side influences that have determined the labour market experiences of the lower quartile and the sample as a whole. This seems to confirm Furlong's (1987) view that the transition process is determined by both a socialisation process and the local opportunity structure.

Furthermore, since some of the characteristics and key influences of the youth labour market in Docklands have been established. It is now possible to analyse the impact of the LDDC initiatives on this transition process whilst taking account of the wider processes operating in the labour market.

7.8 Reactions to policy

The questionnaire obtained data on workplace location for longest and current jobs and the name of the firm if the workplace was on the Isle of Dogs. In addition, similar data was collected on the two longest jobs done by respondents on the Isle of Dogs (if different to longest or current jobs). This information is used to

examine the influence on young adults of LDDC policy to change the demand for labour. Furthermore, the survey gathered extensive information on respondents' use and attitude to training schemes since reaching SMSLA. This indicates the effect of training provision on the labour market experiences of the sample. Finally, a number of initiatives were developed to improve the flow of labour market vacancy information and the data on job search is used to assess their effectiveness.

7.8.1 The impact of LDDC labour demand policies

The LDDC hoped that the 'trickle down' effect and certain initiatives to stimulate the demand for local labour would ensure that local residents obtained jobs in incoming and new firms. However, the travel-to-work patterns amongst the sample indicate that the majority of respondents work outside the LDDC area. The location of longest and current jobs are shown in Table 7.20. 25 per cent of longest jobs were based in the Isle of Dogs. In contrast, 39 per cent of longest jobs were in the City or central London (see Figure 7.1 for area definitions), and in total 53 per cent of longest job workplaces were located outside the London borough of Tower Hamlets. The figures for current jobs are fairly similar and show that 43 per cent of those in work at the time of interview were working in the City or central London. In fact, it seems that job opportunities in these areas may have been a more important influence on the labour market experiences of the sample, than the more local opportunities on the Isle of Dogs.

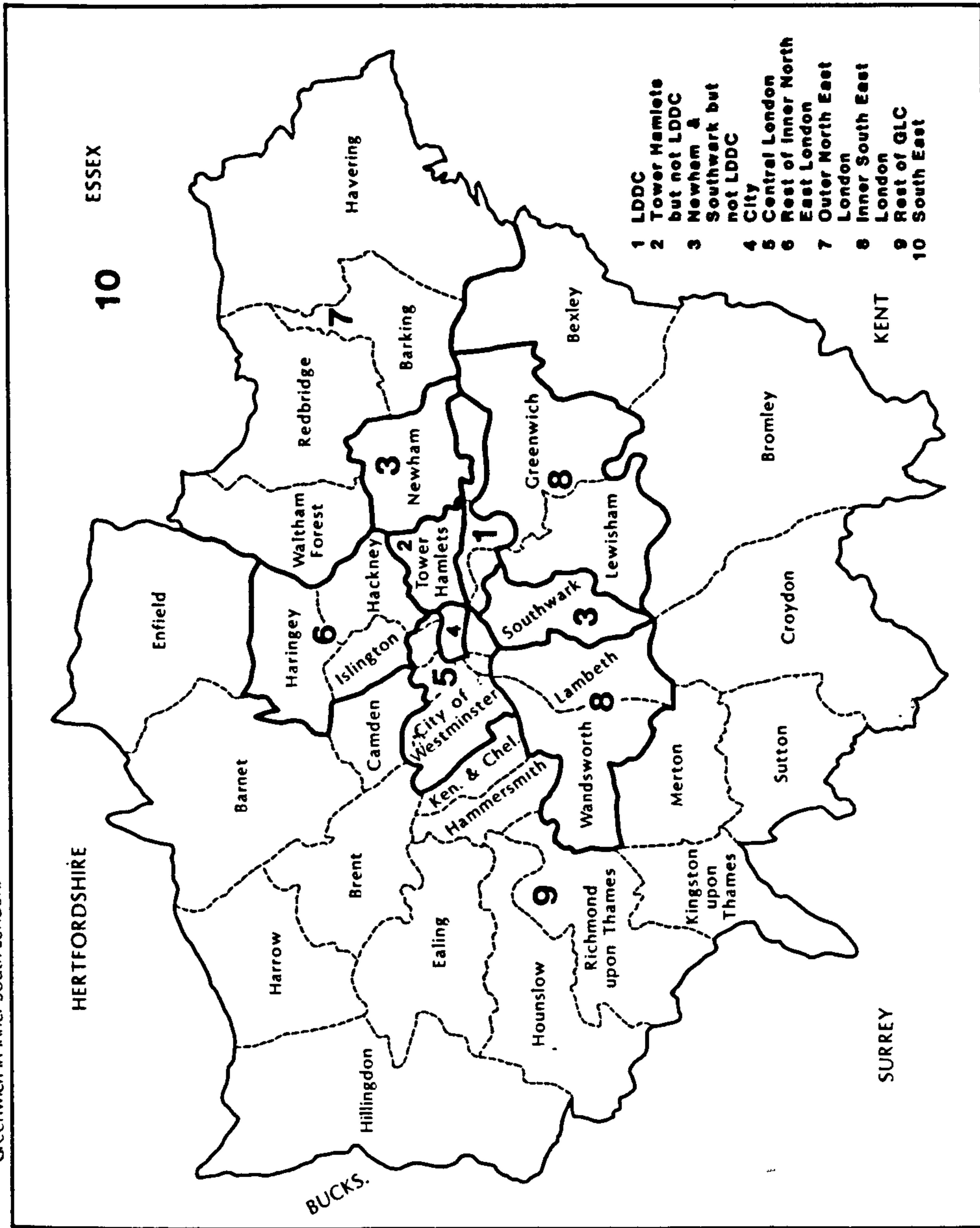
Nevertheless, 53 (35 per cent) of respondents had worked on the Isle of Dogs since reaching SMSLA and 22 (14 per cent) were currently in work on the Isle of Dogs. Therefore, their labour market experiences may have been strongly influenced by the influx of new firms promoted by the LDDC. Of the 53 respondents who had worked on the Isle of Dogs, 41 had done one job only on the Isle of

TABLE 7.20
Sample of young adults : location of
longest jobs and current jobs.

Location	Longest jobs		Current jobs	
	Number	%	Number	%
Isle of Dogs	33	25	22	26
Elsewhere in LDDC area	2	1.5	1	1
LBTH but not LDDC area	28	22	16	14
LB of Newham or Southwark not LDDC	7	5	2	2
City	23	18	23	28
Central London	27	21	12	15
Rest of Inner North				
East London	3	2	1	1
Rest of GLC area	3	2	-	-
Outside GLC area	2	1.5	1	1
No normal place of work	2	1.5	6	7
Total	130	100	84	100

For definition of areas see Figure 7.1

Fig 7.1 Greater London Sectors used for the classification of respondents jobs and training schemes. The classification follows the GLC's division of Inner and Outer London into sectors with some alterations to allow Docklands boroughs to be separate and with the inclusion of Greenwich in Inner South London.



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Dogs, 9 had done two and 3 had done 3 or more. Since respondents were asked questions about their two longest jobs on the Isle of Dogs, data was collected on a total of 65 jobs, the occupations of which are listed in Table 7.21. Non-manual and personal service jobs account for over half of jobs done on the Isle of Dogs. This included 13 clerical jobs, a number of which were based in manufacturing companies. However, the manual SEG categories 9, 10 and 11 account for 45 per cent of the jobs done on the Isle of Dogs which is a higher proportion than for longest or current jobs. This is a reflection of the nature of labour demand on the Isle of Dogs that, until recently, included significant demand for manual workers in the traditional manufacturing firms established before 1981.

The older firms established before 1981 were an important source of employment for the sample. Table 7.22 lists the type of firm that provided the 65 Isle of Dogs jobs. Jobs in firms established prior to 1981 account for 59 per cent of the Isle of Dogs jobs. 25 of the 38 jobs in older firms were in 4 large or medium sized manufacturing firms. 2 of these have since closed and 1 has relocated out of Docklands. Thus, the relocation and closure of existing industries that has accompanied the redevelopment of the Isle of Dogs will have led to the loss of certain employment opportunities for young people.

However, the evidence from the survey suggests that some of the incoming firms have provided new job opportunities for local young people. 27, 41 per cent, of Isle of Dogs jobs were in firms established after 1981. The 10 jobs in newly established firms outside the Enterprise Zone were all shop assistants or warehouse staff at Asda. It should be stressed that only one individual had worked at Asda for more than 6 months and 7 of those who had worked there were on full-time training courses in further education and worked in a low grade job at Asda during a holiday period. The type of jobs done in newly established Enterprise Zone firms are outlined in

TABLE 7.21
Sample of young adults : occupations of
jobs done on the Isle of Dogs.

Socio-economic group	Number of respondents who did a job on the Isle of Dogs	
	Number	%

Junior non-manual SEG 6	30	46
Personal service workers SEG 7	6	9
Skilled manual SEG 9	5	8
Semi skilled manual SEG 10	9	14
Unskilled manual SEG 11	15	23

Total	65	100

TABLE 7.22
Sample of young adults : type of firms in which
respondents worked on the Isle of Dogs.

Type of firm	Number of jobs %	
Enterprise Zone post 1981 firm	17	26
Enterprise Zone pre 1981 firm	3	5
Outside Enterprise Zone post 1981 firm	10	15
Outside Enterprise Zone pre 1981 firm	35	54
Total	65	100

Table 7.23. There is nothing distinctive about the type of jobs done by respondents in these firms and they are fairly typical of jobs done by the sample as whole. 6 of the 17 jobs in these firms were clerical jobs, 2 with additional responsibilities in a variety of companies. In 3 jobs respondents were acquiring extra skills, in car mechanics, electronic engineering and as a clerk/trainee sub-editor respectively. In contrast, 2 respondents who were working in two of the catering jobs and one respondent working as a packer were all unhappy with their jobs and wanted to leave because of rates of pay. Furthermore, 5 of the jobs had been temporary, 3 as general labourers and 2 in catering. As with longest and current jobs, some of the jobs done by respondents in newly established Enterprise Zone firms are low grade jobs, whilst others provide useful experience.

Therefore, jobs in firms established after 1981 on the Isle of Dogs are unlikely to alter significantly the types of labour market experience undergone by respondents as a whole, since the jobs have similar characteristics to those obtained elsewhere in London by respondents. Nevertheless, 20 respondents (13 per cent) had at some stage since reaching SMSLA worked in newly established Isle of Dogs firms and 11 (7 per cent) were employed in these firms at the time of interview. Clearly, therefore, some individual respondents had benefitted from the influx of jobs. However, the vast majority had not had their labour market experiences affected. Labour demand in the City and central London had influenced a far greater proportion of the respondents' labour market histories. Furthermore, there is evidence, albeit very limited, that the jobs in firms established have had even less effect on the labour market status of the lower quartile.

The commuting patterns of the lower quartile in their longest jobs were similar to those for the whole sample. 14 of the 28 longest jobs were in the borough of Tower Hamlets, 10 were in the City or central London and the rest were elsewhere in London. The lower quartile

TABLE 7.23
Sample of young adults : type of jobs done by
respondents in Enterprise Zone firms
established after 1981.

Number of respondents	Industry	KOS occupation
4	catering	kitchen hands and waitresses
3	construction	general labourers
2	wholesale distribution	clerical
2	other personal services	clerical
1	electronic engineering	trainee electronic engineer
1	toy manufacturer and distributor	packer
1	car repair	mechanic
1	advertising	clerical/editorial
1	local government	clerical/receptionist
1	electrical repair	clerical
17	Total	

were clearly prepared to work outside the local area. In addition, 10 of the lower quartile respondents had worked on the Isle of Dogs at some point since reaching SMSLA. Respondents were asked for details of their two longest jobs on the Isle of Dogs and therefore information was collected on 12 jobs done by the lowest quartile on the Isle of Dogs. 7 of the 12 jobs done by the lower quartile on the Isle of Dogs were in firms established before 1981, 3 were in Enterprise Zone firms established after 1981 and 2 were in Asda. As with the lower quartiles' longest and current jobs, few of these local jobs could be described as particularly good jobs. The average take home weekly pay was £65.70 which is less than the £72.71 average for jobs done on the Isle of Dogs by the total sample. Some of the reasons respondents gave for leaving these jobs indicate that the jobs were by no means ideal. 4 were temporary, 1 respondent was made redundant, 2 were dismissed and 1 left a job because of low pay. A further 2 had worked as checkout operators in Asda, both left after a few months complaining of a lack of prospects. 1 respondent left a production line job because he felt it was too dangerous and 1 respondent left a job to go and do a Further Education course. In addition, none of the 12 jobs provided the respondent with any sort of training. The 3 jobs in the Enterprise Zone firms established after 1981 like a number of lower quartile jobs were, in effect, temporary. 2 of the 3 were temporary general labouring jobs done by the same respondent who knew he would be laid off when each job finished. The respondent who obtained the other Enterprise Zone job was initially told he had obtained a permanent warehouse job, but in fact he was only required to cover for a summer holiday period and was made redundant at the end of 10 weeks. Furthermore, 13 of the lower quartile respondents gave unrequested evidence about how they had visited newly established firms and written letters on the off-chance of a job being available, without success. One male stated that: "I've been round those new firms looking for a job so many times

but they've never got anything...I always try and look smart but it makes no difference". So the lower quartile's employment experiences have been virtually untouched by the influx of firms to the Isle of Dogs since 1981. In addition, the very few jobs obtained by the lower quartile in these firms have merely contributed to their 'chequered' labour market histories.

Therefore, the impact on the sample of the LDDC's policies to stimulate local labour demand and the use of local labour by incoming firms appear to have been rather limited. A small proportion of the sample had obtained a job in newly established firms. Equally, a number of the firms established prior to 1981 that had formerly provided job opportunities for respondents have closed down or relocated from Docklands. The nature of the jobs in firms established since 1981 are similar to jobs obtained elsewhere by other respondents. Indeed, the demand for labour in other parts of London has been more influential on the labour market experiences of the total sample. Also the wider labour market processes that have led to the 'chequered' experiences of the lower quartile have not been affected by the presence of new job opportunities. Therefore, the overwhelming impression from the survey is of a group of young people who have been adapting to labour market change, some more successfully than others, and that this process has been largely unaffected to date by the labour demand changes resulting from economic and physical regeneration occurring in the LDDC area.

7.8.2 The impact of supply-side initiatives - previous and current training courses

As the last chapter noted the most long-standing LDDC policy measure to affect the supply-side of the labour market was based on its housing policy. However, the other initiatives to alter the nature of labour supply have been training schemes and measures to improve the dissemination of labour market information to assist the

job search process of local residents. In addition, the LDDC has encouraged other agencies, such as the Training Agency and local education authorities, to develop their schemes in Docklands. Many of these initiatives are targetted on young people aged under 25 or sometimes younger. Therefore, it might be expected that the impact of these policies would be apparent in the labour market experiences of the sample of young adults. This section uses evidence from the survey to analyse the impact of the training measures of the LDDC and other agencies and also to examine the effect of measures designed to influence the job search process.

The training undertaken by respondents was examined in the questionnaire in four separate sections. Data were obtained on respondents experience and attitudes in four types of training:

- i) YTS
- ii) Apprenticeships
- iii) Previous courses - included courses undertaken by respondents prior to interview, excluding YTS, apprenticeships or current courses.
- iv) Current courses - included respondents defined as currently in full-time training and also respondents currently doing a part-time training course whilst in paid work.

Previous courses and current courses both include educational courses at schools and further education establishments. For the sake of convenience these are also referred to as training courses since they are also designed to improve the skills of participants.

At the aggregate level training measures appear to have been an important influence on the labour market experiences of the sample. A total of 90 respondents, 60 per cent, had at some point since reaching SMSLA started a training course (9 of these had done the course whilst being in paid employment). In fact, 25 per cent of all respondents had spent at least 50 per cent of their time since reaching SMSLA in training. This included not only

individuals following a traditional route from further to higher education, but also, respondents going from YTS to further education or the Community programme. However, participation in a scheme did not necessarily mean that the scheme had significantly altered a respondents labour market experience. Therefore, it is necessary to look in more detail at the type of training respondents received.

Starting with previous courses, 52, 34 per cent of respondents had been on a previous course, excluding YTS, apprenticeships or current courses. The type of course undertaken is listed in Table 7.24. The most common courses previously undertaken were courses based at George Green school, the former school of all respondents. 26 (17 per cent) of all respondents had stayed on at school after reaching SMSLA, 10 for A levels, 8 for purely O levels or CSE's and 8 who stayed on but did not take any public examinations. This is below the proportion of young people staying on at school in Tower Hamlets as a whole which in 1984 was 27 per cent (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1986). However, courses at George Green school represent 42 per cent of previous courses undertaken and in total 69 per cent, of previous courses were located within the borough of Tower Hamlets. Therefore, although the majority of jobs done by respondents are not based within the borough, training is undertaken on a local basis. So locally provided training may be an important influence on the labour market experiences of young people in the Isle of Dogs.

Previous courses seem to have had a beneficial effect on a number of respondents. Over half the subjects studied were in vocational fields and could lead to a particular type of employment. The largest single subject category studied by respondents was clerical. But there were also respondents who had done courses in engineering, construction, cooking, carpentry, business studies and a number of other vocational skills. These vocational subjects cover a wide range of skills suggesting many respondents may have acquired skills that will help them

TABLE 7.24
Sample of young adults : type of course
previously undertaken.

Training course	Number of respondents who had previously been on course
Community programme	4
Further Education O level	12
Further Education A level	15
City and Guilds	5
RSA	3
BTEC	2
Stayed on in 6th form	8
Further Education other	4
Other	7

Some respondents had done 2 schemes so column total is greater than the number of respondents who had previously undertaken a scheme which is 52.

The table does not include YTS, apprentices or the courses of those currently training.

obtain work. Indeed, for 13 of the 52 respondents who had undertaken a previous course, the course had led directly to a new job. Another indication of the success of some previous courses was the completion rate. The drop-out rate was relatively low and of the 52 respondents who had started a previous course, 41 completed. As will be shown later this is a considerably higher rate than the for YTS. This is partly a reflection of the fact that a large number were doing O or A level courses and continued until their exams, thus completing the course, even if qualifications were not always obtained as a result of the examinations.

However, other evidence indicates that a number of respondents had not benefitted in a significant manner from their previous courses. The reasons for non-completion were varied. 2 respondents claimed they left because they had already acquired enough skills to obtain a job. The other 9 respondents did not complete for a wide range of reasons such as, they were dismissed or they felt the course was a waste of time. So a small number had found their training course an unrewarding exercise. Furthermore, some respondents who had completed a previous course claimed that it had not proved a useful experience. 23 respondents felt their previous course had improved their career prospects. Equally, 22 felt their previous course had not improved their career prospects. 7 respondents were unable to say either way. The reasons given by respondents for their attitudes to their previous courses are summarised in Table 7.25. The main reasons respondents were satisfied with a previous course were because it lead to a job, they gained good skills or experience, or the course was well taught. In contrast, those who had completed a course but claimed it had not improved career prospects gave a variety of reasons such as courses were a waste of time, were not right for them or did not provide useful experience or skills. Also 5 respondents felt that since they did not complete the course it was not of any use to their career

TABLE 7.25
Sample of young adults : reasons for previous
course improving/not improving career prospects.

Reason for course improving career prospects	Number of respondents citing reason	Reason for course not improving career prospects	Number of respondents citing reason
Well taught	3	Badly taught	3
Skills/experience useful	9	Skills/experience not useful	6
Good course generally	5	Bad course generally	5
Lead to a job	11	Waste of time	5
Wages rose	2	Problems with staff	2
Lead to an H.E course	3	Never completed	5
Lead to promotion	2	Not right course	2
Other	4	Other	5

 Respondents could give multiple responses.

prospects. It is clear that a number of respondents who have undertaken courses in the past have not found them useful from a career point of view. However, the completion rates of these courses were high and for a small number of respondents they were very beneficial in terms of job advancement.

In addition, there is evidence that most respondents on a current course were optimistic about the value of their current training. A total of 24 respondents were on a full or part-time current course, excluding YTS or apprenticeships. The type of course they were on is listed in Table 7.26. Despite the low educational attainment levels amongst the sample, some respondents were clearly succeeding educationally. Two respondents were at Polytechnic, the respondent in the Higher Education other category was at the Royal College of Music and a further 2 respondents were at University. Less successfully, 6 respondents were on the Community Programme and all had recently started the scheme after at least a period of 6 months unemployment. 4 of the 6 were based on the Isle of Dogs in schemes run by local community groups. As with previous courses, over half the subjects being studied would be described as vocational. But a smaller proportion of current courses, 10 out of 24, were being done within the borough of Tower Hamlets. However, this is partly because there is no higher education establishment in the borough so respondents had to go elsewhere.

Since all these courses were current courses their effect can only really be judged by the respondents attitudes towards their training. 20 of the 24 on current courses believed their course had improved their prospects. However, several had only just started a course and dissatisfaction might not yet be apparent. 14 of these 20 felt they were learning useful skills and 9 felt the course would definitely lead to employment in the

TABLE 7.26
Sample of young adults : type of training
courses currently being undertaken.

Training course	Number of respondents on course full-time

Community programme	6
Further Education O level	1
Further Education A level	2
City and Guilds	2
BTEC	2
Further Education other	6
Polytechnic	2
University	2
Higher Education other	1

Total	24

17 in full-time training and 7 on course but in paid work

future, especially those in higher education. 2 felt it would not improve their prospects, both were on the Community Programme and claimed their current course was badly taught and the skills they were learning were of little value. But the majority of those on a current course felt the skills they were acquiring would be advantageous. Not surprisingly, this was particularly true in the case of those in higher education.

A further measure of the impact of training is the qualifications acquired by respondents. 49 respondents, 32 per cent of the total, had gained some sort of qualification since reaching SMSLA and the type of qualification is shown in Table 7.27. 14 respondents had obtained further O levels or CSE's since reaching SMSLA. 8 had gone on to obtain 1 or more A levels. This may seem a small number but it represents 5 per cent of the total group and in the borough of Tower Hamlets the same proportion of school leavers go onto obtain 1 or more A levels (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1986). The remainder had gained some sort of vocational qualifications. The largest group were those who had obtained some sort of vocational City and Guilds qualification. So a third of respondents had gained further qualifications since leaving school which suggests that some training and educational schemes had achieved some success in changing the skill levels of the sample of respondents.

However, this success must be qualified in two ways. First, apart from the 10 respondents who had been, or were on the Community Programme and a very small number who had been on private sector courses, the previous and current courses were all in the higher and further education sector. Therefore, the previous and current courses that have influenced the labour market experiences of the sample have nothing to do with LDDC policy. To be fair the LDDC has invested in environmental improvements in some of the educational establishments but this is unlikely to have been anything other than a most minor

TABLE 7.27
Sample of young adults : qualifications
gained since reaching S.M.S.L.A.

Type of qualification	Number of respondents gaining qualification
O level/CSE 4+ ABC1	5
O level/CSE 5+ inc. 1-3 ABC1	4
O level/CSE any excl. ABC1	5
1 A level	5
2-3 A levels	3
R.S.A.	2
B.T.E.C.	5
City and Guilds	12
Further Education other	6
Professional qualification	3
Waiting for O/CSE result	1
Waiting for A level result	2
Waiting for other	3
Other qualification	8

Total is more than 49 due to respondents gaining more than one qualification.

Further Education other includes secretarial and youth work

Professional includes nursing and draughtsmanship

Other includes recognised certificates in typing, telephonist, word processing, travel agency, steel cutting.

influence on the training experiences of the sample. In addition, the LDDC could argue that these patterns of training fulfil its wishes that other agencies would develop their programmes. However, most of the courses undertaken had been in the prospectuses of the educational establishments for some time and were not part of some additional provision. The training schemes undertaken by the sample where the LDDC's policies have had some influence are the Community Programme initiatives, but the influence is indirect. 4 of the respondents currently on the Community Programme were in schemes run by local community groups based in the Isle of Dogs and Limehouse, and these groups received funding from the LDDC. Furthermore, apart from the Community Programme (and YTS as described in the next section), respondents had not encountered other MSC/TA initiatives. In fact, as is shown later the sample were largely ignorant of schemes, such as the Enterprise Allowance. Therefore, with the exception of the Community Programme, there was little evidence that the MSC/TA was providing the training the LDDC hoped it would develop to meet the needs of the residents.

The second qualification that must be made concerning previous and current courses is that the experience of this training is not distributed evenly amongst the sample. Those who gained qualifications after reaching SMSLA, not unexpectedly, were mainly those who were relatively well qualified when they reached SMSLA. For instance only 5 of the 54 respondents with no qualifications at SMSLA went on to obtain any qualifications; whereas 11 of the 15 best qualified respondents who had 4+ ABC 0 or CSE1 at SMSLA, went onto obtain further qualifications. Thus, approximately 50 per cent of the sample still have very few or no qualifications. In particular, the lower quartile have gained virtually no qualifications since reaching SMSLA. 1 had obtained 2 grade C 0 levels and 2 CSEs but not grade 1, and another had gained a certificate of completion for

an evening class in cooking. This does not mean the lower quartile had not been involved in previous and current courses. 17 of the 38 lower quartile respondents had started a previous or current course, which is roughly the same proportion as for the whole sample. 4 were on the Community Programme and 1 was doing an evening course in English at the time of interview. In the past, 3 had completed a Community Programme course and 1 had dropped out; 2 had started but not completed City and Guilds courses at Further Education colleges; 3 had attended evening classes; and 3 had stayed on at school. The effect of these courses on the participants labour market experiences was marginal. All 4 who had been on the Community Programme were unemployed at the time of interview. The 5 who had done evening classes or started City and Guilds all claimed the quality of their courses had been poor and their career prospects had not been enhanced. The 3 who stayed on at school also felt their career prospects had not benefitted. Thus, those lower quartile respondents who had been on a previous course were very sceptical of its value and the benefits of previous and current courses do not seem to have affected those whose labour market history suggests they are the most disadvantaged. But there are a two other training initiatives that might also have had an impact on the labour market experiences of the lower quartile and the sample as a whole. These are YTS and apprenticeships and their impact is discussed below.

7.8.3 The impact of supply-side initiatives - YTS and apprenticeships.

As Chapter 4 indicated, the LDDC was hoping that YTS would play an important role in its strategy to alter the skill levels of young people in Docklands and the surrounding area. Indeed, three of the training initiatives funded by the LDDC were effectively YTS

training schemes. Therefore, this section assesses the impact of YTS generally, and the LDDC initiatives in particular, on the sample of young people. However, in earlier years apprenticeships, mainly for young males, were the main form of training in East London and it is also necessary to examine the impact of this type of training.

Chapter 6 noted the decline in apprenticeship training amongst Docklands firms. It is not surprising, therefore, that the effect of apprenticeships is quite limited. 10 male respondents had started an apprenticeship in a range of skill areas and 5 were still completing. The 5 who had dropped out before completion did so for a variety of reasons; 2 were made redundant; 1 was dismissed; 1 got a better job; and 1 claimed the hours were too long. However, non-completion did not mean respondents had not benefitted from their apprenticeship. Of the 5 who dropped out, 3 were in jobs in the same occupation as the apprenticeship they left. All 3 claimed they had learned enough skills during their time as an apprentice to work in this occupation without formal paper qualifications. In addition, the 5 still on an apprenticeship were all optimistic about its future benefit. Therefore, although it must be taken into account that none of the most disadvantaged lower quartile had started an apprenticeship, the evidence indicates that the small number who had undertaken such schemes had, in most cases, benefitted, even if they did not complete the course. In contrast, the samples' experiences of YTS have not been so fruitful.

None of the respondents was currently on a YTS scheme. This was because the interviews were undertaken in the summer and respondents of the relevant age had either completed or dropped out of YTS. Also for the respondents who reached SMSLA in 1981, YTS had not been established. Instead, school leavers could choose to go on the very similar Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). 3 respondents had been on a YOP scheme and these are

discussed together with YTS schemes. A total of 34 respondents, 23 per cent, had been on a YTS or YOP scheme. This means that, on average, a fifth of the respondents in each of the five year groups went on YTS or YOP. This is well above the figure for Tower Hamlets, where YTS was the destination of only 8 per cent of school leavers (London Borough of Tower Hamlets 1986). This above average entry into YTS or YOP may be connected to the below average numbers staying on at school reported earlier. Rather than remain at school respondents instead opt for YTS. The type of work respondents chose to do on YTS is listed in Table 7.28 and is composed mainly of office and construction work. As with previous courses, well over half the respondents had been on a scheme based in the borough of Tower Hamlets and 5 of the 34 were based in the Isle of Dogs.

These 5 respondents based on the Isle of Dogs included 1 in a private sector company established before 1981, 2 in a post-1981 company and 2 at the Docklands ITEC. The Docklands ITEC received large scale funding from the LDDC and is the only example of LDDC investment in training directly effecting any respondents. By coincidence these 2 on ITEC schemes were the only 2 ex-pupils of George Green school to have attended the ITEC. Both clearly benefitted from training at the ITEC. 1 left before completion because he had job using some of the electronic skills he had acquired. The other completed the course and was very pleased to have obtained a job with a local company as a trainee electronic engineer. The 2 respondents on schemes in firms that were established after 1981 were benefitting indirectly from LDDC's policies to attract new businesses to Docklands. Furthermore, 1 of them gained a permanent job in the company on completion of YTS. However, the other was on a badly organised scheme where there was little work to do and left before completion. So LDDC policies in combination with YTS did seem to have had a positive influence on 3 respondents, but it must be remembered

TABLE 7.28
Sample of young adults : types of work
done on YTS/YOP schemes.

Trainee occupation	Number of respondents

Secretarial/receptionist	8
Clerk	6
Sales assistant	3
Nurse	2
Hairdresser	1

Total non-manual	20
Bricklayer	3
Printer	2
Plasterer	2
Electronic engineer	2
Painter/decorator	2
Carpenter	1
Electrician	1
Plumber	1

Total manual	14

that this only represents 2 per cent of the total sample. Also, no respondents had been on other local YTS schemes funded by the LDDC, such as the Stepney Green Furniture workshop or Bethnal Green Youth Training Centre. Furthermore, the 3 who had benefitted from YTS were part of a minority of YTS or YOP participants who viewed their experience of the scheme positively.

Many of the respondents who had done a YTS scheme were sceptical of its benefits. 14 of the 34 who started YTS or YOP completed the scheme. This represents 9 per cent of the total sample. Nevertheless, 4 of these 14 felt the scheme had not improved their career prospects. Also the 20 who had not completed expressed considerable disillusionment with their scheme and YTS generally. The reasons given for non-completion are given in Table 7.29. 5 complained about the low level of pay (£25 in 1983 and £27.50 in 1986 per week). However, respondents regularly stressed they had been willing to accept the low pay and put forward other features of the scheme as reasons for non-completion, for example, feeling exploited and, in particular, the realisation that at the end of the scheme there was unlikely to be a job with the establishment where the scheme was based. It seemed that many non-completers initially adopted a positive attitude to the scheme which disappeared over time. Therefore, for over half of the respondents who had been on YTS or YOP, the experience had not been a beneficial. Indeed, in a few cases YTS schemes had been so dispiriting that it had made respondents very negative about labour market opportunities generally. Therefore, those who had benefitted from YTS represented only a small proportion of the sample. There is also some evidence of LDDC policies through YTS schemes having a positive influence on some respondents, but again the numbers are very small. Furthermore, as with previous courses, the positive impacts of YTS and YOP on the labour market experiences of the lower quartile were marginal. 13 of the 38 lower quartile respondents had started a YTS or YOP scheme,

TABLE 7.29
Sample of young adults : reasons for
non-completion of YTS/YOP.

Reason for non-completion	Number of respondents citing reason

Firm closed	2
Boring	3
Pay	5
Relations with managers	2
Felt exploited	5
Felt could get better job	1
Got better job	1
Went on F.E. course	2
Badly organised scheme	2
No job at the end	8
Waste of time	4
Skills not useful	3
Other	5

Respondents could give multiple reasons.	

which is a higher proportion than for the sample as a whole. However, 10 left complaining about pay and the lack of job prospects at the end. 3 lower quartile respondents completed a YTS scheme and all felt it had improved their career prospects. Ironically, though, in all 3 cases the vast majority of their time since completing YTS had been spent as unemployed. Indeed, the main conclusion concerning the impact of YTS and apprenticeships is that they are a positive influence on only a small number of respondents, whilst the labour market experiences of the vast majority remain unaltered. However, in an attempt to broaden the impact of YTS the LDDC devised measures such as a leaflet advertising YTS construction training. But this was part of a broader attempt to improve the dissemination of labour market information in order to assist the job search process which is examined in the next section.

7.8.4 The impact of supply-side initiatives - labour market information

In addition to its own initiatives, the LDDC has encouraged other agencies to develop labour market information facilities in the local area. This was successful in that after LDDC pressure on the MSC/TA the Department of Employment agreed to open a job centre and job club for the long term unemployed on the Isle of Dogs. This section analyses the impact of these measures.

The policies were designed to ensure local residents obtained information on job vacancies and training provision. Their likely impact is limited by the fact that many respondents obtain labour market information through informal channels. As noted earlier personal contacts was the method by which many respondents' jobs were obtained. 40 per cent of longest jobs and 36 per cent of current jobs were obtained by contacts with relatives or friends. The Job Centre had proved less fruitful as a source of jobs; only 13 per cent of longest

and 8 per cent of current jobs were found through the Job Centre (generally, this was not through the newer Isle of Dogs Job Centre). However, this does not mean that respondents do not make use of formal information channels like the Job Centre. The figures in Table 7.30 suggest that a number of job search methods, such as the Job Centre and the local press, are used heavily by respondents, but few jobs are actually found through these channels. Therefore, it might be expected that any new information channels would have been used by some respondents, even if the additional information did not necessarily lead to jobs being obtained. However, it should be stressed that it is only natural that quite high percentages of respondents will not have used new information channels. Respondents in steady employment or on a long term training scheme would not have had any reason to come into contact with some of the new labour market initiatives. Nevertheless, 28 per cent of the sample were currently unemployed at the time of interview and 62 per cent had been unemployed at some stage reaching SMSLA. Therefore, there are a considerable number of respondents who might have come into contact with new information channels.

The impact on the sample of the information providing initiatives, however, seems relatively limited. Respondents were asked if they had heard of, considered using or used a variety of national and local training schemes and information channels and the results are summarised in Table 7.31. Data was collected concerning four new information channels. One of these, occupational guidance at job centres, was a national scheme instigated by the MSC/TA between 1981 and 1983 which was designed to assist unemployed people with the job search process by providing them with information on training and vacancies. Two of the four measures were local initiatives targetted on Docklands and these were the job club on the Isle of Dogs and the construction training leaflet. The other information channel was Capital Radio Jobmate. This was

TABLE 7.30
Sample of young adults : job search methods
used by respondents.

Job search method	% of respondents using methods since reaching SMSLA	% of respondents using methods in last 6 months unprompted	% of respondents using methods in last 6 months prompted
Friends/relatives	46	24	50
Job centre	54	27	43
Visit IOD company	19	10	20
Letter to IOD company	15	4	14
Visit non-IOD company	15	6	17
Letter to non-IOD company	15	3	17
Local press	46	25	51
Non-local press/media	44	23	40
Private employment agency	14	6	19
Shop window	4	1	28
Careers office/contact at school	31	8	26
Careers office elsewhere	27	10	27
Other	2	2	n.a.

All figures are a percentage of total sample of 151.

IOD - Isle of Dogs.

Non-local press/media includes Londonwide papers or magazines, national papers and radio/T.V.

TABLE 7.31
Sample of young adults : knowledge and use of
existing policy measures and provision.

Policy measure	% of respondents			
	who heard of	who used	who thought of using	who never heard of
Occupational guidance at the job centre	15	6	1	78
T.O.P.S/job training scheme	30	0	2	68
Enterprise allowance scheme	10	0	2	88
Community programme generally	29	5	1	65
Community programme on the Isle of Dogs	25	2	1	72
Skill centres	21	0	0	79
Capital radio jobmate	72	5	3	20
Job club on the Isle of Dogs	17	0	2	81
Training for enterprise	4	0	0	96
Wider opportunities training scheme	6	0	0	94
Access to information technology	4	0	0	95
Docklands I.T.E.C/ technology centre	27	2	0	71
Training for construction jobs leaflet	3	0	0	97

Respondents who had used a scheme or thought of using a scheme are not included in the heard of category for by implication they had heard of the scheme. Therefore all row totals are 100%.

run by a commercial radio station which broadcast vacancy and training information throughout the London region. Listeners could obtain further information to supplement the broadcast material by telephone or visiting the radio station's office in central London. Consequently, 80 per cent of respondents had heard of this information channel and 5 per cent of respondents had visited the radio station's office to obtain further information. A similar percentage of respondents had made use of occupational guidance at the job centre. But this information channel was less well known, in that only 22 per cent of respondents had heard of the scheme. Nevertheless, this figure seems reasonable when it is remembered that many respondents in continual work or training would not need such a facility. In contrast, however, the local information channels had very little impact on the sample. 81 per cent of respondents had never heard of the job club and no respondents had made use of this measure. In addition, only 3 per cent of respondents could remember having seen the leaflet on construction training and none of them had followed up the information on the leaflet. Perhaps predictably, the information channel that had the most impact in terms of making respondents aware of its existence, was Capital Radio Jobmate which was advertised widely through the media. But the number of respondents who actually used this channel was small. So there is no evidence that any of the new information channels have really altered the labour market experiences or job search patterns of the sample.

The sample's awareness of training schemes was similarly patchy. About a third of respondents had heard of certain national schemes run by the MSC/TA, such as the Community Programme and TOPS/Job Training Scheme. However, other MSC/TA schemes were unknown to the vast majority of respondents. Only 12 per cent had heard of the Enterprise Allowance scheme which pays participants an allowance if they are setting up their own business. Other training programmes available through local Job

Centres included Training for Enterprise, the Wider Opportunities Training Scheme and Access to Information Technology. But awareness of these amongst respondents was virtually non-existent. In addition, respondents were also asked if they knew about the LDDC-funded Docklands ITEC. 2 respondents had used the ITEC but only a further 27 per cent knew of its existence. This lack of knowledge concerning training initiatives suggests that those initiatives devised by the LDDC or the MSC/TA to improve the dissemination of labour market information have, like training measures, had a limited impact. The only measure that respondents were even aware of in large numbers had been developed by a central London commercial radio station.

7.9 Conclusion

The labour market experiences of the sample of 151 young people from a similar class background indicate that to date policy has been a minor influence on the youth labour market in Docklands. Other forces on the demand and supply side of the labour market are the key determinants of the samples' varying experiences since reaching SMSLA. The evidence has shown how, despite high unemployment, aspirations have not declined. Instead, they have become less specific at the point of reaching SMSLA and then more focused as an individual's labour market experience develops, most often towards non-manual work. Indeed, labour market histories demonstrate the increasing importance of non-manual work. The proportion of the sample working in non-manual jobs has grown in the last few years. This is mainly due to young males taking up non-manual jobs in increasing numbers. The main determinants of these changes have been not only the nature of labour demand, but also, educational qualifications, family background and peer group communication have been important supply side influences.

In addition, the problem of youth unemployment is not typified by a permanently unemployed sub-class. Instead a lower quartile exists who, despite periods in work or training, are not able to establish themselves in permanent unemployment, unlike some of their lowly qualified peers. Consequently, this sub-group experiences a 'chequered' career with periods of unemployment being interspersed with jobs and attempts to train. The phenomenon of the lower quartile is only in part a result of poor qualifications. This group seem to have been segmented into a particular type of employment that is relatively poorly paid, lacks prospects or training, and requires little skill or responsibility. These jobs are often short-lived as the lower quartile chose or are forced to leave. Therefore, the disjointed work histories are partly the result of the nature of labour demand. Similar changes occurring in the youth labour markets have been described as "re-creating the dead-end youth jobs that became infamous before the Second World^{War}" (Roberts et. al. 1987 p.214). However, supply side factors, including unemployment amongst parents or the lack of an intact family, may also lie behind these 'chequered' labour market experiences.

The only policy measures that have really had a significant impact on the sample are traditional courses in further and higher education. However, the beneficiaries of these courses are usually the better qualified and not the disadvantaged lower quartile. A few respondents had benefitted from the influx of firms to Docklands that has occurred as a result of LDDC policies for economic regeneration and the stimulation of labour demand. However, the nature of labour demand in central London and the City was a far greater influence on the experiences of the sample. In addition, some respondents had been affected by the LDDC and MSC/TA supply-side measures to raise skill levels or disseminate information. But again, the numbers are small and the experience was not always a positive influence on an individuals' labour

market prospects. The overall impression given by the survey of young adults is of a group of people whose lives are largely unaffected by the policy initiatives devised for their benefit. Young people have been the particular target of LDDC policy and also the focus of many MSC/TA initiatives. And yet, significant numbers have never even heard of some of the policy measures. Indeed, policy has been a minor influence on the labour market experiences of most of the sample. Other broader social and economic forces are shaping their labour market histories and it remains to be seen whether more recently established initiatives, such as Skillnet, will be sufficiently interventionist to make a real difference to the labour market experiences of young people in Docklands.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION - THE CAUSES OF CHANGE IN LONDON DOCKLANDS

Earlier in this thesis it was argued that there were two reasons why an evaluation of labour market change in London Docklands would be useful. First, it would make a contribution to the academic discussion on the causes of economic and social change in this part of London. This was made all the more necessary because much previous research had concentrated on political issues, whilst paying only lip-service to many of the other economic and social forces that cause change. Second, at a practical level, the controversial nature of LDDC policy meant that a study of its labour market measures would add to the long-running debate over the impact of LDDC policy on the residents of surrounding communities. This conclusion summarises the theoretical and practical contribution of the findings of this thesis to these two debates.

The local labour market is not a straightforward concept. As a result, a number of previous studies have been fragmented or misguided due to an inadequate conceptualisation of the labour market. In order to avoid these problems, a conceptual model of the labour market was developed that took account of the wide range of influences on labour demand and supply, and also incorporated the interaction between demand and supply that results in a segmented labour market. Furthermore, a rigorous evaluation was ensured by a detailed analysis of the evolution of LDDC labour market initiatives which specified the policy aims that should form the focus of study. The conceptual model and policy aims were used to provide the structure for the examination of policy which used the data from three primary questionnaire surveys, participant observation, key actor interviews and a number of secondary sources. The broad conclusion is that policy is only one of many causes of change in the local labour market. As a result the impact of policy initiatives is

often very limited and an explanation of change is more complex than many previous studies have made out.

This conclusion is well illustrated by the explanation put forward for the changes in labour demand in London Docklands. The last few years in the LDDC area have seen substantial increases in the number of jobs in the local economy, especially in the service sector. However much it would like to take credit for them, recent alterations in labour demand in London Docklands are not solely due to the demand-led policies of the LDDC. Its policies to intervene in the local land market have certainly played a crucial role in facilitating change and incentives have been important in attracting firms to the area. More importantly, though, the LDDC has benefitted from, and has very successfully exploited, the spatial consequences of the restructuring process presently occurring in a number of industries. In particular, the global restructuring of financial services and the national restructuring of the British retail and newspaper printing industries has determined the nature of recent job growth. Similarly, job losses since 1981 are the consequence of both local policy and the more general de-industrialisation process. LDDC policy and rising land prices have seen a number of firms leave the area, while the competitive environment facing large manufacturing firms has led to job losses and plant closures. The outcome of these various processes, leading to both job growth and loss, is only a limited expansion in the numbers of jobs in the Docklands economy. In advanced capitalist countries such as Britain, therefore, this continual process of global and national industrial restructuring plays a key role in redefining the role in the space economy of previously derelict and declining areas like London Docklands.

Furthermore, the impact of these economic changes on the local labour market has been subject to the adjustment mechanisms of the London labour market, in particular, changes in commuting patterns and firms' recruitment

methods. This means that to date the physical redevelopment of Docklands has made only a small impact on the labour market problems of the local area. The 'trickle down' of job opportunities to local residents has occurred only on a limited scale. LDDC initiatives to improve the links between local residents and local job vacancies have had a mixed effect. But even some of the more successful initiatives are only very small scale.

Similar conclusions were made after the analysis of LDDC initiatives for the supply side of the labour market. The main LDDC measures designed to alter the nature of local labour supply were training initiatives and the use of housing policy to attract new residents with certain labour market characteristics to Docklands. Again, however, other labour market forces limit the impact of policy. New residents have merely adjusted their commuting patterns and have few links to the local labour market. Furthermore, the existing links between Docklands firms and the local labour market mean that the presence of new residents is unlikely to have a major effect on the recruitment patterns and difficulties of employers in Docklands. In addition, most of the training measures supported by the LDDC are very small scale with a limited local impact. The Skillnet initiative alone is on a scale relevant to the problems of the local labour market, but after its poor start it remains to be seen if it will have a significant impact, especially since all other training measures have been unable to prevent labour market mechanisms dispersing their impact over a wide area. Also to date, the anticipated involvement in training in Docklands by other agencies, such as the MSC/TA and employers, has not been forthcoming. Therefore, YTS and apprenticeship provision is at a low level.

These conclusions were made by analysing each initiative in turn, whilst taking account of other forces affecting the local labour market. Through a sample of young adults who had been to school on the Isle of Dogs these results were confirmed. This final piece of

analysis simultaneously examined the impact of policy and the interaction of all the different supply and demand-side forces. The aspirations and jobs of the sample showed that, along with labour demand, there were other important influences on the labour market experiences of the young adults such as education and family background. The transition from school to work had thus been determined by labour market opportunities along with various socialising influences. Some members of the sample had got jobs in firms that were new to Docklands and others had gone on training schemes supported by the LDDC. However, the numbers were small. In fact, the major policy influence on the group of young people was represented by traditional courses provided by higher and further education. Indeed, the labour market experiences of the group as a whole were remarkably unaffected by LDDC-inspired changes occurring in the Isle of Dogs.

This was especially true for the group of respondents referred to as the lower quartile. The nature of labour demand had combined with educational qualifications and family background to lead this group into jobs that were poorly paid, low skill, often temporary and lacking in training or prospects. Consequently, the lower quartile had developed 'chequered' labour market histories that, although they included periods of training, were not affected by labour market policy initiatives. However, the lower quartile's predicament stemmed from broad economic and social forces on the supply and demand-side of the labour market. Current policies may have to become far more interventionist if they are to influence these other forces and actually alter the labour market experiences of some of the most disadvantaged residents of the local area.

In addition, the findings of the survey of young people, along with the results of the other empirical studies, indicate that a number of previous explanations of change in London Docklands have been over-simplistic.

For example, Cooke's (1983) view that the LDDC will recycle local residents into new exploitative industries does not take account of the variety of labour market histories of local residents. Other labour market forces mean that, regardless of the effect of the LDDC, the lower quartile are already doing a number of exploitative jobs, whilst others have been able to avoid this type of employment. Similarly, Goodwin's (1988) link between Docklands development and the centralisation of service sector control functions has some validity, but it is too narrow an explanation. The economic processes affecting Docklands are more complex and stem from the national and global restructuring of a number of industries. Therefore, it is these broader forces, that alongside policy, are determining the direction of labour market change in London Docklands. It is these same forces that may also prevent the redevelopment of London Docklands, despite the wishes of policy makers, from becoming a solution to many of the areas' pressing labour market problems. In fact, if UDC's elsewhere in Britain, and dockland redevelopment elsewhere in the world, are hoping to tackle the social and economic problems of urban areas, the experience of London indicates that extensive, coherent and interventionist labour market policies may also be required alongside any large-scale physical redevelopment.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire - survey of employing establishments

ESTABLISHMENT NAME:

ADDRESS:

TEL:

MAIN CONTACT:

NAME:

Extension No.

POSITION IN FIRM:

TRAINING OFFICER - NAME:

Extension No.

POSITION IN FIRM:

OTHER CONTACTS:

NAMES:

POSITIONS:

INTERVIEWER:

INT.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
LM	<input type="checkbox"/>		
EST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I.C.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
YTS 1-9	<input type="checkbox"/>		
YTS 10	<input type="checkbox"/>		
YWS	<input type="checkbox"/>		
APP	<input type="checkbox"/>		
SPLIT/RESP?	<input type="checkbox"/>		

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE LABOUR MARKET :

ROUND 1 1984/5 A SURVEY

SETTING UP PHONE CALL

Conversation with M
M

- (1) Repeat necessary details of letters sent.
- (2) Most of the questions are about personnel matters - numbers employed, wages, recruitment, training and so on, but especially as regards young people. Who would be the best person to see?

Name

Time for Interview

- (3) There are just a couple of things I have to check up on in advance. Could I have just one minute with him on the phone please.
- (4) We shall be sending you some of the questions which ask for statistical information ahead of time. These are mostly about details of staff numbers, pay levels and so on. I'll address that to you, Mr. XY, shall I?

Send to

- (5) There are also some specific sheets for firms that have had some involvement in YTS schemes and such like:

Have you had anything to do with the YTS?
No ... Yes ...

Are you, or have you been a Managing Agent?
Yes ... No ...

What is the maximum number of trainees you've ever had at once?
Number

- (6) Another concern of the questionnaire is with the Young Workers' Scheme.

Do you know about the YWS?
Yes ... No ...

Have you made any use of it?
Yes ... No ...

- (7) We also have a number of questions about apprentices.
Do you have any apprentices at your establishment?
Yes ... No ...

- (8) (IF MORE THAN 10 YTS TRAINEES, AND ALSO APPRENTICES)
There are some questions specifically for the (chief) training officer. Would it be possible, after I've seen you/Mr. to go on to see him?

Name of Training Officer

(APPROPRIATE YTS AI SHEETS TO BE SENT IF ESTMNT RESPONSIBLE FOR 10 OR MORE YTS TRAINEES)

AI SHEETS SENT

YTS (MAN)

YTS (JP)

APP.

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE FILL IN THIS PAGE BEFORE THE INTERVIEW, IN SO FAR AS IS POSSIBLE, USING WHO OWNS WHOM OR ANY OTHER DIRECTORIES AT HAND. THIS APPLIES, OF COURSE, ONLY TO ESTABLISHMENTS WHICH ARE BRANCHES OF PLC.

0.1. NUMBER OF TIERS OF OWNERSHIP

(IF IN DOUBT AS TO WHICH TIER TO CALL THE PARENT COMPANY, CHOOSE THE SMALLEST UNIT WHICH PUBLISHES AN INDEPENDENT COMPANY REPORT)

- IMMEDIATE PARENT COMPANY OF THIS ESTABLISHMENT IS NOT OWNED BY ANOTHER COMPANY ... 1.
- IMMEDIATE PARENT IS PART OF A LARGER GROUP ... 2.

0.2. SCALE OF OPERATIONS OF PARENT COMPANY

- 5 or less establishments, all UK ... 1.
- 5 or less establishments, some abroad ... 2.
- 6 or more establishments, all UK ... 3.
- 6 or more establishments, some abroad ... 4.

0.3. HEADQUARTERS OF THE ULTIMATE OWNER COMPANY OR GROUP

- UK ... 1. SWEDEN ... 6.
- USA ... 2. SWITZERLAND ... 7.
- FRANCE ... 3. OTHER ... 8.
- W. GERMANY ... 4. DON'T KNOW ... 9.
- JAPAN ... 5.

0.4. IS THE ULTIMATE OWNER COMPANY SPECIALISED IN ITS INTERESTS IN PARTICULAR FIELDS OR A CONGLOMERATE?

- Specialised ... 1.
- Conglomerate ... 2.
- Don't Know ... 3.

SECTION 1 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FIRM

INTERVIEWER:

Have you checked on the firm in local directories, Who owns Who, etc? And have you checked the industry under which the establishment was listed in 1981?

Reassure the respondent that the bulkiness of the questionnaire is entirely due to its liberal lay-out and not to excess of content.

Do you need to check on arrangements to meet the Training Officer following on this interview?

Use "n.a." as abbreviation for "non-applicable". It is not necessary to write it after every question which is excluded by instruction, but check afterwards that no questions have been missed.

1. ASK ENOUGH ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT TO CLASSIFY IT OR ITS PARENT FIRM(S) AS FOLLOWS:

1.1. IF IT IS A FREE-STANDING ESTABLISHMENT:

- Sole proprietorship/partnership ... 1.
- Private company
 - Largely run by owners ... 2.
 - Run by salaried managers ... 3.
- Public Limited Company (PLC) ... 4.
- Trust/Company limited by guarantee or other independent non-commercial body ... 5.
- Other free-standing establishment ... 6.

1.2. IF PART OF LARGER ORGANISATION, NATURE OF THAT ORGANISATION

- Public Limited Company (PLC) ... 1.
- Nationalised industry ... 2.
- Local government ... 3.
- Central government ... 4.
- Cooperative ... 5.
- Non-commercial trust/Quango/charity/ research/educational orgn. ... 6.
- Other ... 7.

(INCLUDE STATE SCHOOLS UNDER LOCAL GOVERNMENT, NHS UNDER CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, BUT DOCTORS', DENTISTS' PRACTICES LIKELY TO BE PARTNERSHIPS)

2. How long has this establishment been in this area?

- Under 3 years ... 1.
- 3-5 years ... 2.
- 5-20 years ... 3.
- Over 20 years ... 4.
- Don't know ... 5.

3. (FOR PARTS OF LARGER ORGANISATIONS ONLY)

How far do you, at this establishment, have to refer personnel matters to a higher level within the company? For instance could you decide whether to take YTS trainees or not without reference to a higher level? What about entering the YWS scheme? What about redundancies? What about expanding the labour force?

HAVE TO REFER

DO NOT HAVE TO REFER

YTS	YWS	RED.	REC.
.....

4. (FOR CLASSIFICATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT BY INDUSTRY:
SEPARATE QUESTIONS FOR 1981 ESTABLISHMENTS AND NEW
ESTABLISHMENTS)

1981 ESTABLISHMENTS:

You are listed in the census as belonging to the.....
industry? Is that correct?
IF NOT LIST MAIN PRODUCT(S)/SERVICE(S)

NEW ESTABLISHMENTS:

Please get enough detail to classify the establishment
in the Standard Industrial Classification. (Which will
be done centrally at TCC). Main products or services of
this establishment, whether they are generally marketed
or supplied exclusively to a parent firm.

5. (FOR INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ORGANISATIONS ONLY. FOR
OTHERS, MARK NOT APPLICABLE AND PASS ON)

5.1. What has been happening to sales turnover of your
company (as a whole) over the last year? We don't need
exact figures for sales revenue, but can you tell me whether
sales have been going up or down over the last twelve
months. I mean in real terms, allowing, that is, for
inflation.

Has the increase/decrease been at more or less than a
rate of 5% a year?

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Increasing in real terms by more than 5% | ... 1. |
| Changing in real terms less than 5% up or down | ... 2. |
| Decreasing in real terms by more than 5% | ... 3. |
| Can't say | ... 4. |
| Not applicable | ... 5. |

5.2. (IF THE ESTABLISHMENT HAS A SPECIFIC PRODUCT OR SERVICE AND MIGHT BE FARING DIFFERENTLY FROM THE COMPANY AS A WHOLE)

Is output or sales from this establishment moving in the same direction, or is it doing better or worse than the company as a whole?

- Not separable from whole firm ... 1.
- Moving in same direction as whole firm ... 2.
- Moving differently:
 - rising more than 5% ... 3.
 - changing no more than 5% ... 4.
 - falling more than 5% ... 5.
- Can't say ... 6.

6. What are you expecting to happen to sales and employment and profitability over the next 12 months? (IF THE ESTABLISHMENT IS PART OF A LARGER ORGANISATION AND ITS SALES ARE FARING DIFFERENTLY FROM THE COMPANY AS A WHOLE, ASK FOR DETAILS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, OTHERWISE ASK FOR DETAILS OF THE COMPANY.)

	SALES	EMPLOYMENT	PROFITABILITY
INCREASE			
NO CHANGE			
DECREASE			

7. (IF SALES INCREASE IS EXPECTED) Will this be because of:
(SHOW CARD)

- an improvement in business conditions ... 1.
- the introduction of new products ... 2.
- winning a larger share of the market for your existing products ... 3.
- better prices for product ... 4.
- can't say ... 5.
- not applicable ... 6.

**SECTION 2: THE JOB CATEGORIES,
RECRUITMENT, ETC.**

21. Can I now ask you for a few more details about some of the six specific job categories which you listed on the Advance Information Sheets. Can we talk about the following four:

CHOOSE THE LARGEST MANUAL AND THE LARGEST NON-MANUAL CATEGORY. THEN THE OTHER TWO CATEGORIES COVERING THE NEXT LARGEST NUMBERS -- EITHER MANUAL OR NON-MANUAL. LIST THE JOB CATEGORIES CHOSEN BELOW.

- 1. 2.
- 3. 4.

21.1. (IF JOB TITLE IS NOT ADEQUATELY SPECIFIC)

Can you tell me what thes actually do? (OR, TO CHECK ON THE QUASI-OBVIOUS) I suppose thes are the people who.....?

JOB CATEG ORY NO.	DESCRIPTION (IF TITLE NOT CLEAR ENOUGH TO CLASSIFY BY K.O.S.)
(,)

21.2. Have you recruited anyone as a in the last year?

- 1. No 2. Yes (ASK NUMBER)
- Precisely
- Approximately

21.3. Has there been any net increase in the number employed ass in the last three years?

- Increased by precisely approximately
- Decreased by precisely approximately
- Probably certainly unchanged

21.4. Do you currently have any vacancies fors -- either in the sense of actively looking for someone, or in the sense of being willing to take someone on if a good person came along?

ACTIVELY LOOKING		WILLING TO HIRE	
No	Yes	No....	Yes

017

Second job category

22.1. (IF JOB TITLE IS NOT ADEQUATELY SPECIFIC)

Can you tell me what thes actually do? (OR, TO CHECK ON THE QUASI-OBVIOUS) I suppose thes are the people who.....?

JOB CATEG
ORY NO.

DESCRIPTION (IF TITLE NOT
CLEAR ENOUGH TO CLASSIFY BY K.O.S.)

(.....)
.....

22.2. Have you recruited anyone as a in the last year?

1. No 2. Yes (ASK NUMBER)

Precisely

Approximately

22.3. Has there been any net increase in the number employed ass in the last three years?

Increased by precisely approximately

Decreased by precisely approximately

Probably certainly unchanged

22.4. Do you currently have any vacancies fors -- either in the sense of actively looking for someone, or in the sense of being willing to take someone on if a good person came along?

ACTIVELY LOOKING WILLING TO HIRE

No Yes No.... Yes

Third job category

23.1. (IF JOB TITLE IS NOT ADEQUATELY SPECIFIC)

Can you tell me what thes actually do? (OR, TO CHECK ON THE QUASI-OBVIOUS) I suppose thes are the people who.....?

JOB CATEG	DESCRIPTION (IF TITLE NOT
ORY NO.	CLEAR ENOUGH TO CLASSIFY BY K.O.S.)
()

23.2. Have you recruited anyone as a in the last year?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes (ASK NUMBER)
- Precisely
- Approximately

23.3. Has there been any net increase in the number employed ass in the last three years?

- Increased by precisely approximately
- Decreased by precisely approximately
- Probably certainly unchanged

23.4. Do you currently have any vacancies fors -- either in the sense of actively looking for someone, or in the sense of being willing to take someone on if a good person came along?

ACTIVELY LOOKING		WILLING TO HIRE	
No	Yes	No....	Yes

Fourth job category

24.1. (IF JOB TITLE IS NOT ADEQUATELY SPECIFIC)

Can you tell me what thes actually do? (OR, TO CHECK ON THE QUASI-OBVIOUS) I suppose thes are the people who.....?

JOB CATEG	DESCRIPTION (IF TITLE NOT
ORY NO.	CLEAR ENOUGH TO CLASSIFY BY K.O.S.)
(.....)

24.2. Have you recruited anyone as a in the last year?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes (ASK NUMBER)
 - Precisely
 - Approximately

24.3. Has there been any net increase in the number employed ass in the last three years?

- Increased by precisely approximately
- Decreased by precisely approximately
- Probably certainly unchanged

24.4. Do you currently have any vacancies fors -- either in the sense of actively looking for someone, or in the sense of being willing to take someone on if a good person came along?

ACTIVELY LOOKING		WILLING TO HIRE	
No	Yes	No....	Yes

25. Can we come back to thes again? (THE FIRST JOB -- THE JOB OF QUESTION 21) Have most of them started in the firm as young people soon after they left school? Or have most of them been recruited to the firm as adults?

- All recruited as adults ... 1.
- Majority recruited as adults ... 2.
- Some recruited as adults ... 3.
- All recruited as youth trainees ... 4.
- Dont know ... 5.

26. Do you expect that this will change in future, or will it be pretty much the same?

- Will be same ... 1.
- More will be ex-trainees ... 2.
- Fewer will be ex-trainees ... 3.
- Dont know ... 4.

27. How is it with the other jobs?

(WRITE, IN THE RELEVANT COLUMN, THE CODE FOR THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER, AS GIVEN UNDER THE LAST TWO QUESTIONS)

	NOW	FUTURE
(2).....
(3).....
(4).....

28. When you are recruiting young people for the job (QUESTION 21 JOB), or as trainee for the job, do you use any formal tests of suitability? (e.g. I.Q TESTS, MANUAL DEXTERITY, APTITUDE TESTS.)

- 1. No
- 2. Yes

29. If you divide the qualities you are looking for into abilities and attitudes, which do you consider more important when selecting young people for the job?

(ABILITIES = INTELLIGENCE, LITERACY, NUMERACY, DEXTERITY, ETC.

ATTITUDES = MANNER, MOTIVATION, CHARACTER, ETC.)

- Abilities ... 1.
- Attitudes ... 2.
- Both equally important ... 3.
- Dont know ... 4.

30. Do you attach any importance to CSE or O-level (in Scotland O-grade) results as an indicator of ability? (IF YES) Would you say you attach "a lot of importance" or "some importance"?

- None ... 1.
- Some ... 2.
- A lot ... 3.

31. How is it with the other jobs? Is it the same or different? If different, in what ways?

- () Same Different
- () Same Different
- () Same Different

32. Have any young people who have been through a YIS scheme applied to you for a job?

1. No....

2. Yes....

33. (IF YES) Did you look at either their certificate or their log-book when you were trying to assess their suitability?

- Looked at neither: didn't know they exist ... 1.
- Knew about certificate, but did not look at it ... 2.
- Looked at certificate ... 3.
- Looked at log-book ... 4.
- Looked at both ... 5.

34. (ONLY IF ESTABLISHMENTS HAVE APPRENTICES. IF APPRENTICES HAVE ALREADY FIGURED IN THE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 29 AND 30 ABOUT SELECTION CRITERIA YOU MAY BE ABLE TO FILL IN WITHOUT ASKING. OTHERWISE DO SO.)

How different is your selection of apprentices? Again, which do you consider more important: abilities or attitudes?

- Abilities ... 1.
- Attitudes ... 2.
- Both equally ... 3.
- Can't say ... 4.

35. And in the case of apprentices, do you attach any importance to CSE or O-level results as an indicator of ability? (IF YES) Would you say you attach "a lot of importance" or "some importance"?

- None ... 1.
- Some ... 2.
- A lot ... 3.

36. Do you recognise any unions or staff associations for collective bargaining purposes?

1. No

2. Yes

37. (IF ANSWER TO 36 IS NO) Are any or many of your employees in a union or staff association nevertheless?

0. None Approximately per cent

38. (IF ANY UNIONS/STAFF ASSOCIATIONS INVOLVED). Can we go through the four categories? Which unions are involved; whether there are closed shop arrangements, and, especially whether recruitment into that category is a matter for negotiation.

(ELICIT INFORMATION NECESSARY TO FILL IN THE TABLE IN THE MOST ECONOMICAL WAY)

	JOB CATEGORY							
	1		2		3		4	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Union members?								
Union name?								
Closed shop?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Recognised for wage bargaining?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Recruitment matters:								
Negotiated?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Consultation, not negotiation on recruitment?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Union entirely uninvolved in recruitment?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Union's role in recruitment unclear?	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO

39. How much is your recruitment a matter of finding people to fit particular jobs -- to do specific tasks? And how much is it a matter of getting good employees and developing them over the longer term for whatever jobs they will best fit into? (DO NOT PRESS THE QUESTION IF 6, BELOW, SEEMS THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.)

- Entirely former ... 1.
- Mostly former, some latter ... 2.
- Mostly latter, some former ... 3.
- Entirely latter ... 4.
- Dont know ... 5.
- Distinction not clear to respondent ... 6.

40. Have you found any difficulty in recruiting any type of employee, youth or adult, during the last 12 months? (EXCLUDE MANAGERIAL, PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AND YTS TRAINEES)

1. No

2. Yes

41. (IF YES) Which types? Please be as specific as possible?

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

42. As between these types of shortage, which would you say was the major source of the difficulty? (SHOW CARD AND READ)

ONE SOURCE	MAJOR SOURCE
.....
.....
.....

1. Too few people applying

2. Applicants insufficiently trained

3 Applicants inexperienced

4. Applicants otherwise unsatisfactory

5. Other (SPECIFY).....

43. What is the lowest wage you currently pay for an adult and for a person 18 or under?

18 or under	
Male	Female
£...	£....
per	

ADULT (19 plus)	
Male	Female
£...	£....
per	

44. This is an entirely hypothetical question. You have told me your lowest wages. Suppose the going rate in this area were 15 pounds less than that, and you could get people of the kind you usually recruit for 15 pounds less than your present lowest wage. Would you be likely to be employing more people? (IF YES) Would they be adults or young people -- assuming that both adult and youth rates went down by the same amount?

- No ... 1.
- Don't know ... 2.
- Yes, but can't say how many ... 3.
- Yes, but not more than 2-3% of present labour force ... 4.
- Yes, 4-10% more ... 5.
- Yes, more than 10% more ... 6.
- Other ... 7.

- More adults than youths ... 1.
- More youths than adults ... 2.
- Wouldn't discriminate ... 3.
- How would choose hard to say ... 4.
- Other reply ... 5.

45. Do you have any plans for changes over the next 12 months which involve changes in work organisation?

1. No

2. Yes

→ TO 46.

(IF NO, OMIT NEXT PAGE AND GO ON TO PAGE 17)

46. (IF YES TO 45.) Is this likely to involve taking on new workers?

1. No

2. Yes

3. D.K.

47. (IF YES TO 46) How many and of what type?

18 or under	
Male...	Female
p/t...	f/t...

19 plus	
Male...	Female
p/t...	f/t...

Can't be specific: Total approx:.....

ADD ANY OTHER SPECIFICATIONS OFFERED -- OF AGE, SKILL, QUALIFICATIONS, TEMPORARY/FERMANENT ETC.

48. Is it likely to involve any running down of your workforce, either by redundancy or natural wastage? (IF YES) How many and of what type?

18 or under	
Male...	Female
p/t...	f/t...

19 plus	
Male...	Female
p/t...	f/t...

Can't say: Total number approx:.....

49. Is it likely to involve redeployment of any of your workforce? (IF YES) Will that involve any kind of retraining? (IF YES) Please give details of the length of retraining required and how many people will be involved.

- 1. No redeployment
- 2. Not sure
- 3. Redeployment, no retraining.....
- 4. Retraining needed

NUMBER INVOLVED	TYPE OF RETRAINING
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

YTS INVOLVEMENT

CHECK THIS ESTMNT'S STATUS IN BOX BELOW

We did ask on the telephone, but you have not been involved with YTS, is that right?

OR

We did ask on the telephone, but you have some YTS trainees, is that right?

OR

We have asked for details of your involvement with YTS on the Advance Information Sheets. Just to check, you are/are not/have not been a Managing Agent, and you have had/have not had trainees for either/both the 1983-4 and 1984-5 rounds. That is right, is it? ("ROUND" IS DEFINED IN THE ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS)

		1983-4	1984-5
Managing Agent.....		.....	.....
Job placement allocation received, filled.....		.....	.....
Job plcmnt allocation received, not filled.....		.....	.....
<u>Status of Man Agt giving placement</u>			
For	Mode A.....	.....	.....
Sub-	Mode B1		
con-	Community Project.....	.....	.....
trac	Training Workshop.....	.....	.....
tors	I Tech Centre .....	.....	.....
	Mode B2.....	.....	.....

Is this a firm with fewer than 10 YTS trainees?

IF SO THE ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS WILL HAVE TO BE FILLED IN. LEAVE THIS UNTIL YOUR INTERVIEW WITH THE TRAINING MANAGER IF YOU ARE PROPOSING TO HAVE ONE SEPARATELY. OTHERWISE DO NOW.

IF THIS IS A FIRM WITH NO INVOLVEMENT IN YTS, ASK THE QUESTIONS ON THE NEXT PAGE AND THEN SKIP TO WHITE PAGE, PAGE 20

IF IT HAS WORK EXPERIENCE TRAINEES SI IF NOW TO PAGE 19.

50. Have you ever considered taking on a YTS MANAGEMENT AGENCY at this establishment? (QUESTIONS ABOUT JOB PLACEMENTS FOLLOW)

1. No

Yes

51. (IF YES) What were the main reasons why you have not done so? (PRECODES, NOT PROMPTS. TICK ALL REPLIES GIVEN)

- Union opposition 1.
- Head office opposition 2.
- Opposition of other employees 3.
- No suitable work here for trainees 4.
- Couldn't afford time or money to give proper training 5.
- Establishment too small 6.
- All the paper work 7.
- Offered: offer refused 8.
- Other (SPECIFY)

52. (WHETHER YES OR NO TO 50)

Have you ever been asked to take a YTS trainee on a work experience placement?

1.No.....

2. Yes.....

53. Have you ever thought of offering to have one?

1. No.....

2. Yes.....

54. (IF YES) Why did you decide against?

- Union opposition 1.
- Head office opposition 2.
- Opposition of other employees 3.
- No suitable work here for trainees 4.
- Couldn't afford time or money to give proper training 5.
- Establishment too small 6.
- All the paper work 7.
- Offered: offer refused 8.
- Other (SPECIFY)

NOW GO ON TO YWS SECTION ON THE NEXT WHITE PAGE, PAGE 20.

55. Are any of your non-employee trainees who are doing work experience, working alongside your other employees and doing the same sort of work as they are? (TICK APPROPRIATE LINE)

No trainees doing work experience (GO TO PAGE 20, NEXT WHITE PAGE) 1.

No, they are completely separate (GO TO PAGE 20) 2.

Yes.....

56. (ONLY IF AT LEAST SOME TRAINEES ARE WORKING ALONGSIDE EMPLOYEES) If you had not taken YTS trainees would you have had to take on any extra workers on a regular basis -- or to do any extra sub-contracting out?

No (GO STRAIGHT ON TO 58) 1.

Yes, sub-contracting (NOW ON TO 58) 2.

Yes, extra workers 3.

57.1 (IF YES, EXTRA WORKERS) About how many?

Can't say 1.

None permanently, temporaries at peak periods 2.

Can't specify, but total about

Number would be (precisely)

57.2 (FOLLOW-UP IF PREVIOUS QUESTION ASKED) Would you have been looking for under-18 year-olds?

No 1. Yes 2.

58. (IF NO TO 56.)

Sometimes YTS trainees help out in peak periods. Would you have had to employ temporary staff or sub-contractors if you hadn't had trainees?

1. No..... 2. Yes..... (Can you estimate how many?)

Can't estimate 3.

Probably about..... people for about days

THE YWS SCHEME

IF ESTMNT HAS YWS WORKERS, START WITH QUESTION 62 AT THE STARLINE
IF NOT AND IGNORANCE OF YWS NOT ALREADY PROVED, ASK QUESTION 59,60,61 AS NECESSARY
AND YOU HAVE THEN FINISHED THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

59. (IF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION NOT WITH RESPONDENT) Do you know about the Young Workers Scheme?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes

IF "NO" YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

60. (IF YES) Have you ever considered taking part in the scheme?

- 2. YES
- 1. NO

61. (IF YES) Why did you decide against? (IF NO) Why did you not even consider the idea?

(PRECODES, NOT PROMPTS. TICK ALL ANSWERS OFFERED)

- union opposition ... 1.
- 17-year-olds not usable in this estmnt (including health, safety, etc. regulations) ... 2.
- Anyone who'd come for £ 50 not much good ... 3.
- Maximum wage unrealistically low; impossible to recruit at that level ... 4.
- Don't like it because wage unfairly low ... 5.
- All the hassle of applying ... 6.
- Head office decided: don't know why ... 7.
- Use YTS and not enough work for both ... 8.
- Don't know ... 9.
- Other (SPECIFY)

 62. (IF THE FIRM HAS YWS WORKERS) Can you please give me details of the jobs your young people subsidised under the YWS scheme are doing, how many there are, and what their wages are? (LIST BY JOB CATEGORY)

JOB CATEGORY	NUMBER	BASIC GROSS WEEKLY WAGE
.....
.....
.....
.....

63. How far are these jobs, jobs which have hitherto -- before the subsidy was available -- been done by young people under 18?

- Not at all 1.
- Partly 2.
- Entirely 3.
- Can't say 4.

64. If the YWS subsidy had not been available, would you have taken on these young people?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes

64.1. Would it have been the same number, or fewer?

- Same 1.
- Fewer 2.
- Can't say 3.

65. How many of your current YWS employees were formerly on YTS or YOP?

In this establishment.....(Number)

Elsewhere(Number)

66. What are the main advantages and disadvantages of the YWS scheme for your establishment? (THESE ARE INTENDED TO BE PRECODES, NOT PROMPTS: TICK ALL ANSWERS OFFERED)

Advantages:

- Reduces labour costs ... 1.
- Brings new blood into workplace ... 2.
- Less rigid than YTS ... 3.
- Can afford to train young people; couldn't without subsidy ... 4.
- Can screen potential long-term employees ... 5.
- None ... 6.
- Hard to say ... 7.
- Other (SPECIFY)

Disadvantages

- Administrative hassle ... 1.
- Young people available for £ 50 not much good ... 2.
- None ... 3.
- Other (SPECIFY)

67. We shall ask later about your training schemes in general, but do you give training for young people on YWS?

- 1. No....
- 2. Yes.... (FOLLOW WITH Can you please give me some details?)

Any of it off-the-job training? 1. No ... 2. Yes ...

Day-release/block release? 1. No ... 2. Yes ...

68. Did taking people under the scheme actually involve reducing wages to get under the YWS maximum, or have you never employed people of that age group in recent years? (MAKE CLEAR THAT "REDUCING" INCLUDES HOLDING WAGES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE DOWN WHEN WAGES FOR OTHER WORKERS WERE RISING)

- Did not employ ... 1.
- Did employ and it involved a reduction ... 2.
- Did employ and it involved no reduction ... 3.
- Hard to say ... 4.

69. When you took on young people under the YWS scheme, was it in preference to taking on some other kind of worker? If so, what age/sex/group might you have taken?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes, they substituted for.....

70. Have you had anybody come to the end of the period when he was eligible for YWS while he or she was still working for you?

- Yes
- No ... 1.

71. (IF YES) What happened to them? (SHOW CARD)

- Continued working with this employer ... 2.
- Left for further education ... 3.
- Made redundant ... 4.
- Left for other reason/not known ... 5.

****102. (IF PREVIOUS ANSWERS STRADDLE BOTH ADVANTAGE AND SOCIAL SECTIONS)** If you had to describe the motives of your firm in black and white terms, as being more a concern to do something helpful about a social problem rather than a concern with the advantages to the firm -- or else vice versa -- which would you choose?

1. More social..... 2. More advantage...

3. Equally both..... 4. Can't say.....

Other (SPECIFY)

103. Having had some experience, what would you now say are the benefits and the disadvantages of taking part in the scheme? I mean, of course, benefits and disadvantages TO THE COMPANY. First of all the benefits?

(PRECODE NOT PROMPT: MULTIPLE TICKS PERMITTED)

BENEFITS

Anticipated benefits (As recorded in answers to Q.101)

But more so 1.

But less so 2.

Just as anticipated 3.

Unanticipated benefits

Helps to develop firm's training programme 4.

Ditto, specifically helps to revive declining training programme 5.

Source of good employees 6.

Trainees work contribution saves on labour costs 7.

Ditto, but specifically mentions peak periods.... 8.

Other (SPECIFY)

DISADVANTAGES ON NEXT SHEET

106. (FOR THOSE WHO HAD 1983-4 TRAINEES) Can you tell me what has happened to last year's trainees? How many are still with you -- still as YTS trainees, or now as ordinary employees or apprentices?

EXCLUDE everybody recruited since 1 April 1984. I.e. this question is only about the "1983-4 round".

INCLUDE all who have completed their training, all who switched from trainee to employee/ apprenticeship status during training, all who dropped out in mid-training.

		GIVE NUMBER
1. Still here as YTS trainees.....		
2. Apprenticeships with this employer		
3. Jobs with this employer		
(IF JOBS OR APPRENTICESHIPS WITH THIS EMPLOYER) Are they supported by YWS? Yes.... (NUMBER) No.... (NUMBER)		
4. Others.....		
5. Not known.....		
Total of 1 - 5.....		

INTERVIEWER: CHECK THAT TOTAL CORRESPONDS WITH FIGURE IN ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEET.

107. Were any of your 1983-4 trainees taken on as apprentices from the very beginning of their traineeship? How many of them are still here, and are they in their first year or second year? (WRITE "NONE" IN LEFTHAND BOX IF ANSWER IS "NO")

NUMBERS			
STARTED	STILL IN FIRST YEAR	NOW IN SECOND YEAR	GONE

YTS--->APPRENTICESHIPS

(THIS PAGE ONLY FOR THOSE WITH YTS TRAINEES 1983-4 WHO MOVED INTO APPRSHIP/TREESHIP WITH THIS FIRM -- SEE LAST QUESTION -- OTHERS GO ON TO 113)

109. You say thatbecame apprentices. Did you have places to take more of them into apprenticeship if you had thought them to be suitable?

No.....

Yes (WRITE NUMBER).....

110. (IF NO) Were there more of the trainees whom you would have considered suitable for an apprenticeship if you had been able to take them?

No....

Yes (WRITE NUMBER).....

111. Did those who became apprentices move on to the apprenticeship (traineeship) during or after their YTS year?

1. During

2. After

(IF "DURING")

111.1 After how many months?

.....months

111.2. Did they get credit towards their apprenticeship time for their YTS months?

1. No

2. Yes:.....month(s) YTS equals one month ordinary apprshp

IF "AFTER" TO 111)

112. Were they given credit towards their apprenticeship time for that YTS year?

1. No

2. Yes:.....month(s) YTS equals one month ordinary apprshp

SELECTION

113. Did you have full or partial control over the selection of your YTS trainees? ("PARTIAL" = SOMEBODY ELSE ALSO HAD TO BE SATISFIED)

1983-4	No	Yes, full....., partial.....
1984-5	No	Yes, full....., partial.....

114. (IF YES AND ESTMNT HAS RECRUITED TWO BATCHES)
Did you apply the same standards in both years, or were you more selective in one year or the other?

1. Same
2. More selective 1983-4
3. More selective 1984-5

115. When selecting for 1984-5, did you use any formal tests, or hold an interview, or select on the application form and recommendations only?

(IF THE ANSWER IS "depends on the intended work assignment", ASK ABOUT THE TWO LARGEST JOB GROUPS. IF NO ATTEMPT TO DIFFERENTIATE, WRITE ANSWER UNDER "JOB A")

1. Tests and documents
2. Tests, interview and documents
3. Interview and documents
4. Documents only
5. Interview only

JOB A	JOB B
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(IF RESPONDENT DID DIFFERENTIATE, WRITE BRIEF INDICATION OF NATURE OF JOBS:

JOB A

JOB B

TRAINING

FOR ESTMNTS WITHOUT APPRENTICES: GO STRAIGHT TO Q.126 ON PAGE T013 AFTER THE STARLINE

FOR ESTMNTS WITH APPRENTICES: ASK ALL QUESTIONS, PREFERABLY OF A TRAINING OFFICER

SO THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO MISTAKE ABOUT MARRYING UP THESE ANSWERS WITH ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS, LIST BELOW THE APPRENTICESHIP TYPES TO BE REFERRED TO AS (a), (b), (c). IF YOU HAVE FOUR TO CHOOSE FROM, AIM FOR GREATEST DIVERSITY RATHER THAN COVERAGE OF LARGEST NUMBER.

- (a).....
- (b).....
- (c).....

CHECK AGAIN THAT ALL TRAINEESHIPS LASTING 2 YEARS OR MORE HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN THE AI SHEETS. ASK QUESTIONS 116 TO 119 ABOUT THE BIGGEST APP/TREESHIP GROUP AND THEN ASK WHETHER THE OTHER TWO ARE DIFFERENT

116. (ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS NOT THE RESPONDENT FOR Q.36) The table asked for educational requirements, but can I ask more generally about selection of apprentices? As between abilities on the one hand, and attitudes on the other, which do you place the greater importance on?

ABILITIES=INTELLIGENCE, DEXTERITY, NUMERACY, LITERACY
 ATTITUDES= MANNER, MOTIVATION, QUALITIES OF CHARACTER

	(a)	(b)	(c)	
Abilities	1.
Attitudes	2.
Both equally	3.
Can't say	4.

117. Do you place any importance, when selecting, on family links with the firm?

	(a)	(b)	(c)	
None at all	1.
A certain amount	2.
A great deal	3.
Can't say	4.

118. Have you made any changes in the nature and content of your apprenticeship schemes in the last 3 years? (INTERVIEWER: PROMPT SPECIFICALLY ON LENGTH, RECRUITMENT, QUALIFYING TESTS, PAY)

LENGTH

No change

From y yrs m mnths

To y yrs m mnths

(a)	(b)	(c)	
.....	.....	.....	1.
y m	y m	y m	
.....	
.....	

TESTS

(PARTIAL/OVERALL REFER TO COVERAGE OF THE RANGE OF SKILLS CONCERNED)

No change

Partial adoption of end-tests as supplement to time-serving

Overall adoption of end-tests as supplement to time-serving

End-tests have replaced time-serving

Other (SPECIFY)

(a)	(b)	(c)	
.....	1.
.....	2.
.....	3.
.....	4.

OTHER CHANGES (PLEASE DETAIL)

a.....

b.....

c.....

119. Do you expect any changes in the next 3 years? (SAME PROMPTS)

LENGTH

No change

From y yrs m mnths

To y yrs m mnths

(a)	(b)	(c)
..... 1.		
y | m	y | m	y | m
.....		
.....		

TESTS

(PARTIAL/OVERALL REFER TO COVERAGE OF THE RANGE OF SKILLS CONCERNED)

No change

Partial adoption of end-tests as supplement to time-serving

Overall adoption of end-tests as supplement to time-serving

End-tests replace time-serving

Other (SPECIFY)

OTHER CHANGES (PLEASE DETAIL)

a.....

b.....

c.....

(a)	(b)	(c)
..... 1.		
..... 2.		
..... 3.		
..... 4.		

120. (IF ANY CHANGES PAST OR FUTURE ARE SUGGESTED)

Are any of these changes (Is this change) in any way due to the YTS scheme?

YES

YTS year is becoming the normal first year of apprsHP ... 1.

YTS year time, suitably discounted, counts towards first year ... 2.

YTS has broadened the concept of training ... 3.

YTS has made training more systematic ... 4.

NO, OTHER REASONS

Quality of recruits has gone up ... 5.

General improvement in training methods ... 6.

Final outcome of long negotiations with unions ... 7.

Shift of demand from craft to technician levels ... 8.

Other (SPECIFY)

121. Have you recruited any apprentices/trainees aged 18 or over this year?

No ... 1.

Yes

As rare exception ... 2.

Have commonly done so for some time ... 3.

Have not done so hitherto very much but will in future ... 4.

122. Do the apprs/trees get any pay increase for getting certificates or passing examinations connected with their day release or block release courses?

	(a)	(b)	(c)
No 1.
Yes 2.

123. You say (A.I.Sheet: Apprentices) that the total number of first-year apprentices is now..... How does that compare with the number you took on three years ago?

(WRITE IN THE NUMBER OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IF YOU CAN, NOTING WHETHER ACCURATE FIGURE OR ROUGH ESTIMATE. OTHERWISE JUST TICK.)

- Increase of...../ of approx.....
- Decrease of...../ of approx.....
- No change ... 1.
- Increase ... 2.
- Decrease ... 3.
- Don't know... 4.

IF DECREASE GO TO QUESTION 125: OTHERS TO QUESTION 126

FOR FIRMS WITH NO APPR/TREES ONLY

124. Did you have any appr/trees three years ago?

- 1. No (GO TO Q.126)
- 2. Yes.... (How Many?)

(WRITE NUMBER)

.....

125. Why have you cut back?

No change in need, but forced to cut training budgets ... 1.

Less need for craftsmen: because of new technology ... 2.

for other reasons ... 3.

SPECIFY OTHER REASONS

126. (ALL ESTMNTS) Apart from apprenticeships or traineeships and YTS, do you have any other off-the-job training for young people?

1. No 2. Yes

127. (IF YES)

Can you give me a few details and tell me whether they involve day release or block release?

TYPE OF TRAINING	TYPE OF WORKER	D/B RELEASE?
.....
.....
.....
.....

128. Do you have a designated training officer(s)?

129. (IF YES) Is it a full-time job?

1. None.....	Part-time.....	WRITE NUMBER OF T/Os
	Full-time.....	

ALL INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE HELD CONFIDENTIAL
AND USED PURELY FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE LABOUR MARKET: A SURVEY

Advance Information Sheets

The Manpower Services Commission is very concerned to assess how far the money which has been spent on the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and the Young Workers Scheme (YWS) has been well spent. This is one of a number of studies which it is undertaking to help it make that assessment. It is focussed on the wider questions of the place of young people in the labour market and the effects of YTS training and YWS subsidies -- what it does to the availability of jobs for different age groups and for men and women, what it does to recruitment practices and so on. As you will know from the letter you have had from the MSC, yours is one of 200 firms in this area which we are visiting for this enquiry. The sample has been taken, at random, so as to include both firms which have been involved with young people and those which have not.

Some of the factual information we shall need to collect -- concerning numbers of employees in different categories, wages, training systems, etc. -- may not be easy to mobilise on the spot. In order not to take up too much time at the interview, therefore, we are sending the attached advance information sheets, which we would ask you to complete before the interview. They will be collected by the interviewer at the time of his/her visit, so do not bother to send them back. We shall be telephoning in a few days to see if you have any problems with these sheets, but meanwhile, if you have any difficulties, please phone

..... at

NAME OF FIRM

CODE

ADDRESS

NAME OF RESPONDENT

3. Temporary Workers

The temporary workers referred to in the last tables were those hired on a monthly or weekly basis. Do you also use temporary workers on a daily - or even hourly - hire basis?
(PLEASE TICK)

No Yes

IF YES

Would you please give details:

How many people were involved in such work in the last four weeks?

..... men women

How many days (adding, e.g. half-days together to make full days) did they work in total? days

(IF YOU CAN ONLY ANSWER APPROXIMATELY, ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF DAYS WORKED ON AVERAGE BY EACH WORKER AND MULTIPLY BY THE NUMBER OF WORKERS.)

4. Leavers and Recruits

Can you please give us some basic figures on labour turnover for the last 12 months, or for a recent 12-month period, if you make up your own tabulations for some other standard period?

EXCLUDE for this purpose YTS and YOP trainees who were not employees.

Period covered: 198 to 198

TOTAL NUMBER OF LEAVERS		NUMBER OF RECRUITS (INCLUDING REHIRS)
REDUNDANCY (VOLUNTARY OR COMPULSORY)	FOR REASONS OTHER THAN REDUNDANCY	

Can you give separate figures for those aged 18 and under?

TOTAL NUMBER OF LEAVERS (AGED 18 AND UNDER)		NUMBER OF RECRUITS (INCLUDING REHIRS)
REDUNDANCY (VOLUNTARY OR COMPULSORY)	FOR REASONS OTHER THAN REDUNDANCY	

Employees 18 or under

If you have any employees 18 or under, would you please give their numbers by age, sex and status. Please EXCLUDE all YTS trainees, whether they are employees or not.

	SUBSIDISED BY YWS		NOT SUBSIDISED		TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	
AGED 16					
Apprentices/trainees					
Course lasting at least 2 years					
Course lasting less than 2 years					
Other employees					

AGED 17					
Apprentices/trainees					
Course lasting at least 2 years					
Course lasting less than 2 years					
Other employees					

AGED 18					
Apprentices/trainees					
Course lasting at least 2 years					
Course lasting less than 2 years					
Other employees					
TOTAL					

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS: BASIC SHEET NO.5.

WAGES

The next 6 sheets are about the wages for each of the 6 job categories listed on the previous sheet. Please give either an hourly, daily, weekly or monthly wage, whichever is convenient.

If the wage is the same for everybody in the category, write in the RATE in the left-hand box, like this:

Wage Rate (fixed)
£2.42 per <u>hour</u>
day
week
month

If the wage rate varies for different people in the same job category, write the LOWEST and the HIGHEST RATES in the middle box, like this:

Range of Rates or Wages
From £65.50 to £71.50 per hour
day
<u>week</u>
month

If there are variations from week to week (because of some bonus scheme, for example) then please write the RANGE OF GROSS EARNINGS over a recent period, in the right-hand box in the same way.

THERE IS ONE SHEET FOR EACH OF THE JOB CATEGORIES YOU HAVE LISTED. PLEASE USE THEM IN THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU HAVE LISTED THEM ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE.

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS: BASIC SHEET NO.7

SECOND JOB CATEGORY.....

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over)

either	Wage rate (fixed) £.....per hour day week month	or	Range of rates From £.....to £.....per hour day week month	or	Range of recent gross earnings From £.....to £..... per hour day week month

b) Is there any guaranteed overtime for employees in this category (that is, overtime formally guaranteed every week)?

1. Yes

2. No Please go to c).

How many hours per week, and how much are they paid per hour for this overtime?

....hours at per hour

....hours at per hour

c) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

If Yes:

Age 16: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 17: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 18: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

d) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed

If it varies:

Full-timershrs

Part-timershrs

From.....hrs to.....hrs

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS: BASIC SHEET NO.8

THIRD JOB CATEGORY.....

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over)

either	Wage rate(fixed) £.....per hour day week month	or	Range of rates From £.....to £.....per hour day week month	or	Range of recent gross earnings From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

b) Is there any guaranteed overtime for employees in this category (that is, overtime formally guaranteed every week)?

1. Yes

2. NoPlease go to c).

How many hours per week, and how much are they paid per hour for this overtime?

....hours at per hour

....hours at per hour

c) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

If Yes:

Age 16: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 17: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 18: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

d) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed

If it varies:

Full-timershrs

Part-timershrs

From.....hrs to.....hrs

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS: BASIC SHEET NO.9

FOURTH JOB CATEGORY.....

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over)

either

Wage rate (fixed)
£.....per hour
day
week
month

or

Range of rates
From £.....to £.....per hour
day
week
month

or

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per hour
day
week
month

b) Is there any guaranteed overtime for employees in this category (that is, overtime formally guaranteed every week)?

1. Yes 2. No Please go to c).

How many hours per week, and how much are they paid per hour for this overtime?

....hours at per hour
hours at per hour

c) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

If Yes:

Age 16: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 17: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
Age 18: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

d) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

	If fixed	If it varies:
Full-timers	.....hrs	
Part-timers	.....hrs	From.....hrs to.....hrs

Blank Page

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEETS: BASIC SHEET NO.11

SIXTH JOB CATEGORY.....

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over)

either

Wage rate(fixed)	
£.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

or

Range of rates	
From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

or

Range of recent gross earnings	
From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

b) Is there any guaranteed overtime for employees in this category (that is, overtime formally guaranteed every week)?

1. Yes

2. NoPlease go to c).

How many hours per week, and how much are they paid per hour for this overtime?

....hours at per hour

....hours at per hour

c) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

If Yes:

Age 16: either

£.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

or

From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

Age 17: either

£.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

or

From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

Age 18: either

£.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

or

From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day
	week
	month

d) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed

If it varies:

Full-timershrs

Part-timershrs

From.....hrs to.....hrs

ADVANCE INFORMATION SHEET

FIRMS WITH APPRENTICES OR TRAINEES 1.

Please list the main (up to 4) types of apprenticeship or traineeship which you currently offer in your establishment. Then please fill in the details asked for. An apprenticeship or traineeship is defined for this purpose as any course of training lasting AT LEAST TWO YEARS. If you have apprentices or trainees in the engineering trades please specify which kind of engineering it is (e.g. Mechanical Engineering, Electrical/Electronic Engineering, etc.) and list them separately.

Description of Apprenticeship/ Traineeship	Current total numbers				Number of apprentices on YMS						Number of apprentices supported by YTS				
	Year 1 M	Year 1 F	Year 2 M	Year 2 F	Year 3 M	Year 3 F	Year 4 M	Year 4 F	Year 1 M	Year 1 F		Year 2 M	Year 2 F	Year 3 M	Year 3 F
(a)															
(b)															
(c)															
(d)															

What is the total number of first year apprentices/trainees (2 Year-plus courses) in your establishment?

Listed above

Others

Grand Total

STMT CODE

--	--	--	--

Type of Apprenticeship or traineeship

TYPE (AS LISTED ON PREV. SHEET)	COMMENT (list major elements or identify the craft skill status, the training leads to if not obvious from title)	IS SKILL STATUS (ADULT PAY RATE) ACHIEVED BY END TESTS (Yes/No)	TIME SERV (Yes/No)	Relation to Industrial Training Board/Organisation (write "no" or name of ITB/ITO)		EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS
				COURSE REGISTERED?	CONTENT APPROVED?	
(a)
(b)
(c)
(d)

Type of Apprenticeship or traineeship (cont'd)

TYPE (AS LISTED ON PREV. SHEET)	NATIONAL AGREEMENT? (1)	LOCAL AGREEMENT? (2)	NEGOTIATIONS? (3)	DAY RELEASE? (Write "0" if none)		BLOCK RELEASE ("0" if none)	EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS (4)
				.. days p.w. for .. weeks	.. weeks		
(a) days p.w. for .. weeks	.. weeks	.....
(b) days p.w. for .. weeks	.. weeks	.....
(c) days p.w. for .. weeks	.. weeks	.....

(1) WRITE "YES" IF THERE IS ANY NATIONAL AGREEMENT WITH TRADE UNIONS WHICH YOU ACCEPT AS REGULATING YOUR APPRENTICESHIP OR TRAINEESHIP SCHEME. "NO" IF NOT.

(3) WRITE "YES" IF YOU NEGOTIATE AT THIS ESTABLISHMENT WITH ANY UNION CONCERNING THE CONTENT AND RULES OF THE SCHEME. "NO" IF NOT.

(2) WRITE "YES" IF THERE IS ANY LOCAL AGREEMENT WITH TRADE UNIONS WHICH YOU ACCEPT AS REGULATING YOUR SCHEME WHETHER IN AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL AGREEMENT OR NOT.

(4) WRITE "NONE" IF NO MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED. OTHERWISE SPECIFY IN TERMS OF NUMBERS OF CSES/O-LEVELS, SCOTTISH ORDINARY SUBJECTS AND/OR REQUIRED SUBJECTS (e.g. MATHS)

YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME : MANAGING AGENTS

ESTMNT CODE

--	--	--	--

For the purpose of the following questions, count anyone recruited between April 1983 and March 1984 as belonging to the 1983-4 Round and anyone recruited since as belonging to the 1984-5 Round.

Was your scheme approved locally

through the Large Companies Unit

Are/Were you a Managing Agent for both rounds?

Both 1983-4 Only 1984-5 Only

How many have you recruited in total and what has happened to them?
(Please write 0 if the answer is none)

	1983-4	1984-5
Total number recruited to your scheme:		
How many were recruited as:		
employees (including apprentice-employees) at this establishment		
employees at another establishment		
just trainees, not employees		
Number who dropped out or moved on		
Number who completed the 12 months		
Number still with you as trainees		
Number of trainees for whom you provided work experience at this establishment?		
Number of trainees for whom you provided off-the-job training at this establishment?		
Did you provide work experience or off-the-job training to any other trainees from other Managing Agents' schemes? If so, please write the number. ('0' if not)		
Work experience		
Off-the-job training		

--	--	--	--

YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME : PLACEMENT PROVIDERS

For the purpose of the following questions, count anyone who first came to you for work experience between April 1983 and March 1984 as belonging to the 1983-4 Round, and anyone who first came since as belonging to the 1984-5 Round.

Please give the name of the Managing Agent(s) from whom the trainees came.

Would you please give details of the following.

	Round	
	1983-4	1984-5
Total Number who came to this establishment for work experience		
Number who completed their intended period here		
Total Number who are still with you		
Number for whom the intended period was a full 12 months		
Number who had employee (including apprentice-employee) status		

Do you also provide off-the-job training? If so, please give the numbers to whom you are currently giving such training, divided into those who are included in the above figures as having work experience here, and any others.

No o-j-t

With w-e

Without w-e

(Please write in the numbers)

ROUND 2 1985/6

CASE NUMBER (Col. 1-4)

--	--	--	--

**YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE LABOUR MARKET:
A SURVEY**

ESTABLISHMENT NAME:
ADDRESS:

SERIAL NO.

--	--	--	--

TEL:
MAIN CONTACT:

NAME:
POSITION IN FIRM:

EXT. NO.

TRAINING OFFICER:

NAME:
POSITION IN FIRM:

EXT. NO.

OTHER CONTACTS:

NAMES:

POSITIONS:

INTERVIEWER:

INTERVIEWER CHECKLIST

BEFORE THE INTERVIEW, look up the following information in last year's questionnaire, and record in appropriate places as indicated below.

SECOND ROUND PAGE NO.	SECOND ROUND QUES. NO.	FIRST ROUND PAGE/QUES. NO.
P2	(2) Name of last year's respondent	SETTING UP
	(3)(i) YTS trainees last year?	PHONE CALL PAGE
	(ii) YWS last year?	
	(iii) Appr/tr. last year?	
	(4) Name of training officer	
1	Q.2	Q.4
4	Job categories	Page 6
18	YWS status	
	-Check with this year's	
	SETTING UP PHONE	
	CALL PAGE P2.	
T028	Apprenticeships/ Traineeships last year	A.I. Sheets

SETTING UP PHONE CALL

N.B. Please record last year's information (marked * below) BEFORE the phone call.

Conversation with M..... and M.....

- (1) Repeat necessary details of letters sent.
- (2) Remind him/her of last year's interview.

We saw M..... to ask questions mostly about personnel matters --- numbers employed, wages, recruitment, training etc. especially as regards young people. Could we see M..... again, or whoever replaced him/her?

Name.....

Time for Interview.....

- (3) There are just a few things I have to check up on in advance. Could I have just one minute with him on the phone please.

(i) YTS: You told us last year that you had 1-9 YTS TRAINEES/ 10+ YTS TRAINEES/ NO YTS TRAINEES (* delete as appropriate). How many YTS trainees do you currently have?

Number.....

If you have YTS trainees, are you a Managing Agent, or do you provide work experience, or both?

Mode A Man Agt...1 Mode B M.A....2 Wk Exp Provider...3 Both...4

(ii) YWS: You told us last year that you MAKE/ DO NOT MAKE (* delete as appropriate) use of YWS. Do you currently have young workers on YWS?

Yes....1 No....2

(IF NO) We forgot to ask last time whether you had ever had any YWS workers.

Yes....1 No....2

(iii) APPRENTICES/TRAINEES: According to our last year's records, you HAD/ DID NOT HAVE (*delete as appropriate) apprentices or trainees on courses lasting at least two years. Could you tell me if you have any apprentices/trainees currently?

Yes....1 No....2

- (4) (IF MORE THAN 10 YTS TRAINEES AND/OR ANY APPRENTICES/TRAINEES CURRENTLY) There are some questions specifically for the training officer, M.....(* name of last year's respondent). Would it be possible, after I have seen you to go on to see him?

Name of Training Officer.....

- (5) (AT EACH TEAM'S DISCRETION) We shall be sending you some of the questions which ask for statistical information ahead of time. I'll address that to you, M....., shall I ?

AI Sheets sent: JOBS&WAGES_____ YTS(MA)_____ YTS(PP)_____

QUESTIONS FOR REFUSERS

N.B. This page is for establishments that refuse to be interviewed for the second round.

*Please record last year's information (items marked * below) BEFORE the phone call.*

Telephone conversation with M..... and

M.....

(1) We saw M.....* last year. There are just a few things I would like to ask him/her or his/her replacement --- about your involvement in YTS, YWS and Apprenticeship/Traineeship. Could I possibly have just one minute with him/her on the phone please?

Name of respondent.....

Position of respondent.....

(2) YTS: You told us last year that you had 1-9 YTS TRAINEES/ 10+ YTS TRAINEES/ NO YTS TRAINEES (* delete as appropriate). How many YTS trainees do you currently have?

Number.....

If you have YTS trainees, are you a Managing Agent, or do you provide work experience, or both?

Mode A Man Agt...1 Mode B Man Agt...2

Wk Exp Provider...3 Both...4

(3) YWS: You told us last year that you MAKE/ DO NOT MAKE (* delete as appropriate) use of YWS. Do you currently have young workers on YWS?

Yes....1 No....2

(4) APPRENTICES/TRAINEES: According to our last year's records, you HAD/ DID NOT HAVE (*delete as appropriate) apprentices or trainees on courses lasting at least two years. Could you tell me if you have any apprentices/trainees currently?

Yes....1 No....2

CODING SHEET: SUMMARY OF ESTABLISHMENT STATUS

FILL THIS PAGE AND THE NEXT PAGE AFTER THE INTERVIEW. THESE PAGES MUST BE FILLED IN FOR REFUSERS ALSO.

CARD			Col./Code
1			
	INTERVIEWER'S CODE NUMBER		(5-6)
		.....	1 1 1 1 1 1
	LOCAL LABOUR MARKET:		(7)
	Torquay	1	1 1
	Reading	2	1 1
	Preston	3	1 1
	Newham	4	
	Motherwell	5	
	INDUSTRY (IN 1985):		(8)
	Manufacturing	1	1 1
	Construction	2	1 1
	Services (High)	3	1 1
	Services (Low)	4	
	SIZE (IN 1985):		(9)
	1-10 employees	1	1 1
	11-49 employees	2	1 1
	50-199 employees	3	1 1
	200+ employees	4	
	SIC (IN 1985):		(10-12)
		.....	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
	YTS:		(13)
	1-9 YTS trainees in 1984-5:	Yes..1 No...9	1 1 1 1
	10+ YTS trainees in 1984-5:	Yes..1 No...9	(14) 1 1 1 1
	1-9 YTS trainees in 1985-6:	Yes..1 No...9	(15) 1 1 1 1
	10+ YTS trainees in 1985-6:	Yes..1 No...9	(16) 1 1 1 1

CARD			Col./Code
1			
	STATUS:		
	Managing Agent Mode A; not providing wk exp	...1	(17) ----- 1__1
	Managing Agent Mode A; providing wk exp	...2	1__1
	Managing Agent Mode B	...3	
	Placement provider	...4	
	Both Man Agt	...5	
	YWS:		
	YWS workers in 1984-5:	Yes..1 No...9	(18) ----- 1__1 1__1
	YWS workers in 1985-6:	Yes..1 No...9	(19) ----- 1__1 1__1
	YWS workers before 1984 interview:	Yes..1 No...9	(20) ----- 1__1 1__1
	APP:		
	Apprentices in 1984-5:	Yes..1 No...9	(21) ----- 1__1 1__1
	Apprentices in 1985-6:	Yes..1 No...9	(22) ----- 1__1 1__1
	POSITION OF RESPONDENT		
	(i) For Training questionnaire:		(23)
	Same as for main questionnaire	...1	----- 1__1
	Different: a training officer	...2	1__1
	Different: other	...3	
	(ii) Compared with last year interviews:		
	Same respondent(s) as last year...	1	(24) -----
	Respondent for main questionnaire different...	2	1__1
	Respondent for training questionnre different...	3	1__1
	Respondent(s) for both questionnre different...	4	

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Variable print quality

SECTION 1 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FIRM

CARD		Col./code
1	<p>1. HAS THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF YOUR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS?</p> <p>No change ...0 Change in ownership without change in size ...1 Privatised ...2 Hived off from a larger organisation ...3 Incorporated into a larger organisation ...4 Other ...5</p> <p>2. LAST YEAR, YOUR ESTABLISHMENT WAS CLASSIFIED AS BELONGING TO THE .....INDUSTRY. IS THIS STILL THE CASE?</p> <p>Yes...1</p> <p>No...2 (IF NOT, LIST MAIN PRODUCTS/SERVICES)</p> <p>ATTN CODER: RECORD SIC NUMBER</p> <p>3. HOW DO YOU EXPECT YOUR TOTAL EMPLOYMENT TO CHANGE OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS? (IF ESTABLISHMENT IS PART OF A LARGER ORGANISATION) COULD YOU PLEASE ANSWER ONLY FOR THIS ESTABLISHMENT.</p> <p>Increase ...1 No change ...2 Decrease ...3 Don't know ...4</p> <p>CHECK IF THIS ESTABLISHMENT IS: --A trust/company limited by guarantee --Other independent non-commercial body --Part of a Local government or Central government --Part of a non-commercial trust/ quango/ charity/ research/ educational organisation.</p> <p>IF ANY OF THE ABOVE, GO TO SECTION 2.</p> <p>OTHERS GO ONTO NEXT PAGE, Q.4.</p>	<p>(25)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(26-28)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(29)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>

CARD	Col./code
1	
<p>4.1 WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW SALES TURNOVER HAS BEEN CHANGING IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS. AFTER ALLOWING FOR INFLATION, HAS IT INCREASED OR DECREASED BY MORE THAN 5 PER CENT ?</p>	
<p>(IF ESTABLISHMENT IS PART OF LARGER ORGANISATION, ANSWER FOR THIS ESTABLISHMENT. BUT IF THERE IS NO SEPARATE ACCOUNTING, ANSWER FOR THE IMMEDIATE PARENT COMPANY.)</p>	
Increased	...1 (30)
Not much change	...2 <u>1</u> 1
Decreased	...3 <u>1</u> 1
Can't say	...4
<p>N.B. Throughout Questions 4,5,6,and 7, in all cases where establishment is part of a larger organisation, instruct as for Q4.1.</p>	
<p>4.2 WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO PROFITABILITY DURING THE PAST YEAR?</p>	
Increased	...1 (31)
Not much change	...2 <u>1</u> 1
Decreased	...3 <u>1</u> 1
Can't say	...4
<p>5. WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING TO HAPPEN TO SALES AND PROFITABILITY OVER THE NEXT 12 MONTHS?</p>	
<p>5.1. SALES:</p>	
Increase	...1 (32)
No change	...2
Decrease	...3 <u>1</u> 1
Can't say	...4 <u>1</u> 1
<p>PROFITABILITY:</p>	
Increase	...1 (33)
No change	...2
Decrease	...3 <u>1</u> 1
Can't say	...4 <u>1</u> 1

CARD		Col./code
1	<p>6. WHAT PROPORTION OF YOUR SALES OF GOODS AND TRADABLE SERVICES IS TO: (STATE PERCENTAGES) (CODE "888" FOR Don't know and "999" for Not applicable)</p> <p>a) In the UK.....</p> <p>b) Abroad.....</p> <p><i>N.B. Tourist industry: answer according to normal residence of people served.</i></p> <p>7.1 DO YOUR PRODUCTS OR SERVICES FACE COMPETITION WITH IMPORTED GOODS OR SERVICES?</p> <p>Yes ...1 No (GO TO SECTION 2) ...2 Can't say ...3 Not applicable ...9</p> <p>7.2 (IF YES TO Q7.1) ARE IMPORTS THE MAIN SOURCES OF COMPETITION?</p> <p>Yes ...1 No ...2 Can't say ...3 Not applicable ...9</p>	<p>(34-36)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(37-39)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(40)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(41)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>

CARD		Col./code
1	<p>21.4 What is the normal period of training after recruitment for this job? (Apart from induction into the firm)</p> <p>0. No training required 1. Up to one week 2. Up to one month 3. Up to six months 4. Up to one year 5. Up to two years 6. Up to four years 7. Over four years</p> <p>21.5 (IF THE NORMAL PERIOD OF TRAINING IS MORE THAN SIX MONTHS) Other things being equal, do you prefer to train people yourself after recruitment, or hire people already trained?</p> <p>1. Train in-house 2. Hire trained people 3. Can't say</p> <p>21.6 (i) (IF THERE HAVE BEEN RECRUITS INTO THIS JOB CATEGORY) Had any of the recruits been on the Youth Training Scheme?</p> <p>No.....(WRITE "000") Yes.....(GIVE NUMBERS) Don't know.....(WRITE "888")</p> <p>(ii) Had any of them done their work experience at this establishment?</p> <p>Yes.....(GIVE NUMBER) No.....(WRITE "00") Don't know.....(WRITE "88")</p> <p>(iii) Where had the others been for their YTS year? (WRITE NUMBERS)</p> <p>1. This employer, different establishment 2. Another employer, name specified 3. Asked but can't remember 4. Don't know, didn't ask 5. College, Workshop etc.</p>	<p>(60)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(61)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(62-64)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(65-67)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(68-70)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1</p> <p>(71-73)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1</p> <p>(74-76)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1</p> <p>(77-79)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1</p> <p>(5-7)</p> <p>_____ 1 1 1</p>
2		

ATTN CODER: If there is no First Job Category, code all variables for this job category 0, 00, 000, etc.

CARD		Col./code												
2	22.1 JOB CATEGORY 2	(8-12)												
	KOS code	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1									
1	1	1	1	1	1									
	22.2 (i) How many people have been recruited into this job category in the last 12 months? (Give gross figure)	(13-16)												
	IF NO RECRUITS, GO TO Q22.4.													
	(ii) Is this figure exact or approximate?	(17)												
	Exact ...1 Approximate ...2 Not applicable ...9	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1								
1	1													
1	1													
	22.3 (i) Has there been any change in the mix of recruits into this job in the last 12 months? (PRECODES, MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED)													
	01. More men 05. More trained	(18-19)												
	02. More women 06. More untrained	(20-21)												
	03. More adults 07. More ex-YTS	(22-23)												
	04. More youths 10. Other	(24-25)												
	11. No change													
	ATTN CODER: code spare variables 99s.													
	22.4 What is the normal period of training after recruitment for this job? (Apart from induction into the firm)	(26)												
	1. Up to one week 2. Up to one month 3. Up to six months 4. Up to one year 5. Up to two years 6. Up to four years 7. No training required	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1								
1	1													
1	1													

CARD		Col./code
2	<p>22.5 (IF THE NORMAL PERIOD OF TRAINING IS MORE THAN SIX MONTHS) Other things being equal, do you prefer to train people yourself after recruitment, or hire people already trained?</p> <p>1. Train in-house 2. Hire trained people 3. Can't say</p> <p>22.6 (i) (IF THERE HAVE BEEN RECRUITS INTO THIS JOB CATEGORY) Had any of the recruits been on the Youth Training Scheme?</p> <p>No.....(WRITE "000") Yes.....(GIVE NUMBERS) Dont't Know.....(WRITE "888")</p> <p>(ii) Had any of them done their work experience at this establishment?</p> <p>Yes.....(GIVE NUMBER) No.....(WRITE "00") Don't know.....(WRITE "88")</p> <p>(ii) Where had the others been for their YTS year? (WRITE NUMBERS)</p> <p>1. This employer, different estmt</p> <p>2. Another employer, name specified</p> <p>3. Asked but can't remember</p> <p>4. Don't know, didn't ask</p> <p>5. College, Workshop etc.</p>	<p>(27)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(28-30)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(31-33)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(34-36)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(37-39)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(40-42)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(43-45)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(46-48)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>

ATTN CODER: If there is no Second Job Category, code all variables for this job category 0, 00, 000, etc.

CARD

Col./code

2 23.1 JOB CATEGORY 3

(49-53)

KOS code

1 1 1 1 1 1
1__1__1__1__1__1

23.2 (i) How many people have been recruited into this job category in the last 12 months? (Give gross figure)

(54-57)

1 1 1 1 1
1__1__1__1__1

IF NO RECRUITS, GO TO Q23.4.

(ii) Is this figure exact or approximate?

(58)

- Exact ...1
- Approximate ...2
- Not applicable ...9

1 1
1__1

23.3 (i) Has there been any change in the mix of recruits into this job in the last 12 months? (PRECODES, MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED)

- 01. More men
- 02. More women
- 03. More adults
- 04. More youths
- 05. More trained
- 06. More untrained
- 07. More ex-YTS
- 10. Other
- 11. No change

(59-60)

1 1 1
1__1__1

(61-62)

1 1 1
1__1__1

(63-64)

1 1 1
1__1__1

(65-66)

1 1 1
1__1__1

ATTN CODER: code spare variables 99s.

23.4 What is the normal period of training after recruitment for this job? (Apart from induction into the firm)

(67)

- 1. Up to one week
- 2. Up to one month
- 3. Up to six months
- 4. Up to one year
- 5. Up to two years
- 6. Up to four years
- 7. No training required

1 1
1__1

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CARD	24.1 JOB CATEGORY 4	Col./code												
3	KOS code	(14-18)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1									
1	1	1	1	1	1									
	24.2 (i) How many people have been recruited into this job category in the last 12 months? (Give gross figure)	(19-22)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
1	1	1	1	1										
1	1	1	1	1										
	IF NO RECRUITS, GO TO Q24.4.													
	(ii) Is this figure exact or approximate?	(23)												
	Exact ...1 Approximate ...2 Not applicable ...9	<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1								
1	1													
1	1													
	24.3 (i) Has there been any change in the mix of recruits into this job in the last 12 months? (PRECODES, MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED)													
	01. More men 05. More trained	(24-25)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1						
1	1	1												
1	1	1												
	02. More women 06. More untrained	(26-27)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1						
1	1	1												
1	1	1												
	03. More adults 07. More ex-YTS	(28-29)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1						
1	1	1												
1	1	1												
	04. More youths 10. Other	(30-31)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1						
1	1	1												
1	1	1												
	11. No change													
	ATTN CODER: code spare variables 99s.													
	24.4 What is the normal period of training after recruitment for this job? (Apart from induction into the firm)													
	1. Up to one week 2. Up to one month 3. Up to six months 4. Up to one year 5. Up to two years 6. Up to four years 7. No training required	(32)												
		<table border="1"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1								
1	1													
1	1													

MISSING

PAGES

NOT

AVAILABLE

CARD	Col./code			
3	<p>25.1 Do you use formal tests of suitability when recruiting into this job (the First Job Category)? What about the other jobs?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1. Yes 2. No (GO TO Q25.4)</p> <p>25.2 Have you always done this or is it something which has been introduced in the last 12 months?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1. Have always done this(GO TO 25.4) 2. Recent change(GO TO 25.3)</p> <p>25.3 (IF TESTS RECENTLY ADOPTED) WHAT WAS THE REASON FOR ADOPTING TESTS? (INTERVIEWER: Probe as necessary to classify the answers as below.)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1. Change in external circumstances</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">2. Internal reappraisal of general ability</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">3. Internal reappraisal of specific skill</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">4. Both skill and general ability</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">5. Both circumstances and assessments of skill/ability needs</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">6. Need to screen similarly qualified people</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">7. Some other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">8. Don't know</p>			
	<p>J.1 (55)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.2 (56)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.3 (57)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.4 (58)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>
	<p>J.1 (59)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.2 (60)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.3 (61)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>J.4 (62)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>
	<p>(63)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>(64)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>(65)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>	<p>(66)</p> <hr/> <p>1__1 1__1</p>
	<p>J.1 ...1</p>	<p>J.2 ...1</p>	<p>J.3 ...1</p>	<p>J.4 ...1</p>
	<p>...2</p>	<p>...2</p>	<p>...2</p>	<p>...2</p>
	<p>...3</p>	<p>...3</p>	<p>...3</p>	<p>...3</p>
	<p>...4</p>	<p>...4</p>	<p>...4</p>	<p>...4</p>
	<p>...5</p>	<p>...5</p>	<p>...5</p>	<p>...5</p>
	<p>...6</p>	<p>...6</p>	<p>...6</p>	<p>...6</p>
	<p>...7</p>	<p>...7</p>	<p>...7</p>	<p>...7</p>
	<p>...8</p>	<p>...8</p>	<p>...8</p>	<p>...8</p>

CARD	COL. CODE			
3	25.0 (FOR ALL TEST USERS) ARE YOU LOOKING FOR SOME SPECIFIC SKILL OR FOR GENERAL ABILITY?			
	(67)	(68)	(69)	(70)
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	J.1	J.2	J.3	J.4
	...1	...1	...1	...1
	...2	...2	...2	...2
	...3	...3	...3	...3
	Specific skill General ability Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
	Don't know			
	(71)	(72)	(73)	(74)
	26. Do you require any formal educational or vocational qualifications for the job?			
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	J.1	J.2	J.3	J.4
	...1	...1	...1	...1
	...2	...2	...2	...2
	...3	...3	...3	...3
	Yes, required Yes, preferred No (GO TO Q.27)			
	(75)	(76)	(77)	(78)
	26.1 (IF YES) what are the minimum requirements?			
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	J.1	J.2	J.3	J.4
	...1	...1	...1	...1
	...2	...2	...2	...2
	...3	...3	...3	...3
	...4	...4	...4	...4
	'O' levels/'O' Grades/CSE's 'A' levels/Highers Vocational qualifications YTS certificate			
4	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	26.2 Has this always been the case, or is it something which has been introduced in the last 12 months?			
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	1__1	1__1	1__1	1__1
	J.1	J.2	J.3	J.4
	...1	...1	...1	...1
	...2	...2	...2	...2
	...3	...3	...3	...3
	Have always done this (GO TO Q.29) Recent change: change raised requirements Recent change: change lowered requirements			

CARD		COL.	CODE
4	26.3 (IF RECENT CHANGE) What caused you to introduce this change? Was it because of...	(9)	(10) (11) (12)
		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u>
		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u>
		J.1 J.2 J.3 J.4	J.1 J.2 J.3 J.4
	Changes in circumstances	...1	...1 ...1 ...1
	Need for more stringent screen of general ability	...2	...2 ...2 ...2
	Need to cut down the number of applicants: too many applying	...3	...3 ...3 ...3
	Scepticism about the value of educational qualifications for predicting work performance	...4	...4 ...4 ...4
	Some other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)	...5	...5 ...5 ...5
	Don't know	...8	...8 ...8 ...8

INTERVIEWER: THIS IS THE END OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FOUR JOB CATEGORIES. QUESTIONS ON RECRUITMENT OF EX-YTS TRAINEES TO ANY JOB FOLLOW.

RECRUITMENT OF EX-YTS TRAINEES

CARD		COL.	CODE
4	27. HAVE YOU RECRUITED ANY PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN ON A YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME OTHER THAN IN YOUR OWN ESTABLISHMENT?		
	Yes ...1	(13)	
	No ...2		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	Don't know ...3		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	28. IN YOUR VIEW, DOES YTS INCREASE THE EMPLOYABILITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE?		
	Yes ...1	(14)	
	No ...2		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	Can't say ...3		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	29. IS IT IN ANY WAY A MATTER OF POLICY TO RECRUIT EX-YTS TRAINEES?		
	Yes ...1	(15)	
	No ...2		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	Have no suitable jobs for them ...3		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	Don't know ...8		

CARD		COL. CODE
4	<p>30. (FOR THOSE WHO HAVE RECRUITED EX-YTS TRAINEES ONLY: OTHERS TO NEXT PAGE) WAS YOUR SELECTION OF THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE INFLUENCED BY YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE PLACEMENT PROVIDER/MANAGING AGENT WITH WHOM HE/SHE HAD BEEN DURING YTS?</p> <p>Yes, very much ...1 Yes, a little ...2 No, but knew something ...3 No, knew nothing ...4</p> <p>31. HAD YOU PREVIOUSLY RECRUITED EX-YTS TRAINEES FROM THIS EMPLOYER/TRAINING AGENCY?</p> <p>Regularly ...1 Occasionally ...2 Rarely ...3 Never ...4 Can't say ...8</p> <p>32. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN ON ANY EX-YTS TRAINEES AT THE REQUEST OF ANOTHER EMPLOYER WHO HAD HAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM IN THE YTS SCHEME?</p> <p>Yes; all taken ...1 Yes; most taken ...2 Yes; some taken ...3 No; none ...4 Don't know ...8</p> <p>33. ON THE LAST OCCASION, DID YOU ASK EX-YTS TRAINEES TO PROVIDE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING?</p> <p>Log-book: Yes ...1 No ...2 Didn't know they exist ...3 Can't say ...8</p> <p>Certificate: Yes ...1 No ...2 Didn't know they exist ...3 Can't say ...8</p> <p>Reference from provider/H.A.: Yes ...1 No ...2 Didn't know they exist ...3 Can't say ...8</p>	<p>(16)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(17)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(18)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(19)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(20)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>(21)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>

LABOUR SHORTAGES

CARD	COL. CODE
4	
34. HAVE YOU HAD ANY DIFFICULTY IN RECRUITING ANY TYPE OF WORKER IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS?	(22)
Yes ...1	<u>1</u> 1
No (GO TO Q.35) ...2	1 <u>1</u>
34.1 (IF YES) WHAT TYPES? (ASK FOR UP TO TWO TYPES)	KOS(23-27)
1.	<u>1</u> 1 1 1 1 1
	1 <u>1</u> 1 <u>1</u> 1 <u>1</u> 1
2.	KOS(28-32)
	<u>1</u> 1 1 1 1 1
	1 <u>1</u> 1 <u>1</u> 1 <u>1</u> 1
34.2 WHAT WERE THE REASONS FOR DIFFICULTY IN RECRUITING THESE TYPES OF WORKERS? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED)	
Lack of applicants ...1	(33)
...9	<u>1</u> 1
	1 <u>1</u>
Lack of suitably qualified applicants ...1	(34)
...9	<u>1</u> 1
	1 <u>1</u>
Lack of suitably experienced applicants ...1	(35)
...9	<u>1</u> 1
	1 <u>1</u>
Applicants unwilling to accept wage offered ...1	(36)
...9	<u>1</u> 1
	1 <u>1</u>
Applicants unwilling to travel ...1	(37)
...9	<u>1</u> 1
	1 <u>1</u>
Other (SPECIFY)	(38)
a) ...1	<u>1</u> 1
...9	1 <u>1</u>
	(39)
b) ...1	<u>1</u> 1
...9	1 <u>1</u>
	(40)
c) ...1	<u>1</u> 1
...9	1 <u>1</u>

CARD		COL. CODE
4	<p>35. DO YOU THINK OF THE "LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED" (UNEMPLOYED FOR OVER 12 MONTHS) AS A SPECIAL CATEGORY OF PEOPLE IN THE LABOUR MARKET?</p> <p>Yes1</p> <p>No2</p> <p>Hard to say8</p> <p>36. WOULD YOU, OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, BE MORE LIKELY TO HIRE PEOPLE WHOM YOU KNEW HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED FOR A LONG TIME, OR LESS LIKELY, OR WOULDN'T IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE?</p> <p>More likely1</p> <p>Less likely2</p> <p>No difference3</p> <p>Depends on why they'd been unemployed4</p> <p>Depends on their ages5</p> <p>Depends on their skills6</p> <p>Don't know/ daft question, etc.8</p>	<p>(41)</p> <p><u>1</u> 1</p> <p>1 <u>1</u></p> <p>(42)</p> <p><u>1</u> 1</p> <p>1 <u>1</u></p>

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THE YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME

INTERVIEWER: Check with the recorded answer on the SETTING UP PHONE CALL page.

According to our record, you :-

- A. used YWS both last year and this year (GO TO Q.A1. BELOW)
- B. used YWS last year but not this year
(GO TO Q.B1, PAGE 22)
- C. did not use YWS last year but are using/have used it
this year (GO TO Q.C1, PAGE 24)
- D. have never used YWS (GO TO Q.D1, PAGE 30)
- E. used YWS before last year but not since
(GO TO Q.E1, PAGE 33)
- F. are institutionally barred from taking part in YWS
(GO TO THE SECTION ON YTS, PAGE T01)

Is this correct? (IF NO, IDENTIFY THE CORRECT CASE, AND CODE ACCORDINGLY AFTER THE INTERVIEW) (NB Last year and this year refer to at the times of the first round interview and the second round interview respectively.)

A1. CAN YOU PLEASE GIVE ME DETAILS OF THE JOBS YOUR YOUNG PEOPLE SUBSIDISED UNDER THE YWS SCHEME ARE DOING, HOW MANY THERE ARE, AND WHAT THEIR WAGES ARE? IF THE WAGE VARIES FROM WEEK TO WEEK, GIVE THE TARGET AVERAGE -- i.e. WHAT THE EMPLOYEE WAS TOLD WOULD BE HIS AVERAGE WAGE WHEN HIRED. PLEASE LIST BY JOB CATEGORY.

JOB	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	WEEKLY WAGE	WEEKLY HOURS
1.....			
2.....			
3.....			
4.....			

CARD		Col./code
4		
	TOTAL NUMBERS	(43-44) 1 1 1
	MANUAL NUMBERS	(45-46) 1 1 1
	NON-MANUAL NUMBERS	(47-48) 1 1 1
	NUMBERS PAID BELOW MAXIMUM	(49-50) 1 1 1
	NUMBERS PAID $\times 5$ BELOW MAXIMUM	(51-52) 1 1 1
	AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK	(53-54) 1 1 1

CARD		Col.	Code						
4	<p>A2. HOW MANY OF YOUR YWS EMPLOYEES WERE FORMERLY WITH YOU ON YTS? PLEASE GIVE SEPARATE FIGURES FOR THOSE FROM THIS ESTABLISHMENT AND THOSE FROM ANOTHER ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SAME ORGANISATION. (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p>								
	This establishment.....	(55-56)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1							
1	1	1							
	Another establishment.....	(57-58)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1							
1	1	1							
	<p>A3. HAVE YOU HEARD THAT THE YWS WILL BE PHASED OUT BY 1987?</p>								
	<p>YES ...1 NO (IF NO, EXPLAIN) ...2</p>	(59)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1		
1	1								
1	1								
	<p>A4. IF YWS WERE CONTINUING, WOULD YOU HAVE GONE ON RECRUITING YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER THE SCHEME? (IF YES) MORE, FEWER, OR THE SAME NUMBER?</p>								
	<p>Yes. Recruited more ...1 Yes. Recruited the same number ...2 Yes. Recruited fewer ...3 No. Wouldn't continue ...4 Don't know ...8</p>	(60)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1		
1	1								
1	1								
	<p>A5. HOW WILL YOUR RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 18 AND UNDER CHANGE ONCE THE YWS IS PHASED OUT? WILL YOU TAKE FEWER, MORE OR THE SAME?</p>								
	<p>More ...1 The same ...2 Fewer ...3 Don't know ...8</p>	(61)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1		
1	1								
1	1								
	<p>A6. WILL YOU MAKE MORE USE OF YTS?</p>								
	<p>Yes ...1 No ...2 Don't know ...8</p>	(62)	<table border="0"> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> </table>	1	1	1	1		
1	1								
1	1								

CARD	95	Col.	Code
4	<p>A7. (IF FEWER TO A5.) WILL YOU TAKE ON OTHER TYPES OF OLDER WORKERS INSTEAD? (IF YES) WOULD THEY BE MOSTLY ...</p>	(63)	1 1
	Yes, part-time women ...1		1 1
	Yes, full-time women ...2	(64)	
	Yes, part-time men ...3		1 1
	Yes, full-time men ...4		1 1
	No, would not take more adults ...5	(65)	
	Don't know ...8		1 1
	<i>Code all spare variables 95.</i>	(66)	1 1
			1 1
	<p>A8. WHAT WAGE WILL YOU PAY TO, SAY, 17-YEAR-OLDS IN FUTURE? WILL IT BE THE SAME, LESS OR MORE THAN YOU PAID TO THOSE WHOM YOU HAD ON YWS? ASSUMING THAT THEY WERE DOING THE SAME SORT OF WORK AND MAKING ALLOWANCE FOR INFLATION.</p>		
	The same ...1	(67)	1 1
	Less ...2		1 1
	More ...3		
	Don't know ...4		
	<p>A9. HAVE YOU HAD ANY YOUNG PEOPLE WHOM YOU HAVE KEPT ON AS REGULAR EMPLOYEES AFTER THEIR PERIOD ON YWS HAS COME TO AN END? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p>	(68-69)	1 1 1
			1 1 1
	<p>A9.1 ARE THERE SOME WHOM YOU WOULD HAVE WANTED TO KEEP ON IF THEY HAD BEEN WILLING TO STAY? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p>	(70-71)	1 1 1
			1 1 1
	<p>A9.2 HAVE ANY LEFT OF THEIR OWN ACCORD, EVEN THOUGH YOU WERE WILLING TO KEEP THEM? (IF YES) DID YOU HAVE TO REPLACE THEM OR COULD YOU MANAGE QUITE WELL WITHOUT THEM?</p>	(72)	
	None have left ...1		1 1
	Some left, all had to be replaced ...2		1 1
	Some left, some had to be replaced ...3		
	Some left, none had to be replaced ...4		
	Can't remember ...8		

135

CARD		Col.	Code
4	<p>A10. HAVE ANY OF YOUR YOUNG PEOPLE ON APPRENTICESHIPS OR TRAINEESHIPS BEEN SUPPORTED BY YWS? (=OR>2 YEARS)</p>	(73)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		
	<p>No ...2</p>		
	<p>A11. APART FROM THOSE ON APPRENTICESHIPS, DO YOU GIVE TRAINING TO OTHER YOUNG PEOPLE ON YWS?</p>	(74)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		
	<p>No (GO TO PAGE 35 Q.98) ...2</p>		
	<p>A12. (IF YES) ANY OF IT OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING?</p>	(75)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		
	<p>No ...2</p>		
	<p>A12.1 IS ANY OF IT OUTSIDE THE ESTABLISHMENT, INVOLVING DAY-RELEASE OR BLOCK RELEASE? (IF YES) FOR HOW MANY DAYS/WEEKS? (COUNT 20 DAYS=4 WEEKS=1 MONTH)</p>	(76)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Yes, <1 month ...1</p>		
	<p>Yes, 1 to 3 months ...2</p>		
	<p>Yes, >3 months ...3</p>		
	<p>No ...4</p>		
	<p>A13. (IF YES TO A11.) WILL THE PHASING OUT OF THE YWS HAVE ANY EFFECT ON YOUR TRAINING?</p>	(77)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Amount will be increased ...1</p>		
	<p>Amount will be reduced ...2</p>		
	<p>No change ...3</p>		
	<p>NOW GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35.</p>		

YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME: SECTION B
FOR EMPLOYERS USING YWS LAST YEAR BUT NOT NOW

CARD		Col.	Code
5			
	B1. HAVE YOU HAD ANY YOUNG PEOPLE WHOM YOU HAVE KEPT ON AS REGULAR EMPLOYEES AFTER THEIR PERIOD ON YWS HAS COME TO AN END? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)	(5-6)	_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1
	B1.1 ARE THERE SOME WHOM YOU WOULD HAVE WANTED TO KEEP ON IF THEY HAD BEEN WILLING TO STAY? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)	(7-8)	_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1
	B1.2 HAVE ANY LEFT OF THEIR OWN ACCORD, EVEN THOUGH YOU WERE WILLING TO KEEP THEM? (IF YES) DID YOU HAVE TO REPLACE THEM OR COULD YOU MANAGE QUITE WELL WITHOUT THEM?	(9)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	None have left ...1 Some left, all had to be replaced ...2 Some left, some had to be replaced ...3 Some left, none had to be replaced ...4 Can't remember ...8		
	B2. WHY HAVE YOU STOPPED USING YWS?		
	Administrative hassle ...1 ...9	(10)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	Young people available for £50 not much good ...1 ...9	(11)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	Time consuming to supervise young people ...1 ...9	(12)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	YTS used to replace YWS ...1 ...9	(13)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	No one in the eligible age category ...1 ...9	(14)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	Other (SPECIFY) a) ...1 ...9	(15)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	b) ...1 ...9	(16)	_____ 1 1 1 1
	c) ...1 ...9	(17)	_____ 1 1 1 1

CARD		Col.	Code
5	<p>B3. YOU MAY KNOW THAT THE YWS IS BEING PHASED OUT, BUT IF IT WERE CONTINUING, WOULD YOU HAVE BEEN LIKELY TO USE IT AGAIN IN THE FUTURE?</p>	(19)	
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		<p>1__1</p>
	<p>No ...2</p>		<p>1__1</p>
	<p>Don't know ...8</p>		
	<p>B4. IF YOU HIRE ANY 17-YEAR-OLDS IN FUTURE, WHAT WAGE WILL YOU PAY THEM? WILL IT BE THE SAME, LESS, OR MORE THAN YOU PAID TO THOSE WHOM YOU HAD ON YWS? ASSUMING THAT THEY WERE DOING THE SAME SORT OF WORK AND MAKING ALLOWANCE FOR INFLATION.</p>	(20)	
	<p>The same ...1</p>		<p>1__1</p>
	<p>Less ...2</p>		<p>1__1</p>
	<p>More ...3</p>		
	<p>Unlikely to hire 17-year-olds ...4</p>		
	<p>Don't know ...5</p>		
	<p>NOW GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35.</p>		

YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME: SECTION C

FOR EMPLOYERS WHO STARTED TAKING YMS SUBSIDY IN LAST YEAR

C1. CAN YOU PLEASE GIVE ME DETAILS OF THE JOBS YOUR YOUNG PEOPLE SUBSIDISED UNDER THE YWS SCHEME ARE DOING, HOW MANY THERE ARE, AND WHAT THEIR WAGES ARE? IF THE WAGE VARIES FROM WEEK TO WEEK, GIVE THE TARGET AVERAGE -- i.e. WHAT THE EMPLOYEE WAS TOLD WOULD BE HIS AVERAGE WAGE WHEN HIRED. PLEASE LIST BY JOB CATEGORY.

JOB	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	WEEKLY WAGE	WEEKLY HOURS
1.....
2.....
3.....
4.....

CARD	Col./code
5	
TOTAL NUMBERS	(21-22) 1 1 1 1 1 1
MANUAL NUMBERS	(23-24) 1 1 1 1 1 1
NON-MANUAL NUMBERS	(25-26) 1 1 1 1 1 1
NUMBERS PAID BELOW MAXIMUM	(27-28) 1 1 1 1 1 1
NUMBERS PAID \times 5 BELOW MAXIMUM	(29-30) 1 1 1 1 1 1
AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK	(31-32) 1 1 1 1 1 1
C2. HOW FAR WERE THESE JOBS BEING DONE BY YOUNG PEOPLE ALREADY BEFORE THE SUBSIDY WAS AVAILABLE?	(33)
Not at all	...1 1 1
Partly	...2 1 1
Entirely	...3
Can't say	...4

CARD		Col.	Code
5	<p>C3. IF THE YWS SUBSIDY HAD NOT BEEN AVAILABLE, WOULD YOU HAVE TAKEN ON THESE YOUNG PEOPLE?</p> <p>Yes ...1</p> <p>No (GO TO Q.C5) ...2</p> <p>C4. (IF YES) WOULD IT HAVE BEEN THE SAME NUMBER OR FEWER?</p> <p>Same ...1</p> <p>Fewer ...2</p> <p>Can't say ...3</p> <p>C5. HOW MANY OF YOUR YWS EMPLOYEES WERE FORMERLY WITH YOU ON YTS? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p> <p>C6. HAVE YOU HEARD THAT THE YWS WILL BE PHASED OUT BY 1987?</p> <p>Yes ...1</p> <p>No (IF NO, EXPLAIN) ...2</p> <p>C7. IF YWS WERE CONTINUING, WOULD YOU HAVE GONE ON RECRUITING YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER THE SCHEME? (IF YES) MORE, OR FEWER OR THE SAME NUMBER?</p> <p>Yes. Recruited more ...1</p> <p>Yes. Recruited the same number ...2</p> <p>Yes. Recruited fewer ...3</p> <p>No. Wouldn't continue ...4</p> <p>Don't know ...8</p>	<p>(34)</p> <p>(35)</p> <p>(36-37)</p> <p>(38)</p> <p>(39)</p>	<p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>

CARD		Col.	Code
5	<p>C8. HOW WILL YOUR RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 18 AND UNDER CHANGE ONCE THE YWS IS PHASED OUT? WILL YOU TAKE FEWER, MORE OR THE SAME?</p>	(40)	
	More ...1		1__1
	The same ...2		1__1
	Fewer ...3		
	Don't know ...8		
	C9. WILL YOU MAKE MORE USE OF YTS?	(41)	
	Yes ...1		1__1
	No ...2		1__1
	Don't know ...8		
	<p>C10. (IF FEWER TO C8.) WILL YOU TAKE ON OTHER TYPES OF OLDER WORKERS INSTEAD? (IF YES) WOULD THEY BE MOSTLY ...</p>	(42)	
	Yes, part-time women ...1		1__1
	Yes, full-time women ...2		1__1
	Yes, part-time men ...3		
	Yes, full-time men ...4		
	No, would not take more adults ...5		
	Don't know ...8		
	<p>C11. WHAT WAGE WILL YOU PAY TO, SAY, 17-YEAR-OLDS IN FUTURE? WILL IT BE THE SAME, LESS OR MORE THAN YOU PAID TO THOSE WHOM YOU HAD ON YWS? ASSUMING THAT THEY WERE DOING THE SAME SORT OF WORK AND MAKING ALLOWANCE FOR INFLATION.</p>	(43)	
	The same ...1		1__1
	Less ...2		1__1
	More ...3		
	Don't know ...8		

CARD	?	Col.	Code
5	<p>C12. DID TAKING PEOPLE UNDER THE SCHEME ACTUALLY INVOLVE REDUCING WAGES TO GET UNDER THE YWS MAXIMUM, OR HAVE YOU NEVER EMPLOYED PEOPLE OF THAT AGE GROUP IN RECENT YEARS? (MAKE CLEAR THAT "REDUCING" INCLUDES HOLDING WAGES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE DOWN WHEN WAGES FOR OTHER WORKERS WERE RISING.)</p>	(44)	
	Did not employ ...1		1__1
	Did employ and it DID involve a reduction ...2		1__1
	Did employ and it involved NO reduction ...3		
	Hard to say ...4		
	<p>C13. WHAT ARE THE MAIN ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE YWS SCHEME FOR YOUR ESTABLISHMENT? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)</p>		
	ADVANTAGES:		
	<p>Reduces labour costs (ANSWER OFFERED) ...1 (NOT OFFERED OR N.A.) ...9</p>	(45)	1__1 1__1
	Brings new blood into workplace ...1 ...9	(46)	1__1 1__1
	Compares favourably with YTS ...1 ...9	(47)	1__1 1__1
	Helps with training costs which couldn't afford otherwise ...1 ...9	(48)	1__1 1__1
	Can screen potential long-term employees ...1 ...9	(49)	1__1 1__1
	Hard to say. No reasons offered ...1 ...9	(50)	1__1 1__1
	Other advantages (SPECIFY) a) ...1 ...9	(51)	1__1 1__1
	b) ...1 ...9	(52)	1__1 1__1
	c) ...1 ...9	(53)	1__1 1__1

CARD		Col.	Code
5	DISADVANTAGES		
	Administrative hassle	...1	(54)
		...9	1__1
	Young people willing to come for £50 not much good	...1	(55)
		...9	1__1
	None specified	...1	(56)
		...9	1__1
	Other (SPECIFY)		(57)
	a)	...1	1__1
		...9	1__1
	b)	...1	(58)
		...9	1__1
	c)	...1	(59)
		...9	1__1
	C14. WHEN YOU TOOK ON YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER THE YWS SCHEME, WAS IT IN PREFERENCE TO TAKING ON SOME OTHER KIND OF WORKER? IF SO, WHAT AGE OR SEX GROUP MIGHT YOU HAVE TAKEN?		(60)
	No alternative to young people	...1	1__1
	Would have resorted to other alternative	...2	1__1
	Hard to say	...3	
	(IF WOULD HAVE TAKEN ALTERNATIVE, SPECIFY)		(61)
	Full-time	...1	1__1
	Part-time	...2	1__1
	Either	...3	1__1
	Temporary	...1	(62)
	Ordinary, Permanent	...2	1__1
	Either	...3	1__1
	Women	...1	(63)
	Men	...2	1__1
	Either	...3	1__1

CARD		Col.	Code
5	<p>C15. HAVE YOU BEEN MAKING USE OF THE YWS TO SUPPORT ANY YOUNG PEOPLE ON APPRENTICESHIPS OR TRAINEESHIPS? (<=OR>2 YEARS)</p>	(64)	
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		1 1
	<p>No ...2</p>		1 1
	<p>C16. APART FROM THOSE ON APPRENTICESHIPS, DO YOU GIVE TRAINING TO OTHER YOUNG PEOPLE ON YWS?</p>	(65)	
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		1 1
	<p>No (GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35) ...2</p>		1 1
	<p>C17. (IF YES TO LAST QUESTION) WAS ANY OF IT OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING?</p>	(66)	
	<p>Yes ...1</p>		1 1
	<p>No (GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35) ...2</p>		1 1
	<p>C17.1 IS ANY OF IT OUTSIDE THE ESTABLISHMENT, INVOLVING DAY-RELEASE OR BLOCK RELEASE? (IF YES) FOR HOW MANY DAYS/WEEKS? (COUNT 20 DAYS=4 WEEKS=1 MONTH)</p>	(67)	
	<p>Yes, <1 month ...1</p>		1 1
	<p>Yes, 1 to 3 months ...2</p>		1 1
	<p>Yes, >3 months ...3</p>		
	<p>No ...4</p>		
	<p>C18. (IF YES TO C16.) WILL THE PHASING OUT OF THE YWS HAVE ANY EFFECT ON YOUR TRAINING?</p>	(68)	
	<p>Amount will be increased ...1</p>		1 1
	<p>Amount will be reduced ...2</p>		1 1
	<p>No change ...3</p>		
	<p>NOW GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35.</p>		

CARD		Col.	Code
6	<p>D4. (FOR THOSE NEVER HEARD OF YWS) IF YOU COULD RECEIVE A WAGE SUBSIDY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, WOULD YOU EMPLOY MORE OF THEM THAN YOU DO NOW?</p>	(7)	<p>--- 1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Yes (GO TO Q.D7) ...1</p>		
	<p>No ...2</p>		
	<p>Can't say (GO TO Q.D7) ...8</p>		
	<p>D5. (IF NOT) WHY NOT?</p>	(8)	<p>--- 1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>No job for young people ...1</p>		
	<p>No more jobs for young people than currently exist ...2</p>		
	<p>General business outlook not good -- even large subsidy would not help ...3</p>		
	<p>Other (SPECIFY)</p>		
	<p>a) ...4</p>		
	<p>b) ...5</p>		
	<p>c) ...6</p>		
	<p>NOW GO TO Q.D6.</p>		

CARD	Col.	Code
6		
D6. (IF NO TO Q.D4) WOULD IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE IF THE SUBSIDY WAS LARGER?		
Yes ...1	(9)	1 1
No (GO TO Q.D8) ...2		1 1
D7. (IF YES TO Q.D4 OR TO Q.D6) HOW LARGE SHOULD THE SUBSIDY BE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE? (STATE IN POUNDS PER WEEK)		
	(10-11)	1 1 1 1 1 1
D8. (EXPLAIN THAT THE YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME GIVES A SUBSIDY, BUT ONLY ON THE CONDITION THAT THE WEEKLY GROSS WAGE IS UNDER £50.) THE SCHEME WILL BE PHASED OUT BY 1987. WOULD YOU MAKE USE OF A WAGE SUBSIDY SCHEME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IF IT WAS RESURRECTED, PERHAPS IN A MODIFIED FORM?		
No ...1	(12)	
Yes, but only if the £50 threshold were raised or removed ...2		1 1
Yes, even if it were much in its present form ...3		1 1
Don't know ...8		
NOW GO TO Q.98, PAGE 35.		

THE YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME: SECTION E

FOR FIRMS INVOLVED IN YWS BEFORE 1984/5 INTERVIEW BUT NOT SINCE

CARD		Col.	Code
6	E1. WHY HAVE YOU STOPPED USING YWS?	(13)	1 1
	Administrative hassle ...1		1 1
	Young people available for £50 ...9	(14)	1 1
	not much good ...1		1 1
	Time consuming to supervise ...9	(15)	1 1
	young people ...1		1 1
	YTS used to replace YWS ...9	(16)	1 1
	No suitable potential employee ...1	(17)	1 1
	Other (SPECIFY) ...9	(18)	1 1
	a) ...1		1 1
	b) ...9	(19)	1 1
	c) ...1	(20)	1 1
			1 1
	E2. DO YOU HAVE ANY YOUNG EMPLOYEES WHO MIGHT BE ELIGIBLE FOR YWS?		
	Yes ...1	(21)	1 1
	No ...2		1 1
	Not sure, think so ...3		
	Not sure, think not ...4		
	No idea ...8		

CARD		Col.	Code
6	<p>E3. YOU MAY KNOW THAT THE YWS IS BEING PHASED OUT, BUT IF IT WERE CONTINUING, WOULD YOU HAVE BEEN LIKELY TO USE IT AGAIN IN THE FUTURE?</p> <p>Yes ...1</p> <p>No ...2</p> <p>Don't know ...8</p> <p>E4. IF YOU HIRE ANY 17-YEAR-OLDS IN FUTURE, WHAT WAGE WILL YOU PAY THEM? WILL IT BE THE SAME, LESS, OR MORE THAN YOU PAID TO THOSE WHOM YOU HAD ON YWS? ASSUMING THAT THEY WERE DOING THE SAME SORT OF WORK AND MAKING ALLOWANCE FOR INFLATION.</p> <p>The same ...1</p> <p>Less ...2</p> <p>More ...3</p> <p>Unlikely to hire 17-year-olds ...4</p> <p>Don't know ...5</p> <p><i>NOW GO TO Q.98, THE NEXT PAGE.</i></p>	(22)	<p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>(23)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p>

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SECTION 4: YTS INVOLVEMENT

(ASK ALL FIRMS)

CARD		COL.	CODE
6	<p>101. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN PART IN YTS?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Yes (GO TO Q.102) ...1</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">No: Non-participant ...2 (GO TO BLUE SECTION)</p>	(27)	<p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p> <p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p>
	<p>102. COULD YOU TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE BEEN A MANAGING AGENT/SPONSOR OR JUST A WORK EXPERIENCE PROVIDER FOR THE 1984-85 AND/OR 1985-86 FINANCIAL YEARS (APRIL-MARCH)?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Managing Agent/sponsor 1984-85 ...1</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Managing Agent/sponsor 1985-86 ...2</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Managing Agent/sponsor 1984-86 ...3</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Only Placement provider 1984-85 ...4</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Only Placement provider 1985-86 ...5</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Only Placement provider 1984-86 ...6</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Changed from Managing Agt/sponsor to Placement provider or vice versa at some time in 1984-86 ...7</p>	(28)	<p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p> <p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p>
	<p>103. DO YOU HAVE ANY YTS TRAINEES AT THE MOMENT?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Yes: Participant ...1</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">NO: (Go to Next Question) ...2</p>	(29)	<p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p> <p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p>
	<p>104. SO HAVE YOU DECIDED NOT TO HAVE ANY MORE YTS TRAINEES?</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Yes: Withdrawer ...1</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">No: "Sleeper" ...2</p>	(30)	<p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p> <p style="padding-left: 100px;">1__1</p>

-NOW:1. Answer rest of yellow section as appropriate.
 THEN:a) All work experience providers, current and sleepers to WE Section (white) (Yes to Q.103 or No to Q.104)
 b) All withdrawers to Withdrawers section (green) (Yes to Q.104)
 c) All never-participants to Non-participants section (blue) (No to Q.101)
 MAs which are not work experience providers finish after the yellow section.

THIS PAGE: MANAGING AGENTS/SPONSORS ONLY

CARD	COL.	CODE
6		
105. HOW MANY PLACES WERE YOU ALLOCATED AND HOW MANY WERE FILLED FOR THE LAST TWO ROUNDS -- SINCE THIS MARCH, AND THE PRECEDING 12 MONTHS?		
1984-85	(31-33)	
No. allocated . . . , . . . , . . .		1 1 1 1
		1 1 1 1
No. filled at end Sept. . . . , . . . , . . .	(34-36)	
		1 1 1 1
		1 1 1 1
1985-86	(37-39)	
No. allocated . . . , . . . , . . .		1 1 1 1
		1 1 1 1
No. filled at end Sept. . . . , . . . , . . .	(40-42)	
		1 1 1 1
		1 1 1 1
106. DO/DID YOU OFFER WORK EXPERIENCE TRAINING YOURSELF WITHIN THIS ESTABLISHMENT?		
Yes . . . 1	(43)	1 1
No . . . 2		1 1
107. WHAT IS/WAS YOUR MODE?	(44)	
A . . . 1		1 1
B1 . . . 2		1 1
B2 . . . 3		
108. DO/DID YOU PROVIDE INTERNALLY ANY OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING IN SPECIFIC VOCATIONAL SKILLS FOR YOUR YTS TRAINEES?		
Yes . . . 1	(45)	1 1
No . . . 2		1 1
109. DO/DID YOU PROVIDE FORMAL OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING IN PERSONAL AND SOCIAL SKILLS (THE SO-CALLED "CORE SKILLS") (FORMAL MEANS NOT JUST AD HOC COUNSELLING)		
Yes . . . 1	(46)	1 1
No . . . 2		1 1
110. (IF ANSWER TO BOTH QUESTIONS Q108 & Q109 IS "YES") ON WHICH DO YOU PUT THE GREATER EMPHASIS?		
Vocational . . . 1	(47)	
Personal/Social . . . 2		1 1
Both equally . . . 3		1 1
Don't know . . . 8		

THIS PAGE: PLACEMENT PROVIDERS ONLY

CARD	COL.	CODE
6		
<p>111. WHAT IS THE NAME OF YOUR MANAGING AGENT/SPONSOR AND WHAT MODE OF SCHEME IS IT?</p>	(48)	
<p>(a) Name Mode A ...1 Mode B1 ...2 Mode B2 ...3 Don't know ...4</p>		<p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>IF THERE IS MORE THAN ONE MANAGING AGENT/SPONSOR, PLEASE GIVE SAME DETAILS:</p>	(49)	
<p>(b) Name Mode A ...1 Mode B1 ...2 Mode B2 ...3 Don't know...4</p>		<p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>(c) Name Mode A ...1 Mode B1 ...2 Mode B2 ...3 Don't know...4</p>	(50)	<p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>112. HOW MANY PLACES DID YOU AGREE TO OFFER MANAGING AGENT/SPONSOR FOR THE 1984-85 AND THE 1985-86 ROUNDS AND HOW MANY WERE ACTUALLY FILLED?</p>		
<p>(INTERVIEWERS: include those on off-the-job training at moment)</p>		
<p>1984-85</p>	(51-53)	<p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>(i) agreed....,....,....</p>	(54-56)	
<p>(ii) filled (at end Sept.)....,....,....</p>		<p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>1985-86</p>	(57-59)	
<p>(i) agreed....,....,....</p>		<p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>(ii) filled (at end Sept.)....,....,....</p>	(60-62)	<p>_____ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>113. DO YOU ACTIVELY TRY TO FIND YOUR OWN YTS TRAINEES DIRECTLY, OR DO YOU JUST SELECT FROM THE PEOPLE THE MANAGING AGENT OR THE CAREERS OFFICE SEND YOU?</p>		
<p>Actively seek all ...1 Actively seek some ...2 Respond only ...3 Not sure ...4</p>	(63)	<p>_____ 1 1 1 1</p>

THIS PAGE: ALL PROVIDERS OF WORK EXPERIENCE OR VOCATIONAL TRAINING: CURRENT OR FORMER (i.e. all Placement Providers and Man Agts that answered Yes to Q.106 and/or Yes to Q.108)

CARD	COL.	CODE
6		
114. WHAT OCCUPATIONAL AREAS ARE YOUR TRAINEES WORKING IN? (MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)		
Admin/Clerical	...1 ...9	(64) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Sales/Personal Service	...1 ...9	(65) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Manufacturing/assembly	...1 ...9	(66) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Maintenance	...1 ...9	(67) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Community/health services	...1 ...9	(68) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Agriculture	...1 ...9	(69) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Other manual	...1 ...9	(70) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1
Other non-manual	...1 ...9	(71) 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 1

CARD

7

COL/CODE

SOCIAL REASONS

Seriousness of youth employment problem

...1
...2

(5) _____
1 1
1 1

Wanted to do something to help young people

...1
...2

(6) _____
1 1
1 1

Firm has obligation to the industry to play its part in training

...1
...2

(7) _____
1 1
1 1

Firm has obligation to society to play part in dealing with serious social problem

...1
...2

(8) _____
1 1
1 1

Other social reasons (SPECIFY)

...1
...2

(9) _____
1 1
1 1

WE104. HERE IS A LIST OF SOME OF THE REASONS COMMONLY GIVEN FOR TAKING PART IN YTS. HOW IMPORTANT WAS EACH OF THEM IN YOUR //JOINING // CONTINUING INVOLVEMENT // IN YTS? (SHOW SCALE CARD AND READ ITEMS IN TURN)

VERY IMPT ← → NOT IMPT

a) Good for firm's image

1 2 3 4 5 (10) _____
1 1
1 1

b) Firm has obligation to play a part in dealing with the youth unemployment problem

1 2 3 4 5 (11) _____
1 1
1 1

c) State help with firm's training budget

1 2 3 4 5 (12) _____
1 1
1 1

d) Screening method to find good employees

1 2 3 4 5 (13) _____
1 1
1 1

e) Trainees work contribution saves on labour costs

1 2 3 4 5 (14) _____
1 1
1 1

CARD		COL/CODE
7	<p>WE105. (WORK EXPERIENCE PROVIDERS ONLY) COULD YOU TELL ME WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT YTS? (SHOW SCALE CARD)</p> <p>AGREE STRONGLY ← → DISAGREE STRONGLY</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 (15) _____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>a) Employers should not take on YTS trainees unless they have a good prospect of keeping them as permanent employees</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 (16) _____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>b) There are problems in coping with the poor quality and poor attitudes of trainees</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 (17) _____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>c) YTS trainees don't have the same degree of commitment to the firm as employees</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 (18) _____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>d) YTS trainees have shown a greater willingness and ability to learn than one would have expected</p> <p>DON'T KNOW/CAN'T SAY CODED AS "8"</p> <p>WE106. IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, APART FROM YTS TRAINEES, DID YOU RECRUIT ANY 16 AND 17-YEAR-OLD SCHOOL LEAVERS?</p> <p>(19)</p> <p>Yes ...1 _____ 1 1</p> <p>No ...2 _____ 1 1</p> <p>WE106.1 DO YOU KEEP A SEPARATE ENTRANCE FOR APPRENTICES/TRAINEES, DISTINCT FROM YTS TRAINEES? IF SO DO YOU EXPECT THIS WILL CONTINUE?</p> <p>(20)</p> <p>Yes, and will continue ...1 _____ Yes but may change ...2 _____ No ...3 _____ 1 1 1 1</p> <p>WE106.2 WHAT ABOUT SEPARATE RECRUITMENT OF NON-APPRENTICE EMPLOYEES? DO YOU KEEP THAT AS A MATTER OF POLICY? IF SO, DO YOU EXPECT THIS WILL CONTINUE?</p> <p>(21)</p> <p>Yes, and will continue ...1 _____ Yes but may change ...2 _____ No ...3 _____ 1 1 1 1</p>	

CARD

COL/CODE

7

WE107. WHAT SELECTION PROCEDURES (IF ANY) DO YOU USE WHEN DECIDING WHICH YTS TRAINEES TO TAKE?(MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)

Qualifications	...1	(33)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

Interview	...1	(34)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

Tests	...1	(35)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

Documents/references	...1	(36)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

Other	...1	(37)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

None/Accept all	...1	(38)	_____
	...2		1 1
			1__1

WE108.(FOR THOSE ON THEIR SECOND OR LATER ROUNDS ONLY) HAVE YOU BECOME MORE CAREFUL -- MORE CHOOSY -- OR LESS CAREFUL, LESS CHOOSY WITH SUCCESSIVE INTAKES?

More choosy	...1	(39)	_____
-------------	------	------	-------

Less choosy	...2		1 1
			1__1

No change	...3		
-----------	------	--	--

Hard to say	...8		
-------------	------	--	--

This year the first year	...9		
--------------------------	------	--	--

WE109. HAVE YOU EVER HAD A POLICY OF GIVING SOME OF YOUR YTS TRAINEES EMPLOYEE STATUS AT THE BEGINNING OR DURING THEIR YTS YEAR? DO YOU DO SO NOW, OR HAVE YOU CHANGED YOUR POLICY?

Yes, from this round only	...1	(40)	_____
---------------------------	------	------	-------

Yes, since earlier rounds	...2		1 1
---------------------------	------	--	-----

Yes, in the past but not now	...3		1__1
------------------------------	------	--	------

No (GO DIRECT TO WE110)	...4		
-------------------------	------	--	--

CARD			COL / CODE
7			
WE109.1 DO/DID YOU MAKE THEM EMPLOYEES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THEIR YTS YEAR?			
	EARLIER ROUND	THIS ROUND	
Some	A	A	
None	B	B	(41)
	AA	...1	
	AB	...2	<u>1</u> 1
	BA	...3	1 <u>1</u>
	BB	...4	
	AO(SLEEPERS)	...5	
	BO(SLEEPERS)	...6	
	NOT SURE	...8	
WE109.2 DO/DID YOU MAKE THEM EMPLOYEES DURING THEIR YTS YEAR?			
	EARLIER ROUND	THIS ROUND	
Some	A	A	
None	B	B	(42)
	AA	...1	
	AB	...2	<u>1</u> 1
	BA	...3	1 <u>1</u>
	BB	...4	
	AO(SLEEPERS)	...5	
	BO(SLEEPERS)	...6	
	NOT SURE	...8	
WE110. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN ANYONE OFF THE SCHEME BECAUSE YOU HAVE GIVEN THEM A PERMANENT JOB?			
			(43)
Yes		...1	
No (GO TO WE111)		...2	<u>1</u> 1
			1 <u>1</u>

CARD	COL/ CODE
7	
WE110.1 (IF YES) WHY DID YOU TAKE THEM OFF THE SCHEME? (MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)	
A full year not necessary for screening ...1 ...2	(44) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1
Wanted to train for specific skills ...1 ...2	(45) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1
No need for off-the-job training for the job ...1 ...2	(46) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1
To reduce paper work/bureaucracy ...1 ...2	(47) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1
Other (SPECIFY) ...1 ...2	(48) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1
WE111. WOULD YOU ANTICIPATE BEING ABLE TO PROVIDE REGULAR JOBS FOR ANY OF YOUR CURRENT YTS TRAINEES?	
Yes (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...1	(49)
No (GO TO WE113) ...2	<u> </u> 1 1 1 1
No trainees at the moment (GO TO Q.WE114) ...3	
WE112. (FOR THOSE RECRUITING TRAINEES AS EMPLOYEES THIS YEAR)	
(a) YOU SAID THAT YOU WOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER PERMANENT JOBS TO SOME OF YOUR CURRENT YTS TRAINEES. AT WHAT STAGE WILL THIS DECISION BE MADE? (MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)	
In selecting the original trainees ...1	(50)
During the scheme ...2	<u> </u> 1 1 1 1
At the end of the scheme ...3	1 1
It varies from job to job ...4	

CARD		COL/CODE
7	<p>(b) WILL YOU BE RECRUITING MORE OR LESS OF YOUR EX-TRAINEES INTO REGULAR JOBS THAN YOU DID LAST YEAR?</p> <p>More than last year ...1</p> <p>Less than last year ...2</p> <p>Same as last year ...3</p> <p>No scheme last year (GO TO WE114) ...4</p> <p>(c) WOULD YOU ANTICIPATE BEING ABLE TO GO ON RECRUITING PERMANENT STAFF THROUGH THE YTS SCHEME AT ABOUT THE SAME RATE IN THE FUTURE?</p> <p>Yes (GO TO WE114) ...1</p> <p>No ...2</p> <p>Don't know (GO TO WE114) ...3</p> <p>(d) (IF NO) WHY IS THIS THE CASE?</p> <p>Business conditions not good ...1</p> <p>Firm's policy has changed ...2</p> <p>Trainees have poor quality/attitudes ...3</p> <p>Normal attrition/recruitment rate does not allow annual intake ...4</p> <p>Other(SPECIFY) ...5</p> <p>WE113. (FOR THOSE NOT RECRUITING TRAINEES AS EMPLOYEES THIS YEAR)</p> <p>(a) YOU SAID THAT YOU WILL NOT BE OFFERING PLACES TO ANY OF YOUR CURRENT YTS TRAINEES. WHY IS THIS THE CASE?</p> <p>Trainees not suitable ...1</p> <p>Not enough work ...2</p> <p>Other (SPECIFY) ...3</p> <p>(b) DID YOU RECRUIT ANY OF YOUR YTS TRAINEES LAST YEAR?</p> <p>Yes ...1</p> <p>No ...2</p> <p>No scheme last year ...3</p>	<p>(51)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>(52)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>(53)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>(54)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>(55)</p> <p>1 1</p> <p>1 1</p>

CARD
7

COL/CODE

WE114. HAS YTS CHANGED YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS
YOUNG PEOPLE AS WORKERS IN ANY WAY?

(56)

- Yes ...1
- No (GO TO WE 115.1) ...2

1 1
1 1

WE114.1 (IF YES) HAVE YOU COME TO THINK MORE
HIGHLY OR LESS HIGHLY OF YOUNG PEOPLE?

(57)

- Think more highly now ...1
- Think less highly now ...2
- Can't say (GO TO WE115.1) ...8

1 1
1 1

WE114.2 IN WHAT RESPECT?

(58)

- Attitudes, commitment to work,
sense of responsibility ...1
- Willingness to learn ...2
- Ability to master complex jobs ...3
- Other(SPECIFY)

1 1
1 1

WE115.1 HAS THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THE
ATTITUDE OF EITHER YOUR EMPLOYEES OR THEIR
TRADE UNIONS TOWARDS THE YTS SCHEME OVER THE
LAST 12 MONTHS?

(59)

- No (GO TO WE116) ...1
- Yes (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...2

1 1
1 1

WE115.2 HAS THE CHANGE BEEN IN:
UNION STANCE? Yes

(60)

- Yes ...1
- No ...2

1 1
1 1

(Name of union)1.....
2.....

(61)

- EMPLOYEES' ATTITUDES? Yes ...1
- ...2

1 1
1 1

ATTN CODER:code union name ... , ...

(62-63)

1 1
1 1

(64-65)

1 1
1 1

CARD

7

COL/CODE

WE115.3 HAS OPINION MOVED IN A FAVOURABLE OR UNFAVOURABLE DIRECTIONS TOWARDS YTS?

More general support for YTS ...1
Less general support for YTS ...2

(66)

1 1
1 1

WE115.4 WHAT SORT OF THINGS DOES OR DID THE CRITICISM FOCUS ON?

"Cheap labour" criticisms ...1
YTS trainees a disruptive influence ...2
Burden of having to train them ...3
Other (SPECIFY) ...4

(67)

1 1
1 1

Don't know ...8

YTS --->APPRENTICESHIPS/ TRAINEESHIPS

982

7

COL/CODE

WE116. ARE ANY OF YOUR YTS TRAINEES ON APPRENTICESHIPS/LONG TERM TRAINEESHIPS?

Yes ...1
No (GO TO WE122) ...2

(68)

1 1
1 1

IF YES, HOW MANY MALES?

(69-70)

1 1 1
1 1 1

FEMALES?

(71-72)

1 1 1
1 1 1

WE117. YOU SAY THAT (number) ARE APPRENTICES. DID YOU HAVE PLACES TO TAKE MORE OF THEM INTO APPRENTICESHIP IF YOU HAD THOUGHT THEM TO BE SUITABLE?

Yes ...1
No (GO TO WE.118) ...2

(73)

1 1
1 1

(74-75)

1 1 1
1 1 1

(IF YES, WRITE NUMBER; GO TO WE119)

WE118. WERE THERE MORE OF THE TRAINEES WHOM YOU WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED SUITABLE FOR AN APPRENTICESHIP IF YOU HAD BEEN ABLE TO TAKE THEM?

Yes ...1
No ...2

(76)

1 1
1 1

(77-78)

1 1 1
1 1 1

(IF YES, WRITE NUMBER)

WE119. DID YOU KNOW FROM THE START WHICH OF YOUR YTS TRAINEES WOULD CONTINUE AS APPRENTICES/LONG TERM TRAINEES OR DID YOU SELECT THEM DURING THEIR YTS YEAR?

All at the start ...1
All during the year ...2
It varies ...3

(79)

1 1
1 1

CARD

COL/CODE

WE120. DID THE YTS TRAINEES WHO WENT ON TO BECOME APPRENTICES GET CREDIT TOWARDS THEIR APPRENTICESHIP TIME FOR THEIR TIME ON YTS?

Yes	...	1
No	...	2
Varied	...	3
Don't know	...	8

(80)

1	1
1	1

WE121. WHAT SELECTION PROCEDURES OR QUALIFICATIONS DID YOU USE IN DECIDING WHO SHOULD * MOVE ON TO AN APPRENTICESHIP/TRAINEESHIP?(PROMPTS OK.)

Formal test: mentioned	...	1
not mentnd	...	2

(5)

1	1
1	1

Looked at YTS log book	...	1
	...	2

(6)

1	1
1	1

Looked at CSE/O-level results	...	1
	...	2

(7)

1	1
1	1

Other	...	1
	...	2

(8)

1	1
1	1

WE122. ARE YOUR YTS TRAINEES PAID THE STANDARD ALLOWANCE, OR IS THERE EXTRA WEEKLY PAYMENT FOR SOME OR ALL OF THEM?

Standard for all	...	1
Some paid extra	...	2
All paid same amount extra	...	3
All paid varying amounts extra	...	4

(9)

1	1
1	1

WE122.1 (IF SOME VARIATION) WHAT IS THE VARIATION BASED ON?

Non-apprentice employees paid more	...	1
Apprentices paid more	...	2
Depends on trade	...	3

(10)

1	1
1	1

8

CARD

COL / CODE

8

WE122.1 DO YOU MAKE ANY OTHER (NON-WEEKLY) PAYMENTS - BONUSES ETC. (TRAVEL ETC. EXPENSES NOT INCLUDED.)

Yes ...1
No ...2

(11) _____
1 1
1 1

WE123. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES DO THE YTS TRAINEES DO WHILE WORKING FOR YOUR COMPANY/ORGANISATION? (SHOW CARD. IN (a) COLUMN TICK ALL ACTIVITIES DONE AND AT (b) TICK THE ONES THEY SPEND MOST OF THEIR TIME DOING.)

	(a)	(b)	(a) (12)	(b) (13)
Training on the job, that is working under substantial levels of supervision with little or no output	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Assisting other people to do their normal jobs	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Doing work that would not otherwise be done	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Doing similar work to that done by other employees	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Varies too much to say	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Other	...1 ...2	...1 ...2	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1

WE124. IF YOU HAD NOT HAD YTS TRAINEES DOING WORK EXPERIENCE, HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TAKEN ON EMPLOYEES - WHETHER FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME - INSTEAD?

Very likely ...1
Fairly likely ...2
Not at all likely (GO TO WE125) ...3
Can't say (GO TO WE125) ...4

(24)

1 1
1 1

CARD
8

COL / CODE

(IF VERY OR FAIRLY LIKELY)

WE124.1 WOULD THESE HAVE BEEN FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME EMPLOYEES, OR BOTH?

(25)

- Full-time only (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...1
- Part-time only (GO TO WE124.3) ...2
- Both full-time and part-time (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...3

1 1

1 1

(IF FULL-TIME OR BOTH)

WE124.2 ABOUT HOW MANY FULL-TIME? (PROBE FOR BEST ESTIMATE) (Don't Know = 888)

(26-28)

FULL-TIME . . . , . . . , . . .

1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1

(IF PART-TIME OR BOTH)

WE124.3 ABOUT HOW MANY PART-TIME? (PROBE FOR BEST ESTIMATE) (Don't know = 888)

(29-31)

PART-TIME . . . , . . . , . . .

1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1

(IF VERY OR FAIRLY LIKELY)

124.4 ABOUT HOW MANY OF THESE EMPLOYEES WOULD HAVE BEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AGED UNDER 18? (Don't know = 888)

(32-34)

. . . , . . . , . . .

1 1 1 1
1 1 1 1

WE125. DO YOU USUALLY PROVIDE ALL THE WORK EXPERIENCE YOUR TRAINEES HAVE, OR ARE THEY SENT TO OTHER EMPLOYERS DURING THE YEAR?

(35)

- Sole provider for all trainees ...1
- Sole provider for most trainees ...2
- Provider for shorter spells ...3
- Don't Know ...8

1 1

1 1

WE125.1 (FOR SOLE PROVIDERS.)

DO YOU HAVE THE TRAINEES HERE FOR MOST OF THE YEAR, OR DOES THEIR WORK EXPERIENCE TAKE UP LESS THAN HALF OF THEIR YEAR?

(36)

- Here most of year ...1
- Here less than half of year ...2
- Don't Know ...8

1 1

1 1

CARD			COL/CODE
8			
WE126. HAVE ANY OF YOUR YTS TRAINEES LEFT BEFORE COMPLETING THEIR INTENDED PERIOD AT YOUR WORKPLACE?			
Yes (GO TO Q.WE126.1) ...1			(37)
No(GO TO WE127) ...2			<u>1</u> 1
Don't Know ...8			<u>1</u> 1
WE126.1 WOULD YOU SAY THAT MOST OF YOUR TRAINEES WHO LEFT EARLY TENDED TO LEAVE IN THE FIRST FEW WEEKS OF THEIR PLACEMENT, OR WERE THEY JUST AS LIKELY TO LEAVE ANY TIME?			
First few weeks ...1			(38)
Any time ...2			<u>1</u> 1
Don't know ...8			<u>1</u> 1
WE126.2 DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA WHY THEY LEAVE EARLY?			
No (GO TO WE127) ...1			(39)
Yes ...2			<u>1</u> 1
WE126.3 (IF YES) WHY?			
Due to:			
(MULTIPLE TICKS ALLOWED)			
- getting a job			
mentioned ...1			<u>1</u> 1
not mentnd ...2			<u>1</u> 1
- ill-health ...1			(41)
...2			<u>1</u> 1
- dissatisfaction with scheme...1			<u>1</u> 1
...2			<u>1</u> 1
- disciplinary reasons ...1			(42)
...2			<u>1</u> 1
- no reason given ...1			<u>1</u> 1
...2			<u>1</u> 1
- other (SPECIFY)			(43)
...1			<u>1</u> 1
...2			<u>1</u> 1
			(44)
			<u>1</u> 1
			(45)

CARD
8

COL / CODE

WE127. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT YTS WILL BE EXTENDED TO A TWO YEAR SCHEME FROM NEXT APRIL; AND THAT EMPLOYERS WILL BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE A SMALL AMOUNT TOWARDS THE COST OF THE TRAINEE'S ALLOWANCE. WOULD IT AFFECT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IF YOU HAD TO CONTRIBUTE, SAY, £5 PER WEEK FOR A FIRST YEAR TRAINEE AND £10 PER WEEK FOR A SECOND YEAR TRAINEE?

Yes	...1	(46)
No (GO TO WE128)	...2	<u>1 1</u>
Don't know	...8	<u>1 1</u>

WE127.1 (IF YES) In what way?

(47)

Reduce the number of YTS trainees	...1	<u>1 1</u>
Will stop being involved in YTS	...2	<u>1 1</u>
Will restrict YTS to recruitment and training of apprentices	...3	
Don't know	...8	
Other (SPECIFY)	...4	

WE128. HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT YOU WILL TAKE PART IN THE TWO YEAR SCHEME?

(48)

Will definitely take part	...1	
Very likely to take part	...2	<u>1 1</u>
Fairly likely to take part	...3	<u>1 1</u>
Not very likely	...4	
Not at all likely	...5	

WE129. WHY IS THIS? (WRITE IN)

CARD

8

COL/CODE

WE130. DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE COMMUNITY PROGRAMME SCHEMES WHICH ARE ALSO PART OF YTS - SO-CALLED MODE B SCHEMES?

(49)

Yes ...1

1 1

No ...2

1 1

(IF YES) THE MSC IS PROPOSING TO TRY TO INTEGRATE THESE SCHEMES WITH EMPLOYER-BASED SCHEMES. THEY ARE TRYING TO MAKE SURE THAT THE SPECIALLY DISADVANTAGED YOUNGSTERS, WHO MOSTLY FIND THEIR WAY ON TO MODE B SCHEMES, ARE GIVEN WORK EXPERIENCE WITH A REGULAR EMPLOYER. THEY ARE SUGGESTING THAT THEY MIGHT MAKE A PREMIUM PAYMENT TO ACHIEVE THIS.

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO TAKE A DISADVANTAGED YOUNG PERSON? AND WOULD IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO YOUR DECISION IF THERE WAS SOME SPECIALLY FAVOURABLE FINANCIAL PROVISION?

Willing anyway ...1

(50)

Willing if adequate inducement ...2

1 1

Unwilling unless very substantial inducement ...3

1 1

Unwilling ...4

Don't know ...8

YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME: SECTION B

FOR EMPLOYERS USING YWS LAST YEAR BUT NOT NOW

CARD		Col.	Code
5	<p>B1. HAVE YOU HAD ANY YOUNG PEOPLE WHOM YOU HAVE KEPT ON AS REGULAR EMPLOYEES AFTER THEIR PERIOD ON YWS HAS COME TO AN END? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p>	(5-6)	<p>1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>B1.1 ARE THERE SOME WHOM YOU WOULD HAVE WANTED TO KEEP ON IF THEY HAD BEEN WILLING TO STAY? (IF YES) HOW MANY? (WRITE "00" IF NONE)</p>	(7-8)	<p>1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>B1.2 HAVE ANY LEFT OF THEIR OWN ACCORD, EVEN THOUGH YOU WERE WILLING TO KEEP THEM? (IF YES) DID YOU HAVE TO REPLACE THEM OR COULD YOU MANAGE QUITE WELL WITHOUT THEM?</p>	(9)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>None have left ...1 Some left, all had to be replaced ...2 Some left, some had to be replaced ...3 Some left, none had to be replaced ...4 Can't remember ...8</p>		
	<p>B2. WHY HAVE YOU STOPPED USING YWS?</p>		
	<p>Administrative hassle ...1 ...9</p>	(10)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Young people available for £50 not much good ...1 ...9</p>	(11)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Time consuming to supervise young people ...1 ...9</p>	(12)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>YTS used to replace YWS ...1 ...9</p>	(13)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>No one in the eligible age category ...1 ...9</p>	(14)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>Other (SPECIFY) a) ...1 ...9</p>	(15)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>b) ...1 ...9</p>	(16)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>
	<p>c) ...1 ...9</p>	(17)	<p>1 1 1 1</p>

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CARD

COL/CODE

8

EXP102. WHAT IMPLICATIONS (IF ANY) WILL THIS HAVE FOR THE FUTURE RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO YOUR ESTABLISHMENT?

(58)

Will recruit young people outside YTS (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...1

1 1

Will no longer recruit young people ...2

1 1

Will make no difference to recruitment of young people ...3

Not sure ...8

Other (SPECIFY) ...4

(IF PROPOSING TO RECRUIT YOUTH OUTSIDE YTS)

(i) WILL ANY OF THEM BE GIVEN OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING?

(59)

Yes ...1

1 1

No ...2

1 1

(ii) WILL ANY OF THEM BE ON APPRENTICESHIPS/ LONG-TERM TRAINEESHIPS?

(60)

Yes ...1

1 1

No ...2

1 1

YTS NEVER-PARTICIPANTS
THE NP QUESTIONS ARE ONLY FOR FIRMS WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN INVOLVED IN YTS

CARD		COL/CODE
8	<p>NP101. HAVE YOU CONSIDERED BEING INVOLVED IN YTS IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS?</p> <p>Yes (GO TO NEXT Q.) ...1</p> <p>No (GO TO Q.NP102) ...2</p> <p>NP101.1 WHAT FACTORS LED YOU TO CONSIDER THIS?(DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE ANSWERS ALLOWED)</p> <p>Additional pressure from MSC mentioned ...1 not mentnd ...2</p> <p>Additional pressure from Man. Agent ...1 ...2</p> <p>Better understanding of the scheme ...1 ...2</p> <p>Too many competitors have YTS ...1 ...2</p> <p>Saving on labour costs ...1 ...2</p> <p>Screening method for finding good employees ...1 ...2</p> <p>Help with firm's training budget ...1 ...2</p> <p>Good for firm's image ...1 ...2</p> <p>Responsibility to do something about serious social problem ...1 ...2</p> <p>Don't know ...1 ...2</p> <p>Other (SPECIFY) ...1 ...2</p>	<p align="right">(61)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(62)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(63)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(64)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(65)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(66)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(67)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(68)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(69)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(70)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(71)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p> <p align="right">(72)</p> <p align="right">1 1 1 1</p>

CARD		COL/CODE
8		
	NP101.2 WHAT DECISION DID YOU REACH?	
	To get involved (GO TO Q.NP102) ...1	(73) <u> </u> 1 1
	To remain outside the Scheme ...2	1 1
	NP101.3 (ONLY IF DECIDED NOT TO GET INVOLVED) WHY DID YOU DECIDE THIS?	
	Too much paper work ...1	(74) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Requirement for 13 weeks OJT too much reduced usefulness of trainees ...1	(75) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Poor quality/attitudes of trainees: unlikely to stick at job, etc. ...1	(76) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Disagreement/problems with Managing Agent ...1	(77) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Disagreement/problems with MSC ...1	(78) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Couldn't offer permanent job to follow ...1	(79) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1
	Other (SPECIFY) ...1	(80) <u> </u> 1 1
	...2	1 1

CARD

COL/CODE

9

NP102. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT YTS WILL BE EXTENDED TO A TWO YEAR SCHEME FROM NEXT APRIL. WILL THAT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO YOUR INTENTIONS?

- Yes ...1
- Probably ...2
- No ...3
- Probably not ...4
- Don't know ...8

(5)

1 1
1 1

NP103. (FOR THOSE WHO SAY YES OR PROBABLY) UNDER THE TWO-YEAR SCHEME, EMPLOYERS WILL BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE A SMALL AMOUNT TO THE COST OF THE TRAINEE'S ALLOWANCE. WOULD IT AFFECT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IF YOU HAD TO CONTRIBUTE, SAY, 5 PER WEEK FOR A FIRST YEAR TRAINEE AND 10 PER WEEK FOR A SECOND YEAR TRAINEE?

WOULD THAT BE A FACTOR IN YOUR DECISION ABOUT BECOMING INVOLVED?

- Yes ...1
- No ...2
- Don't know ...8

(6)

1 1
1 1

NP104. SO, OVERALL, HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT YOU WILL TAKE PART IN THE TWO YEAR SCHEME?

- Very likely ...1
- Probable ...2
- Possible ...3
- Probably not ...4
- Certainly not ...5
- Don't know ...8

(7)

1 1
1 1

TRAINING

If the respondent had no apprenticeship scheme last year, go to Q.160, PAGE T031. This first part is ONLY for establishments which reported apprenticeships or traineeships in previous year

150. THE APPRENTICESHIP SCHEMES WHICH YOU REPORTED LAST YEAR -- OR RATHER THE BIGGEST FOUR SCHEMES WERE: MAKE SURE ORDER IS THE SAME AS LAST YEAR.)

CARD		COL CODE
9	(a).....	(14) _____ 1 1 1 1
	(b).....	(15) _____ 1 1 1 1
	(c).....	(16) _____ 1 1 1 1
	(d).....	(17) _____ 1 1 1 1

PLEASE GIVE THE CURRENT NUMBER OF TRAINEES IN THEIR FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH YEAR FOR EACH OF THE ABOVE SCHEMES.

	Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(18-20)	(21-23)	(24-26)	(27-29)	(30-32)	(33-35)	(36-38)	(39-41)

10

(a).....	(42-44)	(45-47)	(48-50)	(51-53)	(54-56)	(57-59)	(60-62)	(63-65)
(b).....	(66-68)	(69-71)	(72-74)	(75-77)	(78-80)	(05-07)	(08-10)	(11-13)
(c).....	(14-16)	(17-19)	(20-22)	(23-25)	(26-28)	(29-31)	(32-34)	(35-37)
(d).....								

150.1 ARE ANY OF THE ABOVE SCHEMES NORMALLY FOR PEOPLE WITH 'A' LEVEL QUALIFICATIONS OR EQUIVALENT?

1. Yes

(a).....	(38) _____ 1 1 1 1
----------	--------------------------

2. No

(b).....	(39) _____ 1 1 1 1
----------	--------------------------

(c).....	(40) _____ 1 1 1 1
----------	--------------------------

(d).....	(41) _____ 1 1 1 1
----------	--------------------------

CARD	COL. CODE			
10	151. HAS THERE BEEN ANY CHANGE IN THESE SCHEMES IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS? FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE YOU.....			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	(42)	(43)	(44)	(55)
	a) DECIDED TO REDUCE INTAKES? 1. Yes 2. No			
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If YES, what was the main reason?			
	1. Only infrequent need for trainees 2. Less need for skilled labour 3. Financial constraints on training 4. Other			
	(46)	(47)	(48)	(49)
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	b) DECIDED TO INCREASE THE INTAKE? 1. Yes 2. No			
	(50)	(51)	(52)	(53)
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If YES, what was the main reason?			
	1. Increased need for skilled labour 2. Shift in policy towards hiring early leavers 3. Other reasons			
	(54)	(55)	(56)	(57)
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	c) CHANGED ENTRY QUALIFICATIONS? (RAISED, LOWERED, ABOLISHED, NO CHANGE) 1. Raised 2. Lowered 3. Abolished 4. No Change			
	(58)	(59)	(60)	(61)
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

CARD		COL. CODE			
10	<p>d) CHANGED SELECTION CRITERIA? 1. Yes 2. No If YES, has there been more emphasis on dexterity, mental ability, or attitude?</p> <p>1. Dexterity 1. Yes 2. No</p> <p>2. Mental ability 1. Yes 2. No</p> <p>3. Attitudes 1. Yes 2. No</p>	(62) <input type="checkbox"/>	(63) <input type="checkbox"/>	(64) <input type="checkbox"/>	(65) <input type="checkbox"/>
11	<p>e) ADOPTED/EXPANDED END TESTS FOR FINAL QUALIFICATIONS? 1. Yes 2. No</p> <p>f) EXPANDED PROPORTION OF OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING? 1. Yes 2. No</p>	(78) <input type="checkbox"/>	(79) <input type="checkbox"/>	(80) <input type="checkbox"/>	(05) <input type="checkbox"/>

CARD		COL	CODE
11	<p>FOR ALL ESTABLISHMENTS</p> <p>160. Have you started any new apprenticeships or traineeships in the last year -- meaning training courses/schemes which are designed to last at least 2 years? EXCLUDE those normally entered by people with 'A' level qualifications or equivalent.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes ...1 No (GO TO Q.170) ...2</p> <p>IF YES, PLEASE GIVE DETAILS ABOUT THE LARGEST SCHEME.</p> <p>TITLE OF COURSE/SCHEME</p> <p>.....</p> <p>a) TOTAL NUMBER OF TRAINEES ___·___·___</p> <p>b) ARE ANY OF THEM ON YWS?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ALL ...1 SOME ...2 NONE ...3</p> <p>c) ARE THE FIRST-YEAR INTAKE ON YTS?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ALL ...1 SOME ...2 NONE ...3</p> <p>d) WHAT IS THE INTENDED LENGTH OF THE COURSE (IN MONTHS: ASK NORMAL TIME TAKEN FOR FULL SKILL STATUS IF COURSE IS MODULAR)</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> ___·___</p> <p>e) IS THERE A FINAL SKILL TEST/EXAM?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">YES ...1 NO ...2</p> <p>f) IS IT REGISTERED WITH AN INDUSTRIAL TRAINING BOARD (ITB) OR SOME OTHER INDUSTRY TRAINING ORGANISATION?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">YES ...1 NO ...2</p>		<p>(10) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(11-13) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(14) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(15) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(16-17) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(18) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(19) <u> </u> 1 1 1 1</p>

CARD			COL/CODE
11	g) WAS THE COURSE CONTENT APPROVED BY SUCH A BOARD OR ORGANISATION?		(20)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	h) WAS THE CONTENT OR STRUCTURE NEGOTIATED WITH UNIONS LOCALLY?		(21)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	i) IS IT REGULATED BY ANY NATIONAL UNION AGREEMENT?		(22)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	j) DOES IT INVOLVE ANY OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING?		(23)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	DOES THIS INVOLVE DAY RELEASE?		(24)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	OR INVOLVE BLOCK RELEASE?		(25)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	k) ARE THERE MINIMUM EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS SET FOR ENTRY?		(26)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	(IF YES) WHAT ARE THEY? FOR EXAMPLE,		(27)
	NUMBER OF CSEs REQUIRED		<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
			<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NUMBER OF O-LEVELS, CSE GRADE 1s, OR SCOTTISH ORDINARY REQUIRED		(28)
			<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
			<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	IS MATHS REQUIRED?		(29)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	IS ENGLISH REQUIRED?		(30)
	YES	...1	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>
	NO	...2	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

CARD	ASK ALL ESTABLISHMENTS.	COL	CODE	SKIP TO
11	170. APART FROM APPRENTICESHIPS OR TRAINEESHIPS AND YTS, DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER TRAINING FOR YOUNG PEOPLE?	(31)	YES ...1	1 1
	NO ...2			1 10.172
	171. (IF YES) CAN YOU GIVE ME A FEW DETAILS AND TELL ME WHETHER THEY INVOLVE ANY OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING?			
	OFF-THE-JOB	(32)	TRAINING YES ...1	1 1
	NO ...2			1 1
	TRAINING GIVEN	(33)	IN-HOUSE? YES ...1	1 1
	NO ...2			1 1
	BLOCK/DAY	(34)	RELEASE GIVEN? YES ...1	1 1
	NO ...2			1 1
	172. (ASK ALL FIRMS) DO YOU HAVE A DESIGNATED TRAINING OFFICER? YES ...1	(35)	NO ...2	1 1
	172.1 (IF YES) HOW MANY FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME OFFICERS DO YOU HAVE?			1 1 Q.180
	Full-time			(36-37)
	Part-time			1 1 1
				1 1 1
				(38-39)
				1 1 1
				1 1 1
	172.2 HOW MANY OF THESE ARE:-			
	Full-time managers of training with no other duties?			(40-41)
				1 1 1
				1 1 1
	Managers/supervisors with responsibility for training among other duties?			(42-43)
				1 1 1
				1 1 1
	Other staff with some responsibility for training?			(44-45)
				1 1 1
				1 1 1

CARD

COL. CODE

11

181. (FOR THOSE WHO EXPECT SOME CONNECTION)
WHAT DO YOU EXPECT TO BE THE
INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YTS AND
YOUR APPRENTICESHIPS/TRAINEESHIPS?
WILL ALL SCHEMES BE TREATED
THE SAME?

(47)

All schemes the same ...1
Different courses will be
treated differently ...2

1 1
1 1

N.A.
(IF DIFFERENT APPRENTICESHIPS TREATED
DIFFERENTLY CODE THE FOLLOWING FOR THE
SCHEME WITH THE LARGEST INTAKE)

- 1. Trainees will be on YTS for the duration of a two-year training scheme; all those on the scheme will be on YTS
- 2. Trainees will be on YTS for the first two years of a longer scheme; all in the first two years will be on YTS
- 3. YTS will be used to screen all entrants to the traineeship
- 4. Other arrangement linking YTS and your schemes
- 9. N.A.

(48)

1 1
1 1

182. (IF ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN
APPRENTICESHIP/TRAINEESHIP AND YTS)

WILL THE YTS ALLOWANCE BE SUPPLEMENTED
BY THE FIRM?

(49)

- No ...1
- A small supplementary payment ...2
- Enough supplement to bring up to normal apprentice rate ...3
- Other ...4
- Don't know ...8

1 1
1 1

2. OTHER TEMPORARY WORKERS

(Daily/hourly basis)

CARD	Col./code
<p>18 APART FROM THE WEEKLY OR MONTHLY HIRED TEMPORARY WORKERS LISTED ON THE PREVIOUS SHEET, DO YOU ALSO USE TEMPORARY WORKERS ON A DAILY -- OR EVEN HOURLY BASIS?</p> <p>YES...1</p> <p>NO...2 (Please go to the next page)</p>	<p>(38)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>
<p>(IF YES) WHAT WAS THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN SUCH WORK AT ANY TIME IN THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS?</p> <p>.....MEN</p> <p>.....WOMEN</p>	<p>(39-41)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p> <p>(42-44)</p> <p>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1</p>
<p>IS THIS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR?</p> <p>Yes, less than last year...1</p> <p>Yes, more than last year...2</p> <p>No ...3</p> <p>Not sure ...8</p>	<p>(45)</p> <p>1 1 1 1</p>

3. YOUNG EMPLOYEES

EXCLUDE ALL YTS TRAINEES.

IF YOU HAVE ANY EMPLOYEES 18 OR UNDER, WOULD YOU PLEASE GIVE THEIR NUMBERS AT PRESENT BY SEX AND STATUS. EACH AGE GROUP IS LISTED SEPARATELY.

16 YEAR OLDS ONLY	M	F	TOTAL
Apprentices/trainees on course lasting at least 2 years.....			
Trainees, but on course lasting less than 2 years.....			
Other employees.....			
17 YEAR OLDS ONLY	M	F	TOTAL
Apprentices/trainees on course lasting at least 2 years.....			
Trainees, but on course lasting less than 2 years.....			
Other employees.....			
18 YEAR OLDS ONLY	M	F	TOTAL
Apprentices/trainees on course lasting at least 2 years.....			
Trainees, but on course lasting less than 2 years.....			
Other employees.....			
TOTAL OF 16-18 YESR OLDS			

NEW JOB CATEGORIES

ARE THERE ALSO ANY NEW JOB CATEGORIES (WITHIN THE RESTRICTIONS SET OUT ABOVE) THAT HAVE BEEN CREATED WITHIN THE LAST 12 MONTHS AT YOUR ESTABLISHMENT? PLEASE SPECIFY UP TO THREE NEW CATEGORIES, AND INSERT NUMBERS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED IN EACH CATEGORY.

JOB CATEGORY	TOTAL	NUMBER CURRENTLY EMPLOYED							
		ADULTS (19 OR OVER)				YOUTH (18 AND UNDER)			
		MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
		Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time
(N1)									
(N2)									
(N3)									

THIS TABLE FOR PROCESSING USE. DO NOT FILL IN.

JOB CATEGORY	TOTAL	ADULTS				YOUTH			
		M		F		M		F	
		F-T	P-T	F-T	P-T	F-T	P-T	F-T	P-T
(1)									
(2)									
(3)									
(4)									
(5)									
(6)									

WAGES AND HOURS

The next set of sheets are about the wages for each of the 6 job categories listed on the previous sheet. Please give either an hourly, daily, weekly or monthly wage, whichever is convenient.

If the wage is the same for everybody in the category, write in the RATE in the left-hand box, like this:

Wage Rate(fixed)
£ 2.42 per <u>hour</u>
day
week
month

If the wage rate varies for different people in the same job category, write the LOWEST and the HIGHEST RATES in the middle box, like this:

Range of Rates or Wages
From £ 65.50 to £ 71.50 per hour
day
<u>week</u>
month

If there are variations from week to week (because of overtime or some bonus scheme, for example) then please write the RANGE OF GROSS EARNINGS over a recent period in e) in the same way.

THERE IS ONE SHEET FOR EACH OF THE JOB CATEGORIES YOU HAVE LISTED. PLEASE USE THEM IN THE ORDER IN WHICH YOU HAVE LISTED THEM ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE.

FIRST JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the FIRST job category in Table No.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either

Wage rate(fixed)		Range of rates
£per	hour	From £.....to £.....per
	day	
	week	hour
	month	day
		week
		month

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £.....per hour OR From £.....per hour to £.....per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

	If fixed:	If it varies:
Full-timers	.....hrs	From.....hrs to.....hrs
Part-timers	.....hrs	From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime, what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timers	.....hours per week
Part-timers	.....hours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per
hour
day
week
month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

- 1. Yes.....
- 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either

£.....per	hour		From £.....to £.....per	hour
	day			day
	week			week
	month			month

SECOND JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the SECOND job category in Table No.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either	Wage rate(fixed)	or	Range of rates
	£per hour day week month		From £to £per hour day week month

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £per hour OR From £per hour to £per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed: If it varies:

Full-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

Part-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime, what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timershours per week

Part-timershours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £to £per hour day week month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either	£per hour	or	From £to £per hour
	day week month		day week month

THIRD JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the THIRD job category in Table N6.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either	Wage rate (fixed)	or	Range of rates
	£.....per hour day week month		From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £.....per hour OR From £.....per hour to £.....per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed: If it varies:

Full-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

Part-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime, what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timershours per week

Part-timershours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either	£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
----------------	-------------------------------	----	---------------------------------------------

FOURTH JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the FOURTH job category in Table No.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either

Wage rate(fixed)		Range of rates
£.....per	hour day week month	From £.....to £.....per
		hour day week month

or

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £.....per hour OR From £.....per hour to £.....per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed: If it varies:

Full-timers hrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

Part-timers hrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime, what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timers hours per week

Part-timers hours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per
hour day week month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either

£.....per	hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per	hour day week month
-----------	------------------------------	----	-------------------------	------------------------------

FIFTH JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the FIFTH job category in Table No.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either

Wage rate(fixed)		Range of rates
£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £.....per hour OR From £.....per hour to £.....per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed: If it varies:

Full-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

Part-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime; what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timershours per week

Part-timershours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

- 1. Yes.....
- 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either

£.....per hour day week month	or	From £.....to £.....per hour day week month
----------------------------------------	----	------------------------------------------------------

SIXTH JOB CATEGORY.....(Make sure that this is the same as the SIXTH job category in Table No.4)

a) ADULT RATES (aged 19 or over) FOR FULL-TIMERS ONLY

either	Wage rate(fixed)	or	Range of rates
	£per hour day week month		From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

b) If there are any PART-TIMERS, what is their hourly wage rate?

Either £.....per hour OR From £.....per hour to £.....per hour

c) Excluding any overtime, how many hours per week do people in this category normally work?

If fixed: If it varies:

Full-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

Part-timershrs From.....hrs to.....hrs

d) Taking account of overtime, what is the average number of hours that people actually work over a recent period?

Full-timershours per week

Part-timershours per week

e) What is the range of gross earnings per week for full-timers over a recent period?

Range of recent gross earnings
From £.....to £.....per hour day week month

f) Are there separate YOUTH RATES for this job?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

ONLY IF YES, please give the rates for seventeen year olds:

Age 17: either	£per hour	or	From £.....to £.....per hour
	hour day week month		hour day week month

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YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME : PLACEMENT PROVIDERS

For the purpose of the following questions, count anyone who first came to you for work experience between April 1984 and March 1985 as belonging to the 1984-5 Round, and anyone who first came since as belonging to the 1985-6 Round.

Please give the name of the Managing Agent(s) from whom the trainees came.

Would you please give details of the following:

	Round	
	1984-5	1985-6
Total number who came to this establishment for work experience		
Number who completed their intended period here		
Total number who are still with you as YTS trainees		
Number for whom the intended period was a full 12 months		
Number who had employee (including apprentice-employee) status		

Do you also provide off-the-job training? If so, please give the numbers to whom you are currently giving such training, divided into those who are included in the above figures as having work experience here, and any others.

No o-j-t

With w-e

Without w-e

(Please write in the numbers)

YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME : MANAGING AGENTS

ESTMNT CODE

CASE NUMBER

For the purpose of the following questions, count anyone recruited between April 1984 and March 1985 as belonging to the 1984-5 Round and anyone recruited since as belonging to the 1985-6 Round.

Was your scheme approved locally through the Large Companies Unit

Are/Were you a Managing Agent for both rounds?
 Both 1984-5 only 1985-6 only

How many have you recruited in total and what has happened to them?
 (Please write 0 if the answer is none)

	1984-5	1985-6
Total number recruited to your scheme:		
How many were recruited as:		
employees (including apprentice-employees) at this establishment		
employees at another establishment		
just YTS trainees, not employees		
Number who dropped out or moved on		
Number who completed the 12 months		
Number still with you as YTS trainees		
Number of YTS trainees for whom you provided work experience at this establishment		
Number of YTS trainees for whom you provided off-the-job training at this establishment		
Did you provide work experience or off-the-job training to any other trainees from other Managing Agents' schemes? If so, please write the number. ('0' if not)		
Work experience		
Off-the-job training		

Supplementary Questionnaire on new recruits, recruitment methods
and recruitment difficulties

1. For each of the job categories that would be done by young people could you tell me what your main recruitment method was?

Job category 1

Job category 2

Job category 3

Job category 4

2(a) You mentioned earlier the number of new recruits to each job category. I wonder if you could provide some more detailed information on individual recruits. Could you tell us from your personnel or recruitment files, the approximate address of new recruits and whether they were unemployed before they started working for this establishment?

(b) Addresses of recruits (postcodes are acceptable).
If E1, E14, E16, SE16, probe to find street name.

(c) Numbers previously unemployed?

3. How do you view applicants who have a history of long term unemployment?
(Probe to discover if view negatively) ;
4. In the last year have you experienced recruitment difficulties that have affected output, investment or general efficiency?
5. Have you experienced difficulties in recruiting the right occupational type of labour from your locality (within the borough, say?)

5(a) If yes, probe for type of worker.

5(b) Have you had to make up for local deficiencies by recruiting from a wider catchment area than you would normally expect?

6. Have you had difficulties in recruiting the right quality of labour locally due to poor quality local labour?

If yes, probe why.

- 7(a) Have you ever lost employees because they had to move further afield (that is, beyond reasonable travelling distance) in order to find the housing they wanted?

Probe: type of employees, housing wanted.

(b) If so, can you say what the main problems have been, eg: ;

- difficulty in gaining access to Council housing
- accommodation for sale locally is too expensive
- a lack of new housing for sale locally
- poor quality/environment of existing housing for sale
- any other reason (probe)?

8(a) Has recruitment from further afield (outside reasonable travelling distance) ever been restricted by a shortage of suitable accommodation in this area?

Probe: type of employee.

(b) If so, can you say what the main problems have been, eg:

- difficulty in gaining access to Council housing
- accommodation for sale locally is too expensive
- a lack of new housing for sale locally
- poor quality/environment of existing housing for sale
- any other reason (probe)?

9. Do you have any direct experience of, or views on, how the new housing for sale in the area might affect the quality or nature of the local labour market, for your business?

Probe: help with recruitment problems
affect on recruitment
affect on future

APPENDIX II

Questionnaire - survey of new Docklands residents

CONFIDENTIAL

GREATER LONDON COUNCIL

DG/I/SS

SS526 DOCKLANDS HOUSING SURVEY
JUNE 1984

OFFICE
USE ONLY

SERIAL NO.

--	--	--

AREA NO.

--	--

NAME OF ESTATE AND/OR BUILDER

INTRODUCTION

I am _____ from the Greater London Council. We are carrying out a survey to find out people's views on housing in the Docklands area.

All information collected for this survey will be treated in the strictest confidence. No information will be related to individuals or addresses.

	Day and Date	Time	Completed Interview or Reason for Non-contact or Refusal
1st call			
2nd call			
3rd call			
4th call			

Name _____

Start Time

Finish Time

Address _____

Telephone No. _____

Interviewer _____

Supervisor
(if present) _____

MISSING

PAGES

NOT

AVAILABLE

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

- IF NO ONE LIVES IN H/O THEN MUST USUALLY AND WIFE
(The person in whose name the house is rented - otherwise husband)

HOUSEWIFE

- THE PERSON WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE DOMESTIC DUTIES

DEFINITIONS OF ECONOMIC STATUS

IF IN CASUAL WORK TAKE WHAT HAPPENED
LAST WEEK

CODES

- 1 Working Full-time : 30 hours or more per week. } include people temporarily sick, on holiday with job still there or 'laid off' or 'on strike'.
- 2 Working Part-time : less than 30 hours per week
- 3 Retired : must be someone notified from active full-time employment.
- 4 Unemployed : someone not working who is actively seeking work.
- 5 Sick and disabled : someone permanently not working due to disability and sickness.
- 6 Student aged over 16 : all aged over 16 and still in full-time education.
- 7 Pre-school/under 16 at school : pre-school children, and all those under 16 and still at school.
- 8 H-W/ Not working : housewife with no paid employment/
person of independent means/
others not working.

HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION SHEET

INTRODUCTION

I would like to ask you a few details about yourself and the household since people's opinions vary according to their age, sex and so on.

Interviewer to check that she has all the information to complete the household box, using appropriate check questions.

START THE INTERVIEW BY FILLING IN THESE COLUMNS 1ST

PERSON NO	NAME	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
1		H.O.H.
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		

OUO	SEX		AGE LAST BIRTH-DAY	MARITAL STATUS			F/T	P/T	RET.	UNEMPLOYED	SICK AND DISABLED	STUDENT OVER 16	PRE-SCHOOL UNDER 16	AT SCHOOL	HW NOT WORKING
	M	F		M	S	W										D/S
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	1	2		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

ECONOMIC STATUS															

SERIAL NO. (1)

(3)

AREA NO. (4)

(5)

TOTAL NUMBER (6) IN HOUSEHOLD.

(7)

CHECK TOTAL NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD. — (All people who live regularly at this address and are catered for by one person — eat from common pot)

OFFICE USE ONLY

Age Sex M/S/W REL EWN

HOH (8)

(12)

CHECK FOR BOARDERS?

NOTES:

Age Sex M/S/W REL EWN

RING THE PERSON NUMBER

OF THE RESPONDENT

PARTNER (13)

(17)

(18)

(17)

PREVIOUS ACCOMMODATION

I would like to ask you some questions about your previous accommodation that is, the one you moved from to this one.

Q1 Did you (all) move together from the same address to this one?

Yes
No

(20)
1
2

IF CODED 'NO' (CODE 2) FOR Q1, ASK Q2-Q6 FOR HOH AND PARTNER (IF APPLICABLE) OTHERWISE ASK JUST FOR THE HOH.

Q2 Where did you live before you moved to this accommodation?

PLEASE GIVE BOROUGH/POSTAL DISTRICT OR TOWN/COUNTY

HOH

PARTNER

(21-22)

(23-24)

Q3 In which of the following tenure categories was your previous accommodation?

SHOW CARD A

	HOH (25)	PARTNER (26)
Owner occupied	1	1
Council rented	2	2
Privately rented	3	3
Tied accommodation	4	4
Other (WRITE IN)		
Lived with parents/relatives in:-		
(a) Owner occupied	5	5
(b) Council rented	6	6
(c) Privately rented	7	7
(d) Tied accommodation	8	8
(e) Other (WRITE IN)		

PRESENT ACCOMMODATION

I would now like to ask you a few questions about your present accommodation

Q8 How many bedrooms have you got?

WRITE IN _____

Q9 Do you have a kitchen that is a separate room, with the narrowest side at least 6½ feet wide from wall to wall?

Yes

1

No

2

Q10 How many other habitable rooms have you got, excluding the bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and toilet?

WRITE IN _____

Q11 So the total number of rooms you have, excluding small kitchen, bathroom and toilet, are

WRITE IN _____

Q12 Do you own or rent this accommodation?

Owner occupied

(38)

1

Q13

Privately rented

2

Q26

Tied accommodation

3

Q26

(WRITE IN) Other

Q26

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(34)	
(35)	
1	
2	
(36)	
(37)	
(38)	
1	Q13
2	Q26
3	Q26
(WRITE IN) Other	Q26

ASK Q13 TO Q25 TO OWNER OCCUPIERS ONLY

Q13 Is this properly owned jointly?

Yes

No

(39)

1

2

Q14 What is the name of the builder who constructed this property?

WRITE IN

(40)

Q15 What price did you pay for this property

WRITE IN

£

(41)

Q16 How much deposit did you pay?

WRITE IN

£

(42-43)

None A

Q17

Q18

Q17 What was the main source of the deposit of the original purchase price?

RUNNING PROMPT

CODE ONE ONLY

(44)

Sale of former dwelling

1

Another loan

2

Personal savings

3

Gift from relatives or friends

4

(WRITE IN) Other

		COL/ CODE	ROUTE
Q18 Did you receive any of the following inducements to encourage you to buy this property? SHOW CARD B CODE ALL THAT APPLY	Reduction in purchase price for speedy completion	1	(45)
	Reduction in mortgage interest rate for a fixed period	2	(46)
	Payment of all or some legal fees	3	(47)
	Mortgage insurance (incase of redundancy or poor health)	4	(48)
	Carpets and/or curtains included in the price	5	(49)
	(WRITE IN) Other		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> (52)
Q19 When did you buy this property? WRITE IN MONTH AND YEAR		(53)	
Q19a Were you the first occupier of this property?		(54)	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	
	Don't know	9	

Q20 Which of these reasons was the most important when you decided to move to this accommodation?
 ASK FOR 2ND & 3RD MOST IMPORTANT REASONS

SHOW CARD C

REASONS

CODE ONE ONLY IN EACH COLUMN

	1st (55-56)	2nd (57-58)	3rd (59-60)
None	01	01	01
Getting married/ recently married	02	02	02
Was forced to move	03	03	03
Wanted smaller/cheaper accommodation	04	04	04
Wanted better/larger accommodation	05	05	05
Job reasons	06	06	06
To be near amenities	07	07	07
To move to a more modern property	08	08	08
To move to a better neighbourhood	09	09	09
Family reasons	10	10	10
(WRITE IN) Other			
Don't Know	99	99	99

Q21 When you decided to move from your previous accommodation, did you look at any other properties before deciding to move to this one?

Yes
No

(61)
1
2

Q22
Q23

Q22 In which areas did you look at properties, before deciding to move to this one?

SHOW CARD D

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Other houses on the same estate

1

(62)

In the same borough

2

(63)

Elsewhere in East or S.E. London (besides same borough)

3

(64)

(Other than East or S.E. London) Within London

4

(65)

In other areas/estates Outside London

5

(66)

(WRITE IN) Other

(67-68)

Q23 What were your main reasons for choosing this particular house/flat?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

DO NOT PROMPT

PROBE FULLY

Liked layout of the house

1

(69)

Found the estate attractive

2

(70)

Special feature of the house

3

(71)

Kitchen well planned

4

(72)

(WRITE IN) Other

(74)

Q24 Would you have considered a similar house which was the same price or cheaper than this one, in any of these areas?

INDIVIDUAL PROMPT

COL/ CODE	ROUTE

Elsewhere in the borough
 elsewhere in East or S.E. London
 (besides the borough)
 Elsewhere in London
 Other areas outside London
 (WRITE IN)

Yes	No	Don't know	
1	2	9	(75)
1	2	9	(76)
1	2	9	(77)
			(78)

Q25 Would you have preferred to move into suitable Council accommodation, if you had been able to?

Yes
 No
 Don't know

(79)
1
2
9
1 (80)

ASK ALL

Q26 On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with this accommodation?

PROMPT AS NECESSARY

- Very satisfied
- Satisfied
- Dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied
- Don't know

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(6)	
1	) Q27
2	
3	) Ask Q26 & then) Q27
4	
9	Q27
(7-8)	
(9-10)	
(11-12)	

Q27 What are you satisfied with?

PROBE FULLY

Q28 What are you dissatisfied with?

PROBE FULLY

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(13-14)	
(15-16)	
(17-18)	

Q29 Thinking about the area, did you consider any of these points when making a decision to move to/stay in this area?

SHOW CARD E

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Attractiveness of the particular development

1 (19)

Know the people living in the area

2 (20)

Standard of schools in the area

3 (21)

Recreational facilities

4 (22)

Provisions of other facilities such as shops, libraries

5 (23)

(WRITE IN) Other

--	--	--	--

Q29a On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with this area?

PROMPT AS NECESSARY

- Very satisfied 1
- Satisfied 2
- Dissatisfied 3
- Very dissatisfied 4
- Don't know 9

(27)

ROUTE

Q30a
Ask Q30c & then Q30a
Q30a

Q30a What are you satisfied with, so far as this area is concerned?

PROBE FULLY

(28-29)

(30-31)

(32-33)

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
--------------	-------

Q30b What are you dissatisfied with, so far as this area is concerned?

(34-35)

PROBE FULLY

(36-37)

(38-39)

Q31 Which of the following activities and facilities do you and/or your h'ld use or participate in?

SHOW CARD F

FOR EACH ONE USED ASK WHETHER LOCALLY AND/OR ELSEWHERE

	Not Used	Locally	Else-where	Both	D.K.	
Sports	1	2	3	4	9	(40)
Pubs	1	2	3	4	9	(41)
Restaurants	1	2	3	4	9	(42)
Cinema	1	2	3	4	9	(43)
Theatre	1	2	3	4	9	(44)
Other (WRITE IN)	A A	B B	C C	D D	E E	(45) <input type="checkbox"/>

Q32 Which of the following facilities do you and/or your household use?

INDIVIDUAL PROMPT

FOR EACH FACILITY USED, ASK WHETHER USED LOCALLY AND/OR ELSEWHERE

	Not used	Locally	Else-where	Both	D.K.
Shopping	1	2	3	4	9
Banks	1	2	3	4	9
Building Society	1	2	3	4	9
Medical Care	1	2	3	4	9
Other (WRITE IN)	A	B	C	D	E
	A	B	C	D	E
	A	B	C	D	E

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(48)	
(49)	
(50)	
(51)	
(52)	<input type="checkbox"/>
(55)	
Yes 1	Q35
No 2	Q34
Don't know 9	Q35
(56-57)	
(58-59)	
(60-61)	

Q33 Do you find the local recreational and other facilities adequate?

Q34 In what ways do you find the local facilities inadequate?

PROBE FULLY

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(62)	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
9	
(63)	
1	
2	
3	
4	
(WRITE IN) Other	
280	

Q35 Now, thinking about your plans for the future, how long do you intend to stay at this accommodation?

PROBE AS NECESSARY

- Up for sale now/sold
- Move within next 2 yrs
- Move within next 5 yrs
- Move within next 10 yrs
- Intend to stay here for more than 10 years
- Don't know

Q36 What is/would be the main reason for your likely move?

PROBE AS NECESSARY - DO NOT PREMPT

CODE ONE ONLY

- Want to live somewhere else in London
- Want to move out of London
- Want bigger house
- Want smaller house
- (WRITE IN) Other

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Q37 Is this a good area to bring up school-aged children?

Yes
No
Don't know

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(6)	
1	
2	
9	
(7-8)	
(9-10)	
(11-12)	

Q38 Why is this?

STANDARD PROBES



FINAL UP THE REST OF THE HOUSEHOLD BOX

OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY

Q39 FOR ANY PERSON UNEMPLOYED, SICK/DISABLED OR RETIRED, RECORD HOW LONG FOR IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX MARKED * BELOW, FOR THAT PERSON.

CODES

INTERVIEWER - record status and last main job of those retired, unemployed, sick/disabled and for how long

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (13-14) PARTNER (15-16)

(a) Name/title of job

(b) Description of Activity

(c) Skill, training, qualifications, experience

(d) Supervision/management responsibilities

(e) Employment status

(f) Industry/Business Profession of Employer

IF MANAGER/SUPERVISOR

(g) Number of people employed at place of work

None A

None A

No of people in charge of '0' for None

No of people in charge of '0' for None

employee B
self-employed C

employee B
self-employed C

(25)

(28)

(17-18)

(19-20)

(21-22)

(23-24)

PROBE FULLY FOR ALL RELEVANT INFORMATION

NOTES IF NECESSARY:

RESPONDENT IS () HOH A
() Wife of HOH B
() Neither C

(3)

ASK Q40 TO Q47 FOR HOH AND HIS/HER PARTNER
(IF APPLICABLE)

Q40 ASK ALL IN F/T & P/T EMPLOYMENT

What area do you work in?

ASK FOR ADDRESS - PROBE FOR
AS MUCH INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE -
LANDMARKS, INTERSECTIONS OF
ROADS, NEAREST TUBE STN.

HOH _____

PARTNER _____

COL/
CODE

ROUTE

(32-33)

(34-35)

Q41 ASK UNEMPLOYED AND ALL IN F/T AND P/T EMPLOYMENT

Are you looking for work locally (in Docklands area)

	HOH (36)	PARTNER (37)
Yes	1	1
No	2	2
Don't know	9	9

→ Q42

→ Q43

→ Q43

FOR ANY CODED 'YES' ASK Q42

Q42 What are you doing to find a job in the Docklands area?

HOH

(38-39)

PARTNER

(40-41)

Q45 Are you working at the same place as you were before you moved to this address?

	HOH (46)	PARTNER (47)
Yes	1	1
No	2	2

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
	Q48
	Q46
(48-49)	
(50-51)	
(52-53)	
(54-55)	
(56-57)	
(58-59)	
(60-61)	
(62-63)	

FOR ANY CODED 'NO' ASK Q46
OTHERWISE GO TO Q48

Q46 Where did you work before
WRITE ADDRESS

HOH

PARTNER

Q47 Why did you change your place of work?

STANDARD PROBES

HOH

PARTNER

ASK ALL

Q48 How many cars does your household own in all?

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(64)	
None	1
One	2
Two	3
More than two	4

Q49 How many motorbikes does your household own in all?

(65)	
None	1
One	2
Two	3
More than two	4

Q50 How many adult bicycles does your household own in all?

(66)	
None	1
One	2
Two	3
More than two	4

Q51 Which of these categories does your gross income fall into?

ASK HOH AND PARTNER'S INCOMES (IF APPLICABLE) AND CODE EACH SEPERATELY UNDER APPROPRIATE COLUMN.
THEN ASK THE TOTAL GROSS INCOME OF HOH AND PARTNER (IF APPLICABLE)

SHOW CARD F

	HOH (67-68)	PARTNER (69-70)	TOTAL (71-72)
K	01	01	01
I	02	02	02
G	03	03	03
E	04	04	04
C	05	05	05
A	06	06	06
B	07	07	07
D	08	08	08
F	09	09	09
H	10	10	10
J	11	11	11

THANK RESPONDENT FOR HIS/HER HELP.

Q52 AND Q53 TO BE FILLED BY OBSERVATION

Q52 TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION

- DETACHED HOUSE
- SEMI-DETACHED HOUSE
- TERRACED HOUSE
- FLAT
- MAISONETTE
- (WRITE IN) OTHER

IF NOT SURE WHETHER FLAT OR MAISONETTE, ASK RESPONDENT

Q53 ETHNIC ORIGIN OF RESPONDENT

- AFRO-CARIBBEAN
- ASIAN BLACK
- EUROPEAN WHITE
- (WRITE IN) OTHER

COL/ CODE	ROUTE
(73)	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
(74)	
1	
2	
3	
3	80

APPENDIX III

23

Questionnaire - survey of ex-pupils of George Green
School, Isle of Dogs

10

11

SURVEY OF EX-PUPILS OF GEORGE GREEN SCHOOL, ISLE OF DOGS.

PAT AINLEY AND ANDREW CHURCH
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND EARTH SCIENCE
QUEEN MARY COLLEGE, LONDON UNIVERSITY
MILE END ROAD
LONDON E1 4NS
TEL:01-980-4811 EXT 3631

SECTION 1

PRE INTERVIEW CLASSIFICATION.

1. Respondents name. _____
2. Sex of respondent. _____
3. Age of respondent. _____
4. Date of leaving school _____
5. Address at previous survey date if known _____

6. Current address if different from above _____

7. Respondents phone number if known _____
8. Interviewers name _____
9. Date of interview _____
10. Time of interview _____

BLOCK CAPITALS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE REPRESENT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER.

All the questions to be asked to respondents are in lower case.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION 2**CLASSIFICATION/CONFIRMATION OF PREVIOUS DATA.**

ASK ALL

1. If you could think back to when you left George Green. Can you remember what type of job you most wanted to do?

2. At the time you left how easy did you think it would be to get a full time job you liked?
WRITE DOWN ANSWER AND TICK ONE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Very easy
Quite easy
Not difficult or easy
Quite difficult
Very difficult

3. Can you remember if you passed any CSE's ,O levels or A levels and what grades you got ?

4. When you left school what job did your parents or guardians do?

Father/male guardian

Mother/female guardian

5. What job do your parents/guardians do now?

Father/male guardian

Mother/female guardian

6. Are you.....
Read out
TICK ONE.

married
single
living with girl/boyfriend
separated
divorced
widowed

IF MARRIED/LIVING WITH GO TO Q.6(b)---IF NOT SKIP TO
QUESTION 7

6(b) IF MARRIED/LIVING WITH Is your husband/wife/girlfriend/boyfriend doing any paid
work? Yes
No

IF YES ANSWER Q.6(c)-----IF NO ANSWER QUESTION 6(d)

6(c) IF YES AT 6(b) Is he/she working fulltime or part-time? full time
part-time

And how much does he/she earn each week £ _____ (If varies take average)

6(d) IF NO AT 6(b) How long ago did he/she last do any paid work _____

7. Is your accommodation in your name? Yes
No

IF NO ASK QUESTION 7(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.8

7(b) IF NO AT 7(a) In whose name is it? _____

8. So including yourself how many people live here? _____

9. Do you have any children?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q. 9(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.10

9(a) IF YES TO Q. 9 How many of your children live here? _____

10. Do you personally own or have the use of a car, van, motorbike or scooter?

Yes car or van
Yes mbike or scooter
Yes both
No none of these
(TICK ONE)

11. Have you moved from the island since you left school?
-ANSWER MAY BE OBVIOUS

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.11(b) AND (c)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.12

11(b) IF YES TO Q.11 Why did you move?

11(c) IF YES TO Q.11 Would you rather live back on the Island?

Yes
No

NOW SKIP TO Q. 13.

12. IF NO TO Q.11 Have you seriously thought of moving?

Yes
No

IF NO SKIP TO Q.13
IF YES ASK Q.12 (b)

12(b) IF YES TO Q.12 What steps have you taken towards moving?

13. Would you say you have any sickness or disability that limit the kind of work you can do?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q 13(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q 14 ON THE NEXT PAGE

13(b) Are you registered as disabled with the Department of Employment ?

Yes
No

SECTION 3**EMPLOYMENT CALENDAR****ASK ALL**

14. I know this may be difficult. But can we try and work out what type of jobs you have done since you left George Green, how long they lasted and any periods that you have been unemployed or on training courses?

PROMPT EITHER VERBALLY ie WHAT WAS THE FIRST THING YOU DID AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL AND WHAT DID YOU DO AFTER THAT?

OR VISUALLY BY SHOWING THE CALENDAR YOU ARE TRYING TO COMPLETE.

CALENDAR IS OVER PAGE

TRY TO COMPLETE THE CALENDAR IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE

NOTE THE DEFINITIONS BELOW;

1. NOT IN PAID WORK BUT NOT UNEMPLOYED (abb. NOT BUT NOT U.) INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING;

Off work for domestic reasons ie housewife, pregnancy, sickness, in hospital, abroad, on holiday in custodial detention.

SO TO BE NIPW BUT NOT U. AN INDIVIDUAL MUST NOT BE REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED AND MUST NOT BE LOOKING FOR WORK.

2. PAID EMPLOYMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE AN APPRENTICESHIP OR A YTS SCHEME. BOTH OF THESE COME UNDER TRAINING.
3. TRAINING/EDUC/SPECIAL SCHEME INCLUDES YTS, APPRENTICESHIP, FURTHER EDUCATION, HIGHER EDUCATION, COMMUNITY PROGRAMME, OTHER M.S.C SCHEMES AND ANY OTHER FORMAL SCHEME.
4. TO BE UNEMPLOYED A RESPONDENT ONLY HAS TO BE LOOKING FOR WORK. THEY DO NOT NECESSAIRILY HAVE TO BE REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED. AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT IN PAID UNEMPLOYMENT OR ON A TRAINING SCHEME AND ARE LOOKING FOR WORK, THEY COUNT AS UNEMPLOYED. AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IS OR WAS REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED COUNTS AS UNEMPLOYED.
5. IF A RESPONDENT CANNOT REMEMBER PUT IN UNDER MOST LIKELY AND INDICATE CLEARLY THAT THE INDIVIDUAL COULD NOT REMEMBER.
6. ONLY JOBS DONE AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL ARE TO BE PUT ON THE CALENDAR. SO A SATURDAY JOB DONE WHILE AT SCHOOL WILL NOT APPEAR ON THE CALENDAR. ALTHOUGH THIS MAY BE IMPORTANT FOR ANSWERING OTHER QUESTIONS SINCE IT MAY BE THE WAY A RESPONDENT FIRST HEARD ABOUT A JOB.

FROM CALENDAR AFTER THE INTERVIEW RECORD:

Total number of jobs done _____

Months in work _____

Total number of periods of unemployment _____

Months unemployed _____

Total number of training/educational schemes undertaken _____

Months in training/further education _____

Number of periods not in paid work but not unemployed _____

Months not in paid work _____

NOTE WHAT RESPONDENT IS DOING AT THE PRESENT MOMENT:

In paid work
 Unemployed
 Training/education
 Not in paid work but not
 unemployed
 (TICK ONE)

IF NUMBER OF JOBS MORE THAN 5 ASK NEXT QUESTION Q.15

IF NUMBER OF JOBS LESS THAN 5 SKIP TO NEXT PAGE Q.16

15. You seemed to have changed jobs quite often, why do you think this has happened?

THE REMAINDER OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONTAINS 12 SECTIONS.

WHICH SECTION EACH INDIVIDUAL ANSWERS DEPENDS ON THEIR CURRENT SITUATION.

RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY IN EMPLOYMENT ANSWER SECTIONS:

4-longest job, 5-jobs on Island, 6-current job, 8-looking for jobs.

RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED ANSWER SECTIONS:

4-longest job, 5-jobs on Island, 7-unemployment, 8-looking for jobs.

RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY IN TRAINING ANSWER SECTIONS:

4-longest job, 5-jobs on Island, 8-looking for jobs.

RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY NOT IN PAID WORK BUT NOT UNEMPLOYED ANSWER SECTIONS:

4-longest job, 5-jobs on Island, 8-looking for jobs, 9-not in paid work but not unemployed.

RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT (YTS or an apprenticeship does not constitute paid employment for our purposes. Therefore a respondent whose ONLY employment has been on a YTS scheme or apprenticeship comes under this category) ANSWER SECTIONS:

7-unemployment, 8-looking for jobs--IF CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED

8-looking for jobs, 9-not in paid work but not unemployed--IF NIPW BUT NOT U.

8- looking for jobs, 10 onwards--IF CURRENTLY ON YTS OR AN APPRENTICESHIP OR
OTHER
TRAINING SCHEME

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWER SECTIONS 10,11,12,13,14 15. (In many cases
only one question in each
section)

CURRENTLY IN WORK TO Q.16 NEXT PAGE

CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED TO Q.16 NEXT PAGE

CURRENTLY IN TRAINING TO Q.16 NEXT PAGE

CURRENTLY NOT IN PAID WORK BUT NOT UNEMPLOYED TO Q.16 NEXT PAGE

HAVE NEVER WORKED AND CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED TO Q.64 PAGE 19

" " " " " NIPW BUT NOT U TO Q.64 PAGE 19

" " " " " YTS/APP/TRAINING TO Q.64 PAGE 19

SECTION 4**LONGEST JOB**

ASK TO ALL RESPONDENTS EXCEPT THOSE WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR WHOSE ONLY PAID EMPLOYMENT WAS ON A YTS, APPRENTICESHIP OR OTHER SPECIAL SCHEME

16. In which job did you spend the longest period of time ?

17. What type of work did/do you do in this job? _____

PROBE IF NECESSARY SO THAT YOU ARE SURE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Description of job _____

Whether full time or part-time (under 30 hours per week) _____

Skill/training required _____

Whether supervisory or responsible for the work of others _____

Whether self employed or an employee _____

18. What industry was/is your employer in and was/is it a large or small company?

THE ANSWER MAY ALREADY BE OBVIOUS FROM Q.17.

19. What was/is your average weekly take home pay? _____

£ _____

IF EARNINGS VARY WITH OVERTIME OR BONUS
ASK FOR USUAL FIGURE

20. Whereabouts was/is your normal place of work in this job.

TRY TO GET A PRECISE ANSWER SUCH AS STREET NAME
UNLESS THERE WAS NO NORMAL PLACE OF WORK.

21. Is/was this on the Island ?

Yes
No
Not sure

IF YES OR NOT SURE ASK Q.21(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.22

21(b).IF ON THE ISLAND OR NOT SURE TO Q.21 What was the name of this firm

22. How do/did you travel to work?

23. Were/are you a member of a trade union?

24. How did you first find out about the job?

25. Do/did you receive any formal training in this job, that is/was not part of a long running scheme such as YTS or an apprenticeship?

IF YES ASK Q25(b)
IF NO SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION Q.26

25(b) IF YES TO Q.25. What form did/does this training take?

26. IF CALENDAR SHOWS THAT RESPONDENT IS STILL DOING THIS JOB ASK Q.26 AND 26.(b)

IF CALENDAR SHOWS RESPONDENT HAS LEFT JOB SKIP TO Q.27

26 Are you happy with this job and are you going to stay in it?

IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY WANT TO LEAVE THIS JOB ASK Q.26(b)

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT WANT TO LEAVE THE JOB SKIP TO Q.28

26(b) WANTS TO LEAVE Why are you thinking of leaving this job?

NOW SKIP TO Q.28

27. IF CALENDAR SHOWS RESPONDENT HAS LEFT JOB Why did you leave this job?

28. DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION----- AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE LENGTH OF TIME IN MONTHS IN THIS JOB

SECTION 5**JOBS ON THE ISLAND**

ASK TO ALL RESPONDENTS EXCEPT THOSE WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT OR WHOSE ONLY PAID EMPLOYMENT WAS ON A YTS, APPRENTICESHIP OR OTHER SPECIAL SCHEME.

29. Have you ever worked on the island?

Yes
No

IF NO SKIP TO Q.52 PAGE 16

IF YES ASK NEXT Q.30 AND REST OF SECTION

30. How many jobs have you done on the island? _____

IF ONLY ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND ASK QUESTIONS 31 TO 41

IF MORE THAN ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND ASK QUESTIONS 31 TO 51

31. In which job did you spend the longest period of time ? _____

IF THIS JOB IS ALSO THE RESPONDENTS LONGEST JOB ie COVERED IN SECTION 4 THEN SKIP TO QUESTION 42

32. What type of work did/do you do in this job? _____

PROBE IF NECESSARY SO THAT YOU ARE SURE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Description of job _____

Whether full time or part-time (under 30 hours per week) _____

Skill/training required _____

Whether supervisory or responsible for the work of others _____

Whether self employed or an employee _____

33. What industry was/is your employer in and was/is it a large or small company?
THE ANSWER MAY ALREADY BE OBVIOUS FROM Q.33.

34. What was/is your average weekly take home pay?

£ _____

IF EARNINGS VARY WITH OVERTIME OR BONUS
ASK FOR USUAL FIGURE

35. What was the name of this firm?

36. How do/did you travel to work?

37. Were/are you a member of a trade union?

38. How did you first find out about the job?

39. Do/did you receive any formal training in this job, that is/was not part of a long running scheme such as YTS or an apprenticeship?

IF YES ASK Q39(b)
IF NO SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION Q.40

39(b) IF YES TO Q.39. What form did/does this training take?

40. Why did you leave this job?

41. DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION ----- AFTER THE INTERVIEW NOTE FROM THE
CALENDAR LENGTH OF TIME IN MONTHS IN THIS JOB

IF RESPONDENT HAS HAD ONLY ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND SKIP TO Q52

IF RESPONDENT HAS HAD MORE THAN ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND GO TO NEXT
QUESTION

IF MORE THAN ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND ASK QUESTIONS 42 TO 51

IF ONLY ONE JOB ON THE ISLAND SKIP TO QUESTION 52 PAGE 15

SECOND LONGEST JOB ON THE ISLAND

42. Which job on the island did you do for the second longest period of time?

43. What type of work did/do you do in this job?

PROBE IF NECESSARY SO THAT YOU ARE SURE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Description of job _____

Whether full time or part-time (under 30 hours per week) _____

Skill/training required _____

Whether supervisory or responsible for the work of others _____

Whether self employed or an employee _____

44. What industry was/is your employer in and was/is it a large or small company?
THE ANSWER MAY ALREADY BE OBVIOUS FROM Q.43.

45. What was/is your average weekly take home pay?

£ _____

IF EARNINGS VARY WITH OVERTIME OR BONUS
ASK FOR USUAL FIGURE

46. What was the name of this firm?

47. How do/did you travel to work?

48. Were/are you a member of a trade union?

49. How did you first find out about the job?

49(a) Why did you leave this job?

50. Do/did you receive any formal training in this job, that is/was not part of a long running scheme such as YTS or an apprenticeship?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q50(b)
IF NO SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION Q.51

50(b) IF YES TO Q.50. What form did/does this training take?

51. DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS JOB IN MONTHS

SECTION 6**CURRENT JOB**

ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ARE CURRENTLY IN WORK BUT THIS DOES NOT
INCLUDE THOSE ON A YTS SCHEME OR APPRENTICESHIP

ALL OTHERS SKIP TO QUESTION 64 PAGE 19

52. I have asked you about the longest job you have ever done and jobs you have done on the island. In doing this have we covered your current job?

Yes
No

IF YES SKIP TO QUESTION 88 PAGE 23
IF NO ASK QUESTIONS 53 TO 63

53. What type of work do you do in this job? _____

PROBE IF NECESSARY SO THAT YOU ARE SURE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Description of job _____

Whether full time or part-time (under 30 hours per week) _____

Skill/training required _____

Whether supervisory or
responsible for the work of others _____

Whether self employed or an employee _____

54. What industry is your employer in and is it a large or small company?
THE ANSWER MAY ALREADY BE OBVIOUS FROM Q.53.

55. What is your average weekly take home pay? _____

£ _____

IF EARNINGS VARY WITH OVERTIME OR BONUS
ASK FOR USUAL FIGURE

56. Whereabouts is your normal place of work in this job.
TRY TO GET A PRECISE ANSWER SUCH AS STREET NAME

UNLESS THERE IS NO NORMAL PLACE OF WORK.

57. Is this on the Island ?

Yes
No
Not sure

IF YES OR NOT SURE ASK Q.57(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.58

57(b).IF ON THE ISLAND OR NOT SURE TO Q.57 What is the name of this firm

58. How do you travel to work?

59. Are you a member of a trade union?

60. How did you first find out about the job?

61. Do you receive any formal training in this job, that is not part of a long running scheme such as YTS or an apprenticeship?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q61(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.62

61(b) IF YES TO Q.61. What form does this training take?

62. Are you happy with this job and are you going to stay in it?

IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY WANT TO LEAVE THIS JOB ASK Q.62(b)

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT WANT TO LEAVE THE JOB SKIP TO Q.63

62(b) Why are you thinking of leaving this job?

63 DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION----- AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM CALENDAR
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS JOB IN MONTHS

NOW SKIP TO SECTION 8-LOOKING FOR JOBS PAGE 24 Q.88

SECTION 7**UNEMPLOYMENT**

THIS SECTION IS ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ARE CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED (THIS INCLUDES BOTH THOSE REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED AND THOSE NOT REGISTERED BUT CURRENTLY SEEKING WORK AND THOSE WAITING TO GO ON A TRAINING/EDUCATIONAL/SPECIAL SCHEME)

64. You said that you were currently unemployed. Are you registered as unemployed with the employment office?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.64(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.65

64(b) For what reason are you not registered with the employment office?

65 Are you looking for work at present?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.65(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.66

65(b) Why are you not looking for work at present?

66. Why did you leave your last job?

67. How important would you say it was for you to find a new job as soon as possible?

WRITE DOWN WHOLE ANSWER. THEN TICK ONE OF THE FOLLOWING;

- Very important
- fairly important
- not very important

68. What kind of work have you been looking for?

69. Is there any kind of work you will not consider?

70. Are you looking for full time or part time work?

- Full time
- Part time

71. What is the lowest amount of weekly take home pay you would be prepared to accept from a new job?

£ _____

IF CAN ONLY GIVE GROSS PAY WRITE IN HERE

£ _____

72. And how much weekly take home pay do you think you are likely to get if you get a job?

£ _____

IF CAN ONLY GIVE GROSS WRITE IN HERE

£ _____

73. What is the longest time you are prepared to spend travelling to work?

74. How likely is it you would accept a job that involved a very different type of work to what you are used to?

Certainly
Depends
No

75. What about a job involving shift work?

Certainly
Depends
No

76. What about a job that meant moving house

Certainly
Depends
No

77. And what about a job at a lower skill level than you are used to?

Certainly
Depends
No

78. How good would you say your chances are of finding a job within the next month?

WRITE IN FULL ANSWER THEN PROMPT TO TICK ONE
ONE OF THE FOLLOWING

Very good
Fairly good
Not very good
Not at all good

79. And what about in the next six months. Would you say your chances of finding a job were good or not very good?

Very good
Fairly good
Not very good
Not at all good

80. What kind of difficulty do you think you are likely to have in finding a job?

81. Do you feel anything could be done to make it easier to find work generally?

82. Do you think anything could be done to make it easier to find work in firms on the Island?

83. Some people think being out of work is the worst thing that ever happened to them. Others do not really mind. How do you feel about being out of work?

84. What do you find are the worst things about being out of work?

85. Which benefits or social security payments do you get for being out of work at present?

86. Would you tell me the total amount you receive each week from benefits and social security payments?

£ _____

;

87. Are you ever able to get any odd jobs or part time work?

Yes

No

IF YES ASK Q.87(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.88

87(b). When was the last time you were able to get any work of that kind and what did it involve doing?

87(c) DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM CALENDAR
LENGTH OF TIME SINCE BECAME CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED IN MONTHS

;

;

SECTION 8**LOOKING FOR JOBS**

ASK ALL

88. In what different ways have you gone about looking for jobs since you left school?

89. What about in the last six months ,how have you gone about looking for jobs?

90. I have here a list of things people do when looking for jobs. can I read them out to check you havent forgotten anything you used in the last six months. You havent.....

READ OUT EACH CATEGORY NOT MENTIONED IN Q.89

Asked around friends or relations or other people you know	Yes No
Contacted a job centre or employment exchange	Yes No
Visited local firms direct on the offchance thjey might have a job	Yes No
Visited firms elsewhere on the offchance	Yes No
Sent letters to local firms on the offchance they might have a job	Yes No
Sent letters to firms elsewhere on the offchance	Yes No
Looked at ads in local papers or mags (ie. Newham Recorder , East london advertiser)	Yes No
Looked at ads in regional or national papers (ie. standard, Mail ,Mirror)	Yes No
Contacted a private employment agency or bureau	Yes No
Contacted a trade union about jobs	Yes No
Looked at job adverts in shop windows	Yes No
Contacted careers office/youth emploment office	Yes No

91. Which method have you used most often?

92. Which method has been the most succesful?

93. Which method has been the least useful?

94. Can I ask you how good you think certain methods of looking for work are? Can you tell me whether you think each method is very good ,fairly good,neither good nor bad,not very good, not at all good.How good do you think.....READ OUT LIST

Very good fairly good neither good nor bad not very good not at all good

Asking people you know.

Approaching local employers

job centre

local ads

non local ads

approaching any employer

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW BECAUSE NEVER USED METHOD PUT IN D.K

94(a) How many jobs have you applied for since you left school? _____

95. Have you applied for any jobs in the last 6 months Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q95(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.96

95(b) Why have you not applied for any jobs?

NOW SKIP TO Q102 PAGE 28

96. How many different jobs have you applied for in the last 6 months? _____

97. How many of the jobs you applied for were with firms on the island? _____

98. Could you tell me about the last job you applied for within the last six months. What type of job was it?

PROBE IF NECESSARY SO THAT YOU ARE SURE OF THE FOLLOWING;

Description of job _____

Whether full time or part-time (under 30 hours per week) _____

Skill/training required _____

Whether supervisory or responsible for the work of others _____

Whether self employed or an employee _____

Possible rate of pay £ _____

99. How did you first hear about the job?

100. Whereabouts was the firm you applied to?

IF FIRM ON THE ISLAND ASK Q.100(b) IF IN ANY DOUBT STILL ASK Q.100(b)
IF NOT SKIP TO Q.101

100(b) Which firm was it?

101. What has happened to your most recent application?

102 How many job offers have you turned down?

IF HAS TURNED DOWN JOBS ASK Q102(a),(b)

IF NEVER TURNED DOWN A JOB SKIP TO Q.103 NEXT PAGE

102(a) What was wrong with the jobs you turned down?

IF PAY TOO LOW MENTIONED ----- ASK HOW MUCH PAY WOULD HAVE BEEN

£ _____

102(b) How many of the jobs you turned down were with firms on the Island?

IF TURNED DOWN JOBS ON THE ISLAND ASK Q.102(c)
IF NOT SKIP TO Q.103

102(c) With which firms on the island have you turned down a job?

SECTION 9**RESPONDENTS NOT IN PAID WORK BUT NOT UNEMPLOYED**

THESE INDIVIDUALS MUST NOT BE REGISTERED FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT AND NOT LOOKING FOR WORK AT PRESENT.

103. So why are you not looking for work at present?

104 . Are you personally in receipt of any form of benefit payment?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q 104(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.105

104(b) How much is this benefit per week

£ _____

105. What is the main source of income in this household?

106. Why did you leave your last job?

107. Are you ever able to do any odd jobs or part time work?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK 107(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.108

107(b) IF YES TO Q.107 When was the last time you were able to get any work of this kind and what did it involve doing?

107(c) DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM CALENDAR LENGTH OF TIME IN MONTHS CURRENTLY NIPW BUT NOT U

SECTION 10**CURRENTLY IN TRAINING/SPECIAL SCHEME/HIGHER EDUCATION**

ASK ALL

108 .CHECK WITH CALENDAR.Are you at present doing or waiting to start a training course, a special scheme or an educational course apart from a YTS or apprenticeship?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.109 AND REST OF SECTION

IF NO SKIP TO SECTION 11 PAGE 32 Q.118

109. IF YES TO Q.108 Which type of course/scheme are you doing/waiting to start?

110. What subjects or skills does the course/scheme cover?

111. Is this scheme based on the Island?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.111(b)
IF NO ASK SKIP TO Q.112

111(b) IF YES TO Q.111 Which scheme is this ?

NOW SKIP TO Q.113

112 .IF SCHEME NOT ON ISLAND-NO TO 111 Where is the scheme based?

113. How did you first hear about the scheme?

23

114. How do you travel to the scheme?

115. What made you decide to go on the scheme?

116. Do you feel this training will improve your career prospects

Yes
No

117. Why do you feel this?

117(a). How much do you receive as a grant or allowance and who pays it?

£ _____

117(b) DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM CALENDAR
LENGTH OF TIME IN MONTHS ON CURRENT COURSE/SCHEME

SECTION 11**YTS/YOP****ASK ALL**

118. CHECK WITH CALENDAR. Have you ever started a YTS OR YOP scheme?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.119 AND THEN SKIP TO SECTION 12 PAGE 35 Q.131

IF YES ASK Q.120 AND REST OF SECTION

119. IF NO TO Q.118 Can you remember why you haven't done a YTS/YOP course

NOW SKIP TO SECTION 12 PAGE 35 Q.131

120 .IF YES TO Q.118 With what type of organisation did/do you undertake your YTS/YOP scheme?

121 Was/Is this scheme based on the Island?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.121(b)
IF NO ASK SKIP TO Q.122

121(b) IF YES TO Q.121 Which scheme was/is this?

NOW SKIP TO Q.123 NEXT PAGE

122 .IF SCHEME NOT ON ISLAND-IF NO TO Q.121 Where was/is the scheme based?

123. What skills did/do you learn on this scheme ?

124. How did you first hear about the scheme?

125. How did/do you travel to work?

126. Did you complete the scheme?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.126(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.127

126(b) IF NO TO Q.126 Why did you not complete the scheme?

NOW SKIP TO Q.128

127. IF COMPLETED SCHEME Have you ever used your log book or certificate when applying for a job.

Yes
No

128. Do you feel this scheme has improved your career prospects.

Yes
No

129. Why do you feel this?

130. How much allowance did you receive on the scheme?

£ _____

130(a) DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM
CALENDAR IF STILL ON YTS SCHEME AND IF SO HOW LONG IN MONTHS
RESPONDENT HAS BEEN ON YTS

SECTION 12**APPRENTICESHIPS**

ASK ALL

131. Did you ever start an apprenticeship scheme

Yes
No

NOTE-AN APPRENTICESHIP INCLUDES ANY FORMAL TRAINING SCHEME LASTING 2 YEARS OR MORE (So this includes things like a trainee hairdresser or clerk as long as it is a 2 year course)

IF NO SKIP TO SECTION 13 PAGE 37 Q.144

IF YES ASK REST OF THIS SECTION

132 IF YES TO Q.131 What type of apprenticeship was/is it?

133. Was/is it approved by an industrial training board?

Yes
No

134. How did you first hear about the scheme?

135. What industry was/is your apprenticeship in and was it with a large or small company?

136. Was/is this scheme based on the Island?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.136(b)
IF NO ASK SKIP TO Q.137

136(b) Which scheme was/is this

NOW SKIP TO Q.138

137. IF SCHEME NOT ON ISLAND - NO TO Q.136 Where was the scheme based?

138 Did you leave before completing the apprenticeship?

Yes
No
No still completing

IF YES ASK Q.138(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.139

138(b) IF YES TO Q.138 Why did you not complete the apprenticeship?

139. What weekly wage did you receive most recently or at the time you left ?

£ _____

140. Were/are you a member of a trade union?

Yes
No

141. How did/do you travel to work?

142. Do you feel that the scheme improved your career prospects?

Yes
No

143. Why do you feel this?

143(a) DO NOT ASK THIS QUESTION-----AFTER INTERVIEW NOTE FROM
CALENDAR IF STILL ON APPRENTICESHIP AND IF SO HOW LONG IN MONTHS
RESPONDENT HAS BEEN ON CURRENT SCHEME

SECTION 13**TRAINING AND RETRAINING PART 1**

ASK ALL

144. Apart from an apprenticeship/yts/or your current course have you undertaken any other training scheme?

Yes
No

IF NO SKIP TO SECTION 14 PAGE 39 Q.154

IF YES ASK QUESTION 145 AND REST OF SECTION

145. IF YES TO 144 Which type of courses/schemes did you start?

146. What subjects or skills did the courses/schemes cover?

147. Were any of these schemes/courses based on the Island?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q147.(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.148

147(b). Which courses/schemes was this

NOW SKIP TO Q.149

148. IF SCHEMES NOT ON ISLAND Where were the courses/schemes based?

149. How did you first hear about the schemes/courses?

150. What made you decide to go on the schemes/courses?

151. Did you complete any of the schemes/courses?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.151(b)
IF YES SKIP TO Q.152

151(b). Why did you not complete the scheme

152. Do you feel this training improved your career prospects?

Yes
No

153. Why do you feel this?

SECTION 14**TRAINING AND RETRAINING PART 2**

ASK ALL

154. Have you ever thought about doing any training schemes or educational courses other than YTS, an apprenticeship, or the course you are currently on?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.154(a),(b) AND THEN SKIP TO SECTION 15 PAGE 42 Q.165

IF YES SKIP TO Q.155 AND ASK REST OF SECTION

154(a) IF NO TO Q.154 Why have you not thought of doing any schemes or courses?

154(b) Has anyone at somewhere like the job centre or careers office ever suggested you did a scheme?

PROBE TO FIND OUT WHO SUGGESTED SCHEME

NOW SKIP TO SECTION 15 PAGE 42 Q.165

155. IF YES TO Q.154 How seriously have you thought about it? Would you say you had seriously considered the possibility or had it just crossed your mind ?

Seriously considered.
Crossed mind

156. Which type of courses/schemes did you think of doing?

157. What subjects or skills did the courses/schemes cover?

158. Were any of these schemes/courses based on the Island?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.158(b)
IF NO SKIP TO Q.159

158(b) IF YES TO Q.158 Which courses/schemes were these ?

NOW SKIP TO Q.160

159. IF ANY SCHEMES NOT ON ISLAND Where were the courses/schemes based?

160. How did you first hear about the schemes/courses?

161 Why did you think about going on these schemes in particular?

162. Have you made an application to do any course in future?

Yes
No

IF NO ASK Q.162(a)
IF YES SKIP TO 163

162(a) IF NO TO Q.162 Why have you not made an application?

NOW SKIP TO Q.165 NEXT PAGE

163. IF YES TO Q.162 What has happened to your application?

SECTION 15

FINAL CLASSIFICATION

ASK ALL

165. So have you obtained any formal educational ,technical or other qualifications since leaving George Green?

Yes
No

IF YES ASK Q.165(a)
IF NO SKIP, TO Q.166

165(a) IF YES TO Q.165 What qualifications have you obtained?

166. In the light of what you have done so far do you feel you are a particular type of worker?

IF YES PROBE FOR TYPE

No

167. What job would you most like to do now realistically?

168. Here is a list of certain schemes could you tell me if you have heard of any of them?

SHOW LIST AND READ DOWN LIST

Heard of used thought of using

Occupational guidance at the
job centre

training opportunities
programme(TOPS)/ job training scheme

Enterprise allowance scheme

community programme generally

community programme on the
Island

skill centres

Capital radio jobmate

job club on the Isle of Dogs

Training for Enterprise

Wider opportunities training

Access to Information Technology

Docklands ITEC/technology centre

LDDC Training for Construction leaflet

170. What hobbies/pastimes do you have?

171. Will you vote at the next general election?

Yes
No

171(b). IF YES For which party will you vote?

172. NOTE ETHNIC ORIGIN

European
Afro caribbean
Asian
Other _____