Geographies of Labour Market Regulation: Industrial Training in Government Training Centres and Skillcentres in Britain and London 1917-93

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Abstract

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This thesis is concerned with one aspect of the state's intervention into industrial training in Britain, namely the policy programmes which constituted between 1917-93 the Government Training Centre and subsequent Skillcentre networks. These training initiatives are presented as one example of government's attempts at national and local labour market regulation and governance, placed within the context of industrial, social and political change within Britain and Greater London. This analysis of state intervention and policy formulation is set into a theoretical and explanatory framework which is both historically and geographically located. The thesis is structured into three distinct parts.

Part one establishes the theoretical framework and is based upon a critique of selected local labour market research maintaining that an interpretation of regulation theory, involving the identification of sub-national landscapes of labour regulation and governance, offers an important basis for the study of labour market process within any particular geographical context.

Part two provides a detailed presentation of the development of state-funded adult industrial training in Britain from the instructional factories of 1917, through the subsequent Government Training Centre and Skillcentre initiatives and concluding with the privatisation and eventual closure of the Skillcentre network in 1993. This historical perspective is presented in terms of nine distinct regulatory periods and a series of distinctive geographies of labour market regulation.

Part three sets the findings of a survey of Skillcentre trainees in Greater London into this context. Skillcentre catchment areas in London in the early 1980s are identified and interpreted in terms of both contemporary processes of labour market change and the residual consequences of policy formulation and implementation derived under previous conditions of regulatory need. Access to Skillcentre training in the local labour market context of Greater London is seen to be the outcome of the intersection and interaction of a range of economic, social and political processes, operating over time and at a variety of spatial scales.

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Chapter One

Introduction: research objectives, methodology and structure

1.1 Objectives

This thesis is concerned with one aspect of the state's intervention into skills formation and training within Britain, namely the series of closely related policy initiatives and programmes which constituted for over 75 years (1917-1993), the Government Training Centre (GTC) and subsequent Skillcentre network. This thesis has three main objectives. First, to contribute to an understanding of the nature and dynamics of the processes which underpinned and in large part explained the changing extent, location and spatial organization of these training centres. Second, this thesis uses the development of this policy area, as part of the broader realm of skills formation and training, to contribute to contemporary debates which have been concerned with both the analysis of labour market institutions of regulation and governance, and a reconceptualisation of the importance of the concept of the local labour market as a setting for the intersection and interaction of labour market process. Third, within the context of these historical, geographical and institutional processes, this thesis seeks to examine and understand issues of trainee access to adult industrial training in these state-funded and operated training centres within the particular local labour market setting of Greater London in the early 1980s.

As a means to structuring these broader national and locally specific analyses, this thesis links and sets in context a series of related training policy programmes and initiatives ranging from post-World War One rehabilitation programmes, through Government Training Centres to Skillcentres and the privatised Skillcentre company Astra Training Services. Previous studies have considered and linked different components of this policy 'journey' but this thesis seeks for the first time to consider the change and development within and between these initiatives as a 'path-dependent' series of events, set in both a national institutional, economic, social and political context and the local labour market specificities of place.

As part of this narrative, this thesis identifies nine distinct phases of regulatory response and policy formation and administration relating to state intervention into adult skills training outside of the workplace. These periods of labour market regulation, relating to GTC and Skillcentre policy in Britain, during most of the 20th Century, are not intended to be seen as exemplars of separate modes of social regulation connected to separate and distinct regimes of accumulation. These aspects of government policy contributing to labour market regulation and skill formation in Britain will, however, in part be interpreted and understood from within this theoretical framework, as well as part of a continuous and dynamic process of policy experimentation and implementation aimed at responding to economic, social and political change over time and within the complex geographies of labour market regulation and governance operating at and between a variety of spatial scales. This thesis, by focusing upon this one element of a constantly changing mode of social regulation, seeks to look beyond what has perhaps been an over-preoccupation with periods of transition and change *between* regimes of accumulation to provide a detailed historical and geographical account of these policy programmes within the labour market settings of Britain and Greater London.

These geographical settings are important in terms of combining analysis of relevant institutions of labour market regulation with the experience of individuals, as non-passive recipients of training opportunities who have gained access to state-funded industrial training; and analysis of policy formation and implementation at the national scale with infrastructural and policy delivery outcomes at the level of the local labour market, and within the specificities and context of place.

In order to achieve this, the empirical analysis has been structured into two distinct, but mutually inseparable parts, which deliver the relevant institutional and policy framework as it developed at the national level in Britain, and over the majority of the 20th Century; and, the institutional and infrastructural detail of these same initiatives within the political, economic, social specificities and context of a particular place, in this instance Greater London, coupled with the training and employment experience of

individuals living and seeking work and skills within that same local labour market context.

A particular time series and framework has been adopted which involves detailing the policy setting and institutional framework over the period of a series of related policy initiatives in the field of adult industrial training, supported by the state, and running from 1917-1993. The periodisation of nine distinct administrative and regulatory phases identified in this thesis offers a national framework of institutional and policy change *and* stability set within the context of international processes of economic, social and political change.

Relating this institutional analysis at the national scale to the specificities of place identified at the local level, the context of Greater London in the early 1980s provides one example of the need to consider the local institutional, economic, social and political setting in which the training, employment and local labour market experience of GTC and Skillcentre trainees takes place. This thesis argues that this is the case for any particular time and place, but the early 1980s in Greater London is an important exemplar of the processes of labour market regulation and governance identified throughout this thesis.

First, 1982-83 represents an important period of policy transition between the national comprehensive national manpower planning policy of the late 1970s and the beginnings of the 'localism' and enterprise culture of the mid-1980s. Second, at the local level, this particular economic, social and political context illustrates conflicts and resolutions between competing institutions of labour market regulation, as exemplified by the work of the Greater London Council and the London Regional Office of the Manpower Services Commission. Third, at that time in Greater London, the policy response was taking place within the setting of a Fordism/Post-Fordism debate, as part of the analysis of the continuing industrial change and decline experienced across London during the 1970s. The apparent transition from one regime of accumulation to another, prompted extensive policy experimentation and debate between the national and local agencies of labour market regulation and governance.

Fourthly, the impact of continued industrial change and decline in Greater London had had a disproportionate detrimental impact upon London's inner-city areas, and the early 1980s represented an important period of policy conflict between the social welfare concerns centred upon the inner-city, and the increasingly dominant economic policy objectives of supporting business and enterprise through policy initiatives focused and implemented at the local level. Finally, this time and place was particularly important in terms of my own work, both as a post-graduate, liaising with the London offices of the MSC, and my subsequent work as a policy advisor and economic researcher with the Economic Policy Group and Industry and Employment Branch of the Greater London Council, as well as my liaison with the GLC's Greater London Training Board and Greater London Enterprise Board.

This chapter, therefore, introduces the narrative of this thesis by detailing the main aims and objectives, the overall structure of the thesis, the underlying methodology and the subject matter of each chapter. It is an important and central feature of this work that the empirical content has been theoretically informed, particularly in terms of recent theoretical formulations as to the continuing and developing value and usefulness of the concept of the local labour market. It is also most important to the development of the argument within this thesis that both the theoretical and empirical work are seen to be linked and strengthened by a methodological framework which seeks to explicitly extend and open explanation and meaning rather than to seek closure and limit explanation.

Towards this end, this necessitates an appreciation of the complexity of reality, a recognition of the fact that all explanations are of necessity partial, but that it is possible to identify and abstract causal mechanisms and events which serve as a fulcrum from which it is possible to lever some understanding of dynamic, and in this instance labour market, processes. Central to this thesis is the view that these processes must be historically and geographically located, and that an appreciation of context and 'place' as a setting for interaction is fundamental. This is not to reify the 'local' as the focus or source of explanation. Relatively recently, geographical theory has sought to develop an appreciation of the intersection and interaction of processes

operating at a variety of spatial scales, within the context of place, as an expression of contingent and necessary relations between causal mechanisms.

This thesis draws extensively from that literature in order to not only develop an understanding of the operation and development of the particular government policy programmes which are the subject of this thesis, but also to link, through extensive and intensive research, these same policy initiatives with the people whose economic and social well-being was in part predicated upon access to this skill formation and training provision.

1.2 Structure

Attention is centred upon state-funded adult industrial training as one example of government's labour regulation and governance through skill formation in order to achieve a set of goals which are seen to be variable through time and place. The state's purposes in regulating labour through direct provision of training are identified within the context of industrial, social and political change within Britain, and more specifically Greater London, during approximately the last 75 years. The 'path-dependent' nature of this policy formulation and implementation is an important emphasis within this thesis and the basis for a critique of contemporary local labour market studies where the importance of 'history' is perhaps more implied than explicit within recent empirical studies.

Between approximately 1917 and the beginning of the 1990s, it is possible to identify a series of related policy programmes and initiatives which have been pursued by successive British governments, all with the apparent purpose of regulating labour through skill formation, within a training context away from the workplace and in specialised training centres. The first Instructional Factories were intended to provide skills training for ex-service personnel suffering disabilities as a result of injuries gained on active service during the First World War. The Government Training Centres, introduced in the 1920s, were subsequently given a number of different forms and were intended to serve a wide range of economic, social and political

purposes for nearly fifty years until their restructuring in the early 1970s into the Skillcentre network. The Skillcentres were also utilised in different ways by successive governments during the 1970s and 1980s until their privatisation in the early 1990s. What remained of the national network effectively closed in 1993 with the post-privatisation company, Astra Training Services, going into receivership.

Although many of these policies may be regarded as distinct and separate, intended as they were to achieve specific labour supply outcomes at different times, in different geographical settings and within changing economic, industrial and social contexts, it is an objective of this thesis to draw, arguably for the first time, a continuous line in terms of policy development and implementation from the beginnings of this state training provision in 1917 through to the closure of the privatised training centres in 1993. This is not intended as a simplistic and convenient classificatory device. The thesis maintains that at any one time, the spatial form of, and access to, these training centres, was the product of both contemporary and historic labour market regulatory processes, operating at a variety of spatial scales, and intersecting and interacting within the context of place.

The argument is developed, therefore, that whilst these changing forms of labour regulation and governance must be placed within the context of industrial and social change through time and at different spatial scales, an understanding and explanation of issues such as trainee access, training centre location and the form of the training provision, within any place and at any time, must involve an appreciation of both the residual consequences of past periods of labour regulation and the then contemporary intersection of relevant labour market process, operating at different spatial scales. The thesis follows a methodology and structure which seeks to reveal and unpack these causal and explanatory labour market processes and mechanisms through iterative abstractions which locate analysis and interpretation through theory development, chronological sequence and changing geographical scale.

The thesis is consequently divided into three distinct parts. Part One is concerned with developing theoretical and explanatory frameworks which will subsequently inform

the empirical analysis. This part draws explicitly and extensively upon a comparatively recent set of papers by Jamie Peck who, amongst others, have sought to reconceptualise the concept of the local labour market in order to identify the causal processes underpinning local labour market structures. For Peck, these labour market processes are conceived of as the local intersection of the imperatives of production, the social relations necessary for the reproduction of labour power and the associated regulatory activities of the state (Peck, 1989a; 1992a; 1994a). One objective of this thesis is to seek to critique and operationalise some of Peck's ideas in terms of theory development within the specific empirical context of this particular state-funded aspect of skill formation and regulation and the geographical setting of Britain, and more particularly Greater London.

Parts Two and Three represent this empirical content. Part Two, within the context of industrial and economic change in Britain, presents primarily at national and regional scales, the development of these adult training policy initiatives and programmes over time and across the British space-economy. This part of the thesis presents a selected political economy of the development of state-funded adult industrial training within Government Training Centres and Skillcentres. At this level, nine distinct periods of labour regulation are identified which historically and geographically locate the subsequent analysis at the 'local' scale. These distinctive regulatory periods have importantly been derived from and informed by the preceding discussion of local labour market theoretical frameworks and causal mechanisms. These broad causal processes identified at this level of analysis are re-examined and developed further within the empirical context of Part Three.

Part Three of the thesis considers in further detail the operation and function of these same Government Training Centres but within the local labour market contexts of Greater London. The earlier part of this analysis covers approximately the same time period and is framed within the context of the distinctive periods of labour regulation and governance identified previously. These same training initiatives are also placed within the changing industrial, employment and local labour market complexity which constituted the former administrative region of Greater London. The essentially

extensive research of Part Two is reinterpreted and reinforced by the intensive research methodology of the last chapter within Part Three, most specifically through the interview survey of London Skillcentre trainees in the early 1980s, and the more detailed interpretation of key local actors and former institutions of labour market regulation within London, namely the London Region of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and the Greater London Training Board (GLTB) of the Greater London Council (GLC).

Within this setting the issue of trainee access to Skillcentre training is examined primarily in terms of the 'simple geographical' and then contemporary context of the training centre catchment areas which are in turn seen to be in large part the product of both contemporary and residual historical labour market processes intersecting and interacting within the context of 'place'. These trainee catchment areas, themselves 'located' within the framework of the trainee's own educational, training, employment and residential experience, are interpreted as part of temporally and geographically distinctive local training infrastructures or changing local landscapes of labour market regulation and governance.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology which underpins this thesis draws from relatively recent debates as to the application of structuration and realist theory within human geography. The structure-agency debate, which has moved on, but arguably continues to dominate within certain parts of human geography, has for some found resolution through both these theoretical formulations. Giddens (1984) presentation of structuration theory was particularly significant to this study given the value he attached to the work by Paul Willis (1977) who, in 'Learning to Labour', studied working-class children in their transition from school to work. Giddens offers Willis' work as a 'working' example of the concept of the duality of structure, fundamental to structuration theory, by indicating how the school children, within a restricted context, contributed to the reproduction of larger institutional forms. Willis' study, according to Giddens,

conducts an examination of social reproduction but makes no appeal at all to functionalist concepts.

Structuration theory, through the duality of structure and agency, sought to transcend the dualism of deterministic views of structure and voluntaristic views of agency. Structures were to be seen as enabling behaviour and behaviour could potentially influence and reconstitute structure. Giddens work was introduced to geographers principally through the work of Gregory (1984; 1989), Thrift (1983; 1985) and Pred (1983; 1984) amongst others. His theoretical formulations have subsequently been applied extensively and subjected to detailed criticism, not least for the apparent inability of structuration theory to link its more abstract theoretical propositions to more detailed investigations of the specificities of history and geography (Gregson, 1986; 1987; 1989). Whilst others have attempted to do just that and extend Giddens work to construct a model for analysing the structuration of urban space (Dear and Moos, 1986; Moos and Dear, 1986). Giddens has continued to develop his ideas regarding structuration theory and these developments, criticisms and applications of structuration theory are usefully summarised elsewhere (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).

Structuration theory, however, has informed this thesis through the attention it has given to the resolution of the structure-agency impasse by articulating their 'recursive interaction' within the time-space context of place. Where place exists as a setting for interaction and a dynamic and transformational link is made between the conduct of everyday life and broader societal, economic, political and cultural structures. The importance given within structuration theory to 'context', however, does not directly inform empirical inquiry, although as Gregson (1989) states, it is unreasonable to expect that structuration theory should offer an instantly operable empirical method. More recently, however, a similar debate has emerged concerning critical realism and the conduct of realist research in human geography.

The practicalities of what it means to do realist research are still emerging. Critical realism, a version of the realist philosophy proposed by Roy Bhaskar (1975; 1979;

1986; 1989) and generally introduced to geographers through the work of Sayer (1984) largely leaves the methodological work to each substantive social science (Joseph, 1998; Yeung, 1997a). Critical realism, also offers a resolution of the structure-agency debate, in this instance grounded in a realist philosophy of science, but as has already been noted in relation to structuration theory, this does not necessarily or easily equate with a viable research method within human geography. Pratt (1991a) makes the point that despite the attention that critical realism has attracted within geography, it is an irony that for a 'perspective that stresses the integral importance of empirical work, the complementary, practical element is almost totally under-developed'. It is possible that Sayer's (1984) perhaps over-prescriptive distinction between 'intensive' and 'extensive' research methods has done as much to limit debate as it has to stimulate progress in this field.

Attempts to apply critical realism to research studies in human geography are again usefully summarised elsewhere (Pratt, 1994a; 1995) but notably, many of the most relevant examples within the context of this thesis are within a broadly defined 'economic' geography and make explicit their reliance upon critical realism to a greater or lesser extent (Cooke, 1986a; 1989a; Massey, Quintas and Wield, 1992; Morgan and Sayer, 1988; Pratt, 1994a; Sayer and Morgan, 1985; Urry, 1983; 1986; Yeung, 1997b). Although perhaps not explicit within many of these studies, the consistent underlying value of this approach again rests with critical realism's apparent resolution to the structure-agency debate, in part through the understanding it presents of the relationship between necessary and contingent relations. The contrast between 'rational abstractions' and 'chaotic conceptions' serves to distinguish between necessary and contingent relations and avoids both extremes of 'complete contingency and hence no enduring relations' and the 'total relational position' where it is assumed deterministically that everything is related to everything else (Pratt, 1994a). Bhaskar's (1989) presentation of the 'Transformational Model of Social Activity' (TMSA) represents critical realism's version of structuration. Within the TMSA, therefore, 'society does not exist independently of conscious human activity', but it is not true to say that humans create it, rather they transform or reproduce it (Bhaskar, 1989; Pratt, 1991a; 1994a; 1995).

More recently, what is perhaps emerging from readings of this growing body of empirical studies, is a two-fold desire to both revisit the philosophical detail of critical realism, in order to avoid compounding the limitations of the earlier and partial interpretations and applications; and also to create from this process a viable research methodology. In this task, critical realism would appear to offer the prospect of more rewarding outcomes than progress to date within structuration theory (Pratt, 1995; Yeung, 1997a).

This thesis draws upon these recent methodological 'guidelines' for the practice of critical realism within research in human geography. Yeung, most recently, has suggested that the realist method seeks to 'reconstruct causal structures and their properties on the basis of constant reflections and immanent critique'. Causal mechanisms are thus historical and contextual in their realisation. The realist method, therefore, should abstract causal mechanisms and stipulate their contextual circumstances (Yeung, 1997a). Yeung identifies three methodological avenues involving the use of iterative abstraction, the grounded theory method and, the use of 'triangulation' in realist research. Although not exhaustive of the methods compatible with the practice of critical realism, Yeung refers to these as probably the most 'practically adequate' methods.

Iterative abstraction (Allen, 1983; Sayer, 1984) aims to isolate causal mechanisms, to abstract the necessary relation between the concrete phenomenon and causal structures to form generative mechanisms. This abstraction is revisited when more empirical evidence is available, until the generative mechanisms are strong enough to explain the concrete phenomenon. The grounded theory method reinforces iterative abstraction by grounding realist theories of causal mechanisms in concrete phenomena. Theorisation becomes an iterative process of abstracting theories based on an immanent critique and the grounding of abstractions in concrete data. Yeung (1997a) expresses reservations about the use of grounded theory method in realist geography, not least for the over reliance on the subject's narrative of concrete social phenomena, expressed as false consciousness. Relevant to this thesis and the survey of Skillcentre trainees, critical realists may be seen to contribute to the 'freedom' of social

actors from this condition. Yeung's third methodological issue is 'triangulation', essentially recognising the need for multi-method, in terms of the use of qualitative and quantitative data and the deployment of both intensive and extensive methods in realist research. Triangulation enables different facets of a concrete phenomenon to be researched through the most appropriate combination of methods. Yeung's (1994; 1995; 1997a; 1997b) studies of transnational corporations from Hong Kong have sought to apply these guidelines, drawing similarities with Pratt's (1994a; 1995) research into the industrial built environment, and in particular the development of the form and location of the industrial estate.

Pratt's (1994a; 1995) attempts at 'putting critical realism to work' draw upon Outhwaite's (1987) account of how to carry out critical realist research, by the postulation of a possible mechanism; the attempt to collect evidence for or against its existence; and the elimination of possible alternatives. For Pratt, the process thus becomes an iterative one, the explanatory model being refined in an ongoing process, with 'conceptualisation and reconceptualisation central throughout the whole endeavour'. Importantly in the context of this thesis, however, while Pratt acknowledges the need for the application of 'new methods', including qualitative and intensive research techniques, he stresses that methodological pluralism is secondary to the attention which should be paid to the 'context and appropriateness of any particular technique'. The same technique may be implicated quite differently within different research strategies (Pratt, 1995).

The critical realist method, as it informs this thesis, suggests beginning with the research object, as defined by previous researchers. This existing work is then subjected to a critique in order to reconceptualise the issue to identify potential generative and causal mechanisms. From this stage of theorisation, a research strategy is deployed which 'explores the adequacy of the posited mechanism'. Through iterative abstraction and the grounded theory method, these generative mechanisms are perhaps repeatedly tested for explanatory power through the collection, analysis and interpretation of empirical evidence, utilising appropriate qualitative and quantitative methods. This research strategy may normally move from extensive to intensive

research in part to allow for the possibility of reconceptualisation at each stage. Thus, 'emergent key concepts' from the analysis of the empirical evidence are related to those implicated by the abstract theory and may recursively refine those theoretically defined. The purpose of the analysis being ultimately to open explanation through the creation of a refined view of the causal mechanisms and consequently, and within an appreciation of historical and geographical context, a more adequate explanation of the phenomenon under investigation.

1.4 Chapter content

Within this overall structure and methodological context, each chapter of the thesis informs analysis at the next level of articulation or spatial scale. From this perspective, the chapter content and structure of this thesis facilitates an understanding of the relationship between skill formation, labour market regulation and spatially uneven development in terms of three levels of interpretation, as identified by Peck and Tickell (1995). First, the national regulatory framework must seek to contain the uneven development of the labour market which results from the uneven sub-national distribution of access to labour market resources, including employment and training opportunities. Second, national labour market regulation produces a range of local outcomes, both intentionally and incidentally. Finally, processes of labour regulation, and in this instance skill formation, result contingently in uneven spatial effects through their interaction with pre-existing local labour market and local economy structures and institutional legacies (Peck, 1996). This thesis draws upon and develops this view through both its methodology and structure.

Chapter two, therefore, has the principal objective of introducing and critically reviewing recent theoretical formulations aimed at understanding the purposes underpinning state intervention within the realm of labour market regulation and governance. Changes in the labour process within the workplace and associated changes in the organisation of production, arguably from Fordist to Post-Fordist forms, have produced related changes in the state's regulatory mechanisms, designed in part to facilitate industrial production. This chapter, drawing upon recent

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developments within regulation theory and the reconceptualisation of the concept of the local labour market, presents an explanatory framework which seeks to link an appreciation of the importance of sub-national formulations of regulation theory with changes in the regime of accumulation and associated and related changes in the mode of social regulation. By 'locating' the changing need for labour market regulation and governance within a view of the local labour market as a 'conjunctural structure' (Peck, 1996), emphasis is placed upon the path-dependent nature of policy formulation and implementation within the variable context of place and space. Subsequent empirical work will consequently be concerned with the changing reasons underpinning state intervention into the process of skill formation and the form it takes in different spatial scales and contexts.

This conceptualisation of the state's purpose in intervening in labour market process provides a more detailed understanding of the contingent ways in which regulatory processes are realised through time, across space and within place, than that afforded by traditional local labour market studies. In so doing it brings together a number of distinct but by no means mutually exclusive sets of research which have each been central to local labour market research or 'labour geography' in the recent and current period. Through this critical review, therefore, this chapter demonstrates that an increased understanding of the relationship between causal process and the specificity of the locality provides an important basis for any subsequent analytical interpretation of aspects of skill formation engendered by state intervention within a local labour market. This theoretical framework offers a means of grounding theory in the empirical detail and complexity of reality. It provides, therefore, a framework and context within which issues of GTC and Skillcentre training provision in Greater London can be interpreted and understood.

Chapters three and four begin to place the geographical and historically changing development and decline of the Skillcentre programme and its related policy predecessors into this theoretical and analytical framework. This is achieved by illustrating aspects of the broader economic, social and political context, within which this series of policy initiatives was set, alongside the distinct changes in the nature and

form of this state-funded skills training provision from 1917 through to 1993. This political economy of the development of these state-funded skills training initiatives reveals both the changing and overlapping range of purposes underpinning state intervention in industrial training, as well as the manner in which these purposes are revealed in terms of concrete national and regional labour market outcomes. The political economy of this aspect of labour regulation and skill formation is divided into two parts, together identifying nine distinct regulatory periods which form the basis for the later study of local labour market outcomes in Greater London in the early 1980s. It is a central theme of this institutional analysis within this thesis that these nine periods represent, and direct attention to, the complexity and continuity of the regulatory experience and that they do not exist as exemplars of the coupling between separate and distinct regimes of accumulation and their associated mode of social regulation.

Chapter three covers the period of the Government Training Centres, from 1917 to 1973. Whilst chapter four deals with the more contemporary period of Skillcentre development from 1974 through to the closure of the privatised Skillcentres in 1993. Both these chapters seek to illustrate how a broader emphasis upon changes in the coupling between the dominant regime of accumulation and mode of social regulation provides an important 'contextual setting' within which the specificity of regulatory need and mechanisms of labour market regulation and governance at different geographical scales must be unpacked and understood.

Chapter three presents the first six distinct regulatory periods. The first three periods, up until 1936, in general represented times in which social policy objectives, coupled with issues of social control and legitimation of government mainstream policy, were dominant over economic concerns. The subsequent further development of the national training system through another three regulatory periods was in part consistent with the preceding era of crisis management associated with the needs of wartime and post-war reconstruction, but it also eventually marked a clear change in priority away from social policy and towards labour market policy and the functioning

of the national economy. This period, between 1937 and 1973, marked the development of a genuine national government-provided training system and network.

These developments brought with them a changing geography of labour market regulation and governance which illustrates the relationship between economic, social and political processes operating at a variety of spatial scales which, in relation to the provision of skills training are later to be seen to be ultimately and intimately embedded in place. This chapter is, therefore, concerned principally with both the nature and the variation in the provision of skills training through the 'national network' of Government Training Centres (GTCs). It begins to illustrate how an explanation and understanding of that changing national geography of labour regulation necessitates a detailed appreciation of the nature of the previously identified causal processes of labour market change as they intersect and function within the context of, but not solely at the level of, the British space-economy.

The final three identified periods of state intervention in skill formation were dominated by one particular institution of labour regulation, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), and its activities form the substantive part of chapter four, from its inception at the start of 1974 through to its transformation into the Training Commission in 1988, and the relatively brief period of privatised skills training provision at the beginning of the 1990s. This chapter recognises a continuing national environment of conflicts in policy development and implementation. These conflicts are examined within an explanatory framework which extends through a variety of spatial scales, embracing both the national 'corporatism' of the MSC and the eventual 'localism' of the privatised agencies of labour regulation and governance.

Changes in the geography of labour market regulation are related directly to changes both in the form and nature of the institutions of labour governance as they operated at the level of the nation-state and in the specificities of any particular local labour market. This chapter illustrates how the conflicts in policy and ideology which dominated this period may at the same time be represented as conflicting issues in policy and place. Chapter four identifies a series of labour regulatory periods which

are fundamental to any understanding of the changing nature of that training provision over time, and which also provide a basis for understanding the variation within that same provision across space and within place.

Part Three, informed by this analysis of labour market regulation and governance at national and regional scales, illustrates how these changes in the national labour regulatory infrastructure, linked directly to these nine regulatory periods, contributed to the creation of uneven regional and local landscapes of skill formation, training provision and opportunity.

The detailed nature of these 'landscapes', within a local labour market context, are illustrated through the example of the changing nature of state-funded skills training provision through GTCs and Skillcentres within Greater London. Chapter five provides a contextual basis for this analysis by detailing aspects of employment and labour market change in Greater London. Chapter six, from within this context, summarises the change and variation in the infrastructure of labour regulation within London by relating the development and decline of 'local' GTC and Skillcentre training to the regulatory periods identified in Part Two. The Greater London example provides an illustration of the manner in which these local regulatory landscapes or distinctive local training infrastructures are in large part constructed at the local level.

Finally, change in the state provision of skills training in London, demonstrates the importance of an historical perspective as a framework through which the 'path-dependent' nature of the system can be identified and interpreted in terms of its influence upon trainees access to and eligibility for skills training within any particular local labour market. Chapter six, therefore, and the Greater London example in particular, provides an important context for the analysis of the Skillcentre trainee survey of Greater London contained within chapter seven. Whilst chapter six detailed the uneven and dynamic landscapes of skill formation and labour regulation within the urban context of Greater London, chapter seven places the training experience of Skillcentre trainees, during one particular time period, into that same explanatory and regulatory framework.

Chapter seven centres upon the administrative area of the former Greater London Council. The analysis of the survey of Skillcentre trainees presented in this chapter is based upon a questionnaire survey of 1019 trainees working at eleven Skillcentre sites across Greater London. The survey constitutes the outcome of interviews of all adult trainees at all of the Skillcentre sites operating in London during the early 1980s, when access to the Skillcentres was granted by the MSC. Chapter seven has as its principal objective the analysis and interpretation of the Skillcentre trainee survey within the theoretical and empirical context developed throughout this thesis.

This chapter illustrates, for each of the Skillcentre sites, and across the whole of Greater London, the simple geographical Skillcentre catchment areas as concrete outcomes of the distinctive training infrastructure and labour regulatory landscapes which existed in London at that time. These catchment areas and the work experience of the trainees, placed within the context of both the Greater London regional economy and the then local institutions of labour regulation and governance, reinforces the view that access to this form of skills training in London was the product of the contemporary policy objectives of local and central government, but mediated through the intersection of locally and nationally derived residual consequences of previous periods of labour market regulation and governance. This chapter recognises the importance of 'hanging onto' both sides of an equation which recognises that labour *is* mobilised locally *and* that the labour market is segmented by processes operating across time and space and within the context of place.

Chapter eight presents a summary and synthesis of the central theoretical ideas which have underpinned this thesis within the context of the main empirical findings. As a concluding chapter, it seeks both to summarise the outcomes of this analysis and to suggest further potential developments within this continuing research agenda.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illustrate the logic and coherence of the argument and analysis contained within this thesis. As such, it has detailed the main aims and

objectives, the underlying methodology and the subject matter and structure which results from this theoretical and methodological stance. Part One, comprising chapter two, begins this line of argument and narrative by detailing and interpreting theoretical formulations, from both within and outside of geography, which have contributed to the development of 'labour geography' in the recent period.

Chapter Two

Labour market regulation and governance: local labour market as context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the theoretical base and framework for this thesis. In so doing, it seeks to theoretically ground, structure and inform the subsequent analysis of aspects of state-funded intervention within the field of industrial training in Britain during nearly the last eighty years. Understanding labour market process, within the context of place and space, involves a 'journey' through theoretical formulations which have relatively recently sought to understand skill formation and the labour process within both the firm and labour market in terms of a critique of Fordism and the supposed transition and change to Post-Fordist accumulation systems. Allied to this work has been a broader theoretical conception of labour regulation, governance and control in terms of the institutional and societal context within which skills are formed. This work, under the very broad heading of regulation theory, has provided a basis for understanding the nature and role of the state in different societies and aspects of state intervention within the labour market, whereby state activities are in part seen as regulatory responses to changes in the capital accumulation process. The development of this work has led increasingly to a view that these generally abstract theoretical formulations need to be understood within the 'concrete' and ultimately need to be understood both in terms of their operation across space and within the contingent, conjunctural and historical legacies and specificities of place.

This chapter follows selected aspects of such a journey, drawing principally upon developments within regulation theory, and within a geographical and local labour market perspective, from aspects of labour process theory, the 'flexibility thesis', labour market segmentation theory, localities studies, as well as theories of local dependency and ideas of structured coherence within urban labour markets. Many of these ideas add to an understanding of the contemporary relevance of the concept of the local labour market. Earlier theoretical formulations, primarily concerned with the firm, production and labour demand, have consequently given way to theory which

seeks to 'locate' these activities, and consequently skill formation and change, within broader societal and institutional contexts.

In order to achieve these objectives, this chapter draws explicitly and extensively from the published work of Jamie Peck who, with others, has stated and developed ideas as to the reconceptualisation of the local labour market as a theoretical basis for understanding labour market process within place and across space. This chapter, drawing upon this work, seeks to offer the beginnings of a constructive critique as a means of extending these ideas and Peck's stated research agenda, as well as utilising aspects of his work as a theoretical framework for the empirical work contained within this thesis.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Part one is concerned with introducing regulation theory as a theoretical formulation which has particular value and relevance to the subject matter of this thesis. Regulation theory, identified in large part with the French political economists of the 1970s, has been concerned with the broader social and institutional context of the processes of capital accumulation. From this perspective, state intervention into the realm of industrial training may in part be regarded and interpreted as, for example, part of the institutional and organisational conditions which 'secured' Fordism as a national accumulation regime. Apparent changes and crises in this dominant system of accumulation have arguably engendered changes in the mode of social regulation in order to both secure the existing regime and ultimately to facilitate a transition to a 'new' regime of accumulation. As a consequence, new institutions of labour regulation and governance are created, with the potential for different forms of policy provision and different social and geographical outcomes in different places. This section, within the context of regulation theory, begins to place skill formation through state intervention into this regulatory environment of changing policy and institutional forms at the level and operation of the national economy.

Part two draws upon these and other relevant theoretical formulations in order to locate them within the explicitly geographical context of the reconceptualised notion

of the local labour market. This section, through a brief critique of the travel-to-work area as local labour market, links a critique of labour market segmentation theory with the localities studies of the early 1980s to illustrate both the development of ideas and the complexity of labour market process within place. Peck's earlier work was in part derived from these critiques in order to identify the generative causal processes which underpin local labour market structures. For Peck, these centred upon labour market segmentation arising from processes of labour demand, labour supply and the regulatory activities of the state. Related work on issues of 'local dependency' and 'structured coherence' within urban labour markets have also served to contribute to the more recent development and extension of regulation theory to accommodate sub-national theoretical formulations, apparently reinforcing the significance of the concept of the local labour market. Peck's (1996) more recent work in particular, restates his earlier position in terms of both the 'production-reproduction dialectic' and the 'regulatory dialectic' operating within the geographical context of the reconceptualised local labour market. This section, through the contemporary debate concerned with 'local modes of social regulation', serves to link the more abstract theoretical generalisations of regulation theory to the sub-national conjunctural relations of the local labour market and ultimately, the specificities of state-funded industrial training initiatives operating at the local level.

The final part of this chapter develops these theoretical perspectives within the context of state intervention in skill formation and labour regulation. This section places state intervention in industrial training in Britain, through Government Training Centres and the later Skillcentres, into this framework by regarding these training initiatives as part of the institutional framework of labour regulation, governance and control. Interpreted at different spatial scales and within different geographical contexts, these training programmes are viewed as both the product of the regulation of the labour market by government, at the level of the nation state; as well as, within the context of the specificities of place, one component of the regulatory infrastructure in contingent and conjunctural interaction with other identified generative causal processes underpinning labour market structure. This final section provides the theoretical

framework which structures and informs the empirical analyses contained within chapters three to seven.

2.2 Labour market regulation and governance as institutional context

2.2.1 Origins and defining concepts

Regulation theory is principally identified with the work, since the 1970s, of the French political economists. The theory, since Aglietta's (1979) work on the regulation of the U.S. economy, has had an important impact upon the macro-economic analysis of the dynamics of the relations between capital, labour and the state in a crisis environment. Jessop identifies at least seven distinct groupings, the French regulationists themselves comprising the Grenoblois, Parisian and PCF-CME (French Communist Party-state monopoly capitalism) groups. Other approaches include the 'Amsterdam school', the West German regulationists, the 'Nordic models' group and the 'American radicals' (Jessop, 1990). Regulation theory, therefore, is not a single consistent theory, but its diversity is at least directed by a generally common concern amongst the regulationist literature with the 'changing forms and mechanisms in and through which the expanded reproduction of capital as a social relation is secured'. Implicit in this statement is the belief that, 'given the inherent economic contradictions and emergent properties of the capitalist mode of production, this expanded social reproduction is always presented as partial, temporary and unstable' (Jessop, 1990, 154-5).

The different 'schools' of regulation theory all adopt an account of capital accumulation which emphasises its socially embedded and regularised nature. They focus on the 'historically contingent ensembles of complementary economic *and extra-economic* mechanisms and practices' enabling relatively stable accumulation to occur over relatively long periods and despite the inherent crisis-tendencies and conflicts within capitalism (Jessop, 1997a, 503). This was seen to be an extension of Althusserian structuralism by overcoming the assumption that structures maintain themselves without effective social agency.

The problem of understanding how capitalism could survive these fundamental contradictions and crisis-tendencies was to be resolved, from a regulationist perspective, in specific institutional forms, societal norms, and patterns of strategic conduct which sought to at least temporarily regulate these conflicts. Regulationists suggest that economic relations are always socially embedded and that economic development is largely path-dependent and irreversible. They argue that economic, political and social institutions are endogenous and not exogenous economic factors disturbing and impacting on a socially disembedded market economy. Institutions, as a consequence, matter and change over time, as capitalism being crisis prone and discontinuous, occurs in stages each with their own distinctive institutional frameworks (Jessop, 1997a).

The key concepts offered by the French regulationists were the 'regime of accumulation' and 'mode of regulation' (Aglietta, 1979). An accumulation regime is a particular combination of production and consumption which can be reproduced over time despite conflictual tendencies. The mode of regulation refers to the institutional ensemble and complex of norms which can temporarily secure capitalist reproduction despite these same crisis tendencies within the character of the capitalist social relation (Jessop, 1988). According to Boyer (1986, translated into english in 1990, but here translated by Moulaert and Swyngedouw, 1989) the regime of accumulation comprises 'the ensemble of regularities that assure a general and relatively coherent progression of the accumulation process'. These regularities 'absorb or temporarily delay the distortions and disequilibria that are born out of the accumulation process itself'. Goodwin et al (1993) have outlined the conceptual underpinning of the theory in that 'the expanded social reproduction of capitalism is never guaranteed, but has to be continually secured through a range of social norms, mechanisms, and institutions which help temporarily to stabilise the system's inherent contradiction around a particular regime of accumulation' (Goodwin, Duncan and Halford, 1993, 68).

The regime of accumulation, therefore, refers to a 'phase of capitalist development during which the process of accumulation can proceed in a relatively crisis-free environment' (Peck and Tickell, 1992). In order to achieve this necessarily temporary

period of stability, the regime of accumulation comprises a mode of social regulation which seeks to guarantee that the dominant mode of economic growth and distribution is reproducible through crisis tendencies. It is important to note that the mode of social regulation can not be simply reduced to a consideration of state institutions, although they constitute an important element of the regulatory system. The mode of social regulation includes social institutions, behavioural norms, habits and conventions, networks, political practices, as well as state action and legislature (Jessop, 1997a; Tickell and Peck, 1992).

> "The theory suggests that capitalism develops through a series of historical-institutional epochs in which modes of social regulation perform a critical role in internalizing the inherent crisis tendencies of the capitalist accumulation process....In time, crisis tendencies within the accumulation process will exceed the moderating and equilibriating effects of the MSR and the regime of accumulation will break down....for the capitalist growth process to be restored, a new structural coupling between accumulation and regulation must be established.
> (Peck and Tickell, 1992, 349)

Regulation theorists, however, deny that there is a single objective logic underpinning capitalist development. That development, according to regulation theory, is always mediated through historically specific institutional forms, regulatory institutions and norms of conduct and behaviour; and that these institutional 'solutions' are temporary, partial, experimental and the product of 'chance discoveries' (Lipietz, 1986a) which contain and limit the basic conflicts of capitalism but cannot do so forever (Aglietta, 1982; Lipietz, 1986b; Jessop, 1988). The prevailing accumulation regime, therefore, sets the regularities and trends at the macro level, but does not suppose a complete homogeneity of the basic institutional form. Equally, the maintenance and emergence of an existing or new accumulation regime and mode of regulation is not a 'monotonous process, clearly perceived and perfectly expected by economic and social actors'. Being, on the contrary, 'a rather blind process, largely unintentional, even if some clear conceptions might play some role in enlightening and challenging collective and individual behaviours' (Boyer, 1991).

The regulation approach, therefore, whilst going beyond a narrow concern with 'production functions, economizing behaviour and pure market forces' in its investigation of institutional factors and social forces 'directly and indirectly involved in capital accumulation' (Jessop, 1995), also rejects the notion of general equilibrium and market mediated regulation. By definition, modes of social regulation are not determined functionally by the requirements of the accumulation process (Tickell and Peck, 1995). The state, therefore, can not act as an exogenous force intervening as regulator of the whole economy, compensating for any market failures. Regulation, 'assumes no sovereign power of command or privileged point of coordination' and does not suggest that there is a unique hierarchy of institutions. Instead it is a complex, multilateral and provisional process mediated through institutions and conducted by social forces (Jessop, 1988; Aglietta, 1982). From this position, regulation theory, has begun the task of integrating radical political economy with analyses of the state and civil society to show how economic and extra-economic factors interact to stabilise the capital relation (Jessop, 1997a). It is, according to Tickell and Peck (1995), not just about the rigorous periodisation of capitalist development, but also about analysing the 'institutional infrastructure around and through which capitalist development proceeds'.

The emphasis upon periodisation and the points and processes of transition between these periods, however, has arguably diverted and pre-occupied regulation theorists to the extent that sufficient attention has not been given to the regulatory mechanisms which serve to facilitate and reproduce capital relations *within* an accumulation regime, rather than those that maintain those same relations *between* regimes. Coupled with an emphasis within much of the early regulationist work upon the national economy and the nation-state as the 'taken-for-granted' focus and space for regulationist analysis, regulation theory in its first-generation form has until recently appeared increasingly unable to accommodate the grounded geographical complexity of the 'global-local' debate, or to dislocate itself from the arguments surrounding the 'flexibility thesis' and the supposed transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism.

2.2.2 Beyond Fordism and the transition between regimes of accumulation

The regulation approach has focused upon a critique of Fordism, its crisis and the nature and form of its apparently emerging successor, post-Fordism. Whilst the core of regulation theory has been concerned to make explicit the logic of past or existing modes of development, by the 1980s the emphasis had shifted to the identification of the characteristics of what could possibly be regarded as a new emerging accumulation regime. As a consequence, previous periods were subsequently only afforded interest in terms of their contribution to an understanding of this new regime and the limited specification of past regimes and the onset of Fordist crisis became a generally consistent opening to the post-Fordist debate.

Lipietz (1986a, 25) is typical in stating that '...until World War I, an extensive regime of accumulation focused on the widened reproduction of capital goods dominated in the big capitalist countries, and since World War II this has given way to a mainly intensive regime focused on mass consumption'. The crisis of the 1930s was from this perspective either the 'first crisis of intensive accumulation or the last crisis of competitive regulation'. Lipietz continued by locating towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the onset of the crisis in Fordism which, as a 'mode of capital accumulation based on the upheaval of the labour process', seemed to be reaching technical and social limits. Boyer (1991, 106), likewise draws attention to the way in which regulation theory has frequently been reduced to and centred upon the concept of Fordism. Boyer defined Fordism in terms of 'the simultaneous evolution of production and consumption norms after World War II'; and noted that this pattern of development has been shown to be different from previous regimes, namely 'intensive accumulation without mass consumption in the interwar period and extensive accumulation during the previous (19th) century'. Jessop (1995) reinforces this position by stating that the 'integral' approach of regulation theory, concerned as it is with the economic and extra-economic mechanisms and practices which support capital accumulation, shows that it is 'irreducible to a concern with Fordism, its crisis, or the transition to post-Fordism, however broadly these may be interpreted'. However, despite this view, the regulation approach has become characterised as 'a

major theorisation of the patterns of post-war economic growth until the mid 1970s and of its crisis thereafter' (Amin, 1994).

Importantly, however, Peck and Tickell (1994a; Tickell and Peck, 1995) have, amongst others, begun to unpack the relationship between regulation theory as method and the 'many prevailing conceptions' of post-Fordism. This work has questioned the growing acceptance of an established post-Fordist regime of accumulation as premature, enabling them to be both proponents of regulation theory and sceptics about post-Fordism. They argue that whilst the post-Fordist thesis has been based upon a series of abstractions from changing conditions in production, much of this work has failed to specify '...how the putative post-Fordist economy might be socially regulated or how it might be pieced together in macro-economic terms' (Tickell and Peck, 1995). As a consequence, the structural coupling between the dominant system of accumulation and the mode of social regulation has not been specified sufficiently to talk of a post-Fordist regime of accumulation. The crisis of Fordism was a crisis of Fordist accumulation but also a crisis in the mode of social regulation. According to regulation theory, the crisis in both spheres must be resolved, and both 'recoupled', in order to demonstrate either a return to sustainable growth, or the transition to a new regime of accumulation (Peck and Tickell, 1994a).

This perspective is particularly important within the context of this thesis. The search for a new institutional 'fix' in what Peck and Tickell refer to as the *after*-Fordist crisis, reaffirms the coupling of systems of accumulation and modes of social regulation as 'institutionally specific development paths', or temporary institutional fixes which through 'chance discoveries' and experimentation mediate, accommodate and absorb the inherent crisis tendencies until these same crisis tendencies dominate and the regime of accumulation breaks down. The mode of social regulation and the accumulation system exist, therefore, in a dynamic and historically contingent relationship which allows the mode of social regulation to be understood not as a functionalist response, but as itself playing a part in shaping the accumulation process. By focusing upon the material historical and institutional specificities of capitalist development, abstract generalisations about 'globally hegemonic regimes of

accumulation' are countered by the study of concrete institutional variability *within* regimes of accumulation (Tickell and Peck, 1995).

This institutional variability, however, has until relatively recently been interpreted from the perspective of the same regulatory space, namely the national economy and nation-state, which dominated early regulationist research. Whilst presenting a limited geographical perspective, an understanding of these national variants of Fordism (see Tickell and Peck, 1992; 1995) has served in large part to focus debate onto their associated national state forms. As argued above, any claims for a transition from a Fordist regime of accumulation to a new Post-Fordist regime, would necessitate an understanding of the changes in the mode of social regulation and consequently changes in the political and social order. From a regulationist perspective, change in the system of accumulation would seem to imply an equally fundamental restructuring and strategic reorientation in the form and functions of the nation-state.

2.2.3 Changing state forms: Keynesian welfare state to Schumpeterian workfare state?

Whilst the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism has arguably dominated the regulationist literature, so attention has been focused upon the associated changes in the mode of social regulation. The transition from Fordist to post-Fordist state has generally, within the British context, been characterised, by a related transition or 'tendential shift' from a Keynesian welfare state to a Schumpeterian workfare state (Jessop, 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; Hirsch, 1991; Peck and Jones, 1995). Within this understanding of changing state forms, two distinct state functions are emphasised. First, the state helps to secure the conditions for the valorisation of capital; and second, it helps to secure the conditions for the reproduction of labour power. Thus according to Jessop (1993), while the terms 'Keynesian' and 'Schumpeterian' refer to the distinctive form of state economic intervention characteristic of a given mode of social regulation, the terms 'welfare' and 'workfare' refer to the distinctive form of social intervention favoured by the state. Within this context, a new structural coupling is anticipated 'between flexible accumulation and Schumpeterian regulation

to parallel that previously established between Fordism and Keynesianism' (Peck and Jones, 1995, 1367).

In abstract terms, the objectives of the Keynesian welfare state were to underwrite the social reproduction of Fordism. This was to be achieved essentially through demand-side management of the economy, social welfare programmes and the promotion of full employment. By balancing supply and demand, generalising norms of mass consumption and generating new forms of collective consumption, cyclical swings characteristic of competitive markets were to be avoided (Jessop, 1993; 1994). The growth of Fordist production was, therefore, to be stabilised by the Keynesian-inspired management of the economy, whilst the welfare state together with collective bargaining helped to improve living standards and boost demand for consumer goods (Pinch, 1997). Thus, the state became an integral part of the social and economic reproduction process, not only involved in the material reproduction and training of labour power but also engaged in a growing range of infrastructural, industrial and technology policies. And as a consequence, whilst the Keynesian welfare state helped to secure the conditions for Fordist economic growth, Fordism in turn helped secure the expansion of the Keynesian welfare state.

In contrast, the Schumpeterian workfare state was characterised by the 'promotion of product, process, organisational and market innovation; the enhancement of the structural competitiveness of open economies mainly through supply-side intervention; and the subordination of social policy to the demands of labour market flexibility and structural competitiveness' (Jessop, 1993, 9). Whilst Fordism was typically associated with a primary concern with demand management within a national economy, the Schumpeterian workfare state adopts supply-side intervention to promote innovation and structural competitiveness through flexibility. From this position, social welfare is restructured and subordinated to market forces.

From a regulationist perspective, therefore, the crisis in Fordism represented more than issues surrounding production and profitability. The failure of the dynamic inter-relationship between the accumulation system and the mode of social regulation,

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between Fordism and the Keynesian welfare state, was as much an issue of the failure to create new and appropriate institutional forms and social relations. Post-Fordism, if it is to represent the basis for a new dominant regime of accumulation, must be understood not only in terms of the 'new' flexibility within the organisation of production and the labour process within the firm (see Gertler, 1988; 1992), but also in terms of the emerging role of the state and the more general reorganisation of social relations (Jessop, 1991a). The Schumpeterian workfare state may be regarded as 'post-Fordist' in the sense that it sought to resolve the crisis tendencies in Fordism and the welfare state. By subordinating domestic full employment and social policy to the needs of labour market flexibility and international competitiveness, the Schumpeterian workfare state represents a clear break with the Keynesian management of the economy. The transition to a new mode of social regulation, in terms of the state's role and function, reflects a demotion of concern with productivity and planning within the national economy, and a growing emphasis on the need for flexibility and entrepreneurialism (Jessop, 1993; 1994).

If the British national economy exists as part of an increasingly open global economy, dominated by trans-national business activities, then its ability to manage the demand side of the economy is also increasingly limited. Economic intervention is more likely to succeed by guiding supply-side developments. In terms of the later analysis of state intervention into the realm of adult industrial training, these changes in the role and function of the state, apparent within both labour market and social policy, have had significant implications in terms of the nature of state-funded industrial training policy within Britain. Peck and Jones (1995) emphasise the basis for these changes in their study of British Training and Enterprise Councils, 'interrogated' as reflections of an emerging Schumpeterian workfare state.

> "In terms of *labour market policy*, the fundamental change is the
> rejection of the Keynesian commitment to full (male) employment in
> favour of a Schumpeterian emphasis on the role of labour-market
> organisation as a source of competitive advantage...With regard to
> *social policy*, the emblematic shift from workfare to welfare is
> associated with a switch from the goal of social needs satisfaction to a
> new emphasis of meeting the needs of business."
>
> (Peck and Jones, 1995, 1367)

In summarising the TEC experience as 'workfare' but not 'Schumpeterian', Peck and Jones conclude that far from resolving the crisis tendencies within 'Britain's flawed Fordist growth model' and 'smoothing the way to a post-Fordist regime', the TEC initiative seems to be fuelling the crisis (Peck and Jones, 1995, 1390). This finding, however, is not inconsistent with the abstract generalisations and formulations of the regulationist approach, nor the supposed transition from Keynesian welfare to Schumpeterian workfare. In attempting to specify the nature of the Schumpeterian workfare state through concrete work in particular places, this work reinforces the view that any such transition to a new accumulation regime will not be through a functionalist state response, nor via a clear view as to the form such a new state role should take.

As stated above, and given the complexity of reality, labour market regulation through policy formulations will be conducted on the basis of experimentation and trial-and-error. This 'ironic' behaviour (ironic in the sense that all regulatory mechanisms will ultimately fail, see Jessop, 1997b), through experimentation, becomes even more chaotic and haphazard during periods of 'crisis' as regulatory responses are increased and their conjunctural effects are compounded. The failure of the TEC initiative to succeed in promoting flexibility and competitive advantage by directly meeting the needs of business, does not in itself diminish the policy intent or detract from the Keynesian welfare to Schumpeterian workfare thesis. What this work illustrates, is the need to engage in such 'concrete' research, to specify in detail the complexity of state forms under different periods of capitalist development and to understand the nature of the outcomes associated with different labour market regulatory mechanisms.

2.2.4 Changing state forms: neo-liberalism

In such an attempt to move down a level of abstraction, Bob Jessop has sought to detail the specifics of particular variant forms of Schumpeterian workfare regimes. These 'ideal-type' forms are presented in order to counter the view that there is one 'global' dominant form of Schumpeterian workfare state. Jessop relates this to the 'newly emerging economic order (being) more global in scope than Atlantic Fordism

and...associated with the struggle for hegemony of several models of capitalism' (Jessop, 1994). Concrete-complex phenomena, however, inevitably have a wide variety of causes, and Jessop is also concerned to offer a choice of theoretical perspectives.

> "Although a regulation-theoretical account can certainly be offered for the crisis of the Keynesian national welfare state and the associated attempts to replace it with a Schumpeterian workfare regime, one could also adopt a more state-theoretical account of these two tendencies and examine the search by key *political* forces to deal with the adverse *political* repercussions of a crisis of the welfare state."
>
> *(original emphasis)* (Jessop, 1995, 1619)

Given the levels of regulatory improvisation and trial-and-error involved in the transition from Fordist to post-Fordist regimes, an emerging Schumpeterian workfare state could consequently take neo-liberal, neo-corporatist and neo-statist forms 'depending on institutional legacies and the balance of political forces in specific social formations', and in different nation-states (Jessop, 1994; Peck and Tickell, 1994a). At least in principle, neo-liberal strategies involve a progressive withdrawal of state intervention and regulation, as opposed to the growth of state intervention in the other two forms. The neo-corporatist state is characterised by the delegation of governance functions to intermediary organisations, as the state seeks to establish a favourable balance between competition and cooperation. Neo-statist strategies involve an active structural policy in which the state sets strategic targets for flexible accumulation, innovation and the promotion of the overall structural competitiveness of the national economy. Whilst highly interventionist, the neo-statist strategy exists as a market-conforming but state-sponsored approach to economic reorganisation (Peck and Jones, 1995; Jessop, 1994).

During a supposed period of crisis and transition, experimentation in state forms and actions is likely to be increased. As a consequence, elements of each of these strategies may be combined within and across different levels of political organisation. 'Thatcher's Britain' clearly involved the dominance of a neo-liberal strategy, but despite opposition to tripartite corporatism, did not totally reject other strategies (Jessop, 1991b; 1995; Peck and Tickell, 1995). Neo-liberalism, according to Jessop, is concerned to promote a market-guided transition towards the new economic

regime. For the public sector it involves privatisation, liberalisation and the adoption of commercial criteria in what becomes a residual state sector. In summary, it leads to the reorientation of state activities to the needs of the private sector. And although associated with a 'free market' and 'liberal state', the neo-liberal strategy involves a strong state both during and after the restructuring of markets.

The neo-liberal response, therefore, involves wide-ranging legislative and administrative changes to shift the balance of power in the labour market towards capital. Under the dominating tri-partite corporatist institutions of the 1970s (such as the Manpower Services Commission) the balance had been seen to shift too far towards organised labour. Dismantling corporatist structures and institutions and the creation of new public-private partnerships of governance, were all part of the neo-liberal journey towards the recommodification of labour-power, the privatisation of state enterprise and welfare services and the deregulation of the private sector.

Peck and Tickell (1994a) offer a definition of neo-liberalism which is very close to that of Jessop's for the Schumpeterian workfare state. They define neo-liberalism as a 'political project concerned with the liberalisation of competitive market forces, the abandonment of demand-side intervention in favour of supply-side policy measures and the rejection of both social partnership and welfarism'. Tickell and Peck (1995) note that Jessop is concerned to distance the Schumpeterian workfare state from neo-liberalism but state that the two share many common features and that it is very difficult to disentangle the two regulatory projects 'at the present historical conjuncture'.

Implicit in neo-liberal ideology was a rejection of existing and established forms of state regulation and intervention; markets, it was maintained, enter crisis *as a result* of the distorting actions of state regulation. In order to appear to reduce the state to a residual form, however, it was necessary to create new institutional forms intended to support, for example, business and the operation of the labour market. From this perspective, neo-liberalism may be regarded as either part of the post-Fordist, post-Keynesian institutional fix, a regulatory solution; or else, a regulatory 'hole',

representing the absence of a new institutional fix. Tickell and Peck (1995) argue for the latter and, therefore, against Jessop's variant form of the Schumpeterian workfare state as a mode of social regulation 'in-waiting', or as part of a 'market-guided transition towards the new economic regime'. Neo-liberalism, from this perspective, is consequently a symptom of the crisis and any new emerging post-Fordist mode of social regulation must present a critique and response to neo-liberalism.

It is reasonable to suggest that any emerging mode of social regulation that secures a structural coupling with an 'after-Fordist' accumulation regime will not comprise the pure 'ideal-type' of neo-liberal state presented by Jessop. However, the non-functionalist position of regulation theory, concerned as it is with 'experimentation' and 'chance discoveries' allows for the neo-liberal state form to be part of this 'trial-and-error' process. Within a learning environment, even the failure of the neo-liberal strategy could be interpreted as part of the 'market-guided transition', even if that transition is ultimately, to an interventionist form which is completely juxtaposed to the neo-liberal position. The Schumpeterian workfare state, from this position, may not represent a new mode of social regulation potentially coupled with the post-Fordist accumulation system. Much as the relevance and dominance of post-Fordism is contested, so it is likely that the 'transition' is not from Keynesian welfare to Schumpeterian workfare, but that Schumpeterian workfare is itself part of the transition to a new and as yet not clearly formed mode of social regulation.

From a regulationist perspective, however, what is perhaps most important in this debate, is that both sides recognise that neo-liberalism necessitates a strong state presence and that ultimately 'institutions matter'. And that the variant state forms that exist during this historical conjuncture, may be studied as part of, and in order to understand, the historically contingent, socially embedded and socially regularised nature of the capital accumulation process. Whether it is corporatist Britain in the 1970s, or neo-liberal Britain in the 1980s, distinctive institutional forms have emerged (although sometimes the institutional 'shell' has remained the same, whilst the role and function have changed), with distinctive policy formulations and outcomes. The study of these outcomes, from within this theoretical framework and continuing debate, has

the potential to link the abstract generalisations of regulation theory to the concrete study of state forms and labour market regulatory mechanisms at spatial scales outside of the nation state. And in so doing, the potential also exists for linking abstract theoretical formulations as to the nature of the regime of capitalist accumulation and the accompanying mode of social regulation to the historically-located, conjunctural and contingent relations of the reconceptualised local labour market.

2.3 Sub-national geographies of labour market regulation

2.3.1 Beyond the nation-state

The preceding sections have generally avoided the issue of the 'geography' of labour market regulation. Early applications of regulation theory as method, followed Aglietta's (1979) lead by assuming the nation-state and the national economy to be the appropriate focus and regulatory space. The abstract generalisations of regulation theory, however, when applied to concrete situations and the specific circumstances of different nation-states, do not only reveal how institutions matter, but also focus attention upon fundamental shifts in spatial relations which are seen by many to be central, for example, to understanding the transition from Keynesian welfare to Schumpeterian workfare.

The debate surrounding the 'resurgence of regional economies' and the 'hollowing-out' of the nation state (see Amin and Robins, 1990; Amin and Thrift, 1992; Gertler, 1992; Swyngedouw, 1992; 1997; Jessop, 1992; 1993; 1994; Peck and Tickell, 1994b; Sabel, 1994) has centred upon the recognition of both an increasingly de-regulated and open global economy and the consequent and increasing inability of national governments to control and direct their economies. Internationalised flexible production systems and the long-established growth of trans-national corporations have arguably weakened national powers and in many cases displaced those powers to other institutional bodies seeking to combat and/or exploit the risks and opportunities emanating from the global economic environment. Within such a context, it is argued

that this loss of national autonomy has created 'both the need for supra-national co-ordination and the space for sub-national resurgence'.

Globalisation, it is argued, means that the local economy can only be seen as a node within a global economic network with no meaningful existence outside of this context (Amin and Robins, 1990; Jessop, 1993). Following the Fordist crisis, therefore, neo-liberal strategies in Britain, at the level of local economic development, have placed great emphasis on competitiveness. State institutions have as their purpose the strengthening and directing of regional economies to make them more competitive in the new world economy. The inability, however, of the central state to pursue sufficiently differentiated policy programmes to reflect the specific needs and problems of particular localities, has meant a reorganisation and restructuring of the local state, in its broadest possible terms, to incorporate new business-led partnerships and local coalitions of interests from within both the public and private sectors.

During the Fordist era, these same regional and local economies operated in the interests of the central Keynesian state, as regional policy sought to contribute to the goal of full employment and mass consumption and production. Hollowing out the nation state, therefore, may be seen as a post-Fordist response to the failure of the regulatory mechanisms which had facilitated industrial capital during the long post-war boom. From within the framework of the new global economic order and the Schumpeterian workfare state, the difficulties associated with the demand-side management of the national economy increasingly gave way to supply-side intervention. And consequently new state institutions and policies have been founded and implemented at a spatial scale which could arguably cope more effectively with the symptoms of the Fordist and after-Fordist crisis and transition. These 'new' institutional and regulatory responses are of necessity, therefore, closer to the 'localised sites of structural competitiveness', in local or regional innovation systems and local and regional labour markets (Jessop, 1994; Sabel, 1994). Any potentially new mode of social regulation, coupled to the post-Fordist regime of accumulation, has therefore to reflect the changing geographical nature of the organisation of production. So much as institutions matter, therefore, so does geography, and in

particular the supra-national, the sub-national, and in the context of this thesis, the 'local' as an important location for the regulatory activities of the neo-liberal state or Schumpeterian workfare state.

The problem for regulation theory, which had previously seen its position at the level of the nation-state as largely unproblematic, has been to demonstrate the institutional underpinning of labour markets and to understand their operation over time, space and within the context of place; in short, to understand how modes of social regulation are instantiated in specific local contexts (Haughton and Peck, 1996; Jessop, 1997a). Regulation theorists have more recently begun to direct their attention to other spatial scales, away from the nation-state. Earlier regulationist accounts largely dismissed the sub-national and the supra-national, as lacking the necessary range of regulatory powers available to the nation-state (Lipietz, 1994). Influentially, however, and in the context of the 'global economy' and the growing European economic and political space, Lipietz (1994) has continued to develop his ideas on local through to international regimes, and Boyer has most recently argued that the regulation approach must 'take account not only of the social embeddedness of economic activities, but also their (spatial and institutional) 'nestedness' within different scales of regulation' (Jessop, 1997a; Boyer and Hollingsworth, 1997).

Geography and geographers, however, working within regulation theory may have grounds for an earlier claim to having both identified the relative neglect of these other spatial scales, and for attempting to apply regulation theory within the concrete settings and specificities of the 'local'. Jessop's (1997a) recent view is that this 'innovation' within regulation theory was at first, little more than 'looking at local accumulation regimes and their local modes of regulation (as if each scale of economic activity had its own mode of regulation)'. More recently, and importantly within the context and subject matter of this thesis, there has been 'an increasing interest in links among different scales of regulation and in the multiscalar nature of modes of regulation which bear on any particular economic space (Moulaert, Swyngedouw and Wilson, 1988; Tickell and Peck, 1992; Swyngedouw, 1996; Moulaert, 1996). In order, therefore, to understand the theoretical context and

framework within which such a reconceptualisation of the local labour market has taken place, it is necessary to approach uneven development and regulation theory at the sub-national level via the development of ideas within and outside of geography concerned with both the local labour market and labour market segmentation.

2.3.2 Local labour market as context

Geographical definitions of the labour market have previously centred upon issues of mobility and the friction of distance, representing the range within which labour power can be exchanged and substituted on a daily basis, commonly termed the travel-to-work area. The critique of the travel-to-work area (TTWA) as the basis of the geographical definition of the local labour market is now well established (Peck, 1989a). Equally well founded has been the critique of the local labour market as the foundation for the locality studies of the 1980s, centred upon the CURS programme (Duncan and Savage, 1989). Peck (1989a), whilst recognising the importance of the daily commuting range as the 'spatial manifestation of the mobility of labour', identifies a number of critical theoretical and empirical problems associated with the notion of travel-to-work areas as the basis for the local labour market. First, given the 'complex web' of intersecting TTWA patterns, largely arbitrary decisions have to be made about levels of self-containment and the 'acceptable' levels of cross-boundary leakage by commuters (Coombes et al, 1979; Smart, 1974). These decisions, however, when taken up by policy-makers, take on an importance and fixity which surpasses their theoretical coherence and value (Coombes, Green and Openshaw, 1985; Coombes et al, 1986; Coombes, Green and Owen, 1988; Green, Owen and Hasluck, 1991).

In reality, different social and labour market groups exhibit quite different commuting behaviour (Pinch, 1987). Coombes, Green and Owen (1988), show that there are far fewer local labour markets for managerial and professional workers, than for semi and unskilled workers who need to work nearer their homes (Figs 2.1 & 2.2). Coombes et al, demonstrate how aggregate commuting patterns generalise substantial differences in the journey-to-work behaviour of different sections of the workforce, recognising

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Figs.2.1 & 2.2
**Local labour markets for managerial and professional workers (top) and semi-skilled
and unskilled workers (bottom) in the West Midlands**
(Source: Coombes, Green & Owen, 1988)
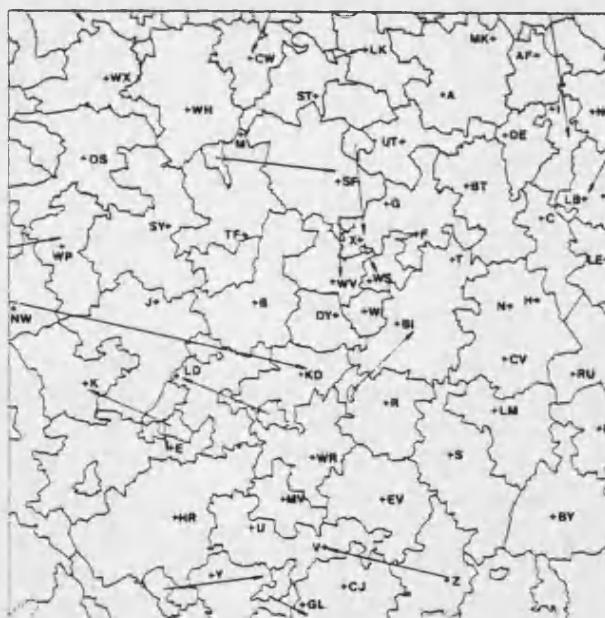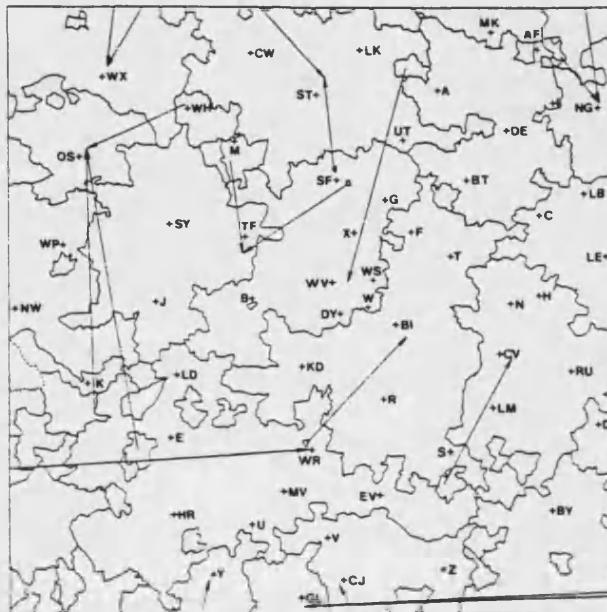
that the 'sheer variability between segments of the labour force must be a concern for the single-tier TTWA definitions and their more simplistic uses as *the* LLMA' (Coombes, Green and Owen, 1988, 307).

Whilst Coombes et al do indicate the importance of investigating each sub-group local labour market area in a 'single region or sub-region' in order to 'examine the geography of the results in greater depth', it is clear that this tendency to average out around the journey-to-work behaviour of some statistically average group of commuters represents an inadequate expression of the importance and role of place and space within any concept of a labour market area with a distinctive geographical expression. Travel-to-work areas, therefore do not reflect the varying labour market experiences of different socio-economic, race or gender-based groups within any locality or city or region. TTWAs also, through an over-emphasis on the friction of distance do not explain the importance of space and, importantly, are defined merely as 'containers' within which a set of generalised labour market processes operate, largely unaffected by their spatial context and failing to address how labour markets operate in locally specific ways (Peck, 1989a).

Based upon the travel-to-work area, the local labour market simply refers to a spatial area within which a high proportion of the local residents work and live. In attempting to solve the problem of defining local labour market boundaries, the TTWA approach has diverted attention away from process and towards pattern. Although a range of data is available concerning jobs in different areas, this does not necessarily tell us much about the character of the local labour market. As Duncan and Savage (1989) observe, the 'same jobs may have very different labour market characteristics in various places'. In any one place, a series of segmented labour markets and jobs are only open to specific sorts of local residents and the spatial boundaries of the labour markets for these different groups are likely to vary (Duncan and Savage, 1989, 189). Critically, the travel-to-work area as the basis for the definition of the local labour market fails to acknowledge labour market segmentation (Peck, 1989a; Duncan and Savage, 1989).

2.3.3 Local labour market as segmented space

Labour market segmentation theory has in the recent period been subject to
examination by geographers and economists in order to increase substantially our
understanding of labour market process. Particularly in relation to geography, to
develop an awareness of the importance of space and place, and to redefine the
concept of a local labour market. For many geographers, the idea of a segmented
labour market was initially both a welcome advance, in terms of re-emphasising
process, and a complicating factor denying, as it does, the spatial simplicity of the
TTWA concept. The TTWA as local labour market, however, did draw attention to
the fact that labour is mobilised at the local level (Peck, 1989a). In attempting to
define spatial boundaries, however, it tended to 'neglect divisions *within* local labour
markets in favour of emphasis upon differences *between* local labour markets'
(Duncan and Savage, 1989). Segmentation theory confronted this approach and
appeared to diminish the importance of place within labour market theory, although
specification of the diversity which exists *within* local labour markets need not
undermine 'space', but rather 'constitutes the basis for a more sensitive appreciation of
its role' (Peck, 1989a, 54).

The need is to maintain both sides of the equation, namely that labour is mobilised at
the local level, and that labour markets are segmented. A large body of literature has
been concerned with segmentation theory in the last twenty-five years. This section is
principally concerned with how that body of work has interfaced with geographical
studies concerned with the local labour market. A number of recent papers have been
particularly concerned with this relationship (Cooke, 1983a; 1983b; Conti, 1989;
Duncan and Savage, 1989; Morrison, 1990; Peck, 1989a; 1989b; Pinch, 1987) and
have sought to make explicit, and to varying degrees, labour market models and their
spatial expression, hypotheses for a general theory of the labour market in a
geographical context, and the manner in which diverse causal processes which are
associated with the labour market are revealed in different places.

One contribution to this debate was Philip Cooke's (1983a) work on 'labour market discontinuity and spatial development'. Cooke sought to demonstrate that labour market segmentation, through a 'labour theory of location', took on a spatial form (Cooke, 1983a, 544). He took as his starting point a critique of neo-classical labour market theory in which the labour market is seen as the institutional means by which the purchase and sale of labour power are arranged, and where the labour market is 'simply one more means whereby producers and consumers come together to maximise their utilities, in this case to buy and sell the capacity to work' (Cooke, 1983a). Developing this statement is critical, because a critique of the labour market as a simple supply-demand equilibrium model is the starting point for not only recognising the diversity of causal processes operating within a labour market but it also provides an important framework within which a greater appreciation of the role of place and space becomes possible.

The labour equilibrium model was first subject to criticism by the recognition of the existence of internal labour markets within firms, offering preferential treatment to existing employees compared to those on the open market. Wages paid to workers in particular occupations seemed to depend less upon the specific skills of the workers, as predicted by neo-classical theory, and more upon a system of bureaucratic rules and procedures, market mechanisms were a secondary factor (Peck, 1989b; Pinch, 1987). The institutional approach of Kerr (1954) was an important early contribution to this idea of the 'Balkanisation' of the labour market. A term Kerr used to describe the 'institutional procedures which separate territories of occupational sovereignty' (Pinch, 1987). Doeringer and Piore (1971) elaborated this idea to link internal and external labour markets, to develop ideas of labour market dualism, and notions of primary and secondary sectors of the labour market (Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973; Piore, 1975).

Doeringer and Piore saw the primary sector as offering better wages, good working conditions, secure employment and career progression, with stability being an important feature of the generally high skill levels within the labour force. This stability reflected the characteristics of the primary sector firm, with a high level of monopoly control over the product market, capital intensive, technologically advanced

and highly unionised. The secondary sector firm and worker was essentially the antithesis of the primary sector. Here were located the 'least desirable jobs' with poor wages and working conditions, high labour turnover rates, little opportunity for career advancement, and characterised by a working environment of instability. Labour, in response to fluctuating demand, was operating at the margins of the labour market often facing redundancy and repeated periods of unemployment. The characteristic firm of the secondary sector was small, technologically backward, prone to competitive pressure, with little or no unionisation, but providing a high degree of the 'flexibility' required by the fluctuating economic system.

The stability and rigidity characteristic of the primary sector was, however, in part maintained by the dynamic which existed between itself and the secondary sector (Rubery and Wilkinson, 1981). With changing economic fortunes the primary sector was able to accommodate increased and declining demand through sub-contracting to secondary sector firms and the temporary or part-time employment of secondary sector workers (Peck, 1989b). The internal labour markets of the primary sector could not be sustained if they were extended permanently during a period of cyclical growth (Morrison, 1990). The secondary sector, however, with its emphasis upon numerical labour flexibility, sought employees from traditionally non-unionised and supposedly weaker and less resistant groups within the workforce. The secondary sector, in this context, was dominated by external labour markets.

An additional perspective within these early formulations of segmentation theory was the functionalist view that managers within industry were able to produce and control the structure of occupations which were necessary for their needs within the capitalist economic system. The so-called 'radical' labour market theorists (Edwards, Reich and Gordon, 1975; Gordon, Edwards and Reich, 1982; Reich, Gordon and Edwards, 1973) set their theorisation within a broader ideological framework, stressing labour market segmentation as a capitalist control strategy. The radical theorists argued that firms sought to segment their labour forces in the face of deskilling (and therefore skill differentials) particularly through the exploitation of ascribed rather than achieved

characteristics, particularly in terms of racial and gender differences (Peck, 1989b; 1996).

Dualism, from this perspective, represented a strategy of management to divide workers against each other, making control easier. A four-segment model (Cooke, 1983a; Loveridge and Mok, 1979) illustrates this idea of segmentation as control strategy (Fig. 2.3). Workers were divided between *independent* and *subordinate* segments, characterized by decision responsibility, and routinised work, respectively. Beneath the primary subordinate segment was to be found the secondary segment, either relatively undifferentiated or vertically separated by non-economic factors such as race and gender (Cooke, 1983a). Cooke (1983a; 1983b), with others, has criticised this functionalist interpretation of segmentation within the labour market. He argues, that such a view 'absurdly understates the power of organized labour to influence its working conditions', and that the 'dynamic changes which can occur between primary and secondary labour markets as competition quickens or labour is able to exert sufficient control significantly to depress profits', is effectively ignored.

Peck (1989a; 1989b), whilst acknowledging this critique, stresses that the work of Doeringer and Piore, and Reich, Gordon and Edwards, represent an important and radical break with tradition, 'a watershed in the evolution of labour market theory'. This was achieved by in part highlighting the fact that the market mechanism can itself act as a source of inequality. Traditionally, economics had located the causes of inequality outside the labour market, for example in the education and training systems (Peck, 1989a). Segmentation theory, however, shifted the emphasis away from the characteristics of workers and towards the characteristics of jobs; and importantly in terms of this thesis, it brought an understanding of institutional processes into the mainstream of labour market theory (Peck, 1989b).

Explanations, as a result of the conceptualisation of the dual labour market model, were now required for the discontinuities in labour market achievement between different groups within the labour force, which remained even after controlling for human capital endowment (Becker, 1964). Equally, the attention drawn to

Fig.2.3
Four-segment model of labour market segmentation as control strategy
(Source: Cooke, 1983a; Loveridge and Mok, 1979)

PRIMARY SECTOR

PI		**PE**
High Wages (e.g. Oil, Gas, Advanced Working Conditions Chemicals, Electricity, Strong unionization Metallurgy, High-order Advanced Technology services) Autonomous Work Control Substantial Promotion		High Wages (e.g. Engineering Assembly, Good Working Conditions Lower-order Banking, Variable Unionization Insurance and Advanced Technology Services) Relatively Autonomous Work Control Little Promotion
SI		**SE**
Variable Wages (e.g. Engineering Poor working Conditions Components, Retailing Low Unionization Miscellaneous Advancing Technology Services) Supervised Work Control Limited Promotion		Low Wages (e.g. Textiles, Primitive Working Conditions Footwear/Leather, Little Unionization Glassware, Simple Technology Food Processing) Rigid Work Rules Little Promotion

SECONDARY SECTOR

I N T E R N A L (left margin)

E X T E R N A L (right margin)

institutional processes, whilst limited in these models to the firm as an administrative unit, centres upon the nature and operation of these hierarchical occupation-based allocative structures, 'in which sociological and political factors, rather than purely economic ones, come into play' (Peck, 1989b).

Reconstitution of the supply side of the labour market

Segmentation theory has drawn attention to the nature of the divisions existing within the labour market. In so doing, early formulations of the theory have tended to over-emphasise the demand side of the labour equation. From a geographical perspective, it is the critique of these models which is most important, in that subsequent work has not only sought to reconstitute the supply side elements but has also drawn attention to the diversity of causal processes relevant to labour market form and structure. In addition, contemporary forms of segmentation theory, by re-asserting the importance and relative autonomy of the social reproduction of labour, have questioned the simple one-to-one mapping of labour supply to demand, through a simple equilibrium model, within any specific geographical context.

Reformulations of the early segmentation models developed a theory of discontinuous labour markets, placing labour and its capacity for agency in an important position within the segmentation hierarchy (Berger and Piore, 1980). In this form, it is the interaction between capital and labour that structures the labour market. Kreckel (1980) identified five mechanisms which structured the labour market into an eight segment hierarchy (Fig. 2.4). These mechanisms, employed by capital and labour, were, demarcation, exclusion, solidarism, inclusion and exposure. Cooke (1983b) provides a detailed explanation of the manner in which these five elements serve to structure the labour market. Each of the above represents a strategy by management or organised labour to vary the asymmetry in the relations between capital and labour. From the perspective of labour, in a variety of contexts, it is acknowledged that only by associating and combining can labour seek to compensate for the power advantage engendered by capital through the ownership of the means of production.

Fig.2.4
Eight-segment labour market segmentation model
(Source: Cooke, 1983b; Kreckel, 1980)

←————————————————————DEMARCATION————————————————————→

P (i)	**CREDENTIAL QUALIFIED** Exclusive Non-Solidaristic Demarcating Very High Wage	**P (ii)**	**GENERAL SKILLED (SKILLS REVALUING)** Solidaristic Demarcating Exclusive High Wage
P (iii)	**GENERAL SKILLED (CRAFT, MARKETABLE)** High Wage Exclusive Solidaristic Demarcating	**P (iv)**	**GENERAL SKILLED (SKILLS DEVALUING)** Exposed Prone to Inclusion Exclusive High Wage, in Decline
S(i)	**SPECIALIZED, SEMISKILLED** Solidaristic Included Exposed Demarcating Relatively High Wage	**S (ii)**	**'NORMAL' UNSKILLED** Solidaristic Exclusive Male-dominated Relatively High Wage Demarcated
S (iii)	**SEMIMARGINALIZED** Unskilled or Dequalified Workers Segregated by sex, age, race, ethnicity Non-Solidaristic Low Wage Excluded Exposed (e.g. guest workers)	**S (iv)**	**MARGINALIZED** Illegal Immigrants Very Low Wage Highly Exposed Excluded No Citizenship Rights

E X C L U S I V E (left vertical label)

PRIMARY / SECONDARY (right vertical labels)

Kreckel's discontinuous labour market structure bears many similarities to the early demand-side led formulations of segmentation theory, and has to be subject to much of the same critique. Although supply-side factors are stressed, the social relations of production are still conceptualised within the firm, and the agency of labour is still arguably a functionalist response to the imperatives and logic of capital. Workers, and the assumption is entire social groups, are still allocated to a particular segment through employer discrimination. However, labour supply is also segmented, but not necessarily in line with the demand-side of the labour market. Although under certain conditions, and at different times in different places, employers are able to exploit these supply-side divisions to their advantage.

According to Duncan and Savage (1989), Cooke's (1983a; 1983b) twelve-fold typology of *local* labour markets was particularly important in showing that labour market segmentation took on a spatial form (Fig. 2.5). This typology of spatially discontinuous labour sub-markets attempted to represent 'certain spatial and occupational congruences which express the structured nature of labour markets in advanced capitalist economies'. The typology retained the primary and secondary sector dualistic division, notions of independent and subordinate functionaries, and many of the capital/labour control strategy mechanisms detailed under the discontinuous labour markets of Kreckel (1980). Consequently the individual segments strongly resemble the earlier segmentation models, with *underclass* and *marginalized* segments propping up the secondary sector and *independent functionaries*, representing the higher-order state/private administrative, managerial and professional groups. This limited spatial typology did illustrate, however, that these groups, at each extreme of the labour market, though separated hierarchically may also coexist spatially. This suggested that a reconceptualisation of the segmentation of the supply-side of the labour market equation, outside of the equilibrium model framework, and outside of the limitations imposed by drawing research boundaries around the firm was most necessary. This was to be coupled with an alternative geographical conceptualisation which centred upon place as an historically contingent process and the specificity of the locality.

Fig.2.5
Twelve-fold typology of local labour market segmentation
(Source: Cooke, 1983a; 1983b)

Independent Functionaries	Subordinate Functionaries	
Higher-order state/private administrative, managerial and professional. Primate cities or specialized centres of government, finance or production	Middle-order state/private administrative, managerial and professional. Primate, regional-metropolitan and local administrative/ commercial centres	
Self-Employed	*Crafts (Revaluing)*	P
Small/medium, independent businesses. Subcontractors, suppliers, primary producers. Periphery of industrial conurbations, rural areas, specialist inner-city 'quarters'	Male, skilled, manual workers in specialized manufacturing and service occupations, not necessarily large firms. Periphery of industrial conurbations, semirural (e.g. airports, power stations). Primate cities	R I M A R Y
Crafts (Devaluing)	*'Normal' Resistant*	
Male, skilled, manual workers in large manufacturing firms undergoing technological or labour restructuring. 'Traditional' industrial concentrations. Assisted Areas	Semiskilled male employees in large manufacturing firms. Industrial conurbations, Assisted Areas	
'Normal' Compliant	*Feminized*	
Small-firm male/female employees non-skilled and subcontracting, supplying. Periphery of industrial conurbations, specialist inner-city 'quarters'. Market and administrative towns	Fulltime lower-order manufacturing and service workers. Industrial conurbations, assisted areas (branch plants). Administrative/commercial centres	S E
Selective	*Precarious*	C O
Temporary and periodic workers. Regional-metropolitan and primate cities. Female secretarial, commercial. Male/ Female, educational, legal, clerical, entertainment	Guestworkers, seasonal, limited contract, parttime workers. Agricultural and construction workers. All urban centres employing 'casual' labour. Rural areas, tourism, leisure 'reserves'	N D A R
Underclass	*Marginalized*	Y
Unemployed, redundant, deskilled or unskilled males. State-assisted regions, metropolitan 'industrial communities', ethnic enclaves	Illegal immigrants, criminalized workers. 'Sweatshops', informal or black economy. Inner-city, regional-metropolitan, primate cities	

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The reconstitution of the supply side of the labour market entailed a reassessment of the role that the system of social reproduction plays in shaping the structure and development of the economic system. According to Humphries and Rubery (1984),

> "Social reproduction develops in response to changes in the productive system but the form of this response must be understood historically. It is neither predetermined nor smoothly accommodating to the demands of the productive system, but depends on the dynamics of social reproduction, which we thus describe as *relatively autonomous.*"
>
> (Humphries and Rubery, 1984, 332)

From this perspective it is important to develop an appropriate historical treatment of the system of social reproduction in which the productive system is one important conditioning factor, necessitating an historical and interactive analysis of the relationship between the two systems. It has already been argued that the assumed equilibrium between demand and supply sides of the labour market has led to convergence with a functionalist approach. Instead of being regarded as a relatively autonomous social structure which places constraints upon the economic system, the role of the social system has been to provide the 'differentiated labour supply that the system demands'. Within this context Humphries and Rubery developed four key principles for the reconstitution of the supply side of the labour market.

First, the demand-side structure of the economy cannot be conceived independently of the supply-side structure. Thus, the system of social reproduction is relatively independent of the sphere of production. As a consequence, the relationship between the spheres of production and of social reproduction can only be understood historically and are not predetermined. Finally, this relationship must be analysed within a non-functionalist perspective in which the system of social reproduction can and does adapt to the benefit of both capital and labour. These principles allow a dynamic analysis of the non-unidirectional causal connections and interactions between the spheres of production and reproduction (Humphries and Rubery, 1984, 339).

If causal connections are not unidirectional, from a geographical perspective, there is no basis for the assumption that the spatial definition of the local labour market,

defined in terms of the local economy, or city-region, and/or the relations of production, should encompass within the same geographical boundaries the social relations necessary for the simple reproduction of labour power and the resolution of the demand-supply labour equilibrium model. The relationship between the spheres of production and reproduction, within this context of relative autonomy, are necessarily historically and geographically situated. The interaction between these systems is articulated locally, hence the residual importance of the TTWA in at least demonstrating the fact that labour is mobilised locally.

Peck (1989a) argues that because labour is mobilized at the local level, the matching process between labour supply and demand is also constituted at the local level. While the broad contours of labour market segmentation may be revealed in all local labour markets the detailed way in which labour supply meshes with labour demand must be understood at the local level. Labour markets may be segmented in locally specific ways, as 'labour supply and demand interact with one another in different ways in different places'. Local labour market structures may 'arise from the way in which the causal forces underpinning the labour market combine with one another under particular spatial-temporal conditions', hence the importance of labour market studies being historically and geographically situated. Peck concludes by stating that 'labour market segmentation itself is a process articulated at the local level', and that the 'tensions which exist between segmentation and spatial contiguity must be explored explicitly in research into the geography of labour markets' (Peck, 1989a).

This thesis supports that agenda but also seeks to extend this argument, as Peck and others have done since 1989, to make more explicit these links between the specificity of the locality and broader economic, social and political processes and structures operating at a variety of geographical scales. Peck notes that 'there is a sense in which labour markets, although they are undeniably constituted of wider structures, are actually 'constructed' at the local level'. It is important to 'unpack' this relationship between space, place and process.

2.3.4 Local labour market as locality

At the outset it is important to specify that this appreciation of the 'localities' debate within geography is not intended as an exhaustive review and critique, these are available elsewhere (Cochrane, 1987; Cooke, 1987; 1989b; 1989c; Cox and Mair, 1989; Duncan, 1989; Duncan and Savage, 1991; Gregson, 1987; Jonas, 1988; Massey, 1991; 1993; Pratt, 1991b; Sayer, 1991; Smith, 1987; Urry, 1987; Warde, 1989). The emphasis upon the locality is derived, as Duncan and Savage (1991) note, from the development of the 'new geography' of the 1980s, centred around Massey's (1979; 1984) work on spatial divisions of labour, and the 'rediscovery of space' in sociology, and in particular the work of Anthony Giddens (1984) in relation to structuration theory and other work based upon a variety of interpretations of a realist philosophy of social science (Sayer 1984; 1985; Urry, 1981; 1985).

Massey's work centred upon the industrial restructuring thesis, to specify the interdependent links between the processes of capitalist production and the spatial distribution of industry, work, labour and classes. Massey argued that successive periods or cycles of accumulation produced spatially uneven effects as new investment impacted upon historically prior uses of space, within and not simply between nation-states and trading blocks (Warde, 1988). Attention was consequently drawn away from the pre-occupation with the international and the national scale and focused upon small scale sub-national localities.

Localities studies

The debate and critique of the localities approach has centred principally around two of the three research programmes, established by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the mid-1980s. Central to the debate is the Changing Urban and Regional System (CURS) programme (Cooke, 1986a; 1989a), whilst an important critique of CURS has come out of the Economic Restructuring, Social Change and the Locality (ERSCL) programme (Duncan and Savage, 1989; Savage, Barlow, Duncan and Saunders, 1987). The third locality project, the Social Change and Economic Life

(SCEL) programme, viewed locality 'simply as a sort of residual variable' (Duncan and Savage, 1991).

The CURS research programme sought to advance a growing macro-level understanding of changes in the space-economy by detailing what the impact of these changes has been on economic, social and political life in specific localities, chosen against a range of criteria, one of which was their degree of relationship to a theoretically derived typology of local labour markets (Cooke, 1986a). Philip Cooke's previous work on spatial development, labour market segmentation and labour market discontinuity (Cooke, 1983a) is particularly relevant, for Cooke as Director of the CURS programme was influential in the development of the typology which underpinned the selection of the localities chosen for detailed study. He maintained that although at 'one level it is convenient to speak of the UK space-economy as being structured around a spatial division of labour...a more flexible way of conceptualizing the space-economy is in terms of discontinuous labour markets and their associated local social structures' (Cooke, 1986a, 245). The link between labour market segmentation theory and localities studies is explicit and allied to a fundamental problematic within the localities/local labour market area relationship. That is, that within the CURS programme the locality *is* the local labour market area, and this area is defined simplistically in terms of the travel-to-work area.

> *"The definition of 'locality' used in the research programme is the*
> *Local Labour Market Area.* The reason for this is that it is not
> unreasonable to assume that, even in the face of high local and national
> levels of unemployment, a major determinant of where people live
> their lives is the opportunity a place provides for them to gain access to
> paid employment. Local labour markets represent such a structure of
> opportunity... *For the purposes of this kind of research, therefore,*
> *localities are local Travel-to-Work Areas."*
>
> (emphasis added) (Cooke, 1986b, 6)

This linking of the locality to the local labour market area, and then both these concepts to the travel-to-work area and labour market segmentation theory represents a fundamental dissatisfaction with the CURS interpretation of locality. The TTWA and the segmented labour market can not be linked in such a simplistic manner. Cooke's concern was that a crucial part of the restructuring of local labour markets is

the process of local social recomposition that it may entail. Each labour market type 'may be expected to display a distinctive social composition, partly formed by its history in previous spatial divisions of labour but also as new economic activities are introduced, perhaps to take advantage of inherited social characteristics' (Cooke, 1985; 1986b). Cooke's wish that the proposed classification be regarded 'as a heuristic device rather than a definitive statement' was too optimistic and unjustified given the importance of the subsequent labour market typology to setting the subject matter and context for the locality case studies. To centre upon the TTWA and the segmented labour market (with its over-emphasis upon the demand-side of the labour market equation) represented a 'crude geography of social relations' and, with hindsight, an inadequate base upon which to focus further study of the locality.

Development of the typology, however, and the execution of the detailed studies, sought to 'fill-in' the missing social relations. Six types of local labour market were initially defined, ranging from 'specialised industrial', through 'managerial, R&D, technical', to 'tertiarised' labour markets (Cooke, 1986a). These labour markets largely represented a reading of the macro-level analysis of change within the British space-economy, mapped onto the urban context within the same economy, and effectively drawing upon Massey's spatial divisions of labour. They also, and consequently, represent an emphasis upon demand-side structures. Each type of labour market, however, also displayed a distinctive social composition, which was 'both historically formed by previous divisions of labour, and open to being re-composed by the insertion of contemporary activities capable of using inherited local social characteristics (Cooke, 1986a, 246). A further six localities were consequently defined, this time ranging from 'blue-collar proletarian', through 'service-class', to 'class-divided' and 'underclass' localities.

Here was the limited attempt to introduce supply-side factors into the definition and typology of local labour markets/localities. Emphasis here was on social class formation but, as in early formulations of labour market segmentation theory, principally in terms of the reproduction of labour power in terms of the logic of capital and the needs of production. Equally those social relations identified as important can,

given the linking of labour market segmentation to the TTWA, effectively only be mapped into the same geographical space, namely and principally 'the town'. Consequently localities 'may thus be defined in terms of specific intersections of labour market types...and socio-spatial types' (Cooke, 1986a). By definition, localities were only conceived of in terms of the limited spatial structures generated by the analysis of journey-to-work data.

Cooke certainly recognised that the resultant typology was only a starting point but equally and restrictively, subsequent work would, out of necessity, have to be conceived within these same constraining geographical areas.

> "Of course, this is merely schematic. Onto these localities must be mapped specific historical characteristics such as their previous industrial and employment practices, for instance: the extent to which work relations have had a paternalistic, consensual or antagonistic history....; and the degree to which, for example, gender or religious divisions were associated with particular tasks."
>
> (Cooke, 1986a, 246)

Duncan and Savage (1989) develop this issue through a critique of locality as local labour market. Their central argument rests upon the view that it is important to avoid a purely economistic account of localities whereby a whole range of social phenomena are reduced to the effects of the labour market.

> "Hence while local labour markets are of importance in some areas (for instance employers may carefully consider the character of a local labour market before deciding to invest) there will be other aspects of life in a local area which will not be illuminated by an exclusive focus on localities as local labour markets. It is also mistaken to assume a relationship of causality deriving only from the local labour market....It is a mistake to fix all aspects of social life in an area to the boundaries established by local labour markets - assuming that it is possible to define such boundaries. The concept of locality cannot be utilised in terms of a local labour market."
>
> (Duncan and Savage, 1989, 191)

Localities, from this perspective, are best studied as case study areas, providing data on those processes of social change for which they (the locality) are the appropriate scale of analysis, a scale which may change in line with the processes being studied (Gregson, 1987; Newby, 1986). For Duncan and Savage, therefore, the proper form of

study for CURS is not 'locality', which is never properly specified, but economic restructuring and its local effects using case study areas as appropriate. This is a position adopted by the second of the ESRC locality research programmes, on Economic Restructuring, Social Change and the Locality (ERSCL). This project presented an extended conceptualisation of how space makes a difference to social process, by proposing three levels of 'locality'. First, there are no abstract processes, they must be constituted in particular places and these places are already differentiated by the uneven development of natural and social structures. The ERSCL programme see this view as leading to the inevitability of spatial contingency effects, and therefore of local variation (Savage, Barlow, Duncan and Saunders, 1987).

Second, some social entities are constituted locally by the combined effects of a number of other social entities. The local labour market being a prime example of this. This is constituted by a wide number of social factors such as 'the activities of capitalist firms operating in certain areas....the role of the nation state....the power of workers to structure the labour market themselves....once constituted by these diverse processes the local labour markets have their own causal powers that cannot be reduced to those of their constituent parts, and, further, that these causal powers can be seen as locally based' (Savage et al, 1987, 31). Savage *et al* go on to identify a third level, what they term specifically, the 'locality effect'. In this instance, a number of locally derived causal entities, such as the local labour and local housing markets, may combine to produce an 'extremely specific locality effect'. They regard this as a further 'level of local distinctiveness', giving a greater specificity to individual places.

Local uniqueness, according to the ERSCL programme, is not produced simply by one of the three levels, but by any of them, and particularly the first and second interacting together. This is to emphasise the point that locality is not the place to begin research. Focus is instead placed upon examining both the local and non-local processes that produce particular effects in different areas, and not to become over-concerned with details of the specific case study. Coupled with a dynamic/historical perspective, this is a simple but important framework for the manner in which the subsequent research within this thesis has been conducted. Warde (1985) has drawn attention to the

importance of the 'trajectories of places' which are not captured by typologies relating

to one time period alone, and Savage et al (1987) conclude that,

> "....national state policy has a profound impact on the way in which
> these local processes operate. The pertinence of 'local culture' does not
> assume that the locality is immunized from national developments, but
> is produced by the way in which non-local forces help structure social
> entities at the local level, which may then have distinctive effects."
>
> (Savage et al, 1987, 48)

Spatial variations should, therefore, be incorporated into the analysis of social

processes as appropriate to any particular research problem, avoiding pre-given socio-

spatial objects such as the CURS definition of localities. Any particular social entity is

built around a particular temporal and spatial structuring (Urry, 1987). From the

ERSCL perspective, therefore, it is only a starting point for analysis to argue 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 wider, national and

international, spatial divisions of labour (Massey, 1978). The local labour market as

conceived of by CURS, fails to provide an adequate basis for historically and

geographically situated research.

Massey's later paper, which sought to place the CURS initiative, and localities studies

in general, into a broader debate and context, was an attempt to draw these themes

together (Massey, 1991). Massey stressed the importance in recognising the specific

political situation and context in which the issue of locality studies was being raised,

but importantly also draws closer to the ERSCL understanding, serving to maintain

the validity of the concept of the locality and to move the debate forward from the

work of the initial CURS programme.

> "Perhaps localities may be conceptualised as....the intersection of sets
> of (Giddens-type) locales. But, whatever else they are, localities are
> *constructions* out of the intersections and interactions of concrete
> social relations and social processes in a situation of copresence....the
> particular social relations and social processes used to define a locality
> will reflect the research issue (which in turn means that any locality so
> defined will *not* be the relevant spatial area for the investigation of all
> and every social process deemed in some way to have a local level of
> variation or operation). But all this does mean that localities are not
> simply spatial areas you can easily draw a line around. They will be

defined in terms of the sets of social relations or processes in question....Moreover, the constellations of interactions will vary over time in their geographical form. And the definition of any particular locality will therefore reflect the question at issue."

<div align="right">(Massey, 1991, 277)</div>

2.3.5 Local dependency and structured coherence

Duncan's (1989) conclusion that 'the temptation to find a constant spatial container for locality, such as local labour markets, may well be mistaken', would appear consistent with the argument developed above. Local labour markets conceived of simply as TTWA, or as segmented space within a TTWA context, as in the early locality studies, is inadequate. Cox and Mair (1988; 1989; 1991), however, working within a critique of locality studies, have argued for a notion of 'local dependency' which signifies the 'dependence of various actors - firms, politicians, people - on the reproduction of certain social relations within a particular territory' (Cox and Mair, 1988). Local dependency, they argue,

> "....implies that locations that are initially contingent to each other may come to assume a degree of necessity in their relations. This might occur for a variety of reasons, ranging from immobile capital investments of long duration to the more intangible development of knowledge, mutual understanding and trust. To the extent that such structures of relations emerge, additional commitments are made on the assumption of future continuity, and thus immobility intensifies."

<div align="right">(Cox and Mair, 1989, 126)</div>

Immobility within a particular area may refer, therefore, to built environment investments, non-substitutability of localised exchange linkages, local business knowledge/trust networks, need for a specialised labour force, and relations with local government and local agents of central government. Cox and Mair argue that the idea of local dependency confronts the view that the 'local' has to equate simply with the 'concrete'. They are concerned to develop abstract theory which relates to the level of the locality. Socio-spatial structures of immobility, in combination with geographical delimitations that effectively maintain social relations, are the material bases for the production of actual territories at various scales (Cox and Mair, 1989).

These territories represent the spatial expression of exchange linkages within a local economy. Cox and Mair, in developing the idea of local dependency, do not fall back into a simplistic definition of the local labour market, nor can they be labelled as being overly-economistic in their analysis and theorisation. In the first instance, their work has stressed the diverse nature of these 'exchange linkages' which the firm relies upon for its reproduction. The local labour market is only one of the forms of linkage which influence the local dependency of the firm. Equally important as the local labour market are supplier networks and consumer markets. Cox and Mair are only beginning to 'unpack' the nature and form of the local economy, whereby the precise scale at which 'local' will be defined by each firm will depend upon the geographical spread of its exchange linkages.

Equally, their later work (Cox and Mair, 1991) attempted to place the local economic within the broader context of locality as localised social structure.

> "....it is clear that social processes and struggles within localities are
> significantly determined by the non-local social relations of local
> actors: by the circulation of capital, by central state policies, by
> migration - indeed by multifarious processes occurring at wider scales -
> as well as by sets of localised social processes occurring elsewhere
> (that is, in other localities)....What is required, then, is a conceptual
> framework which does not lose sight of the reciprocal relationship
> between localised and wider scale social processes....and yet is also
> able to incorporate the role of the individual actor."

> "An understanding of localities requires an investigation of why certain
> parts of the socialisation of production and reproduction tend to
> assume a localised character. This can usefully be approached in the
> first instance through the concept of *local dependence*, in which the
> problem is examined from the viewpoint of individual actors....the
> concept of local dependence is formulated in such a way as to mesh
> closely with analyses of wider scale institutions."

> (Cox and Mair, 1991, 197-198)

Most importantly within the context of this thesis, Cox and Mair link notions of local dependency to the socialisation of the reproduction of labour power. The sharing of items of infrastructure, they believe, is of great importance for urban localities. The growth of employment and the agglomeration of workers within a particular area or region 'provides for a socialisation of the reproduction of labour power, particularly

through specialised educational and training facilities' (Cox and Mair, 1991). With increased socialisation of production and reproduction, local dependency is increased again in terms of the compounded immobility of the firm and the embedded roles it plays within the 'local' economy and the relative and increased non-substitutability of exchange linkages.

These later ideas have much in common with David Harvey's concept of local 'structured coherence' (Harvey, 1985), as acknowledged by both Cox and Mair and Peck. Cox and Mair (1991) explicitly state that 'locality as socialised social structure is akin to Harvey's structured coherence or urban region'. Whilst Peck (1989a), argues that there is a 'need to probe aspects of what has been termed local structured coherence, as factors which serve to knit together highly segmented local structures'. Harvey (1985) developed the idea of structured coherence, which he regarded as a tendency within an urban economy, defined around a dominant technology of both production and consumption and a dominant set of class relations.

> "The class relation between capital and labor tends....to produce a 'structured coherence' of the economy of an urban region. At the heart of that coherence lies a particular technological mix - understood not simply as hardware but also as organizational forms - and a dominant set of social relations. Together these define models of consumption as well as of the labor process."
>
> (Harvey, 1985, 139-140)

For Harvey, the conception to which this leads is of a coherence and mutual dependency between the daily exchange of labour power and a daily reproduction of labour power caught within the confines of some loosely defined field of commuting possibilities. These relations are seen as historically and geographically variable class alliances which are established, at the level of the urban region, giving a relatively stable structured coherence to production and consumption within that same geographical area. The objective of the class alliance is to preserve or enhance achieved models of production and consumption, dominant technological mixes and patterns of social relations. These reciprocal relations shape the tendency towards structured coherence and emphasise the uniqueness of 'geographical position as well as the qualities of each urban region'.

The dependency relation identified by Harvey, has strong parallels with the concept of local dependency proposed by Cox and Mair. Harvey stresses how the reproduction of both capital and labour power requires a wide range of physical and social infrastructures. 'These consolidate and reinforce the trend toward structured coherence within an urban labor market' (Harvey, 1985, 144). This parallels Cox and Mair's belief that local dependency, in terms of immobility, is increased through the socialisation of the reproduction of labour power, in part through the 'sharing of items of infrastructure' (Cox and Mair, 1991, 200). Harvey, in relation to social infrastructures notes that,

> "....their aggregate effect is to help consolidate the tendency toward structured coherence within the urban region. Furthermore, the social institutions that support life, work and the circulation of capital are not created overnight and require a certain degree of stability if they are to be effective. The institutions are often national and regional rather than local in scope, but no matter how centralized the degree of financial or political power which lies behind them, some degree of local autonomy is always granted."
>
> (Harvey, 1985, 146)

To Harvey, these social and physical infrastructures are themselves the product of a long process of historical development and class struggle. Capital-labour relations, enmeshed together with these infrastructural endowments, 'give unique coloration to socio-economic and political processes within each urban region'. Their effect is to emphasise the uniqueness and specificity of each urban region. Whilst Harvey notes that urban labour markets 'overlap and interpenetrate and integrate upward into regional and national configurations', and that they are not the only relevant geographical scale for looking at labour market behaviour, he maintains that they form important units of analysis. For, 'they remain the basic frame within which the working day finds its geographical range of possibilities'. From this perspective it is necessary to understand how those processes surrounding the tendency for structured coherence, operating within the confines of geographically specific labour markets, emphasise rather than diminish the unique qualities of each urban region.

Harvey's urban regions may not be out of line with the established critique of the concept of locality, providing it is accepted that these urban labour markets *are* the

appropriate geographical scale of analysis given the dependency relations which Cox and Mair and Harvey understand to exist within any specific urban context. If so, then structured coherence, and notions of local dependency offer, in part, a basis for the reconceptualisation of the local labour market as a distinctive setting for interaction. This interaction involves processes, however, which are profoundly contradictory.

> "....I speak only of the *tendency* toward structured coherence because it exists in a maelstrom of forces that tend to undermine and disrupt it. Competition over technological change, product innovation, and social organization; class struggles over distribution; social relations of production and reproduction; shifting space relations; and the push to accelerate turnover times and accumulation all make for constant imbalances. Equilibrium could be achieved only by accident, and then only momentarily."
>
> (Harvey, 1985, 143)

Whilst insisting on the power of the tendency toward structured coherence within an urban economy, Harvey also believes that the same processes undermine and disrupt what they produce. For Peck (1989a; 1992a; 1994a), Harvey, Cox and Mair, these contradictory processes serve to direct attention to the purposes and role of the state, both in terms of the locus and control of state powers and responsibilities, within the context of locally dependent firms, and also the state as regulatory mechanism operating within and beyond the context of the local labour market.

Cox and Mair (1991) identify the state as an object of conflict, partly because of the powers it has for regulating the capital-labour relation, regulating location and constructing and funding infrastructure. The state, from the view of capital, has served as a means of socialising costs. The state in this situation, however, may exhibit, through policy formulation and implementation, purposes and goals which are set within a national economy and driven by international and global economic situations, and which are in conflict with the needs of locally dependent business coalitions within any specific urban/local labour market. The state as a regulatory mechanism within the national economy context, therefore, will have distinct and variable impacts upon local labour markets. The institutional structures of the state will interact with the capital-labour relations of structured coherence in different ways in different places.

"The state is a unit of regulation which casts its net over a far vaster space than that of the urban labour market....State regulation may be concentrated in a few sectors and so have differential rather than uniform impacts upon urban labor markets. Enforcement [*or implementation*] can also vary from one place to another depending upon class consciousness and mobilization and the pressure among capitalists to circumvent the law [*or manipulate policy*]. And to the degree that the state apparatus is itself decentralized....much regulation of labor markets dissolves into a mosaic of regional and even local differentiations."

[*comments added*] (Harvey, 1985, 135)

In order to maintain the local labour market as a viable and appropriate scale and object of analysis it is necessary to understand and incorporate the regulatory role of the state and the capacity for its differential impact within the specifics of any local labour market. Regulation theory, dealing as it does with state and non-state forms of social regulation, provides a theoretical framework which contributes an important dimension to an enhanced understanding of the processes operating within a local labour market.

2.3.6 The local and regional geography of regulation theory

As detailed above, regulation theory has until recently made very little contribution to the study of processes of sub-national spatially uneven development (Smith, 1989). Theorists have largely assumed that the mechanisms and components of regulation operate at the national level and are somehow translated locally in an unproblematic manner (Dunford, 1990; Goodwin, Duncan and Halford, 1993; Lipietz, 1986a). For regulation theory to be able to account for uneven development at either the international or subnational scales, it requires substantial elaboration (Peck and Tickell, 1992). Recently, however, regulation theory has been applied to the study of the regional and urban geography of economic restructuring under contemporary capitalism, particularly in relation to the 'geography of flexible production systems under post-Fordism' (Moulaert and Swyngedouw, 1989; Storper and Scott, 1989; Tickell and Peck, 1992), the activities of the state, especially the local state (Duncan, Goodwin and Halford, 1988; Florida and Jonas, 1991; Goodwin, Duncan and Halford,

1993), and the regulation and reproduction of local labour markets (Peck, 1989a; 1992b; 1994a). These, amongst a growing body of literature, have used regulation theory to explain uneven development at a subnational spatial scale. The attraction of the approach, being in part its ability to link and relate changes in the economy to those in society and politics.

In the context of the local labour market, therefore, it is important to specify the exact nature and form of the local components of regulation, for 'the differing ways in, and means through which, local labour markets are socially regulated has real implications for local economic destinies' (Peck, 1994a).

> "....economic, social and political experiences of regulation vary between places within a country, often significantly so, and not just internationally....the differentiated spaces of regulation within a nation arise not only because these experiences reflect localised conditions of production and consumption, and local constellations of social forces and cultural practices, but also because local agencies are often the very medium through which regulatory practices are interpreted and ultimately delivered. In other words, mechanisms and components of regulation operate locally as well as nationally, and any attempt to specify the processes and relations involved in the changing nature of regulation needs to include analysis of local, as well as national and international, experiences."
>
> (Goodwin, Duncan and Halford, 1993, 69)

Rather in the same way as Harvey's 'structured coherence' and Cox and Mair's 'local dependency', this elaboration of regulation theory enables an appreciation of the relationship between abstract relations and institutions to be historically and geographically situated. As Cox and Mair were at pains to achieve, regulation theory represents abstract theory delivered at the level of the locality (Cox and Mair, 1989). Goodwin et al (1993), for example, read structured coherence as 'the local objectification of an abstract mode of regulation, based on an ensemble of cultural, economic, social and political norms, as well as networks and institutions' (Goodwin, Duncan and Halford, 1993, 73).

Peck and Tickell (1992), also through reference to Harvey's notion of structured coherence, suggest that it is necessary to investigate the ways in which different

regulatory mechanisms and forms are 'effectively rooted and/or dispensed at different spatial scales' and consequently if regulation theory is to be an effective explanatory framework at the local level, 'it is necessary to integrate an explicit conception of subnational uneven development within the established regulationist framework'.

> "It is possible, echoing Massey's conception of the spatial division of labour, to visualize regimes of accumulation unfolding across the economic and political landscape, reshaping and at the same time being shaped by prior structures of uneven development. Geographies of accumulation and regulation interact with one another (as well as with pre-existing spatial structures), to produce unique regional couplings, which in turn are embedded within a national regime."
>
> (Peck and Tickell, 1992, 352)

This regional geography of regulatory systems provides an important contextual background for Jamie Peck, who has developed, through a concern with local labour market processes and structures, a detailed research agenda which places regulation theory at the centre of an explanatory framework for 'reconceptualising the local labour market' (Peck, 1989a; 1989b; 1990; 1992a; 1994a; 1996; Peck and Lloyd, 1989). Peck has developed and extended a consistent theme in a number of these papers, a theme which links labour market segmentation theory to regulation theory, and which views local labour markets as 'conjunctural phenomena', the composite result of a variety of intersecting social processes (Peck, 1994a; 1996).

In the earliest of these papers Peck (1989a), is concerned to bring together what he regards as the three key determinants of labour market structure. These are all linked to segmentation theory and are, segmentation arising from labour supply, segmentation arising from labour demand and segmentation arising from the activities of the state. In so doing, he draws upon research which confronted neo-classical economics for developing 'economic theories (which) ascribe certain roles to social and political forces which (are) unacceptable' (Craig, Rubery, Tarling and Wilkinson, 1985). This work sought not to put forward a general theory of how labour markets operate but to develop a framework for analysis which was a 'reasonable representation of reality', and thus permitted the 'coherent discussion of economic, social and political aspects'. Peck's subsequent concern with segmentation related to labour demand, supply, and the state developed from this parallel concern with the

economic, social and political elements which were in part so poorly developed in neo-classical labour market theory. By 1994, (Peck, 1994a), this theme had been extensively developed and linked into a more consistent theoretical structure with an elaborated regulation theory.

> "The generative structures of the labour market are traced to three 'families' of social processes in contemporary segmentation theory: *production imperatives* and the associated design of jobs and structuring of labour demand which follow from these; *processes of social reproduction* and the structuring of the labour supply; and *forces of regulation*, with particular emphasis on the role of the state. Each of these generative structures exerts a particular influence upon the ways in which labour markets are structured."
>
> (Peck, 1994a, 149)

These 'generative structures' are viewed as being relatively autonomous from one another. It has already been argued that segmentation can not be reduced to explanation based solely on the demand-side of the labour market equation. The reconstitution of the supply-side, within and external to labour market segmentation theory, has demonstrated that labour is not a simple commodity because it is embodied in human beings and simplistically, it is not produced under the control of capitalists but within a family or household unit (Harvey, 1985; Jones, 1996; Peck, 1996). Labour-power differs from genuine commodities, therefore, in that its supply is not simply governed by expectations of its potential saleability on the labour market (Offe and Berger, 1985; Peck, 1989a). The tendency toward structured coherence illustrates this point as its development rests upon 'parallel evolutions' of the relatively autonomous links between 'social relations in the workplace and in the living space', albeit with quite different motivations and under very different circumstances (Harvey, 1985).

To treat labour as a commodity and the labour market as a market 'is to isolate labour from the social relations in which it is embedded' (Peck, 1994a). The labour market, therefore, resting upon segmentation arising from the relatively autonomous operation of factors relating to labour demand and labour supply, is not a self-regulating, equilibrium model, structure. The role of the state becomes critical, therefore, in regulating the balance between supply and demand, and the role of agencies and

institutions of the state, historically and geographically situated, are particularly critical for understanding the operation of labour market process within any specific spatial context. 'Specifically, it is necessary to assess the way in which the institutional forms which arise from this regulatory presence impinge upon the process of labour market segmentation'. Within this formulation of the local labour market attention is focused upon the 'particular local intersections of labour demand, labour supply and the state regulatory infrastructure' in order to reveal concrete outcomes and illustrate how the local labour market operates in locally specific ways (Peck, 1989a).

The regulatory problem taken on by the state is to incorporate labour power into the labour market and/or to manage a situation in which incorporation is not possible. The manner and circumstances in which this is attempted and/or resolved will vary geographically and historically and requires a variety of direct and indirect state policy forms, all aimed at the creation of a willing working class motivated to participate in the labour market (Offe and Lenhardt, 1984; Offe and Hinrichs, 1985; Peck, 1994a). This, however, is a complex activity and function, one which by its very execution, creates further contradictions internal to the labour market.

> "Our point is thus not to deny the willingness of state policy to level the power relations inherent in the labour market. Rather, it should be recognized that precisely when a solution is sought and effectively realized by the state, problems result that are tolerable neither from the point of view of the 'favoured' nor from the point of view of the state's own interests. State policy....is thus faced with a problem of 'optimization', in which the power differential prevailing in the labour market can neither be left unregulated nor reorganized in a way that would cause the labour market itself, along with its corresponding power differential, to disappear."
>
> (Offe and Hinrichs, 1985, 46)

Working at the abstract level of 'the state' it is possible to fall into a functionalist trap and only see state policy in terms of the needs and logic of capital. Peck and others are concerned to stress, however, that the state can also be seen to be relatively autonomous from the labour demand and supply structures within the labour market. The state will have or develop its own purposes outside of those of the immediate and direct needs of industry. It will also at times get 'out of step' with the requirements of

industry as it seeks to fulfil and achieve other social or political objectives or fails to recognise or interpret correctly change within the economy.

With such a diversity of regional economic structures, or spatial divisions of labour, existing within the national economy, however, it would seem that state policy is capable of having both differential impacts and interpretations across geographical space, and is also capable of being manipulated and interpreted, or as with Harvey's concern with the local state, 'enforced' in different ways in different places. This variation in part being dependent upon the 'power differential' between business, organised labour, the local state and locally-based agencies of the central state, as well as varying social relations. Regulation theory, as stated earlier, can not be reduced or translated simply into an analysis of state policy and institutions. Regulation theory has a much richer conception of social regulation, encompassing both state and non-state processes of regulation (Peck, 1994a), linking as it does an accumulation system and a mode of social regulation, and serving as the basis for understanding local labour markets within a regulationist framework.

> "In reality, accumulation and regulation interpenetrate at all spatial scales. Moreover, because the social structures of accumulation and regulation are relatively autonomous, yet bound together in a necessary relation, the causal liabilities with which they are endowed will be realised in different ways in different times/places, depending upon contingent circumstances. One might expect, then, that the nature of the regulation-accumulation relationship is *qualitatively* different at each geographical level.
>
> (Peck, 1994a, 155)

Peck (1994a) identifies three distinct forms of the relationship between uneven development and social regulation. First, the uneven development of the economy itself must be regulated. Second, components of social regulation, particularly state policies, 'produce uneven spatial effects, as an intentional or accidental consequence of their design'. Thirdly, processes of social regulation will 'contingently result in uneven spatial effects because of the way in which they interact with historically-prior uses of space'. The final section of this chapter considers the distinct nature of these regulatory mechanisms, operating at different spatial scales, and as they relate to skill formation and specific programmes of state-funded training policy within a local

labour market context. Regulation theory, or more specifically the geography of regulatory systems, reconstituted and elaborated to incorporate subnational forms of uneven development, adds substantially to an understanding of the structure of labour markets and the diverse nature of the inter-relationships between causal processes operating within the context of the specificities of the local labour market.

2.4 Local perspectives on labour regulation and skill formation

Skill change and skill formation is a complex process which has, generally, been conceived of in terms of the demand for skills from employers and the consequent availability or shortfall of the supply of appropriate skills from within the workforce. Skill has been seen to be essentially an occupational competence, and therefore viewed from a perspective which is constrained by 'the factory gates', or the needs of a particular industrial sector operating within the labour market. This section offers an alternative perspective, centred upon the local labour market, and linked to a broader conceptualisation of the labour process, whereby skill 'reflects the distribution of social, economic and political power in society and represents one of the key ways in which the sphere of production is articulated with the sphere of reproduction' (Peck and Lloyd, 1989, 107).

The analysis of skill change and skill formation is, therefore, extended to the local labour market, away from the individual firm or sector, and towards an emphasis upon those processes which serve to structure that same local labour market. From this perspective, skill formation and change is played out at the level of the local economic system, the local labour market providing a 'setting for interaction', context and appropriate scale for unpacking the diverse causal processes. Whilst it is acknowledged that these processes operate at geographical scales other than the locality, it has been argued that the 'locality' or local labour market, represents not only a setting for interaction, but also a context within which locally distinctive forms of skill formation and change are actually constructed.

Within this conceptualisation, the activities of the state, by their influence upon and intervention within the realm of skill formation, must be viewed in terms of their articulation with the local labour market. The contingencies of place suggest that it is necessary to develop an understanding of state intervention into the process of skill formation, which is geographically and historically situated. The following addresses these issues through a more detailed consideration of the nature of skill within a local labour market, and through examples of recent research into the impact of state intervention in training, through the creation of Training and Enterprise Councils, the national Youth Training Scheme and most recently, welfare-to-work initiatives in Britain and abroad.

2.4.1 Skill formation and utilisation within a local labour market

Skill formation and change within a local labour market has been conceived of in terms of a 'skills pool' (Haughton and Peck, 1988; Peck and Lloyd, 1989), which in its simplest form 'denotes the stock of skills present within a particular local labour market'. The skills pool further represents a means of articulating the manner in which the causal processes underpinning local labour market structures are revealed in terms of differential participation in the labour market by different groups of workers. In terms of this thesis, an appreciation of the structure and dynamic nature of skill formation and change within a local labour market, facilitates an understanding of why state intervention in training has the capacity for a differential effect in different places.

Haughton and Peck (1988) and Peck and Lloyd (1989) have detailed the constituent components of the skills pool. They identify four key elements. First, the processes surrounding the *creation* of skills. This represents one, and arguably the greatest, opportunity for state intervention in the skill process. Peck and Lloyd note, however, that the creation of skills 'is achieved by the accretion of experiential skills as well as by formal training and may take place both within firms and in the sphere of reproduction'. The second, and main constituent element of the skills pool, is the current *utilisation of skill*. This includes, 'the whole sphere of current labour demand

in a particular economic system'. As such, and within the framework of a broader conceptualisation of the labour process and local labour market structures, it should include demand from outside of the sphere of production, particularly that generated from within the domestic sphere.

The dynamic nature of the skills pool is a critical feature. Skills, within any particular local labour market, are not consistently in demand at the same level over any extended time period. With technological change and economic restructuring, certain existing skills will be seen to be declining in 'value', whilst others will be 're-valuing' as needs change over time. The third component of the skills pool, therefore, involves the definition and recognition of *latent skills*, as 'those created in a previous phase but not currently being utilised'. It may be appropriate to extend or redefine Haughton and Peck's (1988) categorisation to include not only notions of utilisation and latency, but also the capacity for a changing sense of value, which is in line with conceptions of skill as a social construct as well as, and not simply, a technical competence.

The concept of latent skills, however, is important in terms of this thesis as it illustrates, through an understanding of the under-utilisation of skill within a local labour market, how state intervention in training at the national level may have different outcomes in different places. Under-utilised or latent skills existing within the workforce/population of one area, and created within a previous dominant local economic regime, may represent an important, but in contemporary terms largely invisible variable, influencing to a significant extent the likely impact or effect of a national state-funded training initiative in any particular local labour market context. Equally, skills created outside of the workplace and principally within the realm of the social relations associated with the domestic/household sphere, may vary significantly between places. This variation will in part be influenced by variable participation rates by women within different dominant sectors in different local labour markets. Where these skills do exist, they may remain under-utilised, in terms of direct participation within a local economy, and again may subsequently significantly influence the likely take-up and/or success locally of a national training programme geared towards groups identified as disadvantaged within the labour market, in this instance, women.

The final key element within the skill pool formulation relates to the processes surrounding the *depletion* of skills. These will include, from amongst a considerable range of possibilities, 'out-migration of skilled workers, loss of local skills through retirement, and atrophy through prolonged latency'. Each of these four key components of skill change within a local labour market, creation, utilisation, latency and depletion, and the inter-relationships between them, have been developed in diagrammatic form by Haughton and Peck (1988) (Fig.2.6). This diagram goes some way to illustrate the dynamic nature of the labour process within a local labour market.

> "The local pool of skills, far from being static, will be in a constant
> state of flux....In reality, a complex web of change is evident in which
> patterns of skill utilisation, under-utilisation and latency are in a
> perpetual state of mutually independent transformation"
>
> (Peck and Lloyd, 1989, 113-114)

The limitation of this diagram is that it tends to suggest a generally linear flow or passage through the system, from creation through to depletion, which is clearly not intended. The 'training' elements indicate a recursive and cyclical relationship existing in that retraining may follow a period in which certain existing skills are devalued and become redundant or latent. The utilisation of these newly acquired skills may lead to depletion of the previous skill base through extended latency. The same may be argued over a longer time period with 'training for stock'. Equally, the depletion of skills still valued within a local labour market will lead to the creation of those same skills in other members of the skill pool 'community'. The inter-relationships between the components of skill change are more complex than those portrayed in Fig.2.6.

Within these inter-relationships, however, it is apparent that the state has an important role to play in the regulation of the skill creation process. It has been argued that the process of skill change is best studied at the level of the local labour market, where labour is mobilised. The institutional forms of state intervention within training, although generally stemming from a national policy base, are also arguably most usefully investigated within a local labour market context.

Fig.2.6
Dynamics of the labour process within a local labour market
(Source: Haughton and Peck, 1988)
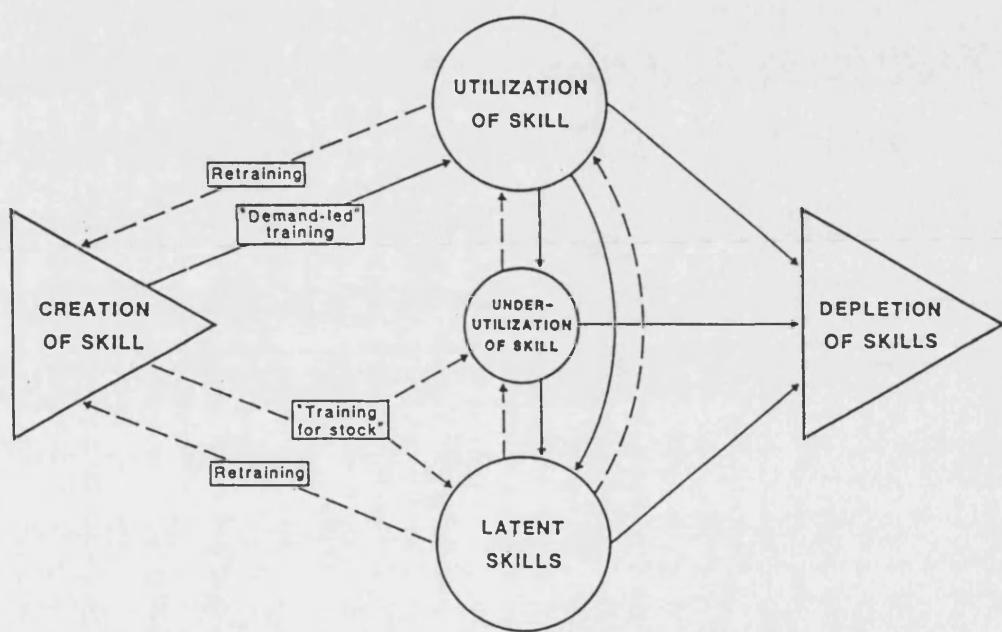
"....there would seem to be evidence that institutional structures, although often having their origin in central government policies, evolve a locally specific character. Thus, it is possible to talk of distinctive local training infrastructures, which develop their own dynamics and which condition the evolution of specifically *local* labour market structures."

(Peck and Lloyd, 1989, 125)

Within the local labour market, the key regulating forces of demand, supply and the state can each be seen to have a key role in 'conditioning the creation and utilisation of skill' (Peck and Lloyd, 1989). The distinctive local training infrastructures that emerge from the inter-relationship between these regulatory mechanisms, provide a basis for understanding how national training initiatives produce different effects in different places.

2.4.2 Local training infrastructures as 'conjunctural phenomena'

The arguments developed within this chapter offer the opportunity for linking the national policy framework of state intervention into the realm of industrial training with both the supra-national context of the international competitiveness of the national economy and the sub-national setting of the local labour market and local economy. In so doing, the distinctive local training infrastructures associated with the local labour market (Peck, 1989) may be seen as embedded in and an integral part of wider regulatory systems. Labour market institutions, through an extended regulation theory which is concerned with sub-national formulations, may be 'located' in terms of their local and regional forms and embedded within their national and international contexts. From this perspective, the local labour market is identified as a causally conjunctural social structure; and, starting from regulation theory, attention is directed towards the distinctive ways in which labour markets and their regulatory infrastructures interrelate and are institutionalised at the local level (Peck, 1996).

This is not intended to reify the 'local' or diminish the importance of the national, or for that matter the international setting. Fundamental political, economic and social forces are apparent at the level of the nation state, as they are increasingly at the supra-

national level. However, it has been argued that labour markets also function in locally specific ways and the notion of a 'locally instituted conjuncture' at the level of the local labour market does not give precedence to analysis at this sub-national level, but provides an analytical setting within which the causally constitutive bases of the labour market intersect and interact with one another. The distinctive local training infrastructures identified by Peck (1989; 1990a), Peck and Haughton (1991) and Peck and Lloyd (1989), have been more recently recast in terms of the notion of the local labour market as conjunctural phenomenon (Peck, 1996).

Within this formulation, the spatiality of labour markets are expressed in terms of the contingent and non-necessary interaction between the social structures and dynamics of production and reproduction (the production-reproduction dialectic); as well as, the spatially uneven functioning of labour market institutions of regulation and governance (the regulatory dialectic). For Peck, this process by which labour markets are 'unevenly instituted' represents the means by which regimes of labour regulation take on distinctive local forms or develop as distinctive local training infrastructures. Within this context, local labour markets are not functionally determined or dominated by particular industrial bases or components of production; in a more complex resolution which denies a 'crude geography of social relations', they represent a 'geographically specific institutionalisation of labour market structures, conventions and practices' (Peck, 1996).

Within Britain, three particular areas of state intervention into the realm of industrial training illustrate these institutional and geographical relationships, by linking, within the need for international competitiveness, the regulatory mechanisms and institutional frameworks of the nation-state with the specificities of the local labour market. These are, the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), introduced in the 1980s, the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), established in the early 1990s, and the welfare-to-work policies of the current Labour government of the late 1990s. Each of these and related policy programmes have been subject to extensive appraisal and critique (for example, Bennett, Wicks and McCoshan, 1994; Boddy, 1992; Finn, 1987; 1988; 1995; Hart, Haughton and Peck, 1996; Haughton, 1990; Haughton, Peck,

Hart, Strange, Tickell and Williams, 1995; Haughton, Hart, Strange, Thomas and Peck, 1995; Jones, 1995a; 1995b; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 1998; King, 1992; King and Ward, 1992; Peck, 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1991a; 1991b; 1992b; 1993; 1994b; 1996; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; Peck and Emmerich, 1991; 1993; Peck and Haughton, 1991; Peck and Jones, 1995; Theodore, 1998. Importantly, they have also each been understood in terms of the theoretical framework developed within this chapter and represent an important context and framework for the subsequent analysis of the Government Training Centre and Skillcentre policy programmes.

Each of these policy areas, all within the broadly defined context of industrial training, can be seen to represent a regulatory response by government to the consequences of industrial restructuring. Restructuring which has had significant implications for different sections of the labour force, for example young people, as well as different effects in different places as industrial change has affected each industrial sector, which may dominate local economies, to a greater or lesser extent. In this context, the YTS, TECs and Labour's 'New Deal' can all be seen as policy responses by successive governments to the economic and social consequences of Britain's changing role and position within the global economy, both in terms of social welfare and as part of the suite of policies aimed at restoring international competitiveness.

It is possible, therefore, as detailed earlier, to understand and interpret these policy programmes, for example, as labour market regulatory mechanisms in the transition from welfare to workfare state (Peck and Jones, 1995); or as part of the transition from corporatist to neo-liberal state activity (King, 1993; Peck, 1990; 1992b; 1994b). The TEC initiative in particular, has been subject to detailed analysis from this perspective (Jones, 1998). Equally, the present British Labour government's introduction of the 'New Deal', principally for young people and long-term unemployed adults, and centred upon 'welfare-to-work' and the desire to rebuild the welfare state around the work ethic (Finn, 1995; Jones, 1996a; 1998; Peck, 1998a), has also been interpreted in terms of the growing debate regarding the restructuring in state intervention from welfare to workfare, both within Britain and elsewhere (Finn, 1990; Jessop, 1995; King, 1995; King and Ward, 1992; Peck, 1996; 1998b;

Rutherford, 1996; Theodore, 1998). Many of these studies, explicitly work from the abstract conception of changes in the mode of social regulation, associated either with the response to crisis within, or the nature of the transition from one regime of accumulation to another; towards the concrete and complex, expressed in terms of the specific form and function of the British state and the specificities of a particular policy initiative. In many instances, and within the context of an extended regulation theory which incorporates the sub-national, this has also involved a 'journey' from the national to the local, understanding the concrete context of the local labour market and the institutions of economic governance as locally instituted conjuncture, creating institutional landscapes and geographies of labour market regulation.

An earlier set of work which studied the regional consequences of the operation of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) demonstrated that the scheme 'although nationally uniform by design, produced different effects in different places, due to the nature of its articulation with the local labour market' (Peck, 1990a; 1990b; Peck and Haughton, 1991). As such, it serves to illustrate both the existence of distinctive local training infrastructures and the manner in which labour market regulation and governance, conceived at the national level and in response to industrial restructuring and crisis, intersects and interacts with other causal processes underlying local labour market structures, namely labour demand and labour supply.

Peck's starting point for his analysis was an exploration of the mechanisms underlying the geography of YTS provision. The *pattern* of regional variation in YTS participation levels, suggested that attention should be centred upon *process*, 'as an examination of the articulations between the scheme and the labour market reveal inherent tendencies for spatial differentiation' (Peck, 1990a, 18). Peck provides a detailed statement of the social, economic and policy context into which YTS was introduced in 1983 as a 'programme of integrated work experience and training for 16-18 year-old school-leavers'. Its predecessor, the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP), was designed to reduce the effects of youth unemployment, and as Peck (1990b) notes, 'followed a long tradition of youth labour market programmes, stretching back as far as the First World War'. YTS was to be geared towards

combating the *causes* of youth unemployment and was to be seen as a means of overcoming labour market 'rigidities' on the supply side of the labour market, changing the very nature of work and the workers, and not simply serving as a means of 'warehousing' young unemployed school-leavers whilst waiting for demand to catch up with supply.

Peck and Haughton identified a process of 'colonisation', whereby YTS became as much concerned with youth employment as its predecessors had been with youth unemployment.

> "In practice, colonisation refers to the progressive substitution of YTS places for regular job vacancies, a process in which the institutional infrastructure of the new programme is imported into the labour market."
>
> (Peck and Haughton, 1991, 816)

Colonisation, however, is an extremely uneven process given the 'segmented nature of the youth labour market'. The secondary sector of the labour market has proven to be most susceptible to colonisation by YTS, and this tendency contributed significantly to the uneven geographical configuration of the scheme. Local labour markets are seen to exhibit differing degrees of domination by either primary or secondary sector companies, and this variation leads to differing participation rates, different modes of participation, and different employment outcomes for YTS trainees in different places. At the level of the labour market, and not the *local* labour market, Peck (1990a) has identified six reasons which inform how supply-side measures such as YTS interact with the demand (and primarily secondary sector) side of the labour market. These reasons relate to the 'inheritance' of the pattern of secondary sector colonisation from preceding schemes; YTS having been vacancy-led, thereby responding to short-term expressed demand in the 'high-turnover' youth labour market; YTS having been actively boycotted by some primary sector trade unions; a flat-rate payment system which discouraged capital-intensive training, relative to the training which is associated with many low-skilled secondary sector jobs; YTS trainees in these low-skill areas quickly achieving full productive capacity, due to the short periods of training which are required; and, the managing agency system which pulled small,

often peripheral firms into the scheme as work placement sub-contractors (Peck, 1990a, 21).

Colonisation in these circumstances introduced a new form of training at what Peck and Haughton (1991) term the 'subapprentice' level. In so doing, it significantly altered the dualistic nature of the youth labour market in different local contexts, not least by altering the nature of the capital-labour power relationship between young workers and their employers. Within a 'buoyant' local labour market, the chances of obtaining an employer-based YTS place were much greater than those for YTS trainees in relatively economically 'depressed' regions, where YTS placements were more generally available in 'sheltered' provision, in colleges, outside of the firm. Employers in the buoyant area were consequently able to screen trainees for subsequent employment whilst providing good job experience. For the trainee in the college-based provision, there was no 'screening' opportunity, no on-the-job experience, and because of the depressed nature of the local labour market, a reduced likelihood of post-training employment (Fig. 2.7).

At the level of the local labour market, therefore, it was apparent that YTS was playing a distinctly different role in different geographical contexts. YTS was performing the function of *containing unemployment* in depressed local labour markets, while *subsidising employment* in buoyant local labour markets (Peck, 1990b). The way in which the scheme 'articulates with the labour market in different places' suggests that the depressed local labour markets may have been further marginalised through the operation of YTS. Changes in the training infrastructure, operating at the level of the local labour market, laid the basis for a resegmentation of the youth labour market, sensitive to the contingencies of place (Peck and Haughton, 1991).

Processes of skill change may, therefore, be seen to be locally configured through an inter-relationship between contemporary labour market and institutional structures, operating within the context of the 'residues' of previous institutional and labour market structures. State intervention in training is thereby seen to be historically and

Fig.2.7
Colonisation of the youth labour market within differing local labour market conditions:
depressed (middle); buoyant (bottom)
(Source: Peck and Haughton, 1991)
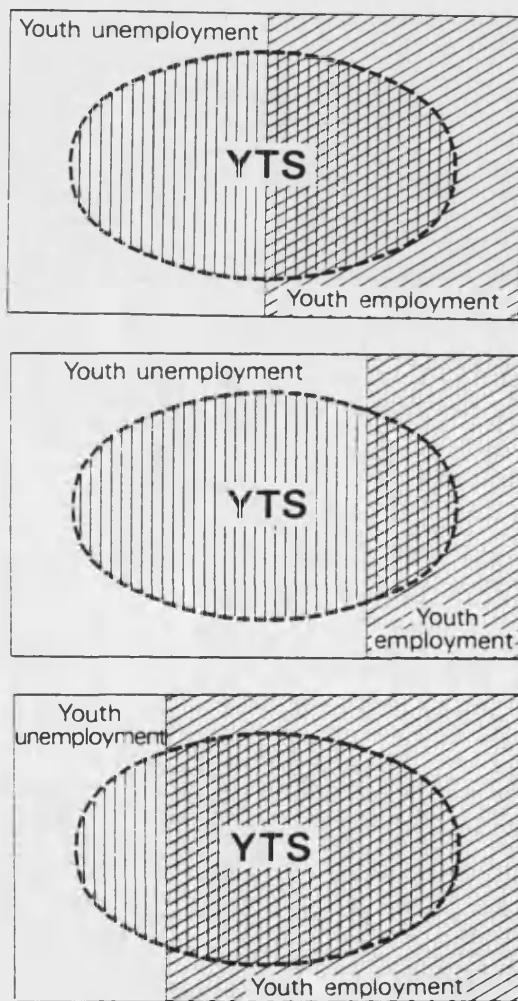
geographically situated and best studied at the level of the local labour market.

> "Thus, these institutions will come to reflect *local* labour market
> histories....distinctive 'local training infrastructures' have been
> identified, which reflect not only national training policies, but also (a)
> localised modes of implementation...., (b) the particular 'regulatory'
> needs of local labour markets....and (c) local capital-labour-state
> relationships."
>
> (Peck, 1990a, 24)

Placing another set of policy programmes and initiatives aimed at labour market regulation and governance, namely the Government Training Centres and Skillcentres programmes, into this same theoretical and analytical context and framework, provides the basis for the empirical work contained within the rest of this thesis.

2.4.3 Government Training Centres and Skillcentres in context

In order to 'locate' the GTC and Skillcentre initiatives within this theoretical framework, it is necessary to introduce an historically and geographically-located understanding of the operation of Skillcentre training and the related vocational training schemes which predated it. This is undertaken in terms of both a more abstract formulation, whereby these policies represent one element of the state's attempts at labour market regulation and governance, in response to changes and crisis in the regime of accumulation; and the more concrete specificities of the idea of local training infrastructures as part of the reconceptualisation of the local labour market as locally instituted conjuncture. From this perspective, Skillcentre-based training is interpreted as an example of the state's regulatory mechanisms, interfacing with the causal processes of labour demand and supply within the context of a local labour market.

Skillcentre training: national and local training infrastructures

This section, therefore, illustrates these arguments by reference to the state-funded national Skillcentre network, and related training initiatives, which provided adult vocational training to the unemployed at a number of designated centres located

throughout Britain. The national Skillcentre network, although closely associated with the relatively recent rise and fall of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), represented just one time-specific form of state intervention into adult vocational training which was part of a series of initiatives which dated back to 1917 and continued almost to the present day, albeit in distinctly different forms. As such, however, the Skillcentre initiative can be conceived of as a national training initiative, with substantive historical precedents, and following the privatisation of the network in the early 1990s, related policy successors.

The first 'instructional factories' were established in 1917 to assist in the re-settlement of ex-service personnel returning from the war with disabilities. This scheme was limited in scope but represents the first instance of state intervention in adult vocational training in Britain (Pettman and Showler, 1974; Berthoud, 1978). With increasingly high unemployment during the 1920s the government re-defined the scope and purpose of these 'factories' by establishing a set of Government Training Centres (GTCs) ostensibly meeting the social objectives of retraining the unemployed. Following World War Two the GTCs grew significantly to again serve the purposes of re-settlement and providing training to those whose skills acquisition had been interrupted by the war. The GTCs were also, however, expanded to provide skilled workers in the building trades to support the post-war reconstruction programme. Almost immediately, by 1948, the GTC network was drastically reduced and continued to decline through to 1962. The following year, in line with a move away from explicit social objectives towards economic goals and objectives, the number of GTCs was again increased and the programme and network continued to grow into the start of the 1970s.

During the 1970s major changes were initiated in the public training programme, most importantly the creation of the Manpower Services Commission, following the Employment and Training Act 1973 (Ainley and Corney, 1990). The new name 'Skillcentre' dates from this period, replacing the long-established GTCs. The 1970s was characterised by, a debate as to whether the Skillcentre network should be geared to primarily national economic or social objectives, by an extension of adult training

into Colleges of Further Education, and by an increase in on-the-job training sponsored by the state. By the end of the decade Skillcentre provision was subject to further review in the light of both low occupancy of courses and poor placement figures for trainees. This review recognised the need for a long-term shift in Skillcentre provision towards occupations and geographical areas offering the best employment prospects (National Audit Office, 1987).

As a result, the Skillcentre Training Agency (or Skills Training Agency - STA) was established in April 1983 to provide a more flexible and responsive provision of training services through the Skillcentre network. In 1984, this network amounted to a peak of 87 Skillcentres distributed across Britain. In November 1984 plans were announced to close 29 of the existing centres, and by 1987 only 60 Skillcentres remained. The STA operated on a commercial basis, required to break even on its trading activities by 1986-87. The long-established move away from training provision for the unemployed, towards meeting the direct training needs of employers, coupled with the privatisation policies of government at that time, suggested that the STA was effectively preparing the way for the eventual sale of the Skillcentre network into the private sector. This was achieved at the start of the 1990s by the sale of three quarters of the remaining Skillcentres to Astra Training Services, as an early 'management buy-out', with most of the remaining centres being closed. At the start of 1993, 37 of the 45 privatised Skillcentres remained, only to be placed in the hands of the receivers in July of that year.

This selective history of Skillcentre-type training is developed and detailed in chapters three and four, in conjunction with an assessment of regional variations in Britain of this training provision over the past 75 years. Importantly, however, the history of Skillcentre-type training has generally been seen as one of national priorities, be they motivated by economic, social or political objectives. Nine distinct periods of labour market regulation are identified in chapters three and four, which although not exhaustive nor necessarily mutually exclusive, do illustrate changes in the regulatory response and institutional framework, which may be interpreted as part of the change in the mode of social regulation associated with changes within and between

identified regimes of accumulation. The issue of 'within' is particularly stressed here, as not all of these distinct regulatory periods are not consistent with a breakdown in the regime of accumulation, or transition between regimes, but may be regarded as periods of labour regulation and governance, and consequently as 'exploratory' adjustments to the mode of social regulation, which are intended to maintain the existing regime and facilitate the necessary conditions for production, consumption and capital accumulation. From this perspective, regulation theory is particularly appropriate as framework and method, where the emphasis is placed upon ensuring 'stability' and 'coherence' within any particular regime of accumulation (Ekinsmyth, Hallsworth, Leonard and Taylor, 1995).

Equally, the changes in Skillcentre policy, ending with privatisation and paralleled by the restructuring, reorientation and eventual abolition of the Manpower Services Commission, which had been the most important institution of labour market regulation and governance in the 1970s and 1980s, may also be analysed and understood from this perspective. The crisis in Fordist production and the supposed shift to Post-Fordist production allows the Skillcentre programme at this time to be interpreted in terms of the shift from corporatist to neo-liberal state intervention and activity, and as part of the supposed transition from Fordism and Keynesian welfare state forms to Post-Fordism and Schumpeterian workfare. In this instance, Skillcentre policy potentially representing part of a new structural coupling between a new regime of accumulation and associated changes in the mode of social regulation.

Although, however, conceived of in terms of a varied set of national objectives and priorities, this represents only part of the theoretical perspective adopted within this thesis. For, it is also possible to locate Skillcentre-type training within a conceptual and theoretical framework which recognises them as elements of distinctive local training infrastructures which are in turn part of a locally instituted conjuncture, itself embedded in wider regulatory environments of labour market regulation. The war-time 'Instructional Factories' of 1917; the GTCs supporting regional policy directed towards the 'depressed' mining regions during the 1920s and 1930s; the post-1945 GTCs aimed at supporting reconstruction and rehabilitation; the shift in training

provision during the early 1960s to explicitly support economic rather than social objectives; the use of the Skillcentre 'network' to support delivery of the MSC's comprehensive national manpower policy during the 1970s; the requirement during the mid 1980s for the Skillcentres to trade-in-profit; and, the privatisation of the Skillcentre network and its subsequent and rapid closure, may all be seen as essentially national level policies and programmes aimed at regulating the labour market under differing conditions of economic, social and political change and crisis. Although some of these policy programmes had explicit regional objectives, all of these related programmes may be seen to be essentially concerned with regulating the uneven development of the national labour market.

At the same time, the implementation of each of these policy programmes was conducted within the context of the specificities of particular regional and local labour markets. As a consequence labour market regulation conceived at the national level produced uneven geographical results and local outcomes. Some of these outcomes were intentional and some incidental (Peck, 1996). In particular, many of the 'events' referred to above in relation to the development of national GTC and Skillcentre policy, produced local outcomes which ran counter to the regional and social objectives of the original policy. This in part was due to the manner in which these processes of labour regulation interacted contingently with historically prior uses of space, for example through their intersection with pre-existing local institutional legacies, with local labour market structures relating to the segmentation of the labour market in terms of local structures of labour supply and demand, and their interaction with existing labour market institutions within any particular local labour market context. An example within Greater London during the 1980s, being provided by the relationship between the two 'local' labour market institutions of the Greater London Training Board (as part of the Greater London Council) and the London Regional Office of the Manpower Services Commission. Each of these labour market regulatory institutions were undertaking their work within the then contemporary and historically residual consequences of Greater London's economy, social structures and political organisation. As such, and in the context of Skillcentre training, they provide an important example of aspects of a distinctive local training infrastructure as locally

instituted conjuncture within a broader national regulatory environment (see chapters six and seven).

The nationally conceived GTC and Skillcentre training programmes, therefore, represented state intervention to achieve economic, social and political objectives which were cast at a variety of spatial scales with significant local implications in terms of the impact of these policies upon different buoyant and depressed local labour markets and local economies. These skills training initiatives, therefore, had significant local consequences in a number of important ways. First, and simply, certain geographical areas were advantaged or disadvantaged over others in terms of the availability or lack of training provision. Second, existing training provision and institutions of labour market regulation intersected and interacted with these particular institutional forms and consequently changed the nature and functioning of the pre-existing local training infrastructure. The likely achievement of any national policy objectives, therefore, was not simply predicated upon any direct change in the nature of the training provision, but also upon the interaction of the new training initiative with the existing training infrastructure, as well as labour demand and supply relations existing within the local labour market. In reality, therefore, the 'success' of each Skillcentre, in implementing national objectives was more likely to be as a result of the form of its articulation with the local labour market, than its stated objectives unrelated to the local labour market context.

These examples are intended to be illustrative and not exhaustive, and are developed and extended in the following empirical studies. In summary, however, Skillcentre and related training programmes have been an important part of skill formation and state intervention within the labour market in Britain for approximately the last 75 years. This thesis argues that a continuous line of policy development and implementation in terms of state intervention into the realm of adult industrial training, at training centres away from the workplace, has been apparent. The form and purpose of this intervention, however, must be understood within both the objectives conceived at the level of the national government and within the context of its articulation with different local labour markets. In particular, the changing national

objectives of the Skillcentre and related initiatives, will have had different effects in different places due to the segmentation within the local labour market arising from the distinctive local labour demand and supply relations and institutional context of labour market regulation and governance. Whilst many of the outcomes of these articulations with the local labour market will be common to many different geographical contexts, others will not and it is necessary in each instance to identify the distinctive nature of these locality effects.

Skillcentre training in London: accessibility in context

From this position, access to training in GTCs and Skillcentres in Greater London was in part based upon the contemporary local intersection and interaction between the institutions of labour market regulation and governance, which constituted the distinctive local training infrastructure within Greater London. The example cited above of the GLC and the London Regional Office of the MSC, during the early 1980s, represented such a locally instituted conjuncture between two bodies, representing local and national labour market regulatory institutions, both charged with a responsibility to facilitate and provide for skill formation within the Greater London area, but arguably with different economic, social and political objectives.

This idea of local labour market as conjunctural phenomenon (Peck, 1996) between, in this instance, essentially conflicting labour market institutions, also suggests that the characteristics of the GTC and Skillcentre trainees, at any particular time, may not have simply reflected social or economic need within the Greater London labour markets. As part of the regulatory need to achieve stated training goals and objectives, the GTC and Skillcentre trainees may have been less likely to reflect those most disadvantaged within the local labour markets, and more likely to reinforce the specific needs of this particular institution of labour market regulation and governance. From this position, the education, training and work experience of the trainees was significant in terms of gaining access to Skillcentre-based training, particularly if 'success' was measured in terms of the proportion of trainees completing their courses who subsequently found employment within that work area. Potential

trainees who already had characteristics in their personal, education and work profile which interfaced closely with labour demand in their locality may have been more likely to gain access to state-funded training initiatives. In this particular context and within this distinctive local training infrastructure, different 'local' labour market institutions may have worked to either reinforce, reflect or reduce processes of labour market segmentation within their local labour market and local economy context.

Equally within this context and framework, access to GTC and Skillcentre training in Greater London, at any particular time, could not be understood or explained simply in terms of the then contemporary institutional context and provision of training resources and facilities within the Greater London area. Skillcentre catchment, as labour is mobilised locally within the complex travel-to-work and local labour market structures of Greater London, is important. However, the opportunity to gain access to GTC and Skillcentre training for any unemployed worker in London, at any particular time, was arguably also based upon the residual consequences of earlier locational and training decisions, institutional legacies which were the product of policy programmes conceived under different conditions of national, regional and local labour market regulatory need, and different industrial, social and political circumstances. Catchment in this context was important in terms of influencing access to training opportunities as it may have been based in large part upon the conditions affecting labour market regulation up to 60 years earlier.

Within a labour market context such as Greater London, therefore, it was important to recognise not only the institutional and local labour market circumstances pertaining at any particular time, but also the variation in the nature of training provision over time, as well as the changing objectives and rationale which have underlain that form of intervention. This historical context is critical in terms of understanding the nature of the local vocational training network's articulation with labour demand and supply relations as they have changed over time within that region. This perspective, therefore, enables an understanding of state-funded training provision through GTCs or Skillcentres which may have been used to fulfil both a series of distinct regulatory needs over time, and a number of distinct and particular local regulatory needs *at the*

same time. For example, in the early 1980s in Greater London, when the nationally set objectives of preparing for privatisation of the Skillcentre network, was very much in conflict with the nationally-conceived but locally important need to counter the social unrest associated with inner-city decline. This understanding recognises the recursive relationship between the national and the local, and the significance of both the contemporary and the historical, all within the geographical setting and specificities of London's economic, social and political structures.

Access to Skillcentre training in London, from this theoretical perspective, may therefore be attributed to at least the following processes. First, the local training infrastructure represented one outcome of the interactions between the relatively autonomous causal processes underpinning local labour market structure, namely labour demand, labour supply and the activities of the state, operating at a variety of spatial scales and creating distinctive local capital-labour-state relationships. Second, access to Skillcentre-based training opportunities in London was at any one time the product of the previous and contemporary inter-relationships between the national and this distinctive local training infrastructure. It is also argued that the characteristics of the trainees gaining access to Skillcentre training in London reflected the outcome of these relationships, at any given point in time.

These issues are developed and detailed in chapters five, six and seven where the analysis of an interview survey of 1019 trainees at all the Skillcentre sites in London in the early 1980s relates Skillcentre catchment to the trainees personal characteristics and educational, training and work experience; to the historical and geographical development of the GTC/Skillcentre network both within London and the rest of Britain; as well as to aspects of London's industrial, social and local labour market structures. Access to and eligibility for Skillcentre training in London in the early 1980s, or any other given time, may best be understood by placing these state-funded adult training initiatives within the historical and then contemporary context of the processes which underpin local labour market structure.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a theoretical framework which forms the basis for the analysis and interpretation of these state-funded skills training initiatives within Britain and London between 1917-1993. This framework is consistent with the research methodology contained within chapter one, by engaging in an iterative and ongoing process of refinement, working from an abstract theorisation of the purposes underpinning state intervention, towards the concrete realities of aspects of state activity relating to labour market regulation and governance in Britain and the geographically and historically located specificities of those same elements of state-funded labour market regulation through skills training within the Greater London local labour markets.

In order to begin this process, this chapter has sought to use a recent and extended formulation of regulation theory, which encompasses the sub-national or local, alongside other contemporary theorisations which have sought to reconceptualise the idea of the local labour market as locally instituted conjuncture, where the institutions of labour market regulation and governance intersect and interact with other causal processes which underpin labour market structure. Chapter three begins this journey from abstract theorisation towards the concrete by interpreting the GTC skills training initiatives from this perspective of changing institutional geographies or landscapes of labour market regulation and governance.

Chapter Three

Government Training Centre skills training: a changing geography of labour market regulation and governance

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two established a theoretical context within which it is possible to develop explanations regarding the historical, geographical and periodic development and decline of the Government Training Centre (GTC) initiative. Chapter three considers the origins of the state provision of adult industrial training from the first instructional factories in 1917 through to the transformation of the GTCs into Skillcentres in the early 1970s.

This theoretical framework has identified an intersecting set of causal mechanisms which will inform this analysis at the national and regional scales. These mechanisms require these specific policy initiatives to be placed within the broader context of industrial and social change, the wider re-production of skills by the state and within the workplace, and other government legislation and policy relating to social welfare and the economy.

This approach is necessary to begin to locate this apparently 'aspatial' GTC skills training policy. Aspatial is emphasised here, in that these initiatives did have an implicit spatial context, namely at the level of the national network, or nation-state, however this geographical context is invariably taken for granted, and almost never questioned. The local and regional dimension to these policies can, when made explicit, be understood as more than deviation from a dominant national model. The 'local' can then be understood within the context of broader economic, social, political and cultural processes operating at a variety of spatial scales. Local and regional institutional forms are then both distinctive *and* embedded within national and international contexts, and are part of a wider process of spatially uneven development. A geography of labour regulation is then developed, although it may be more accurately portrayed as a historical series of local regulatory outcomes,

reflecting more than simply 'contingent variability around a series of dominant historical-national models' (Peck, 1995b, 15).

This chapter, therefore, has three main objectives. First, to locate the development of these central government, national policy initiatives, into elements of the economic, social, political and historical context within which they were derived and implemented. Second, within this context, to illustrate the local and regional variation in the distribution of this training provision in order to question the idea of a 'national network' and to direct attention back towards explanation at the spatial scale of the local labour market. Finally, to interpret these state-funded components of skill formation within the framework of the causal processes underlying local labour market structure, and to develop the concept of a geography of labour regulation. Emphasis is placed upon an analysis of selected policy programmes and institutions of labour regulation and governance within Britain and the geographical variation in the resulting training provision within that same space-economy. This approach integrates the local and regional variation in provision with the national policy context.

Within this framework, six periods between the late 19th Century and the early 1970s are identified which, in terms of state intervention within the realm of adult industrial and vocational training, were distinctive in terms of the need for labour regulation and governance. These periods are identified and delimited because they had an important influence upon subsequent periods of training policy formulation and implementation, as well as the regional nature of that training provision and consequently the configuration and structure of the national 'network' of training centres. This is consistent with Peck's (1994a; 1995b) approach and method of 'building down' from an extended regulation theory to issues of uneven development, incorporating sub-national or regional formulations.

Chapter three presents these distinct 'regulatory periods' from the 1880s to approximately 1973 (Fig.3.1). First, and prior to direct intervention by the state, the growing unemployment crisis of the 1880s created an environment in which it was recognised that the state had a 'duty' to ensure the continuation of the growing

Fig.3.1
Six labour market 'regulatory periods' in Britain: 1880s to early 1970s

1.   **1880s-1914**: Unemployment crisis in which state recognised a 'duty' to ensure the continuation of the growing industrial system - skill training methods were seen to be slow and inflexible in relation to the rapidly changing methods of production.

2.   **1914-early 1920s**: Wartime production and management of post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation.

3.   **1920s-1930s**: Economic depression - origins of a national training system emerging out of an incremental and declining set of policy initiatives.

4.   **1939-1948**: Wartime production and regulation of labour and production of skills within another period of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

5.   **1950s-1963**: Near full employment and relative economic boom - government training policy receded to the margins of the labour market to perform a residual social welfare function.

6.   **1964-early1970s**: Recognition of the limits to voluntarism - Industrial Training Act 1964.

industrial system, especially in the face of skill training methods which were slow and inflexible in relation to the rapidly changing methods of production. The second regulatory period relates to the exceptional circumstances of the First World War and the changes in the training system which were demanded by the imperatives of wartime production, coupled with the management of the post-war reconstruction. Whilst the third period refers to the state's response to the economic and social crisis associated with the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s.

The end of these three periods represents an important divide between what might be termed the ad hoc and experimental initiatives of the earlier period (Field, 1988) and a period of consolidation, general acceptance and recognition of the need for a national manpower skills training system within Britain. The fourth period, therefore, commences in the late 1930s with a nationally-recognised need to generate a body of skilled workers who are able to meet the needs and demands of wartime production. This return to the wartime regulation of labour and production of skills was followed by a period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The fifth period, however, was distinctly different from the post-war experience of the 1920s and 1930s. The 1950s were the years of near full employment and relative economic boom. The scope of training policy pursued by the Ministry of Labour 'receded to the margins of the labour market' to perform an essentially social welfare function (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987), whilst economic growth demonstrated the limits of voluntarism in relation to training provision. Skill shortages were increasingly blamed for setting limits to production and for Britain's relatively poor economic performance compared to other European and international competitors. The final regulatory period was, therefore, a response to this linking of economic performance to the availability of skilled labour. The early 1960s have been recognised as a time when the state provision of industrial and vocational training moved from a predominant concern with social welfare to a position whereby economic objectives were paramount. At the policy statement level at least, the manifest labour market needs of employers were for the first time, outside of a wartime context, given precedence over the social needs of the individual worker.

This chapter, therefore, develops the view that although the GTC initiative was initially created and developed out of exceptional circumstances, there existed a broader and pre-existing agenda for change within the industrial training system in Britain, which was being driven by processes of global economic and technological change. The national response to these changes was, however, due to the differential regional impact of these processes, implemented through training initiatives and programmes which were national in purpose but essentially local in practice. The specificities of provision were frequently the product of the local intersection of labour demand, labour supply and these regulatory mechanisms created by national government but interpreted through local institutions and agencies of labour regulation and governance. Sub-national uneven development generated a set of regulatory responses which were in part the result of international and national processes of change but which were intimately concerned with the provision of training for people within the context and setting of their everyday lives.

This chapter is concerned principally with the variability in provision of skills training through the 'national network' of Government Training Centres (GTCs). It illustrates how an explanation and understanding of that changing national geography of labour regulation must be set within the framework of causal processes of labour market change as they intersect and function within the context of, but not solely at the level of, the British space-economy. This thesis argues that government sponsored adult vocational training in Britain can be traced through a range of policy initiatives from approximately 1917 through to 1993, a period of just over 75 years. These policies start with the establishment of instructional factories, set up to train disabled ex-servicemen, and conclude with the closure of nearly all of the relatively recently privatised Skillcentre network. To conceive of these training programmes as representing a simple progression of policy objectives through time and space, however, is to deny the complexity and significance of their broader historical and geographical setting.

This reality has already in part been detailed by others who have located these policy initiatives within the wider policy spectrum of government activity and the context of

broader economic, social and political processes (Pettman, 1974; Pettman and Showler, 1974; Perry, 1976; Anderson and Fairley, 1983; Vickerstaff, 1985; Robertson, 1986; Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987; Field, 1988; Streeck, 1989; Ainley and Corney, 1990; Evans, 1992). Each of these examples, may be regarded as a partial presentation in that they either deal with a specific policy programme, specific institution of labour market regulation, or specific time period. The geographical reality is developed to a far less extent and is frequently assumed away as largely irrelevant, either specified as a simplistic 'container' which represents the administrative spatial 'field', normally the nation-state, or else accepted implicitly in order to facilitate comparisons of effectiveness between countries.

Where reference is made to the significance of sub-national or regional contexts, those local or regional situations are seen as passive recipients of national policy, in order to achieve the objectives of a nationally conceived regional policy. An appreciation of the significance of space and place in all of these analyses is limited and often obscures explanation. These studies concede a geographical relevance at the level of the nation-state, but fail to unpack the significance of other spatial scales in their analysis of both the effectiveness of, and purpose behind, these training schemes (Peck, 1995a). The issue of labour regulation through state-funded skills training in Britain during this century is, therefore, more than simply a set of policy statements and more than an implicit national context. Explanation must view the relevant training initiatives within the wider context of mainstream government policy; in terms of broader economic, social and political processes; and within a geographical context which recognises the sub-national as well as the international as relevant spatial scales.

3.2 Origins of state intervention in skills training

The origins of state intervention in adult industrial training in Britain have frequently been attributed to the training initiatives which commenced during the First World War. The particular and crisis-ridden circumstances of this regulatory period certainly 'revolutionised the possibilities of government inspired industrial training in Britain'

(Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). The origins of state intervention, however, may be seen to date from an earlier period and from out of a distinctly different, but all too familiar regulatory need, that of unemployment and a decline in training within industry.

Despite Britain's apparent industrial strengths in the second half of the 19th Century, weaknesses had begun to appear in its industrial structure well before 1914. Industrial production was still growing, but exports showed a dangerous concentration on a narrow range of 'old' industries namely, coal, iron and steel, machinery and vehicles, ships and textiles. Although some were still growing, outputs had been overtaken by the faster growth of Germany and the USA. In general engineering and shipbuilding Britain was losing her early lead. Over most of the 19th Century, Britain's supremacy depended on skilled craftsmen. In the USA it was the lack of such craft workers which led to the development of pioneer machinery, automation, mass production and 'scientific management'. These were the methods of the future but were resisted in Britain, and adopted only slowly, if at all, before 1914 (Hounshell, 1984). In general, Britain's early success and lead in many industrial sectors was, from the later 1880s through to 1914, the basis for the failure of the economy to grow at the rate of the USA and most other European countries, and for the failure to modernise certain key industries (Pollard, 1992).

This was also a period of great inequalities even between manual workers. In 1886, the average unskilled wage in industry was 60% of the skilled wage, a figure which fell to 58% by 1913 (Knowles and Robertson, 1951), a situation made worse by irregular employment for unskilled workers. In the face of international competition, employers maintained production but only at the expense of labour. In London, 1886 was a year of riots against unemployment. 1889 witnessed the London dock strike and the founding of the London County Council, with its radical working class majority. Charles Booth in his study into the conditions of late 19th Century London life and labour, found that 62% of people in deep poverty were poor because of irregular employment or low pay (Greater London Council, 1986a). Nationally, unemployment

rose in the worst years to 11%, and existing unemployment relief was increasingly ineffective in dealing with cyclical unemployment.

The Unemployed Workmen Act 1905 attempted to regularise aid and established 'distress committees' in all large towns, whilst the main welfare provision was embodied in the National Insurance Act 1911, covering unemployment insurance. This Act included seven industries considered most liable to cyclical fluctuation. The mistaken belief at this time was that much of the existing unemployment was 'frictional' rather than 'structural' and consequently other legislation in 1909, authorised the establishment of local labour exchanges.

From the 1880s, the unemployment crisis had prompted the proposal of a variety of training schemes for the unemployed, at one extreme, the 'labour colony' for 'reclaiming the unemployable residuum of the urban slum while replenishing the rural or colonial workforce' (Field, 1988). The Samuelson Commission (1882-1884) was the first occasion on which a Royal Commission was employed to investigate the link between economic performance and the functioning of the education system (Perry, 1976). Emphasis at this time was centred principally upon the transition from school to work, and the apparent failing of the long-established apprenticeship system in creating a skilled workforce to enable Britain to compete industrially with other countries, particularly Germany.

Beneath each of these concerns, however, was a new belief that government should become directly involved in industrial training, coupled with the view that better industrial training would reduce unemployment (Harris, 1972; Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987; Field, 1988). Perry (1976) provides a detailed account of some of these late 19th century concerns. However, beyond legitimation for local action, and exhortation to underpin voluntarism, any direct and large-scale assumption of responsibility by the state was not apparent (Field, 1988).

The 'local action' took the form of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, allowing support for authorities establishing municipal technical schools and colleges. The

linkage between these colleges and industry began to influence the pattern of industrial training in the period preceding the First World War. While the county councils and county boroughs were responsible for technical education, the priority given to, and the nature and extent of, that provision was likely to be dependent upon local or regional political control, local key and dominant social reformers, as well as the local economic base and labour supply factors such as resistance within the craft workers to these early attempts at skills 'dilution'.

The Technical Education Board of the London County Council, for example, under the chairmanship of Sidney Webb, created a technical education system for London which was 'an educational ladder of unprecedented dimensions...the most gigantic in extent,...and the most diversified in kinds of excellence selected and types of training provided, that existed anywhere in the world' (Webb, 1948, 79). Local municipal initiatives, such as that developed for London, were of such a scale that local adaptations to the national apprenticeship system became possible to reduce the time-served element of the training by the substitution of day release facilities and external examinations operated by the then newly established City and Guilds of London Institute (Perry, 1976). Within London, from the setting up of the Regent Street Polytechnic in 1882, a further eleven Polytechnics were established in the London area.

Whilst these technical education programmes did not represent a direct line to the Government Training Centres and later Skillcentres, they did establish a number of important precedents. First, that state intervention in this area was legitimate, albeit then largely restricted to the transition from school to work. Unemployment levels prompted a response from the state in terms of both economic and social objectives. The voluntarism of the British training system was confronted as being inadequate to meet foreign competition. This was a period increasingly characterised by the obsolescence and inflexibility of traditional forms of apprenticeship particularly in response to the introduction of mass production techniques within industry (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). This situation was paralleled by growing social concerns that the high levels of unemployment would also precipitate a political crisis as the urban

poor, without the social discipline generated through the work ethic would be increasingly prone to social conflict and opposed to mainstream government policy.

Second, the embedded apprenticeship system could be adapted to increase labour flexibility in the face of changing technology and methods of production. In practice, the view that training was the responsibility of industry and the consequent embeddedness of the apprenticeship system meant that restructuring or amendment of the traditional time-served craft trades training was extremely difficult to implement. Nationally, the voluntaristic nature of the provision of industrial training remained largely unchanged and linked as ever to the notion of craft skills acquisition.

Third, and in the context of this thesis most importantly, these changes were most easily facilitated and effectively constructed through local or regional initiatives, which varied significantly across geographical space, whereby local technical colleges could assist local employers to meet skill demand priorities as they perceived and defined them, within the context of their local labour market. The growth of national state-funded and municipal provision of technical training created a situation in which embedded practices could be changed through national policy enacted and implemented within a local context.

In summary, this period, dating from approximately 1880 through to the outbreak of the First World War, represented a distinctive regulatory period which was characterised more by a failure to create and implement a national policy towards state-funded industrial training, than it was by reform and change within the educational and apprenticeship system. As such, however, it is important in establishing the circumstances in which subsequent policy was cast and for beginning to illustrate the geographical variability inherent within the creation and development of the national training system within Britain.

3.3 War-time labour market regulation

The war began with unemployment but quickly gave way to labour shortages which intensified as war progressed. The demands of the armed forces and the munitions industries meant that within one year workers in all war-important skilled crafts were exempt from recruitment. Substitution of women and unskilled labour for male craft workers was common, and was known as 'dilution' given the impossibility of training workers requiring several years apprenticeship quickly enough to meet demand. In the face of these rapid changes, trade union membership more than doubled between 1913 and 1919 to over 8 million workers (Pollard, 1992; Winter, 1985).

By 1917 labour unrest was significant, particularly within the engineering industries, and at the centre of the disputes was the upgrading and substitution of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in jobs previously regarded as skilled. When even skilled men began to be called-up, there was no limit to substitution and upgrading. Patriotism and self-sacrifice was increasingly replaced by disillusionment in the war effort. Towards the end of 1917, a series of strikes took place in the munitions industry as a result of these grievances (Pollard, 1992).

The first government-*provided* adult vocational training has generally been agreed to date from 1917 with the establishment of 'instructional factories' designed to provide skills training for the war-disabled (Estimates Committee, 1967; Pettman and Showler, 1974; Berthoud, 1978). The scheme, however, was limited in terms of its scope and its terms of reference. Originally set up to train disabled ex-servicemen, the scheme was extended in 1919 to provide training for men and women who had been prevented by service in the Armed Forces during the war from entering industry at the normal age or acquiring by normal means the skill thought essential for regular employment (Estimates Committee, 1967). Training was offered in a variety of skilled trades, in which the prospects of employment seemed good, with most of the skills taught being in engineering. The last of the instructional factories was closed in 1926 with the basic resettlement aims having been accomplished (Pettman and Showler, 1974).

The decade of the instructional factories, however, is an important and significant development in the provision of adult industrial and vocational training by government. Sheldrake and Vickerstaff (1987), in their 'History of Industrial Training in Britain' identify and emphasise an earlier and broader purpose to the provision of instructional factories, that of quickly supplying competent and flexible labour skilled in a limited set of industrial operations. This suggests a distinctive regulatory period, given the exceptional circumstances of war time production which required the training of men and women as quickly as possible to perform certain definite industrial operations. In addition, labour regulation during the war represented an almost unique opportunity to overcome many of the skills acquisition and training problems identified in the preceding regulatory period.

The system of training during the war was begun in 1915 through the Ministry of Munitions. Training was conducted in three types of location; technical schools, extending the provision begun in the preceding period; instructional bays, attached to particular works; and, training in instructional factories, the geographical, locational and policy beginnings of the post-war Government Training Centres and the Skillcentres of the more recent period. The instructional factories were the first under the direct control of a Ministry, and by 1918 'nearly a dozen' large instructional factories had been established, each capable of training at any one time between 400-800 trainees (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987).

Whilst the war effort purpose was explicit, that of producing competent machine operators in a period of under three months, there existed a secondary agenda which was more concerned with breaking down the rigid structures of the apprenticeship system and establishing in its place a flexible and national training system which would involve state intervention and provision of industrial training where necessary. The munitions and armaments factories required not only competent workers who had reached their level of competence within a fraction of the traditional time-served period, but also workers who were only competent in one or two operations, rather than the more extensively skilled craft worker, and consequently who were more use to the factories as operatives familiar with mass production techniques. Whilst it was

recognised that the 'dilution' conditions which had prevailed during the war would not continue after the war, this opportunity to demonstrate an alternative system of skills acquisition was not missed.

Towards the end of the war, and into the peace time economy, the instructional factories did shift in their priority from the rapid throughput of semi-skilled operatives to the production of skills training for the war-disabled and other unemployed ex-servicemen. By 1919, and now under the control of the new Training Department of the Ministry of Labour, the first tripartite (government, employers associations and trade unions) representative training bodies were established with the task of devising acceptable training schemes for principally these people with disabilities. The result was typically a course of training consisting of 12 months (varying between 6-18 months) in a government instructional factory or other institution, followed by 6-12 months (varying up to 18 months for certain trades) as an 'improver' in an employer's works (Swann and Turnbull, 1978; Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). These National Trade Advisory Committees established for government, a means of negotiating involvement in the evolution and development of the national manpower system which continued through to the 1980s and the operations of the Manpower Services Commission.

Although limited training for the war-disabled continued into the 1930s the onset of economic depression and the rise of unemployment curtailed the state provision of industrial training through the instructional factories, largely due to the industrial relations problems associated with skills 'dilution' (Swann and Turnbull, 1978). From 1921, state-provided industrial and institution-based training had been concentrated into the government instructional factories and away from support for employer-based provision (Ministry of Labour, 1921a). Placements for the trainees were becoming increasingly difficult to find and employers, and trade unions, were increasingly unwilling to accept these 'dilutees', particularly in local labour markets which were particularly 'tight' in terms of the relationship between labour demand and labour supply. During 1924, therefore, the number of instructional factories were reduced

from 58 to the war-time figure of 13, and other training centres were reduced from 252 to 43 (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987).

The growth and decline of the instructional factory network was, therefore, closely linked to the immediate war time objectives of rapid provision of skilled operatives, the peace time purposes of resettlement of predominantly disabled ex-servicemen and the underlying need to reform the voluntaristic skills training structures. This 'mix' of purpose, demonstrates the geographical inertia already evident within the system and the importance of the local labour market context in influencing access to training. The same centres were to be used for these distinct purposes despite the significant difference which existed between the location of the industrial centres requiring skilled operatives and the location of these war disabled. The instructional centres had originally been established close to the industrial centres and factories which required their output of semi-skilled operatives. The ex-service personnel, however, were not 'distributed' across the country in the same manner and the change in the purpose of the existing instructional factories proved inadequate to the newly-defined task, requiring a significant growth in the network to accommodate these differences.

By 1919, The Industrial Training Department of the Ministry of Labour had divided the country into 17 Training Divisions (Ministry of Labour, 1919). Whilst this comprehensive national and regional network was being established it was apparent that the unemployed ex-servicemen (by July 1920) were less than evenly distributed across the country, and were actually concentrated (just under a third of the total) in six towns and cities, namely London, Liverpool, Belfast, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Dublin (Ministry of Labour, 1920a).This apparent 'dislocation' between the location of some of the original instructional factories and their peace time purpose led to a very rapid expansion of the factory network. During 1920, the number of instructional factories increased from 13 to 59 factories. During the early months of 1921 this figure was to be increased even further to over 60 (Ministry of Labour, 1921b).

Whilst employers and trade unions were willing to allow an extension of the scheme to include unemployed ex-servicemen, the temporary suspension of the traditional

apprenticeship system had only come about due to the exceptional circumstances of the war-time period. Post-war, the rapidly changing employment situation made it more and more difficult to find placements for the trainees, and the government became concerned to be seen to be producing trainees who would find permanent jobs in their local areas.

This concern with placement has characterised many periods of training provision, through to the Skillcentres of the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the debate surrounding these training initiatives has been cast in terms of the balance between, and priority given to, the economic and social objectives of these various schemes. The importance given to high placement of trainees, whereby places have been provided where expectation of placement is highest and not necessarily where need is greatest, demonstrates the independent purposes of the state outside of the immediate and explicit economic and social objectives associated with the scheme.

This emphasis upon placement manifested itself in the immediate post-war period within the reality of each local labour market situation and through the establishment of the Local Technical Advisory Committees whose function was to select the individuals for training and supervise their subsequent progress (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). These advisory committees were established on the same tripartite basis as the sector-based National Trade Advisory Committees, and were, according to Swann and Turnbull (1978), 'organised in areas as necessary'. The local importance of these committees was substantial. Following the onset of economic depression and high unemployment in the 1920s, the trade union members of the local committees, with the agreement of the local employers, restricted the numbers of men admitted for training. The relative buoyancy of the local labour market and the employer/trade union relations which existed on the local technical advisory committee, if one existed, were critical local factors in determining whether war-disabled and unemployed ex-servicemen could gain access to skills training.

This relatively limited exercise, however, also served another purpose. In 1917 the continuation of the war, with its associated heavy loss of life and a growing number of

people returning from the war, unable to work due to disability, generated considerable social unrest and criticism of the government's war policy. The establishment of the instructional factories, along with other initiatives and campaigns, served to facilitate social control and legitimate government mainstream policy. Although the numbers trained were relatively small, the contribution to the legitimation of the war effort and the management, in terms of social control, of the immediate post-war period was considerable (Field, 1988).

From this perspective, the work of the instructional factories between 1917 and 1924 must be seen as an attempt to 'manage the aftermath of the war rather than as part of a wider strategy aimed at enhancing government's role in the process of training the labour force' (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). However, although there was a return to many of the voluntaristic practices of industrial training from the pre-war period, direct state intervention through the provision of adult industrial training was now established. Whatever its regulatory purpose, the war had precipitated and facilitated an era of direct provision and intervention which was set to continue for a further 70 years.

3.4 Beyond reconstruction and rehabilitation

The interwar economy can be characterised in terms of the declining 'old' (coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and textiles) industries and the expanding 'new' industries. One of the most important of the new industries was electrical engineering, a symbol of the new industrial Britain, freeing industries from the coalfields of the north and west and creating industrial growth in the midlands and the south-east. Employment in the industry grew rapidly to serve the mass consumer market, from 173,000 in 1924 to 367,000 in 1937. Other growth industries included the motor industry, chemical engineering, including synthetic fibres, and food and drink. Many of these industries were based upon a buoyant domestic market, particularly around London and the south-east.

This industrial 'replacement', however, was associated nationally with persistent mass unemployment. This is explained by a number of factors. First, the new industries were unable to capture the export markets of the old industries, as these changes were taking place in the midst of a world depression. Second, many of the new industries were less labour-intensive, and a skills mis-match emerged between the craft skills of the old industries and the semi-skilled operatives of the new production lines. Finally, structural unemployment was increased by the frictional unemployment created by the location of the new industries in different parts of the country, when compared to the old (Alford, 1981; Broadberry and Crafts, 1990).

The shift from old to new industries, from the export trades to the domestic industries, had enormous consequences for different sections of the population in different parts of the country. In 1921 unemployment in the 'insured trades' stood at 15%. Employment improved in 1924, but even at its best unemployment stood at 9-10%. Before the war, the average over the preceding 60 years was just 4.5%. By the depression of the early 1930s, the official unemployment rate reached a peak of 23% and stayed above 20% for over two years (Pollard, 1992). These general percentages hide great differences between industries, skilled and unskilled workers, ages, sex and geographical areas. For example, the incidence of unemployment was at its greatest among unskilled men between the ages of 18-24, and it was concentrated in the 'old' industrial areas of Scotland, Wales and the North of England (Garside, 1990; Harris, 1991; 1995). This strong 'localisation' of most of the old industries meant that sectoral decline equalled regional decline, and as late as 1934, most of the industrial towns in areas such as the north-east had unemployment rates of over 50%, and some well over 70% of the total insured workers (Hatton, 1986).

The economic depression and high unemployment which characterised the 1920s and early 1930s represented a third regulatory period in terms of the provision of adult industrial training by the government. During this period the purposes of the training were explicitly centred upon social objectives, namely to support those workers who were relatively unskilled, and therefore most vulnerable within the labour market, to find employment. For the first time these training initiatives were also explicitly

linked to a developing regional policy, with the recognition that certain geographical areas were suffering most from the economic decline.

The return to peace time practices of the time-served apprenticeships and the general voluntaristic attitudes towards industrial training, coupled with the decline in the economy, meant that government was not in a position to influence or change these practices, particularly in the face of craft trade unions who were particularly concerned at that time to see a return to pre-war conditions and protection for their members who were already suffering high levels of unemployment. Any economic objectives behind state intervention and provision of industrial training were secondary, although there was still a desire within government to move from the ad hoc and 'emergency' measures of the war period towards a coherent national training policy. Development of such a national policy, though, had to await a further political crisis, on this occasion precipitated by large scale, and regionally concentrated unemployment (Field, 1988).

The last of the instructional factories closed in 1926 having apparently achieved the basic resettlement aims, and satisfied the legitimation objectives. During the 1920s, however, increasing unemployment levels led to the first Government Training Centre (GTC) being established in 1925. Pettman and Showler (1974), whilst indicating that unemployment was the main reason behind this initiative, imply that political objectives were again important as, 'the scale of the operation was insignificant in relation to the volume of unemployment'. From the outset, however, it was felt by government that 'though the initial purpose of resettlement had 'disappeared', an Industrial Training Scheme could provide valuable service in dealing with the growing problem of the unemployed' (Ministry of Labour, 1964; Estimates Committee, 1967).

The unemployed training schemes, which began in 1925, were built upon the immediate post-war experience, and were implemented through five distinct forms of training. These were, Government Training Centres, providing men with a six month course in a skilled trade, with a view to placement in industry and largely following on

from the Instructional Factories; Instructional Centres and Transfer Instructional Centres, established essentially to 'recondition' the long-term unemployed; Home Training Centres, originally set up to provide training for women whose earning capacity had been affected by the war; Junior Instructional Centres, operated by the local education authorities for unemployed young people under the age of 18; and Individual Vocational Training, offering government grants for training, although these were always restricted and the scheme was at times suspended (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987; Field, 1988).

Two issues figure prominently in the descriptions of the training available during this period. First, there was a repeated concern for the character of the trainees who gained access to training; and second, a concern for the development and maintenance of the work ethic and discipline within the workforce and workplace. These training schemes were used to maintain social control, and to legitimate mainstream policy, during a period of great social unrest, typified by the General Strike of 1926. The social and economic conditions prevailing in any particular local labour market were, therefore, major factors influencing provision of, and access to, these training initiatives, but only within the national policy context of reducing unemployment. Increasingly, those national purposes were seen to be achieved through an emerging regional policy.

In broad terms, interwar regional policy had three main parts. The Industrial Transference Scheme, introduced in 1927, was designed to provide assistance for those workers in the depressed areas who sought work in the relatively more prosperous parts of the country. The Special Areas Act 1934, which was an attempt to facilitate the economic development and social improvement of those areas of concentrated, often long-term unemployment (Booth, 1978). Finally, the policy of attracting work to the areas of high unemployment by creating trading estates, through legislation contained within the 1936 Special Areas (Reconstruction) Act (McCrone, 1969; Booth, 1982; Pratt, 1994a; Mohan, 1997). Interwar regional policy, under the administration of the Ministry of Labour was, however, largely about taking workers

to the jobs and industrial transference remained 'the main weapon against regional unemployment' in both the 1920s and 1930s (Booth, 1982).

The newly-established GTCs were typical in that trainees were only admitted to a centre if there was a 'reasonable chance of them obtaining employment as a result of the training they received' (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). In the first four years of operation, centres were opened in Birmingham (1925), Wallsend (1926), Dudley (1928), Bristol (1928) and Glasgow (1928) (Ministry of Labour, 1929a). The first centres had approximately 90% of the places reserved for men from the 'depressed' areas. During 1929, with high unemployment affecting most areas of the country, further centres were opened in Park Royal in London, Slough and Watford, which through 'transference' would take advantage of the more buoyant London economy (Ministry of Labour, 1930a; 1930b).

GTC recruits were sought chiefly from the coalfield areas and courses were designed 'for those men who were fitted to learn a trade' (Davison, 1938), with trainees being carefully selected and 'hand-picked' locally in the derelict coal areas' (Field, 1988). Acknowledgement of the emergence of long-term unemployment was coupled with the recognition of the concentration of that phenomenon in regions particularly affected by the collapse of the coal, textiles and shipbuilding industries. The new GTC initiative came about as much for reasons of regulating labour market equilibrium, including reducing social unrest and maintaining workplace 'morale', within particular and specific local labour market contexts, as it did for the purposes of maintaining social and political stability through the development at a national level of both regional policy and national training policy (Field, 1988). The specific form of that intervention, therefore, must be understood in terms of both the national objectives and the local labour market specificities as well as the inter-relationships between the two.

Other forms of government-provided training centre were also particularly closely related to local labour market circumstances and linked into national objectives of social control and legitimation. The Instructional Centres (ICs) and Transfer

Instructional Centres (TICs) were established for the long-term unemployed within the economically disadvantaged regions of the depression years, reflecting a 'new geographic distribution of industry and of industrial population' (Ministry of Labour, 1929b). The centres associated with this scheme were normally residential and their purpose was not to teach a trade but to serve as 'agencies of physical and moral rehabilitation' (Davison, 1938). All of the centres were situated at some distance from the areas where they recruited, allowing for closer control over the trainees, and 'away from the depressing atmosphere of the coalfields' (Fig.3.2) (Austin, 1998; Colledge, 1989; Colledge and Field, 1983; Field, 1988; Ministry of Labour, 1926a; 1926b).

Government policy from 1924 to 1929 was to generally not intervene in the British coal industry and not interfere with the mineowners decisions. Consequently the restructuring and resultant geographical concentration of coal production produced a residuum of between 100,000 and 200,000 miners who were permanently surplus to the needs of the industry. Industrial transference was, therefore, conceived of to meet social objectives of helping the unemployed, to facilitate social control and legitimate mainstream policy, and also to promote labour mobility to areas where demand for labour still existed.

The first five TICs were opened in May 1929 to 'recondition' the long-term unemployed. Placement, and the effective use of limited national financial resources, was still an important objective. Even under these crisis circumstances, no more men were to be 'reconditioned' than were likely to be placed at the end of their period of training. Further rises in unemployment, however, did not necessarily lead to a growth in the domestic transference scheme, as regions with a demand for labour were increasingly hard to find. Overseas transference, to agricultural work in countries such as Canada was also suffering as employment prospects in other countries became increasingly limited. Five Overseas Training Centres (OTCs), involved in a major training programme for emigrant farm labourers, were reallocated as domestic TICs.

Any understanding of government intervention in the provision of adult training must include an appreciation of the international economic conditions of the time. The

OTCs provide a very direct example of how processes operating at the national level outside of Britain, and the international level in terms of growing unemployment during the 1930s in a number of industrialised economies world-wide, had a significant impact upon the employment prospects of British workers in particular local labour market contexts. The five OTCs, located in East Anglia and Scotland, each had their own distinctive catchment areas from specific local, in this case principally rural, labour markets. The consequences of global industrial change and decline had direct and explicit consequences for the rural unemployed of these local areas.

The continuing economic depression, however, did lead to the continued expansion of the TIC scheme, throughout the 1930s, and despite the absence of any guarantee of work. Whilst the TICs grew from 11 in 1932 to a peak of 35 in 1938, numbers placed in work fell steadily from 53% to just 9% over the same time period. The function of the TICs and ICs was now most explicitly, one of legitimation and social control, particularly in specific local labour markets where, prolonged unemployment was seen as leading to a permanent deterioration, not of the skills base but of the work ethic itself, creating 'a real danger to national stability' (Field, 1988, 46).

Whilst the majority of these post-war schemes were aimed specifically at men, and often to the exclusion of women, training schemes for women were developed during this period in a manner which both reflected the gender roles and relations within British society at that time, and which sought to re-establish and maintain the largely gender-based dual market which existed prior to the war period. The schemes which were developed were, however, perhaps even more attuned to local labour market circumstances and the local intersection of labour demand and labour supply, than were those accessible to selected elements of the male workforce.

The Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment had been established during the First World War and reappointed in 1920 by the Minister of Labour, 'to provide schemes for women whose earning capacity had been injuriously affected by the war' (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). The Home Training Centres (HTCs)

provided both residential and non-residential training in cookery, housewifery, laundry and needlework, and were ostensibly directed towards preparing unemployed women and girls for domestic employment. The location of the HTCs, however, does suggest a more detailed explanation of their purpose which is consistent with that being developed under the GTC and TIC programmes.

The 26 non-residential HTCs were mainly located in the areas of heaviest unemployment, namely the depressed mining areas, but additionally and particularly in relation to women's employment, the cotton trade areas. The HTCs were consequently focused upon the North East and North West of England, Wales and Scotland. The seven residential centres, however, were located in, or adjacent to, 'areas which offered good opportunities for the placing of women in domestic service after training' (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987).

The explicit recognition that certain HTCs needed to be located close to or within areas of likely placement suggests that the HTCs in the depressed regions were aimed at restoring or reinforcing the gender and work relations which existed pre-war. In addition, in those local labour markets where women had traditionally worked in paid employment outside of the household, such as the textile industry dominated areas which were suffering a dramatic decline, the HTCs served the purpose of redirecting women back into the home. The combination of high male unemployment and women with a high expectation of paid employment was socially and politically volatile. Managing the economic depression in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s necessitated a range of campaigns, policies and schemes which took people out of the labour market or effectively 'warehoused' a generation of principally young workers whilst awaiting the upturn in the domestic and international economy.

Youth unemployment was also receiving attention through Junior Instructional Centres (JICs), operated by local education authorities. These were constructed out of national legislation (Section 15 of the Unemployment Insurance Act 1930) but interpreted and implemented locally. By the end of 1936, 200 centres were in

operation mainly in the depressed regions of South Wales and the North (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987).

At the national level, and in relation to this specific training provision, this period was dominated by social policy to a much greater extent than labour market concerns. Training initiatives were concerned to sustain social discipline and the work ethic during a long period of national economic depression and decline. However, although the issue of state intervention aimed at changing skills training in Britain was relegated to a secondary issue, this period did effectively see the creation of a relatively coherent national training system, which has great significance for an understanding of the more contemporary training schemes of the former Manpower Services Commission.

Any understanding of the nature of this emergent national training system must, however, incorporate analysis and explanation at the sub-national level. To restrict explanation to the level of the nation-state, would be to literally dislocate many of the causal processes from their historical and geographical context. Between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s approximately 13-16 Government Training Centres were in operation, principally with places allocated to unemployed workers from the coalfield areas; 33 Home Training Centres were training women in domestic skills, many located in declining industrial areas, particularly related to the textile and cotton industries; 5 Overseas Training Centres were training workers from depressed rural regions as emigrant farm labourers; 10 Transfer Instructional Centres were 'reconditioning' labour from the depressed regions; and, 200 Junior Instructional Centres were supported by local authorities in areas of high unemployment for young people under the age of 18.

These training centres and schemes were developed through national policy which was ultimately a response to processes operating at a broader spatial scale, that of the international or global. However, for many of these centres, their location, the nature of the specific course provision in each centre, and their continuation over time, was in large part the product of the structure and dynamism of the local labour market and

local economy in which they were embedded, which in turn encompass those causal processes identified at the national and international levels.

Areas of industrial decline and relatively buoyant local economies and local labour markets; with dominance by particular industrial sectors and industries; under different forms of local political control; with a variable set of other institutions and agencies of labour market regulation, including trade unions, local representatives of central government and other key local actors from the market and the state; and, with a differing context of household formations and gender roles and relations; all contributed to a set of contingent relations critical in explaining and understanding the outcomes and purposes of these labour market regulatory mechanisms centred upon state provision of principally adult industrial training.

The potentially destabilising conflict between 'economic' and 'social' approaches to policy concerned with labour regulation was beyond the capacity, or aspiration, of any inter-war government to challenge or resolve (Field, 1988). Social policy was explicitly dominant during this period. However, by 1937-38 the threat of a return to war and the crisis which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War led to a further change in purpose.

3.5 Return to war-time labour regulation and governance

The war-time allocation of scarce resources of labour and materials between industrial sectors produced markedly different outcomes for different industries. Aircraft, electrical and general engineering, metals and chemicals received the main benefits of expansion and modernisation (particularly in terms of new methods of mass production). The construction industry, in particular, suffered badly in terms of skilled labour. For six years, normal training was interrupted and the industry lost a large part of its experienced labour force (Ministry of Labour and National Service, 1947). Non-munitions industries and those catering to civilian needs were drastically reduced. The war left different branches of manufacturing and other industries in very different positions. In terms of skill formation, some important sectors were forced to contract,

losing skilled labour and retaining pre-war craft skills training structures. Other sectors, notably engineering, expanded and profited greatly, and under the guise of the 'war effort' reorganised and modernised production introducing new forms of skills training more suited to mass production.

The Second World War, therefore, offered a direct incentive to the growth of the GTC programme. Between 1938 and 1941 the number of GTCs increased from 16 to 38, with the sole intention of training men and women for the manufacture of armaments (Estimates Committee, 1967; Parker, 1957; Perry, 1976; Pettman and Showler, 1974). Later during the war, and in the immediate post-war period, training provision once again reverted in part to the explicitly social objectives of the re-settlement of ex-service personnel in civil employment, and the provision of skills training to those whose own training had been interrupted by war service. However, by mid-1940, with the Labour Party playing a leading role in the coalition government, the exigencies of war had transformed the role of the Ministry of Labour training schemes from 'their lowly position as a palliative for unemployment to a key element in converting industry from peace time activity to all out war production' (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987,19).

At the national level, the Minister of Labour and National Service, Ernest Bevin, was a key agent in this transformation. In two speeches in August and September 1940 Bevin, an important trade union leader of the inter-war period, detailed the need for state intervention in adult industrial training. Not simply because of the war effort, but also to 'maintain a satisfactory export position'. GTCs, were now to be converted from 'a social service' and in Bevin's words, 'the area of recruitment...extended to the whole country' (Ministry of Labour, 1940a, 211-212; 1940b, 260-261). At that time, the geographical extent of the GTC network was still extremely limited, and importantly, still restricted to the centres opened under the previous regulatory period, primarily concerned as it was with opportunities for the unemployed within, but away from, the depressed coalfield regions (Fig.3.3). Centres which were, therefore, linked to the social policy of the 1930s rather than the war-effort of the early 1940s.

Fig.3.3
Government Training Centres in Britain: 1938-39
(Source: Ministry of Labour, 1940c)

Government Training Centres: 1938-39

Towards the end of the inter-war period the GTC network only consisted of 16 centres, a number which by August 1940 had only grown to 19. By the end of 1940, however, the number of GTCs had been expanded to 35 (Parker, 1957). Opening access to the 'whole country' necessitated increasing trainee capacity and locating the new centres in local labour market areas which were dominated, or at the least well-represented by the munitions and armaments manufacturers. As part of this shift in priorities and regulatory needs, the number of places available for training in the engineering trades were rapidly expanded. At the same time, classes in building trades and other non-engineering based skills were closed (Ministry of Labour, 1940c).

1941 represented a temporary peak in the number of wartime GTCs, with 38 centres being open. Access to training was also extended from men and boys aged over sixteen, to include women and girls. 75,000 people completed courses at the centres, compared to 30,000 in the previous year. However, by May of 1942 the GTC network had declined to only 25 operational centres (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). In February 1942 it was decided, following the 'experience of the working of the expanded scheme' to effect a 'concentration of effort' by the closure of fifteen GTCs. The closure was aimed specifically at relating the training given in GTCs as closely as possible to the requirements of industry (Ministry of Labour, 1942).

Centres not providing the classes geared to the wartime needs of munitions and armaments production were closed and GTC capacity was concentrated in those local labour market areas where those needs were most easily met.

> "Training was adjusted more and more precisely to the needs of the war industries, the recruitment of building and other non-engineering trades trainees was suspended, and managers of Centres kept in close contact with local firms to ascertain their present and future requirements."
>
> (Ministry of Labour and National Service, 1947, 102)

The changes in the GTC network at this time were, therefore, both created by the immediate needs of the new regulatory period and the inertia inherent in the training system resulting from the continuation of training provision at centres which had been established under previous regulatory conditions. In both instances, the continuation

of training at any particular centre was driven as much by national needs as local labour market histories and structures and the interpretation, by local representatives of the national government, of local labour demand and labour supply circumstances.

For example, in 1941 GTC courses were reduced in duration to a period of 4-8 weeks. Where appropriate, trainees were given the opportunity to pursue a longer course of some 16 weeks which would offer the trainee 'prospects of more responsible and interesting work in industry after training' (Ministry of Labour, 1942). This opportunity was not simply linked to individual trainee need. Administered locally, it represented the intersection of national policy and local labour market circumstances. The local selection of these trainees depended on the capabilities of the trainees *and* the local needs of industry served by a particular centre.

By early 1943, the government was already bringing forward proposals for meeting post-war labour demands, particularly in relation to training for the building industry (Ministry of Labour, 1943). Demand for skilled engineering workers had begun to decline and although some training provision was turned over to the demands for aircraft production, by 1944 a more diversified set of training programmes were being introduced. This shift in emphasis continued into 1945, and in the context of post-war reconstruction eleven of the existing GTCs were adapted to provide training for the building industry. This wartime emphasis upon engineering skills, and the immediate post-war emphasis upon skills for the building trades set an important precedent for later GTC skills provision.

The government introduced a new training initiative, the Vocational Training Scheme (VTS), in April 1944, as part of a general resettlement plan. The intention of this scheme was to 'facilitate the resettlement in civil life of able-bodied men and women released from work of national importance' (Ministry of Labour, 1945). Courses were to return to six months duration and be undertaken either entirely in GTCs or Technical Colleges, or partly in GTCs followed by further training by the employer.

This scheme, offering training in a variety of skilled manual trades and some non-manual occupations, represented a major expansion of the GTC network, not only in terms of places available and skilled trades covered, but also in terms of the number of centres, their geographical coverage, and the manner in which they were to be tied into the needs of local labour markets. The VTS was to be based upon a GTC network which had for the first time the explicit intention of being truly national in its geographical scope. Training establishments were to be set up in all large centres of population to avoid sending trainees away from home (Ministry of Labour, 1945).

The establishment of this scheme and the proposals which had been previously brought forward in connection with the building industry, were to be closely linked to the particular needs of local labour markets, both in terms of labour demand and labour supply. Industry was to fully participate in and be associated, *both centrally and locally*, with the administration of the schemes of training and the selection of trainees (Ministry of Labour, 1943). Local Advisory Committees, attached to the local employment exchanges, were set up to 'assist in the selection of applicants for training and in other matters affecting training in the locality' (Ministry of Labour, 1943).

These schemes were established alongside the arrangements for the training and resettlement of disabled persons, which had been in place as an interim scheme since 1941 (Ministry of Labour, 1941), and which were again available through certain GTCs (This scheme was made permanent with the passing of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act in 1944). Coupled with the VTS and the emphasis upon reconstruction and the building trades in particular, the government-provided adult industrial and vocational training initiatives represented an important element within the post-war reconstruction plans.

The expansion of the GTC network, and its establishment in the major population centres within the country was a very visible reminder that the government was concerned to reconstruct both the British cities damaged in the war, and in particular the lives of those people who had contributed work of national importance which had helped secure a victory in the war. The sentiment behind this training and

reconstruction initiative was just one element of a series of government policies which were concerned with building a new Britain.

Plans for post-war reconstruction were being developed as early as 1940; the Beveridge Committee reported in 1942, laying the foundations of the post-war welfare state; a Minister of Reconstruction was appointed in 1943; the Education Act 1944 raised the school leaving age to 15 and enacted free secondary education for all; and the Barlow Report (1940), a pre-war Royal Commission on the distribution of the industrial population, was revisited and extended through a series of official reports and government white paper, leading to the Distribution of Industry Act 1945, the foundation of post-war regional policy. This Act also completed the transfer of responsibility, to the Board of Trade, for regional policy. In future, jobs would be taken to the workers, and henceforward the depressed areas would be treated as an economic and industrial rather than a social welfare problem under the Ministry of Labour (Booth, 1982).

Mainstream policy concerning education, disability, and the creation of a National Health Service exemplified the scale of government legislation which led to the election of a socialist Labour government in the immediate post-war period. The expanded GTC programme was one element of this post-war philosophy, however its presence in the major urban areas again represented a means of social control, legitimation and support for these more far-reaching social policies of the post-war era. For despite the increased capacity and output of the GTC programme, it is the case that even in 1946 GTC capacity represented only about 0.1% of the total labour force in Britain (Pettman and Showler, 1974).

Reconstruction plans ran parallel with the 'run-down' of war industry which began a long time before the end of the war. The labour force in the munitions industry had begun to be reduced in 1943 and between the middle of 1945 and the end of 1946, sectoral 'shifts' within British industry were substantial and had been planned well before the end of hostilities. Engineering, for example, lost half a million workers during this period, mostly women, whilst the construction industry gained over half a

million, nearly all men (Parker, 1957). With further closures of the GTC network as the war effort was reduced, and the demand for engineering workers in decline, at the end of the war in Europe there were 17 GTCs which were devoted to training for the engineering industry. These centres were subsequently adapted for training adults for the building industry for reconstruction and peace-time employment, and by March 1946, 36 GTCs were open. Fig.3.4a shows their distribution across the country at that time. In London, GTCs now existed in Barking, Edmonton (Enfield), Hounslow and Waddon. The programme at that time envisaged 84 GTCs to be available by the end of 1946, a figure which was never achieved. By July of 1946, however, a further 15 centres had been opened, bringing the total to 51 (Fig.3.4b), with London GTCs opening in Alperton, Kidbrooke and Twickenham. September 1946 saw another 14 GTCs in operation, bringing the network to 65 centres. Fig.3.4c details the location of the new centres, including another GTC site in London, at Barking (Ministry of Labour, 1946a; 1946b; 1946c).

The expanded GTC network centred upon the major metropolitan urban areas within Britain, with particular concentrations of GTCs in London and the 'Home Counties', Birmingham and the Midlands, Liverpool and Manchester, South Wales and smaller concentrations in Yorkshire and Humberside, the North-East, and the major cities of the South-West. The location of the London GTCs are particularly significant, as by the end of 1946, the centres which had been opened under this regulatory period were to form the basis of the later GTC and Skillcentre, and even privatised Skillcentre network within Greater London for nearly the next fifty years.

The experience of labour regulation during World War Two and the immediate post-war period represents one of the most important periods in the development of this aspect of the national training system. By 1946, and despite subsequent rapid decline, a national network of GTCs was established which had been created out of the imperatives and needs of wartime production and the post-war agenda for reconstruction of the built and industrial environments, as well as the new socialist government's agenda for social change. Government and industry had grown much closer together and industry had become accustomed to much greater 'interference' in

Fig.3.4a
Government Training Centres in Britain: March 1946
(Source: Ministry of Labour, 1946a)

Government Training Centres: March 1946

Government Training Centres: March 1946

New GTCs: July 1946
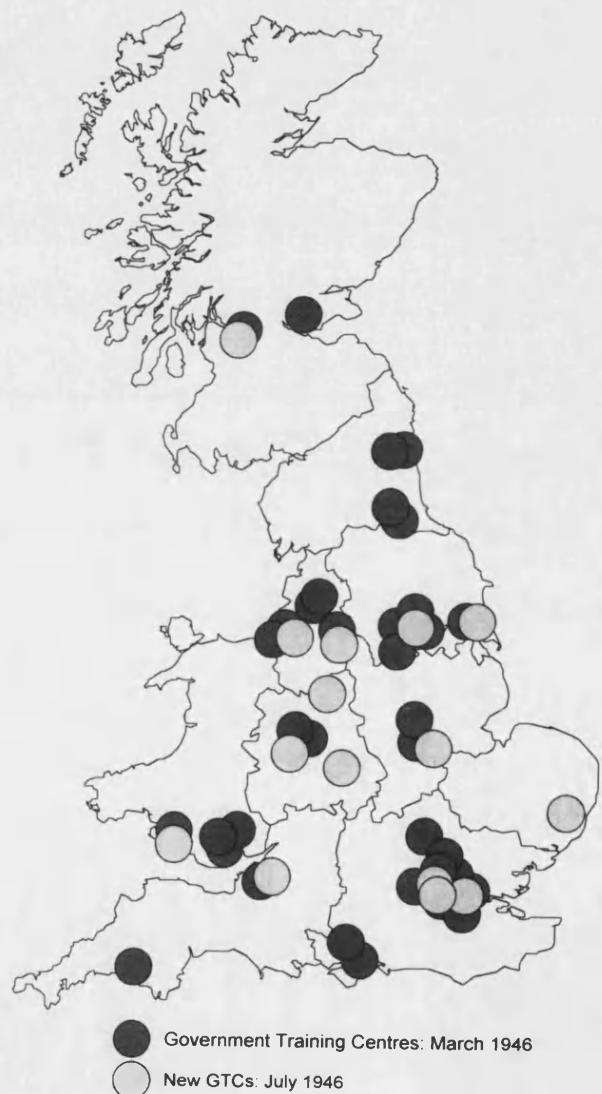
Fig.3.4c
Government Training Centres in Britain: September 1946
(Source: Ministry of Labour, 1946c)

Government Training Centres: July 1946

New GTCs: September 1946
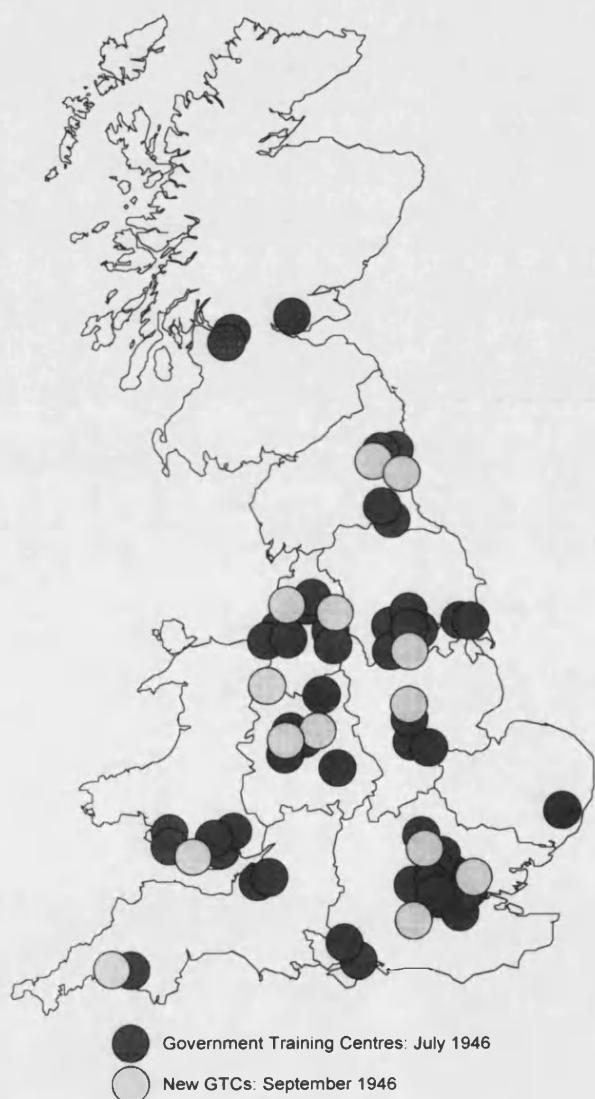
decisions relating to location and training. The post-war industrial growth of the 1950s, however, once again pushed state intervention in industrial training to the margins of the labour market.

3.6 From the margins of the labour market to the limits of voluntarism

The period 1947-63 saw a substantial and consistent reduction in GTC capacity across Britain. The government statistics (Estimates Committee, 1967) show a post-war peak of 65 centres in 1946 declining over the next 17 years to just 13 centres, with a particularly significant drop in the number of GTCs between 1947 (64 GTCs) and 1948 (37 GTCs) (Table 3.1). However, these annual figures conceal an even greater decline between 1946 and 1948, as in December 1946 'further progress in expanding the operation of the scheme' was claimed with a further 12 GTCs having opened, bringing the late 1946 GTC network to '77 centres in operation providing training places for 27,865 persons' (Ministry of Labour, 1947). The GTC network, therefore, actually declined by over 50% between 1947-48. Fig.3.4d details the full extent of the GTC network in December 1946, highlighting the 12 new centres, which were again centred upon major population centres, and which included a further two GTCs in London, namely a further annexe at Barking and another centre at Park Royal in north-west London.

Table 3.1 GTCs training capacity and numbers in training: Britain 1946-63

Year	GTCs	Capacity	Occupied	Year	GTCs	Capacity	Occupied
1946	65	23702	22387	1955	17	2941	2377
1947	64	21034	10200	1956	17	2929	2207
1948	37	5557	4326	1957	15	2794	2155
1949	30	5492	3789	1958	15	2771	2004
1950	24	3928	2755	1959	15	2654	1880
1951	22	3597	2155	1960	15	2708	1978
1952	19	3818	3187	1961	15	2800	2090
1953	17	3078	2601	1962	13	2426	1894
1954	17	3106	2540	1963	13	2596	2122

Source: Estimates Committee (1967)

Government Training Centres: September 1946

New GTCs: December 1946
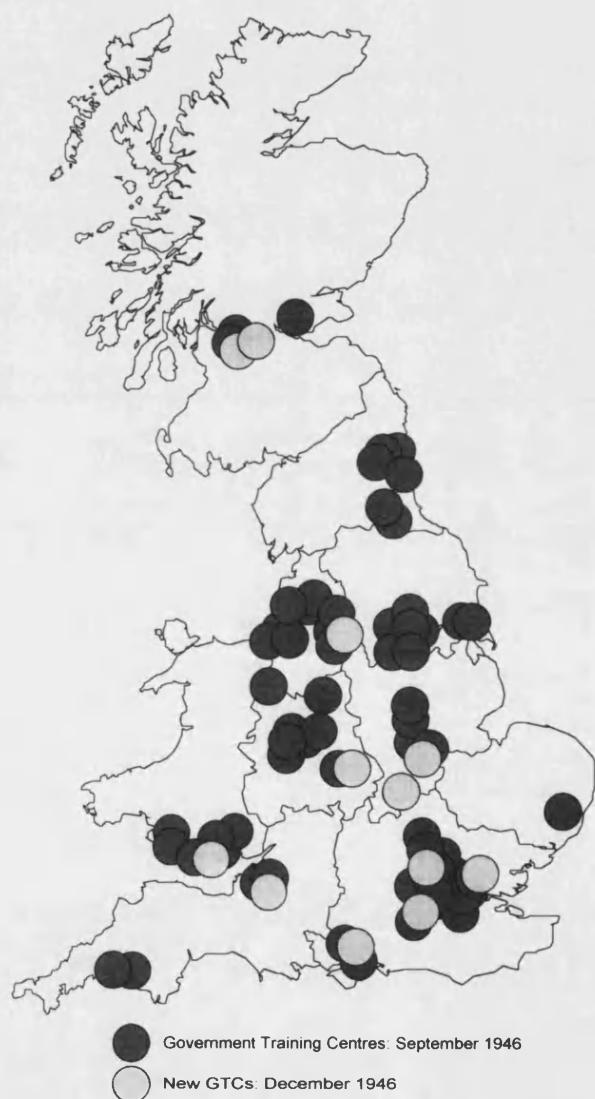
The dramatic post-war decline in the national GTC network may be attributed to a number of contributory factors. First, with the effective conclusion of the resettlement programme the provision of training was curtailed (Ministry of Labour, 1950). Equally, reconstruction required a peace-time period of skills dilution which was only tolerated by the relevant trades unions for a short period of time. Thirdly, the successful end to the war for the British people removed the 'legitimation' role associated with the war effort and the economic hardships of the immediate post-war period. Finally, and perhaps in terms of the timing most significantly, national financial crisis, resulted in massive cutbacks in state expenditure on training. This in particular, resulted in a reduction in GTC trainee capacity of over 75 percent between 1946 and 1948 (Ministry of Labour, 1950; Estimates Committee, 1967).

Ultimately the reduction in GTC numbers and capacity continued to reduce throughout the 1950s as the work of the Ministry of Labour receded to the margins of the labour market, and training policy fulfilled social welfare rather than economic aims. Industry and the labour market was expected to repossess its 'natural' functions. Growing employment and relative economic boom led to an assumption that the state's regulation of the labour market would be largely unnecessary given the apparent equilibrium that was establishing itself between labour supply and demand.

Industrial growth in Britain in the 1950s was marked by the upward movement of output and productivity. Investment in research and development and the rate of application of technical progress led to a faster rate of economic growth than perhaps in any previous age. Such an increase was accompanied by a substantial change in the industrial and geographical distribution of employment, by the introduction of new technology and products, and overall, the changes in industrial structure followed, and in some cases completed, the structural transformation of the economy which had begun in the 1920s (Pollard, 1992). In the post-war period, through to the mid-1960s, unemployment averaged just 1.8%, or around 400,000 workers, within the limits of what was regarded as 'full' employment, although the post-war years showed a regional distribution similar to that pre-war (Rhodes, 1986). Within this employment and industrial context, and in response to the levels of economic planning pursued by

the Labour government of 1945-51, the Conservative administration, from 1951-64, emphasised the market and private initiative for industry. Some innovations of the post-war Labour government were allowed to lapse and direct intervention into the affairs of industry remained rare throughout the decade.

This regulatory period was characterised therefore, by a retreat from direct state provision of adult industrial training, and a return to voluntaristic attitudes towards the provision of industrial training. The regional and local labour market implications of such a withdrawal from GTC provision were however significant. Table 3.2 shows the regional distribution of GTCs between 1949-63, representing an almost continuous period of decline in GTC numbers and trainees. In 1960, for example, six GTCs were open in the south-east region, of which four, Enfield, Kidbrooke, Perivale and Waddon were in Greater London, with the other two centres nearby in Slough and Letchworth. The remaining GTCs were in Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool and Nottingham (Ministry of Labour, 1960a). Although still claiming a relationship with some of the major centres of population within Britain, and major regional centres; by 1963, and outside of the south-east, each of the standard planning regions could only claim one GTC, including Wales and Scotland, with East Anglia having no GTC provision at all since 1950.

Given the small number of remaining GTCs and the maximum capacity of less than 2,500 trainees throughout the whole of Britain, it would be difficult to argue that a national network of GTC provision existed by 1963. Even at the 1946 peak level with ten times the available training places, GTC capacity represented only 0.1% of the total labour force in Britain. Given their limited catchment area and small trainee capacity, the remaining centres could not be regarded as an adequate or coherent attempt, at the national level, to provide vocational training even for those at the margins of the labour market.

Historically, even during a period of relatively full employment, constant industrial restructuring and differential growth and decline of industrial and service sectors, coupled with technological change, would suggest both shortages of skilled manpower

(Pettman, 1974), as well as the need for a stronger regionally-driven state presence in the direct provision of adult vocational training (Mukherjee, 1976). The regional distribution of GTC provision across Britain was, however, throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, largely running counter to the pattern of regional economic inequalities which existed in Britain, even within the context of a relatively buoyant national economy. These remaining centres, therefore, particularly between 1957 and 1963, were realistically a residual rump of government training provision. They owed little to an active, and geographically focused policy initiative, but rather more to inertia which continued this policy initiative beyond its purpose and usefulness.

Table 3.2 Government Training Centres and numbers in training by region: 1949-63

Year	N	NW	Y&H	EM	WM	SE	SW	EA	W	S
1949	1-91	3-341	3-307	2-224	3-256	10-1913	2-169	1-47	2-162	3-279
1950	1-44	2-210	3-237	2-182	2-139	8-1496	2-141	0-0	2-92	2-214
1951	1-80	2-205	3-247	2-164	2-121	8-999	1-116	0-0	1-110	2-113
1952	1-41	2-268	3-252	2-317	1-165	6-1467	1-245	0-0	1-189	2-243
1953	1-20	2-255	2-205	2-283	1-144	6-1219	1-178	0-0	1-123	1-174
1954	1-14	2-206	2-184	2-256	1-127	6-1335	1-178	0-0	1-134	1-106
1955	1-21	2-186	2-193	2-243	1-115	6-1245	1-165	0-0	1-117	1-92
1956	1-16	2-162	2-174	2-189	1-121	6-1210	1-138	0-0	1-121	1-76
1957	1-21	1-157	1-130	2-224	1-123	6-1158	1-146	0-0	1-102	1-94
1958	1-11	1-165	1-132	2-196	1-129	6-1051	1-124	0-0	1-100	1-96
1959	1-9	1-191	1-137	2-191	1-96	6-985	1-99	0-0	1-82	1-90
1960	1-20	1-194	1-167	2-191	1-112	6-977	1-131	0-0	1-100	1-86
1961	1-43	1-242	1-160	2-198	1-118	6-996	1-122	0-0	1-113	1-98
1962	1-81	1-237	1-175	1-122	1-92	5-882	1-113	0-0	1-98	1-94
1963	1-93	1-223	1-166	1-130	1-108	5-1000	1-139	0-0	1-118	1-145

Source: Estimates Committee (1967)   (No. of GTCs-Nos. in training)

N-North; NW-North West; Y&H-Yorkshire & Humberside; EM-East Midlands; WM-West Midlands; SE-South East; SW-South West; EA-East Anglia; Wwales; S-Scotland.

Regional inequality, therefore, did not in the context of GTC provision in the 1950s, greatly influence the formulation of government policy. The next stimulus to GTC training provision arose indirectly through a broader national concern with training arrangements necessary to accommodate an anticipated bulge in the number of school leavers (Pettman, 1974; Vickerstaff, 1985). The Carr Report of 1958 was the first post-war attempt to look at training as a whole (Ministry of Labour and National

Service, 1958). Its brief, in 1956, was to examine not only the adequacy of the training system but more particularly the adequacy of existing institutions of labour regulation. The report lamented the absence of a national organisation with an overview of training arrangements, proposing a voluntary bipartite National Apprenticeship Council. This report was, however, firmly voluntarist, the resultant Industrial Training Council (ITC) merely 'inviting' industry to review its training practices.

The importance of this development to later GTC provision was, however, the growing recognition that existing industrial training practice might have implications for wider economic performance (Vickerstaff, 1985). Between 1958, at the publication of the Carr Report, and 1963, GTC training provision continued to decline and settled at a post-war low level. However, it was the very failure of the ITC, and its voluntaristic principles, to influence industrial training provision, coupled with criticism of Britain's economic performance relative to its Western European competitors, which led industrial capital in Britain to countenance the need for a greater degree of state intervention in the economy (Pettman, 1974).

Continuing skill shortages were beginning to be perceived as a brake on industrial expansion. Developments in the early 1960s, aimed at increasing international competitiveness by developing a national industrial training system which would be comparable to existing systems in France and West Germany, increasingly drew back direct state provision of industrial training from the margins of the labour market and re-established this provision as part of an effective policy response to the limits of voluntarism. For the first time outside of war-time, social welfare purposes were giving way to the economic imperatives of the national economy.

3.7 GTCs in support of the Industrial Training Act

By the early 1960s, even the non-interventionist Conservative government was forced to recognise the signs of weakness in British industry, such as its slow rate of growth and substantial loss of export markets. In the economic depression of 1962-3 a Secretary of State for Industry, Trade and Regional Development was appointed to

counter the high unemployment figures in the traditional 'problem' regions and the Local Employment Act 1963 provided financial incentives to encourage industry to the development areas, and extended development constraints in the 'congested' areas. The incoming Labour administration of 1964-70 linked regional and industrial location policy directly to national economic planning and significantly extended the regional policy legislation. In 1965, Regional Planning Councils were set up to co-ordinate industrial and social policies within each region; The Industrial Development Act 1966 extended the development areas to some 20% of the working population; the Regional Employment Premium was introduced in 1967, subsidising wages in the favoured areas; and in 1969 government support was extended, following the report of the Hunt Committee (Department of Economic Affairs, 1969), to the 'Intermediate Areas', with less severe structural and unemployment disadvantages, a policy confirmed within the Local Employment Act 1970.

Within this political context of extended forms of direct state intervention, there was a further round of expansion in GTC activity during the early 1960s and throughout the 1964-70 Labour administration. According to Berthoud (1978) this growth was partly to assist government employment policies, and partly to add to the 'white heat of technological revolution', the latter if true being an ambitious claim given the scope and nature of GTC training at the time. From 1964, however, it is the case that government vocational training, through the GTC network, was significantly expanded. Although coinciding with a then post-war peak in unemployment, the social objectives of state funded training provision through the GTC network were seen to be increasingly secondary to the recognition of more explicit economic objectives associated with skilled manpower shortages in particular industries and occupations (Pettman and Showler, 1974). In response to persistent skill shortages, the government increased the number of GTCs and 'enhanced their economic role' (Department of Employment, 1972a).

In this new role, GTC skills training provision was intended to be more closely linked to policy concerned with sectoral and industrial change as well as policy concerned with geographical and regional change. Accordingly, the role of GTCs was extended

to provide one year off-the-job apprenticeship training, within a limited number of trades, namely engineering, construction and electricity supply (Ministry of Labour, 1960b). The scheme sought to demonstrate to industry the potential effectiveness of systematic off-the-job training (Ministry of Labour, 1963). A government-funded skills training programme was increasingly seen as one means of breaking down the training structures in industry which were seen as inappropriate to anticipated needs.

Second, and linked to the above initiative, the establishment of the Industry Training Boards (ITBs), following the Industrial Training Act 1964 (ITA), represented the first large-scale intervention by government in the training of the employed. It was recognised that the ITBs would take time to become effective in meeting identified skill shortages, and consequently an immediate expansion of GTCs was sought to increase the availability of skilled workers. By 1971, the number of GTCs had been increased, from 15 in the early 1960s, to 52. By 1969, 27 ITBs had been formed and vocational training rose from 4,000 workers in 1962 to 18,000 in 1971 and under the Training Opportunities Scheme to 40,000 in 1973 (MSC, 1975).

The publication in 1962 of the government white paper on industrial training, therefore, marked a new regulatory period, which was a substantial shift from the voluntarism of the earlier Carr Report, and made clear the link between the level of industrial training and national economic growth (Ministry of Labour, 1962). Three objectives were identified for a national training policy; first, training was to be more responsive to wider economic needs and technological change; training standards were to be improved; and finally, the cost of training was to be more widely spread (Vickerstaff, 1985). Statutory sector-based ITBs were to be established with the powers to impose a training levy on employers who were not training at an appropriate level. The ITA of 1964 established 26 ITBs between 1964 and 1969.

The operation of the Industrial Training Act 1964 has been comprehensively documented elsewhere (Tavernier, 1968; Giles, 1969; Lees and Chiplin, 1970; Pettman, 1974; Pettman and Showler, 1974; Perry, 1976; Anderson and Fairley, 1983; Vickerstaff, 1985; Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). Its importance in terms of the

change in purpose of state intervention in industrial training is undoubted. Within the context of this thesis, however, it is important in that it represents the context and environment of change and growth within which the GTC network was to expand quite dramatically from 1964 through to the early 1970s.

The economic and political environment in which the Industrial Training Act of 1964 was created, and the ITBs established, suggested that training was now an essential part of broader debates on national economic growth and expansion, particularly in relation to international competitors. Some of the earlier social purposes of GTC training, linked to regional policy, were now secondary. From the early 1960s onwards, however, although national skilled manpower objectives predominated, the conflict between national economic and regional social welfare purposes was to remain as a consistent element of political debate as to the purposes of state intervention in this form of industrial training.

The regional change in GTC provision and capacity during the period 1963-73 was considerable. Table 3.3 shows the growth in GTC capacity, by region, for these years. 1963-66 represents the period when growth in the network was most rapid, with GTCs increasing from 13 in 1963 to 31 in 1966. Hughes (1975) observes that in the early period of expansion, capacity increased most rapidly in the North, Scotland, Wales, the South West and the North West. This, was due, he suggested, to a tendency to locate new capacity in those regions in which social demand was growing most rapidly. Hughes concluded that while the expansion of GTC capacity may have been motivated by economic considerations, it was certainly not in conflict with the broader social objective of equalising retraining opportunities across regions.

This development is interesting because the expansion of GTCs in this period was undoubtedly intended by government to be fulfilling broader economic objectives, as well as social welfare purposes contained within regional policy. Government pronouncements on the expansion and growth of GTC capacity during the 1960s stressed both the government's plans for training to meet persistent shortages of skilled labour, and the recognition of the needs of the development areas. 'The

expansion of GTCs has not been confined to the development areas, although the immediate programme is heavily biased towards their needs. As it is vital that the expansion of industry and employment needed in these areas should not be delayed by a lack of skilled labour, 11 of the 17 new centres to be opened by the end of 1970 will be located there. There will then be 27 centres serving them, and they will have nearly 44 per cent of all [GTC] training places in Great Britain' (Ministry of Labour, 1968, 104).

Table 3.3 Government Training Centre capacity by region: 1963-73

Region	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
North	113	324	681	715	870	1105	978	1301	1501	1620	1837
Yorks & Humberside	203	360	415	461	573	591	675	849	826	877	1177
South East	1240	1367	1618	1847	2381	2831	2995	3004	3155	3156	3814
South West	159	295	438	462	697	697	705	685	655	703	894
Wales	141	157	433	495	577	569	771	1016	1046	1168	1214
Midlands	316	482	526	574	756	891	907	919	1023	1115	1574
North West	259	265	677	719	856	865	1219	1250	1347	1371	1519
Scotland	165	405	647	877	1065	1334	1359	1282	1304	1352	1460
Great Britain	2596	3655	5435	6150	7775	8883	9609	10306	10857	11357	13489

Source: Hughes (1975) and Estimates Committee (1967)

New GTC capacity was to fulfil both functions of promoting national economic growth and helping to reduce regional inequalities. The 1964-1970 Labour administration was committed to both objectives and to a certain extent believed that the former was in part to be achieved by the latter. By 1967 the rate of expansion of the GTC capacity slowed but continued throughout the rest of the 1960s and early 1970s. By the end of 1967, 38 GTCs were open, (Ministry of Labour, 1967) increasing by 1970 to 45 GTCs (Department of Employment, 1970a; 1970b). Between 1970-71 seven further centres were opened bringing the total to 52 centres. The opening of two more centres later in the same year was scheduled to bring this phase of the GTC expansion programme to completion. At the same time, a new programme for development of the network was announced, covering 1972-1975, intended to bring the network to a level of 59 centres with nearly 14,000 places (Department of Employment, 1971). However, by September 1973 training capacity at GTCs across Britain already stood at 13,489 places (Hughes, 1975).

Over the whole period (1963-73), considering the percentage change in GTC capacity by region, the North, Wales and Scotland are the only significant gainers, at the considerable expense of the South-East which had nearly 48% of the GTC capacity in 1963, which had reduced to a little over 28% just ten years later (Fig.3.5a-b). Overall, therefore, the oft-quoted shift to economic objectives underpinning direct state intervention and provision of industrial training was still consistent with a redistribution of that same training provision in line with the inequalities recognised within regional policy.

However, Hughes (1975) suggested that if the purposes of this intervention was to both eliminate unemployment *and* to fill job vacancies, then the location of new GTC capacity should have been in those areas where the excess of vacancies over unemployment was greatest. This argument rested upon the importance of externalities, principally displacement and replacement, associated with GTC training in Britain. Displacement is much less likely to occur in a tight labour market when unemployment is low relative to unfilled job vacancies. These conditions are at the same time precisely those in which replacement is likely to occur. The increase in benefits resulting from replacement are maximised, therefore, if GTC training is undertaken for those occupations in those more buoyant regional economies for which vacancies are persistently high. This analysis by Hughes pointed to areas of labour shortage, such as the South East and the Midlands.

In terms of the percentage shift in regional GTC capacity, given the high level of male structural unemployment in the South-East between 1963 and 1973, coupled with these externality factors, the South-East and the Midlands suffered relative deprivation during this period of GTC expansion. The increase in GTC capacity, and its regional distribution, failed to reduce regional inequalities and the percentage shift in training capacity towards the development areas was relatively inefficient in terms of promoting national economic growth.

This argument is consistent with Peck's (1990a; 1990b) work, in relation to the YTS, which demonstrated that the specific local labour market conditions of labour demand

Fig.3.5a-b
Government Training Centre capacity by region: 1963-73
(Source: Estimates Committee, 1967)

(a) Percentage GTC capacity by region: 1963

(b) Percentage GTC capacity by region: 1973

50

30

20
15
10
5

Percentage GTC capacity
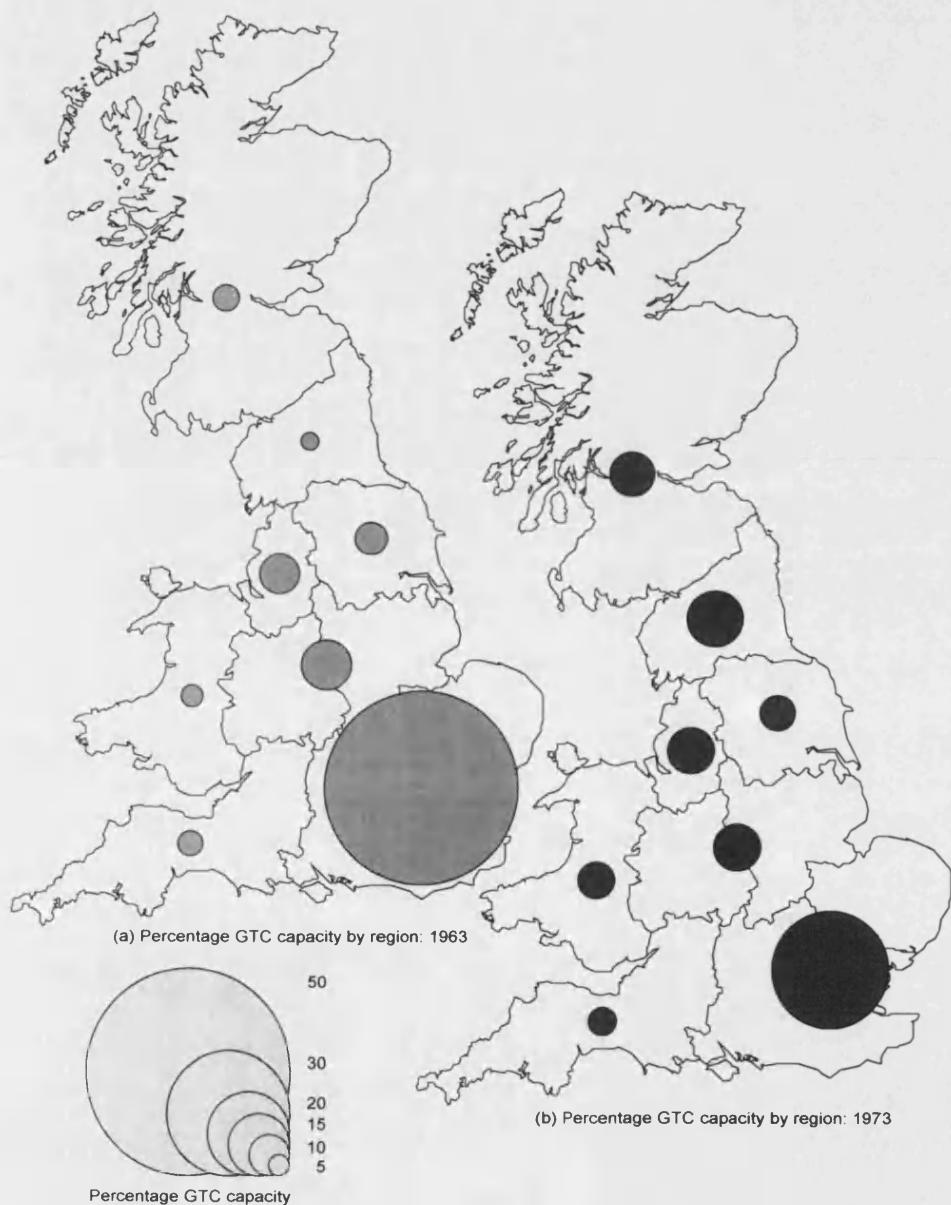
and labour supply would produce different regulatory outcomes from the same policy initiative in different places. Much as the operation of the YTS in part created what Peck termed 'regional policy in reverse', so the national increase in GTC training capacity would have served to increase, or at best maintain, regional inequalities between 1963-73.

This regulatory period was characterised by an explicit statement of intent that state intervention in industrial training was necessary in order to effect economic growth, productivity and international competitiveness. In relation to the associated expansion of GTC capacity, however, this shift towards broader economic goals and objectives, and away from social welfare considerations, was not so clear cut in terms of the relative growth between regions. From one perspective the GTC expansion between 1963-73 was commensurate with a regional policy which sought to reduce inequalities and generate social benefits for a disadvantaged population resident within these less prosperous regions. Another viewpoint, however, suggested that releasing skilled manpower bottlenecks in the more prosperous South-East was at least as effective, and probably a more effective means of promoting national economic growth.

For the Labour government of 1964-70, economic growth and international competitiveness was increased, in part, by the reduction of skill shortages in the development areas. Industrial restructuring within the British economy was by this time already impacting heavily upon the already depressed regions. Within the context of national policy concerning the regional location and distribution of GTC capacity, releasing labour bottlenecks in industrial sectors and regions which were suffering the effects of the global restructuring of industrial production, appears misguided.

The public training system of GTCs was totally inadequate to cope with the problems raised by these issues (Anderson and Fairley, 1983). Within a few years of the introduction of the 1964 Industrial Training Act, it became apparent that the economy's trans-sectoral training needs were not being met (Vickerstaff, 1985). The institutional structure of the 1964 Act perpetuated a concentration on industry-specific rather than cross-sectoral transferable skills (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff, 1987). By

1970 it was clear that the Act had not created a national training system focused on economy-wide needs. Most importantly, the institutional forms of labour regulation and governance were inadequate to this task and increasingly subject to criticism (Pettman, 1974). By 1972, the worsening economic climate prompted a government review of the 1964 ITA, the work of the ITBs and the government's own vocational training schemes, including the training provision within the expanded GTC network (Department of Employment, 1972a; Pettman, 1972).

The end of this particular regulatory period is linked to the recognition of the failure of the Industrial Training Act of 1964. 'Training for the Future' (Department of Employment, 1972b), marked a further major reorganisation of industrial training in Britain, and a new set of regulatory mechanisms. The consultation document proposed a phasing out of the existing levy/grant schemes and a large-scale expansion of the government's vocational training scheme into a 'more widely available training opportunities scheme'. The document envisaged a further growth in the GTC network from the 52 centres open in 1972 to 64 in 1975. Most importantly, however, it envisaged a 'new independent National Training Agency' (Department of Employment, 1972b). The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) was created by the subsequent Employment and Training Act 1973. This new institution of labour regulation and governance reformulated and reinvented the GTCs as the national Skillcentre network.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has located the GTC training initiative within a broader historical context, placing the evolution and development of this aspect of skill formation within the economic, social and political environment within which it was formulated and implemented. In so doing, it has been concerned to interpret the GTC provision in terms of the intersection of causal labour market processes, operating at a range of spatial scales, from the local to the international. These processes have been seen to produce outcomes or landscapes of labour regulation which have principally been identified at the level of the nation state. At the regional and local labour market level,

however, the intersection of these processes have been seen to produce different regulatory outcomes in different places at different times.

The causal processes identified previously as underpinning labour market structures at different spatial scales were concerned with segmentation of the labour market arising from labour demand, labour supply and the regulatory activities of the state, however defined. This chapter, working at the national scale and 'building-down' to the regional and the local, identified six distinct periods of labour regulation and governance, in relation to skills training in government-funded training centres. Each of these 'landscapes' was the product of both contemporary, and sometimes exceptional circumstances, and the residual consequences of previous regulatory periods and concerns.

GTC training between 1915-73 contributed, therefore, to a wide range of interwoven themes which ran throughout or through part of this period, for example, it was seen to support national economic growth and an emerging regional policy; it was used in terms of meeting economic objectives and for social welfare purposes; it served a purpose of legitimating mainstream government policy at times of great social unrest, and to restructure industrial relations and structures of skill formation at times of great national need; it was used in the short-term to meet the demand for pressing shortages of skilled labour in wartime, and in the long-term to facilitate greater flexibility and change in the traditional time-served apprenticeship system; and, GTC training continued to offer craft skills training in some industrial sectors, whilst in others training semi-skilled operatives more suited to the workplace organisation of industrial mass production.

In each of these situations, therefore, explanation of the role played by these skills training programmes needs to be historically and geographically located. This is in order to produce an understanding, at any particular time and within any specific place or at any spatial scale, of the intersection of the then contemporary segmented labour market with the geography of labour regulation and governance and the then present with the residual consequences of previous regulatory periods. Chapter four continues

and develops these themes in relation to the Skillcentre programme, developed by the
Manpower Services Commission, from 1974.

Chapter Four

Manpower Services Commission to privatisation: conflicting issues of policy and place

4.1 Introduction

This period of state intervention in industrial training was dominated by one institution of labour regulation, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), and its activities form the substantive part of this chapter, from its inception at the start of 1974 through to its transformation into the Training Commission in 1988. The role of the MSC has been extensively documented elsewhere (Ainley and Corney, 1990; Evans, 1992), however, this chapter is a selective record of this national institution of labour and local labour market governance, but from the perspective of the GTCs which were recast as the national Skillcentre network. This period, and the emphasis upon the analysis of the institutional changes within the MSC, provides an important context for the analysis of Skillcentre training provision in Greater London in the early 1980s, as detailed in chapters six and seven.

Chapter three detailed aspects of the social, economic and political context which underpinned the changing geography of labour regulation. In particular, it demonstrated at a regional scale the geographical outcomes resulting from a shift in policy emphasis from that of 'ad hoc' social welfare to the beginnings of national manpower planning, pursued in order to overcome perceived skill shortages. The resultant conflicts between social and economic policy objectives, and policy aimed at the 'development' regions versus national policy aimed at increasing international competitiveness, had significant implications for the geographical extent and location of GTC provision. This chapter, through an analysis of selected policy programmes and initiatives of the MSC, recognises a continuing national environment of conflicts in policy development and implementation over the period 1974-93. These conflicts are detailed below and are examined within a geographical context which embraces both the national 'corporatism' of the MSC and the eventual 'localism' of the privatised agencies of labour regulation and governance.

Three distinct regulatory periods are again identified (Fig.4.1). These three periods represent the highpoint in the attempt to produce a comprehensive manpower policy in Britain, as well as the effective end of direct state provision of adult industrial training signified by the privatisation of the national Skillcentre network. This chapter, covering the period 1974-93, is primarily concerned with the changing nature of the MSC, as an institution of labour governance, and its effect upon the structure and geography of labour regulation in Britain.

Although the Industrial Training Act of 1964 had been a recognition of the limits to voluntarism, the resultant policy formulations still fell far short of a comprehensive national manpower strategy directed by the state. The Employment and Training Act 1973 created a national training agency, the Manpower Services Commission, which during the period of the Labour administration (1974-79) represented a distinctive regulatory period which attempted to establish such a national manpower strategy.

After 1979, the incoming Conservative government restructured the MSC in large part to facilitate the development of an 'enterprise culture', to overturn the perceived restrictive training practices of the trade unions, and to support its attack upon another set of labour market institutions, namely and predominately the Labour-controlled local authorities in the major urban areas. This second period, between 1979-88, involved even more closely meeting the needs of employers in particular local labour market or local economy contexts, and a move away from ideas for developing a state-led national manpower skills strategy. This new emphasis centred upon the local institutions responsible for delivering and regulating skills training and a renewed focus upon the local labour market. This period was characterised by a review of the national Skillcentre network, in terms of each Skillcentre's ability to sell its services locally and trade in profit.

Following the abolition of the MSC in 1988, the Skillcentre network was eventually sold in 1990, and the privatised company Astra Training Services (ATS) went into receivership in July 1993. This third and final regulatory period, in terms of the Skillcentre privatisation and the establishment of the business-led Training and

Fig.4.1
Three labour market 'regulatory periods' in Britain: 1974 to mid 1990s

1.   **1974-79**: Rise of the Manpower Services Commission - development of a comprehensive national manpower strategy.

2.   **1980s**: Restructured MSC to overturn the perceived restrictive training and working practices of the trade unions - growth of the enterprise culture - government purpose to meet directly the needs of employers.

3.   **1988-mid 1990s**: Abolition of the MSC with a new emphasis upon the local institutions responsible for delivering and regulating skills training in any local labour market or local economy context. TECs illustrate shift in regulatory focus and responsibility from state to market and away from corporatism of the MSC to the new 'localism' of local labour market regulation and governance.

Enterprise Councils (TECs), represented the culmination of the shift of regulatory responsibility from the state to the market, away from the corporatism of the MSC to the 'localism' of these new institutions of local labour market governance.

Within and between these three regulatory periods it is possible to identify a series of conflicts which directed the policy response and limited its capacity for promoting change. Within the realm of industrial training, the conflict in purpose between social welfare and broader economic objectives still dominated most of these periods due to the continuing problem of high unemployment and increasing long-term unemployment. Equally, the conflict between public versus private sector provision of industrial training, and consequently responsibility for the regulation of the labour market runs throughout this period.

In addition, as with earlier periods, these conflicts in policy and ideology may also be represented as conflicting issues in space and place. In its simplest form this conflict is one between a national network of training provision geared to trans-sectoral manpower skills planning at the national level, versus localism, in which training provision is local employer-led, meeting directly the needs of the local business communities and, to some extent, labour. The ideological shift during this period, therefore, had the potential for significant geographical implications in terms of the location, distribution, form and function of the local institutions of labour market regulation and governance.

The national Skillcentre network, between 1974-93, in public and private sector ownership, varied between nearly ninety Skillcentres and annexes through to what was effectively complete closure. The following sections place this Skillcentre provision within the context of these policy and institutional changes at the national level and within the broader national and regional context of industrial and social change.

This thesis has argued, however, that the local labour market is an important spatial context within which it is necessary to understand the intersection of causal factors

underpinning labour market structures. The shift from corporatism to localism, within the context of state regulatory mechanisms associated with industrial training, entails analysis ranging from the policy formulations of the nation-state, through the regional outcomes of a changing set of policy prescriptions, and a focus upon the changing nature and function of the institutions of labour regulation and governance, particularly as they are manifest within any local labour market situation.

4.2 Labour and the MSC: towards a comprehensive manpower policy

The Labour administration of 1974-79 was committed to an extension of public ownership of production, building upon the industries taken over in the post-war period and the steel industry (1967). In 1977, they employed 7.6% of the labour force and included the nationalised aerospace and shipbuilding industries (1977), the British National Oil Corporation (1976) and a number of individual firms taken over on behalf of government by the National Enterprise Board, including Rolls-Royce and British Leyland (1975-6) (Pryke, 1981). A national training agency, first discussed under the preceding Conservative administration, fitted well into this new agenda of national planning and extended state intervention in industry.

The MSC was conceived of following a review of the Industrial Training Act 1964 and the publication of a consultative document on industrial training in early 1972 (Department of Employment, 1972). The government's conclusions from this review were primarily centred upon the phasing out of the ITBs. In addition, it was accepted that a national training agency was needed to promote training in occupations which cut across industrial boundaries (Pettman, 1974). The new Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) 'heralded the growth of countercyclical training provision and the recognition of the need for public expenditure in training facilities for industry' (Department of Employment, 1972b; Vickerstaff, 1985), whilst the ensuing Employment and Training Act 1973 established the MSC. The new MSC symbolised the need for an economy-wide co-ordination of skill formation but as Sheldrake and Vickerstaff (1987, 46) argue, it 'failed to retain or create mechanisms for translating

these national policy objectives to the level where training actually occurred - the individual company'.

The MSC initially divided its operations between two agencies, the Employment Services Agency (ESA) and the Training Services Agency (TSA). The TSA immediately produced a five year plan which recognised and sought to resolve the conflict between meeting the training needs of industry and those needs of the individual. The plan (MSC, 1974), in its review of the 'current' training effort, recognised four main agencies as actors in the resolution of this conflict; these were, employers, the ITBs and non-ITB organisations, the Department of Employment, and fourthly the educational services, principally centred upon the colleges of further education, and each working as 'one part of a national training system' (MSC, 1974, 3)

It was acknowledged that this suggested a greater cohesion between individual institutions and bodies than really existed, but it was still regarded as a useful concept for referring to the training resources available throughout the country. The Department of Employment, through the MSC and TSA in particular, placed significant emphasis upon its own training centres, 'now called Skillcentres' (MSC, 1974, 5). The environment in which the recast Skillcentres were to operate within, was even more complex than this limited perspective by the TSA suggests. The broader economic and social environment was to be critical in terms of the ability of the MSC/TSA to deliver its brief of training for people and industry. Worsening economic conditions, a rapidly changing labour market, and increasing unemployment, particularly amongst young adults, meant that the MSC under Labour was from the outset geared towards managing an ever growing unemployment crisis at the expense of the development of a genuine national manpower skills training system.

In the second half of the 1970s, the failure of British manufactures in the home market was acute and the rise in import penetration was particularly noticeable among high-technology high-growth industries. The relative decline of British manufacturing at this time was related to many causes including, government interference and the

expansion of the government sector, high taxes, trade union obstruction, poor management and investment, as well as government policies (Coates and Hillard, 1986). Unemployment in the late 1960s had risen to 600,000 and reached a brief peak of 950,000, or 3.8% in 1972, but did not fall below 500,000 thereafter. There were strong regional variations in the 1970s, with Yorkshire and Humberside, the north-west and the west Midlands, suffering disproportionately, reflecting contraction in the textiles, engineering and motor vehicle industries (Rhodes, 1986). In 1975 there was a new rise to one million (4%), and it stayed between 5.6-6.1%, or around 1.5 million, for the next five years (Pollard, 1992).

Even at its first meeting in January 1974 the MSC decided 'to prepare contingency plans against the possibility of unemployment rising to a higher level and for a longer period than we have had since the war' (Mukherjee, 1974, 3). Mukherjee's study of the link between unemployment and manpower policies was resolutely set at the level of the nation-state, and produced for the new MSC in response to already evident trends of increasing unemployment within the national economy. The emphasis upon large scale multiple action at the national level was already apparent, but so was the conflict between long-term strategy formulation and crisis management.

Whilst announcing provision for the building of a further 16 Skillcentres, rising unemployment and a deepening recession reduced even further the short term training needs horizons of industry, and forced an equally short-term response from government. By 1976, the concept of 'national manpower planning' (MSC, 1975) was already being recast into a series of 'special measures', established as a temporary and short-term response to what was perceived to be a cyclical problem (MSC, 1976b; Hencke, 1977; Baron et al, 1981; Atkinson and Rees, 1982; Moon, 1983; StJohn-Brooks, 1985).

In line with the projected growth of the original five-year plan, the national Skillcentre network had grown to 63 Skillcentres and 30 annexes (MSC, 1977a). Fig.4.2a-b shows the national and regional distribution of these 93 training centres in 1977 (Department of Employment, 1977a, 373). The Skillcentre network at this time was

Skillcentre

Skillcentre annexe
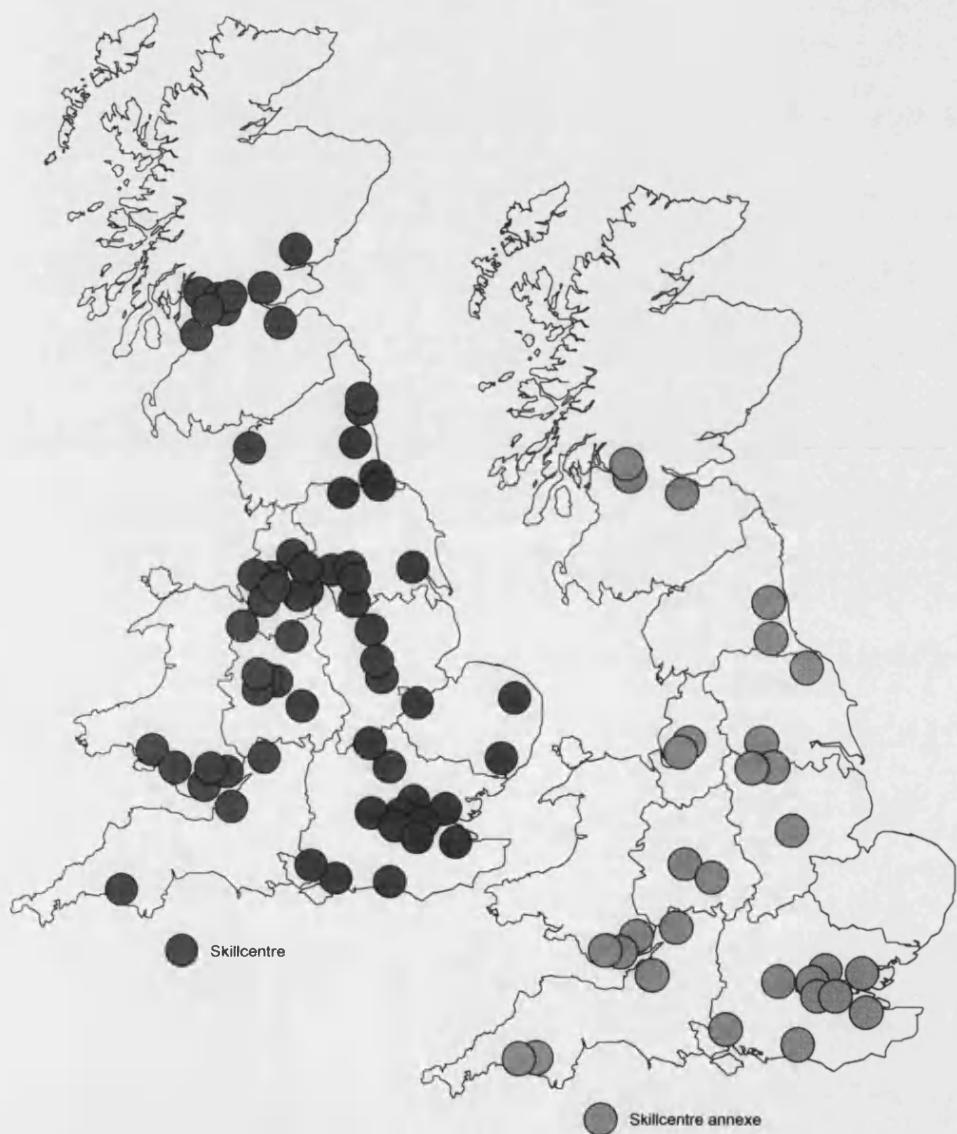
close to its maximum under the Labour government (69 Skillcentres and 32 annexes in 1979) (MSC, 1979). The national coverage of the Skillcentres and the relatively even distribution of TOPS completions across the MSC regions, at least in England (MSC, 1978a; 1978c), reflected the emphasis upon a national agenda for skills formation which was from the outset less concerned with regional disadvantage and the specificities of any local labour market, and geared more towards national manpower policy objectives.

The MSC was becoming increasingly committed to 'special training measures', delivered through the further education system, as part of their growing commitment to combating youth unemployment. The Skillcentres with their emphasis upon craft-based skill areas, adult retraining, and sectoral bias towards engineering and construction trades, were increasingly limited in their contribution within a rapidly changing labour market. By 1978, in order to reflect these changing priorities, and within a context of increasing unemployment, the MSC reorganised its operations into three divisions, Employment Service (ESD), Training Services (TSD) and Special Programmes (SPD), demonstrating its increasing concern with so-called 'temporary' measures offering 'a constructive alternative for those hardest hit by high unemployment' (MSC, 1978b).

Concern within the MSC was that their programmes were formulated in terms of national priorities but were in many ways dislocated from local labour market needs. The *MSC Review and Plan 1978* stated explicitly that the MSC's services, which 'for the most part relate to local labour markets, need to become more responsive to local needs' (MSC, 1978b, 17). The need for, and structure of, local institutions of delivery and advice was to be reassessed. The ad hoc responses of the Special Programmes Division were necessarily, if they were to be effective, as decentralised as possible, locally administered and targeted at local disadvantaged groups. The local delivery and local advisory system of the MSC was being reassessed as the emphasis upon national manpower planning was giving way to the crisis management of unemployment, and the crude geography of regional policy was giving way to the

place specificity of inner city policy and the immediate needs of the disadvantaged groups who were resident in those areas (Department of Employment, 1979a, 746).

This shift in emphasis, in policy and geography, had other implications in terms of access to and eligibility for training provision, not only for the young unemployed but also the adult Skillcentre trainees within any particular local labour market. The need to confront unemployment meant that potential trainees were now to be assessed in terms of their eventual 'employability' and 'placement' potential at the completion of their training.

> "Applicants for many courses, particularly in Skillcentres, must also appear before a selection panel containing representatives of employers and trade unions. Selection procedures are currently being reinforced to ensure as far as possible that applications are taken only from candidates who are suitable for the training course concerned, and likely to find employment using their new skill."

(Answer to a question in parliament by the Secretary of State for Employment, reported in the Department of Employment Gazette, 1977b, 263)

Objective assessment of the Skillcentre training programmes was from this time less concerned with 'training for reserve', or counter-cyclical training during recession (MSC, 1979). Berthoud's (1978) study of Skillcentre trainees at Stoke-on-Trent and Dundee, commissioned by the MSC, was now typically concerned with post-training careers within the context of particular local labour markets. Although there had been two previous studies of GTC and Skillcentre trainees; a large-scale survey of trainees completing courses in 1965 and 1966 (Hunt, Fox and Bradley, 1972), and a study of Scottish trainees in 1968 and 1969 (Hall and Miller, 1975), both were conducted during periods of relative economic buoyancy and neither were particularly concerned with the trainee's particular local labour market context, and neither followed up the interviews with trainees with a detailed enquiry among their employers (Berthoud, 1978).

Berthoud's work was an interesting indicator of the beginnings of the MSC's shift in emphasis at this time from long-term national manpower policy to short-term crisis management of unemployment; from a 'pure' conception of co-ordinated counter-

cyclical and trans-sectoral training provision to comparatively ad hoc and 'temporary' special measures concerned with employability and placement; and, from adult training and retraining to youth training concerned with the difficult transition from school to work. Also, following policy formulation which related more to perceived national needs and less to regional inequalities, a growing awareness of the problems of Britain's inner-city areas, and a movement towards an increased understanding of employers needs within different local labour market contexts (Department of Employment, 1978, 1254).

The central concern was with the notion of a 'skills mismatch', a term which had come out of the then recently published inner city area studies. Reducing this 'mismatch' was an acknowledged and main purpose behind the MSC's policy and the developing inner city policy (Department of Environment, 1977). Berthoud's study was concerned with the nature of this mismatch in two particular geographical contexts, and consequently the relationship between the publicly sponsored training of adults at Skillcentres, and the local labour markets which they served.

In this context, such an emphasis upon placement of trainees would lead to a situation in which access to training in Skillcentres would not be on the basis of greatest need. This tendency, which was apparent throughout the 1980s and into the era of the TECs in the 1990s, was established in the late 1970s through the operational practices and policy formulations of the MSC towards the end of the Labour period of government. As Peck argues in relation to the later provision of training through the TECs, this has the effect of making provision 'vacancy-chasing', and that the 'most financially lucrative form of provision', or in this instance the most cost and policy effective use of public funds, 'is that which is feeding immediate labour market demand (i.e. current vacancies)' (Peck, 1994b, 113).

The changes and developments which had taken place in the Skillcentre network, in the first five years of the MSC and the Labour administration marked a distinctive period of labour regulation in which the institutional framework which governed labour regulation and skill formation had been dramatically restructured. Skillcentre

growth had, during this period, been in line with that experienced by the MSC, but the Skillcentres had grown as part of the Labour government's plans to build a comprehensive national manpower planning system. However, many of the economic and social processes which led to the rise of the MSC were engendered by the significant changes being experienced in the labour market due to technological change, broader processes of economic restructuring and the resultant rapid and persistent increases in unemployment, particularly amongst young people. The Skillcentres were growing as part of earlier national planning, but the MSC was increasingly growing in response to crisis management within the economy in areas in which the Skillcentres were least able to respond.

First, the national manpower strategy had effectively been abandoned by the short-term needs associated with the crisis management of unemployment. The Skillcentre network was only able to respond to this change by emphasising placement and employability which directed attention to inadequacies in the local delivery of the training provision. Second, the shift from adult to youth training directed policy and resources towards the colleges of further education. Third, the perceived skills mismatch and environment of rapid technological change necessitated a move away from the traditional craft skills, which dominated Skillcentre training provision. Finally, a more responsive and flexible skills base engendered flexibility in the MSC's training provision, and this was to be achieved not by increasing the TSA's fixed and direct investment in Skillcentres, but by paying ad hoc and indirectly for courses elsewhere. Between 1971 and 1976, whilst Skillcentre completions went from 12,820 to 22,692, TOPS completions in colleges of further education went from 1,624 to 51,998 and sponsored courses in employers' establishments from 201 to 14,241 (Department of Employment, 1979b, 336; MSC, 1977a).

Finally, these changes were all within a changing geographical framework of industrial change and social deprivation. At the start of this period, the rapid growth of the MSC, was focused almost entirely at the national level. Towards the end, the growing concern with the problems of the inner city provided a new focus at the level of the local economy and the local labour market. The Skillcentre network in 1979

was at its most extensive with 69 Skillcentres and 32 associated Skillcentre annexes. The MSC, however, was now required to reassess its spending priorities, as the incoming Conservative government almost immediately announced cuts in public spending. The Skillcentre network was now at its most vulnerable to the exigencies of economic, social and political change operating at a variety of spatial scales.

4.3 Market-centred policy and active state intervention

During the preceding five years, the MSC had become entrenched as the dominant institution of labour regulation in Britain. Its quasi-autonomous relationship with government, although disliked by the Conservative administration, gave it sufficient distance from government to make its abolition, at least in the short-term, almost impossible. The shift in policy emphasis under Labour, towards the crisis management of growing unemployment, had given the MSC a new role separate and distinct from its original mission of a national manpower strategy. The new Conservative government, in the face of a continuing and worsening employment situation, was forced to retain the MSC. Full employment had not been interrupted but had been lost (Ainley and Corney, 1990) and the tri-partite MSC was regarded as, 'the only institutional framework available through which a politically acceptable response to unemployment could be delivered' (King, 1993, 227). This was a decision supported by the rapid growth and scale of the MSC creating 'institutional inertia', and limiting the potential for, and magnitude of, policy change (Robertson, 1986).

Between 1979-88, male employment fell by over 1.5 million whilst the number of employed women increased by nearly 600,000 (Pollard, 1992). Structurally, the shift from manufacturing to services, broadly from men to women, and from the north to the south, represented the most rapid change in the distribution of the employed population. Britain's deindustrialisation led to massive unemployment, which rose from 1.3 million (5.6%) in 1979 to over 3.1 million (13.2%) at its peak in 1983, and declined, 'officially' to 6.8% in 1990, although given the adjustments to the statistics during this period, this is an understatement of the real rate. Vocational training in this economic environment, and compared to Britain's European competitors, was

particularly poor. The National Institute of Economic Research undertook a number of studies into the training of skilled workers in Britain, in comparison with other countries, with 'uniformly dismal results' (Prais and Wagner, 1983; Steedman, 1988; Prais, 1989).

Over a period of time, however, the MSC was to provide an opportunity for the government to radically restructure the regulatory infrastructure of the labour market, far beyond the immediate needs of crisis management. As Peck notes, 'one of the crowning glories of the corporatist era was to be used as the central agency in a programme of neo-liberal labour market deregulation' (Peck, 1994b, 103). Neo-liberals see market capitalism as constituted and continuously supported by an active and powerful state (Fairley and Grahl, 1983). The recognition that refashioning an advanced welfare state into a system of free markets would paradoxically need active government direction (Robertson, 1986, 281), secured for the MSC a role in labour market regulation and governance in Britain throughout nearly the whole of the 1980s.

In the first instance, however, the restructuring of the MSC involved substantial changes in priorities aimed at the continuing problem of unemployment. These shifts in emphasis and priorities are demonstrated by the percentage change by programme in total MSC expenditure during the last year of the Labour administration and the first four years of the Conservative government. Table 4.1 shows the percentage of total MSC expenditure directed to each programme between 1978-79 and 1982-83 and the then anticipated projections through until 1987-88. In 1978-79, at the end of the Labour government, occupational and Skillcentre training represented 49% of the MSC's total expenditure, compared to only 10% spent on youth training, through the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) which became the Youth Training Scheme (YTS). By 1982-83 Skillcentre/occupational training expenditure had dropped to just 24% whilst YOP/YTS had increased to 42% of the MSC's costs. 'Temporary' measures such as the Special Temporary Employment, Community Enterprise and Community Programmes (STEP, CEP and CP) went from 1% to 13% of the MSC's expenditure over the same period. By 1987-88 it was projected that these 'temporary' programmes (26%) and the YTS (36%) would together account for 62% of the MSC

budget, compared to only 12% for the Skillcentre and occupational training services (MSC, 1976a; 1987a; MSC, 1985b; Training Commission, 1988).

Table 4.1 MSC expenditure on major programmes: 1978-88
(Percentages relate to total MSC expenditure in each year)

Year	O&ST	ES	EAS	YOP/YTS	STEP/CEP/CP	NAFE
1978-79	49	25	0	10	1	0
1979-80	46	25	0	17	7	0
1980-81	40	25	0	25	5	0
1981-82	32	20	0	36	8	0
1982-83	24	18	0	42	13	0
1983-84	15	13	1	44	23	0
1984-85	14	11	4	40	26	1
1985-86	12	11	5	37	26	3
1986-87	12	11	5	36	26	5
1987-88	12	11	5	36	26	5

Source: Manpower Services Commission (1985b)   (MSC estimates on expenditure 1983-84 onwards)
O&ST-Occupational and Skillcentre training; ES-Employment services/support for the disabled; EAS-Enterprise Allowance Scheme; YOP/YTS-Youth Opportunities Programme/Youth Training Scheme; STEP/CEP/CP-Special Temporary Employment Programme/Community Enterprise Programme/Community Programme; NAFE-Non-Advanced Further Education.

These changes reflected changing attitudes and redefinitions of what was to constitute training and skills within Britain in the early 1980s. The government at that time was committed to an economic agenda which was centred around deregulation and free markets. Managing the crisis of unemployment, with no real prospects for reducing the high levels, was a necessary legitimation exercise. It was also, however, committed to restructuring the basis of skills formation within British industry and the institutions of labour regulation and governance within Britain. This meant confronting the trade unions, local authorities, the ITBs and consequently and separately the ideology and practice of the MSC.

The traditional definition of training as apprenticeship was of 'diminishing utility in the face of both mass unemployment and a declining manufacturing sector' (King, 1993, 221). Training was now to be increasingly associated with programmes for the unemployed rather than with skill enhancement. It was in large part restricted to

broader generic skill areas encouraging flexibility and promoting the ethics and discipline of the workplace through the acquisition of 'social and life skills' (Baron et al, 1981). Skill itself, conceived of as craft-skills, was equated with 'restrictive practice'. They located control, and to a certain extent content, with the worker. The government's retreat from providing high-level skills and its emphasis upon general, flexible and transferable skills acquisition shifted control and definition of the work process to the employer. Skill as an objective characteristic of the worker was to be replaced with 'competence' at a given task, and as defined by the employer (Fairley and Grahl, 1983, 146).

Peck (1994b) quotes two statements from the MSC in 1982 which refer to this 'relocation' of the ownership of the skills base. The MSC's Director stated that reforms in the MSC would 'break the mould of union-regulated apprenticeship', whilst the Chairman of the Commission expressed the view that '...training in this country must be employer-dominated and ultimately employer-directed' (both quoted in Peck, 1994b, 104). 'Training to standards', rather than skill formation through time-served apprenticeships was now to be the norm (Stringer and Richardson, 1982).

Undermining apprenticeships meant undermining the trade unions and the 1980s witnessed a wide range of policies and legislation aimed at this objective, centred upon a series of Employment Acts throughout the 1980s (1980-82-84 and 1988, restricting lawful actions, introducing secret ballots, removing the closed shop and strengthening individual workers rights against union action) and culminating in the miners' strike of 1984-5. Within the realm of industrial training, however, the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) represented a central instrument for restructuring skill formation in industry in Britain (Benn and Fairley, 1986; Finn, 1987; Finegold and Soskice, 1988; Lee, 1989; Lee, Marsden, Rickman and Duncombe, 1990). YTS had a significant and detrimental impact upon recruitment to and availability of first-year apprenticeships. Importantly, YTS placed a priority on 'private sector proprietorship of training'. It represented an early move to 'privatise' training by increasing the number of training places available to private industry while cutting training subsidies to local authorities and voluntary agencies (Robertson, 1986). The government sought to

marginalise the local authorities and the trade unions, and most importantly to 'restructure the interface between the public and private sector' (Peck, 1992b, 343). This attack on the local authorities was exemplified in the mid-1980s by the abolition of the major metropolitan authorities, and in particular the Greater London Council and the Greater London Training Board, and eventually the Inner London Education Authority (Greater London Council, 1986a; 1986b).

Over the same period, the ITBs were subject to review and restructuring. 1981 had seen the publication of the MSC's *'A New Training Initiative: An Agenda for Action'* (MSC, 1981c), coupled with the government white paper, *'A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action'* (Department of Employment, 1981). The government programme contained within the white paper proposed radical changes in the apprenticeship system with significant implications for the ITBs. At the same time the MSC conducted a sector by sector review, entitled *'A Framework for the Future'* (MSC, 1981b), of the operations of each of the ITBs. The MSC stressed caution about making any firm recommendation for change where there was a significant risk that training standards would fall. In late 1981, however, the government announced the abolition of sixteen ITBs, to reduce the degree of regulation of industry, abolish a set of 'quangos', reduce public expenditure, and shift responsibility for training in these sectors back to the private sector, through voluntary organisations (Stringer and Richardson, 1982). By 1985, 20 of the 27 ITBs had been abolished.

Shifting responsibility for training back to the private sector was a necessary pre-requisite for the later creation of a new set of labour market regulatory institutions which had to be both employer-led and directed, and more flexible and responsive to employer needs within any particular local labour market. An early indication of the 'localism' associated with this new regulatory regime, which was not to emerge from government until after the abolition of the MSC and towards the end of the 1980s, was, however, contained within that same sector by sector review of the ITBs (MSC, 1981b) and the slightly earlier MSC review of the Employment and Training Act 1973, *'Outlook on Training'* (MSC, 1980d).

'Outlook on Training' had considered possible alternative approaches to the promotion of industrial training in Britain as part of a review of the Employment of Training Act 1973 (RETA), formally announced in the MSC Review and Plan of 1977 (MSC, 1977b) under a Labour administration, but now published in 1980 during an early period of training policy review by the new Conservative government. ITBs were established on an industry basis and had been recognised as having had difficulty in solving cross-sectoral skill shortages. RETA, acknowledged 'that most cross-sector skill shortages [were] essentially local' and that they could only be resolved by local action. Local was interpreted as 'sub-regional', closely related to the 'realities of the local labour markets'. ITBs were seen to be 'unsuited to work together on such a geographical scale' and 'a new sub-regional machinery [was] required to deal with local skill shortages' (MSC, 1980d, 40). This view was reinforced in 'A Framework for the Future' (MSC, 1981b), as one of three 'major points' which informed the MSC's discussion of 'the respective merits of a statutory or voluntary structure' for industrial training in Britain. The MSC attached 'great importance' to '...the development of the local dimension in training provision'.

Adult training initially formed the basis for the MSC's commitment to a local response to local needs. Labour had previously committed the MSC to increase the national stock and improve the supply of key skills to industry. The ITBs, which pre-dated the MSC, were established on a sectoral basis and sought to increase training at the level of the firm. Arguably this national-sectoral emphasis was only given an explicitly local basis by the Skillcentre programme which catered for skill demands in the locality (Ainley and Corney, 1990). The Adult Training Strategy (ATS), launched in 1983-4, committed the MSC's Training Division to broadening the means of meeting skill shortages in the locality.

The MSC's (1983b) discussion paper 'Towards an Adult Training Strategy' acknowledged that 'a strategy which looks solely to national or even industry level organisations to change the training world at plant level [was] likely to fail'. It called for a 'local response to local needs' and detailed the resources available to act as a 'local delivery system' (Fullick, 1986). The MSC had recently established a new

organisation of 55 area offices for the local delivery of TOPS and the YTS, and 54 Area Manpower Boards, with representatives of both sides of industry, the education sector and the local community, to provide an overview of manpower needs in each area (MSC, 1983b).

The ATS discussion paper also referred to the 68 Skillcentres and 20 annexes, 'which [were] available to be used as a local resource' and which were 'shortly to be established on a commercial', but still public-sector 'footing as the Skillcentre Training Agency'. The MSC was at this time 'anxious to make what [was] offered in Skillcentres fully relevant to local requirements' (MSC, 1983b, 10; National Audit Office, 1987; Public Accounts Committee, 1987).

4.4 Skillcentres to Skills Training Agency: preparing for privatisation

Developments in the national Skillcentre network, during the period 1979-87, must be understood within this broader context of the restructuring of the MSC and other institutions of labour regulation and governance within Britain. The Skillcentre network during this period was an element of this 'active neo-liberal labour market strategy', and the changes in its form and function, reflected broader components of change in the British industrial training environment and fundamental changes in Britain's industrial structure.

The most important change in industrial structure in Britain during the 1980s was the privatisation of a large part of the industrial public-owned sector. One of the major premises of the Conservative government's policy in the 1980s was the view that British economic performance had been held back and enterprise discouraged, particularly through government interference and control. Thus a major focus was to reduce the scope of government, to deregulate the labour market, to cut back the public sector and to privatise the nationalised industries (Matthews and Minford, 1987).

In 1979, state-owned enterprise represented 11.5% of GDP, reduced to 5.5% by 1987. Privatisation was limited in the first Conservative administration, but by 1984 a new phase began and the programme was accelerated. Among the most important privatisation events of the 1980s were, British Aerospace (1981/1985), Jaguar (1984), British Telecom (1984), British Gas (1986), British Airways (1987), Rolls-Royce (1987), British Airports Authority (1987), British Steel (1988), the water authority (1989) and the Electricity Generating Board (1990) (Vickers and Yarrow, 1988; Pollard, 1992). Reduced public expenditure, deregulation and the developing privatisation policy, provide an important context for interpreting and analysing the restructuring of the MSC, and the Skillcentre programme in particular.

The MSC announced a 'Skillcentre rationalisation plan' at the end of January 1980 (Department of Employment, 1980a, 108; MSC, 1980c; MSC, 1980e). The Commission agreed to 'rationalise and improve its Skillcentre network' in line with the need to 'achieve savings in public spending'. The MSC planned to close a total of twenty Skillcentres (9) or annexes (11) from its existing complement of 69 Skillcentres and 32 annexes (MSC, 1980e), claiming the remaining 'Skillcentres would be better sited for meeting local labour market needs' (MSC, 1980c, 26). Fig.4.3 illustrates the extent of the rationalisation plan by detailing the planned closures. The proposed closures reveal a slight shift of resources away from those regions receiving greatest assistance from regional policy. This shift was explained by the MSC and illustrates the broader underlying context and continuing conflict in economic and social policy.

> "The guiding principle of the rationalisation is to locate the Skillcentre
> network where industry can make most use of it...This will involve a
> modest shift of resources towards areas where employment prospects
> for those trained are reasonably good; but provision overall will remain
> at its greatest in areas of highest unemployment...so that the needs of
> areas where major redundancies are in prospect are more than fully
> covered."
>
> (Department of Employment, 1980b, 463)

Changes in the network were still necessarily linked to both the needs of industry and the problems being faced in particular local labour markets from the detrimental

Fig.4.3
Skillcentre rationalisation plan: 1980
(Source: Department of Employment, 1980a; MSC, 1980e)

● Skillcentres planned for closure

● Skillcentre annexes planned for closure
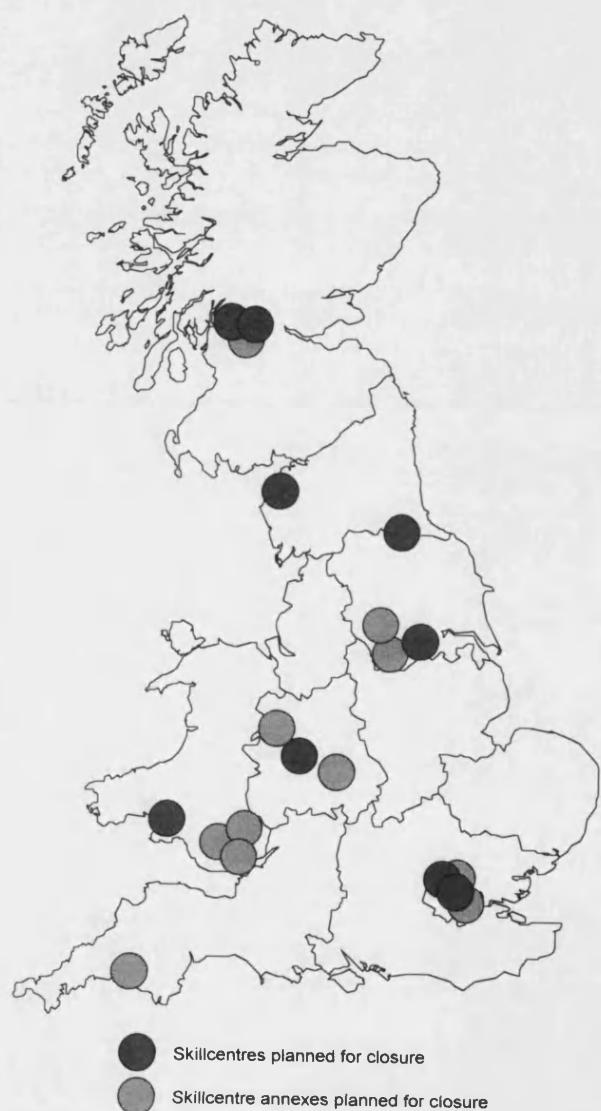
effects associated with industrial restructuring. The Skillcentre network was still being required to meet both economic and social objectives from a generally consistent, and in the light of rapid technological change, inadequate and outdated skills training offer (Department of Employment, 1980c). The needs of industry, as they related to local labour markets, were to be prioritised, although this could be legitimately presented as responsible change as the bulk of the inherited provision from the GTC era, and under Labour, was still orientated towards the 'development' regions.

> "With the rapid approach to comprehensive coverage in recent years,
> and the shifts in industrial location in the last decade, an exercise of
> [Skillcentre] rationalisation would have been justified irrespective of
> the Government's requirements for reductions in public expenditure."
>
> (MSC, 1980c, 27-8)

This was the basis of the shift away from the regional focus, which had been prominent under Labour, and towards the local labour market, regarded as a more flexible and responsive geographical base upon which to structure a local delivery system appropriate to the needs of industry. In their report of 1979-80, the Public Accounts Committee (1980) had considered the performance of the MSC's Skillcentres in providing TOPS training courses and were advised by the MSC that 'a long-term shift of the balance of Skillcentre provision towards occupations and geographical areas offering the best employment prospects was planned' (National Audit Office, 1987, 8).The rationalisation plan, announced at the start of 1980, subsequently confirmed 16 out of the 20 planned closures. The four reprievals were on the basis of 'improved performance and recent evidence of increased interest by both sides of industry' (Department of Employment, 1980d, 525; 1980e, 718).

Of the four Skillcentre sites in Greater London which were scheduled for closure, Enfield Skillcentre was reprieved whilst Enfield Annexe was closed; Poplar Skillcentre was to be closed, in the light of proposals to open new centres in Barking, Deptford and Camden; and, Kidbrooke Annexe was confirmed as closing, subject to the availability of equivalent provision in the proposed new centre in Deptford. The Commission decided to 'keep under review in the light of resources the need for new capital development in inner south London', and consequently along with 4 other proposed new Skillcentres across Britain, a proposed new centre at Vauxhall in inner

south London was 'deleted from the forward programme', with the intention of 'releasing resources for other purposes' (Department of Employment, 1980d, 525).

Disinvesting from the 'problem' regions as well as the welfare objectives contained within the Skillcentre programme, and relocating investment in local labour markets where growth industries needed skilled labour was a slow process. In the MSC's operational year 1980-81, two centres and six annexes closed, but in 1981-82 two Skillcentres closed (one of these continued as an annexe) and three centres opened (one a direct replacement of an existing centre). At the end of March 1982 there were 69 Skillcentres and 24 annexes, a total of 93 training sites, still close to the 101 sites open in 1979-80 (MSC, 1980a; 1982a). Consequently, between 1977-78 and 1984-85 the number of Skillcentres hardly changed in number and distribution (MSC, 1978a-85a, annual reports). The institutional inertia surrounding the MSC and the Skillcentre programme concealed significant early policy developments in the restructuring of the Skillcentre network and programme.

By 1982, however, despite the rationalisation plan, the Skillcentre programme was earmarked for further review. A full review of Skillcentre training was announced in the Commission's Corporate Plan for 1982-86 (MSC, 1982b) '...to determine the most appropriate role for Skillcentres and the scale of their efforts in the 1980s'. This review had been precipitated by the relative failure of the Skillcentres in terms of trainee 'placement'. Within the context of increasing unemployment and growing economic recession, the performance of the craft-skill dominated Skillcentres was significantly worse than the non-Skillcentre TOPS completions in FE Colleges, which offered training in flexible and transferable skill areas, more appropriate to the needs of industry and commerce in the early 1980s. For Skillcentre trainees, by the end of 1981, just under a quarter of the trainees completing their course were placed 'in trade'. The MSC had to acknowledge that 'the downward trend in placement rates...was particularly marked for Skillcentre trainees, reflecting the sharp contraction in manufacturing employment' (MSC, 1982a).

The Commission reviewed its network of Skillcentres in 1982 and published a report in December of that year (MSC, 1982c). The review recommended that Skillcentres 'should aim for the development of a more flexible and responsive provision' and 'a rapid and sustained improvement in the value for money offered by Skillcentre training' (MSC, 1983a, 24). In November 1982, the Commission agreed to set up the Skillcentre Training Agency (STA) to operate on a cost-recovery basis (initially from 1984 but subsequently revised) as a separate arm of the MSC. The STA was set up at the start of April 1983 as a separate management unit, outside of the pre-existing Training Division of the MSC, which would continue to operate the MSC's Area Offices and Area Manpower Boards. The STA, as a response to the government's Financial Management Initiative, delegated responsibility and accountability to Skillcentre managers with the major objective of cost recovery (MSC, 1983a).

By January 1984, when the Commission approved the first Business Plan for the STA, the emphasis upon cost recovery was central. The STA was required to 'recover its operating costs in full from trading income for 1986-87 onwards' and 'that it should seek vigorously and aggressively to adapt, modernise and diversify its training offerings with a view to reducing the shortfall in income as swiftly as possible'. The requirement for a more flexible and modern training service was second to financial considerations (MSC, 1984b; Employment Committee, House of Commons, 1985).

The wording of these objectives suggest that the government, and the MSC, were only willing to sustain the Skillcentre network if immediate action was taken by the STA to recover its costs directly from employers and employer organisations in order to trade in profit within a relatively short period of time. Given that the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), as employer-led local institutions of labour regulation, were only introduced in 1988 (Department of Employment, 1988), this development was an early example of the active neo-liberal labour market policy of *marketisation*, creating a quasi-market for state-funded skills training, shifting responsibility for training to local employers and paving the way for the eventual privatisation of the Skillcentres and the overall delivery system of labour market regulation (Leonard, 1999).

The market-centred character of the STA initiative, with management and responsibility devolved to the local level, was also an explicit rejection of the corporatist tri-partist approach which had dominated training policy in Britain since the 1964 Industrial Training Act. The Chief Executive of the STA in 1984 described the new organisation as a 'competitive modern training facility with nationwide coverage able to supply *what the market (whether the Commission or otherwise) wants*, at a time and place that it seeks at a price that it will pay' (MSC, 1984b, 3). The STA, was now operating outside of the effective control and direction of the MSC, outside of the influence of trade unions and local authorities, and ultimately outside of the influence of government.

At the same time as the STA Business Plan was agreed by the MSC, the government endorsed, in its January 1984 White Paper *'Training for Jobs'* (Department of Employment, 1984a), its national objectives for industrial training, through the implementation of the Adult Training Strategy (ATS) (Department of Employment, 1981). The broad aims of the ATS, which began to come into operation in 1984, were to enable individuals, employed and unemployed, to receive training or re-training in the skills needed by British industry and commerce; and to persuade employers to undertake, as far as possible, the responsibility for that training (National Audit Office, 1987). The White Paper, however, was the basis upon which the proposals for radical reform of the Skillcentre network were constructed and presented at the end of 1984.

> "It is essential, however, to ensure that this training is delivered more efficiently and cost-effectively. The new Skillcentre Training Agency established by the Commission will ensure that **Skillcentres will adopt a commercial approach in identifying and supplying the training that the Commission and employers want."**
>
> **(original emphasis) (para.37)**
>
> (Department of Employment, 1984a, 10-12)

The 'proposals for changes in Skillcentres' (Employment Committee, 1985), presented by the STA in December 1984, were intended to meet the cost-recovery objectives imposed by the MSC, and to ensure that the STA would develop in such a way that 'it plays its full part in the Adult Training Strategy' (MSC, 1984b). Amongst a set of STA

objectives for its future development, was the call for 'a streamlined but nationwide network of fewer but more intensively used Skillcentres' (MSC, 1984b, 4).

> '...a viable national network of Skillcentres must be established. This network must cover all major population centres in England, Scotland and Wales and be accessible to the main regional economies.'

> '...the reliance on fixed assets and premises must be reduced and the capacity for flexible response increased. To put it another way, the Agency could survive without premises but it cannot survive without trainers.'

> '...a network of 58 Skillcentres is needed to provide a credible and viable national network accessible and acceptable to customers. To preserve the national character of this network all isolated Skillcentres should be retained. 17 Skillcentres and 12 annexes should be closed.'

> '...rapid development of a mobile, adaptable and nationwide instructor force 300 strong concentrating on new technology training.'

> (MSC, 1984b, 4-5; Employment Committee, 1985, 3)

Each of these proposals were indicative of the complex political context within which the STA was operating. The repeated reference to the need for a 'national' network was based upon the government's persistent need for a set of national social welfare policies which would be seen to be confronting unemployment across the whole of the country. A pure business or market-orientated plan, which the STA was moving towards, would have most likely relinquished this position and focused upon economic viability and not geographical coverage. In this context, however, this was not possible as the Training Division of the MSC, with its national network of Area Offices and Area Manpower Boards, was still the greatest purchaser of STA training.

Second, the desire to reduce fixed investment and develop a flexible mobile instructor force (Department of Employment, 1984b, 524), illustrates the market-led shift away from welfare-based objectives. If the STA could 'survive without premises' then it was aiming its services directly at employers in their factories and employed workers, and away from the unemployed and the 'traditional' off-the-job training provided within the GTCs and Skillcentres. The revised Business Plan was based on a Skillcentre by Skillcentre assessment which revealed that the provision in 1984 was generally

'unrelated to rapidly changing labour market needs today and even more so the needs of tomorrow' MSC, 1984, 9). Industrial and technological change had increasingly rendered the craft skill training in Skillcentres redundant, to the extent that they were now regarded by the state as an inflexible means of delivering industrial training.

The TD was also subject to government cost accounting controls and although formerly the management base of the Skillcentre network, it was in 1984 just another client of the semi-autonomous STA, committed for a limited period to purchasing a set amount of the STA's training offer. The STA consequently believed that only a very narrow range of size of Skillcentre network gave a 'viable, stable and secure future' (MSC, 1984b, 8). A larger network with surplus capacity built in would increase overheads and reduce competitiveness. A smaller network was ruled out, however, because of the TD's requirement 'to give national coverage' and thus be a 'credible supplier'.

The existing Skillcentre network, the STA argued, had grown and developed in a manner which was not consistent with the needs of industry, the product of a response by government to various pressures and crises over a considerable period.

> "Present [Skillcentre] locations are in many cases the result of ad hoc piecemeal decisions made over many years. There is too great a capacity in some areas and too little in others. Even if the Commission went back on its decision to establish the Agency with a cost recovery objective, the problem would be there."
>
> (Employment Committee, 1985, 6)

Fig.4.4 shows the STA regions and Skillcentres scheduled for retention under the 1984 revised Business Plan (Employment Committee, 1985, 14), as well as those centres recommended for closure. Appendices 4.1a-h illustrate the regional implications of these proposals in more detail. Table 4.2 shows the potential number of Skillcentre training places for the reduced Skillcentre network, by MSC region, as well as the places purchased by the TD in 1984-85 and its planned use in 1985-86. By 1985-86 Southern England (including London) was planned to increase its share of the STA Skillcentre capacity from just over 40 percent following the restructuring, to 43.3% in 1985-86.

○ Skillcentres scheduled for retention

● Skillcentres scheduled for closure

Overall, the restructuring was in line with the MSC's rationalisation plan of 1980, involving a further shift away from most of the development regions, and a recognition of some of the growth potential, for example, along the line of the 'M4 corridor' covering parts of the South-West and South-East regions (Appendix 4.1f). Other regions and cities, many with severe unemployment problems, lost Skillcentre provision. In Wales (Appendix 4.1e) training capacity was to be delivered from just four Skillcentres, with three of those in the south-east. The Civil Service Union (CSU) in their evidence to the House of Commons Employment Committee, noted that the 'ad hoc piecemeal planning of the past' was set to continue, and believed the closure proposals would 'result in the complete withdrawal by the STA from major population centres'. The CSU felt that it was inconceivable that the STA should 'simply abdicate from a city the size of Liverpool' (Employment Committee, 1985, 193-4).

Table 4.2 Skillcentre training provision by region: STA business plan 1984

Region	Potential Places (58 Skillcentres)	Places purchased by Training Division	
		Actual (1984-85)	Planned (1985-86)
Scotland	1360	1234	907
North	2010	1659	1262
North West	1660	1520	1269
Midlands	1850	1426	1336
Wales	1040	836	763
South West	2280	2124	1988
South East	3030	2363	2250
Total	13230	11162	9775

Source: Employment Committee (1985)

The closure proposals also suggested a similar withdrawal from south London (Appendix 4.1h). London's inner city was effectively only being served by Deptford, following the closure of Poplar Skillcentre in inner east London and the decision not to open a proposed Skillcentre in Camden. The changes to STA Skillcentre provision in London saw a further withdrawal from south London with proposed closure of all four Skillcentre and annexe sites in Twickenham, Waddon, Hounslow (Twickenham Annexe) and Sydenham (Waddon Annexe). These closures left no Skillcentre provision between Deptford in inner south London and West Sussex Skillcentre on

the south coast. This level of withdrawal from major metropolitan areas was inconsistent with the claim that a credible national network was being retained (Employment Committee, 1985).

The STA was also planning to withdraw from a number of areas where major industrial change was taking place. The most prominent example at the time was in relation to the coal mining industry where closures and voluntary redundancy schemes left a large number of workers unemployed and seeking retraining opportunities. However, these areas were dominated by these extractive industries and alternative employment, particularly for adult male workers, was difficult to obtain locally regardless of retraining. Given the decline in the demand for traditional craft skills, the general decline in manufacturing industry, and the specifics of the decline in the coal mining industry in these areas it would have been expected that a public-funded skills training network, historically and geographically committed to a social welfare role of supporting disadvantaged workers in 'problem' regions, would have remained prominent in those same regions.

The new STA, however, apart from an ill-defined commitment to maintain a 'credible national network' would have little prospect of either placing trainees in work following the completion of their training in these depressed regions; and little prospect of selling their services to other clients, outside of the TD/MSC. The local labour market specifics, relating to the local intersection of labour demand and labour supply in these areas meant that in terms of the criteria against which the STA was increasingly being judged, namely cost-recovery and placement, the disadvantaged or depressed regions offered little immediate or long-term prospects of productivity. Under the proposals for change, Skillcentres were scheduled for closure in coalfield areas including, Northumberland, South Yorkshire, Nottingham, Lancashire, Kent and South Wales (Employment Committee, 1985, 194).

A number of conflicts in policy and place, therefore, became apparent in the distribution of Skillcentres. The STA, in attempting to respond to market needs, was being constrained by the fact that its largest customer, the MSC's Training Division,

was still purchasing training places on the basis of its social welfare role as well as its attempts to respond to employers needs expressed through Area Manpower Boards and Area Offices operating throughout the country. The STA was still involved in a spatial conflict between attempting to offer a 'national network' and that of 'following the market'. This was to be a continuing conflict which continued to influence the STA throughout the 1980s (MSC, 1987b). The regional examples detailed above, however, suggest that even in 1984 the notion of a national network was increasingly secondary to the market criteria.

The relationship or intersection between local labour demand and labour supply was increasingly crudely based upon and reduced to the ability of each of the Skillcentres to specify and forecast expected and anticipated purchase of their services from within the TD or other customers. Individual Skillcentres had to demonstrate a growing customer base outside of the existing TD purchasing, which was expected to rapidly diminish as a proportion of the Skillcentre income. Schemes such as the Local Training Grants to Employers (LTGs) were intended to facilitate this change. Payments were made to employers to train existing employees or new recruits for hard-to-fill vacancies caused by the introduction of new technology or expansion into new markets (National Audit Office, 1987). The STA, through the Skillcentres in each area, was then expected to compete with other local training organisations to provide this training. This scheme was indicative of the shift by government towards the support of training which was for the employed; away from traditional craft skills and into new technology skill areas; in companies which were growing or developing into new markets. The STA and the Skillcentre network had to be restructured to compete within this environment.

The Employment Committee of the House of Commons commissioned an independent background paper on the proposed Skillcentre closures. The report concluded that,

"The decision to close 29 Skillcentres is soundly based, given the
STA's financial target, its pricing policy and the purchasing policy of
the Training Division of the MSC. But it is also clear that if these
policies are retained, the future of virtually the whole Skillcentre
network is uncertain."

(Likierman, 1984)

Likierman recognised the conflict which was consequent upon this attempt to resolve
the market-driven versus national network requirements set by the MSC and
government. This conflict was apparent in Likierman's conclusion where he identified
'incompatible aims (for example the financial target set and the objective of providing
a national network) a policy decision will be needed for each Skillcentre on the
advantages of being more effective locally as against being more effective nationally'
(Likierman, 1984). From the STA's Skillcentre assessment exercise it is not apparent
that adequate consideration was given to this local/national conflict as this would have
involved a more detailed local labour market area analysis and a more explicit set of
national objectives, specified more fully than the simple requirement to retain a
national network.

Likierman also suggested that, the issue of national coverage was effectively a 'social'
issue which the MSC had previously emphasised but had not costed in this exercise,
and that the whole concept of national coverage was stressed in the STA's document
proposing closure, but its purpose was not made explicit. In relation to the case for
closing individual Skillcentres, Likierman also maintained that the simple profit and
loss account assessment was not appropriate, and even if it were, then factors other
than profit would need to be taken into account 'such as local needs' (Likierman, 1984,
7).

If the 'social' objectives of the STA provision were to be abandoned, therefore, rather
than simply acting as a 'market spoiler', then the Skillcentre pricing system would be
more market-related, and training would then be carried out (assuming no institutional
or geographical inertia or spatial fixity) where it was most cost-effective, meeting
local needs, as defined by employers. Towards this end, the restructuring programme

of 1984-85 had by April 1986 reduced the Skillcentre network from 101 Skillcentres to 60 operational centres (MSC, 1986).

The responsibility for this aspect of state-funded labour regulation was increasingly, through the ATS and the STA Skillcentre network, being shifted to employers and consequently the basis of labour regulation within the national economy was being reconfigured within the context of the skill shortages and labour market needs of employers working within the specificities of their particular local labour market situation. Previous institutional frameworks had centred upon the national economy, industrial sectors and the firm. The new employer-led and employer-directed institutional framework for labour regulation was to be 'located' at the level of the local labour market. The Skillcentre network, responding to the 'enterprise culture' represented an early example of the new 'localism' which underpinned labour regulation and labour governance in Britain in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The privatisation of the network, completed in May 1990 (National Audit Office, 1991) was arguably the logical outcome of the development of the government's neo-liberal active labour market policy over the preceding ten years.

4.5 Localism, privatisation and closure

The Skillcentre Training Agency became the Skills Training Agency during the trading year 1985-86. Between then and 1988-89, however, the STA recorded an operating loss amounting to nearly £19 million (MSC, 1985a; MSC, 1986; MSC, 1987a; Training Commission, 1988; National Audit Office, 1991). The policy framework for privatising the STA Skillcentres was now supported by the financial arguments for disposal of the Skillcentres into the private sector. In late 1987, the Secretary of State for Employment set up a review of the STA following references by the National Audit Office and Public Accounts Committee to the need for the MSC to purchase its training on the basis of open competition between training providers (Training Commission, 1988).

Ainley and Corney (1990) detail the changes which took place in the MSC between 1986-88, transforming it from an apparently unassailable position of autonomy and responsibility for training and (un)employment initiatives within and throughout Britain, to an integrated arm of its parent ministry, the Department of Employment. During this period the Commission went from being the MSC through its initial transformation into the Training Commission (TC), to its final form, the Training Agency (TA).

The 1987 Employment Act proposed the establishment of the new Training Commission. But the abolition of the MSC was precipitated by the introduction of Employment Training (Evans, 1992) and to a lesser extent the reconstitution of the Area Manpower Boards to reflect the predominance of local employers, which led to the withdrawal of the trade unions from the tri-partite system. The government took this opportunity to abolish the Commission in September 1988. The MSC's corporatist and tri-partist structure would not transform Britain into an enterprise culture. The MSC's image was now irretrievably associated with low level training of the unskilled, and training that was frequently outside of the workplace and outside of the responsibility of local employers. The semi-autonomous MSC, with its original brief to create a comprehensive and national manpower planning policy, had been reduced to the level of a Training Agency within the Department of Employment (Ainley and Corney, 1990).

These developments were consistent with the government's neo-liberal labour market strategy which had at its core an emphasis upon deregulation, privatisation and empowerment of employers within their local economy and local labour markets (Peck, 1994b). As part of this policy, the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), were introduced in *'Employment for the 1990s'*, a government White Paper which included the view that the STA 'would be in a better position...if it were to move into the private sector where it could adopt the best commercial practices' (Department of Employment, 1988, 37). The White Paper, although identifying within Britain's new industrial training system a continuing role at the national level, and a voluntary role

at the industry level, envisaged most change at the local level where responsibility for training provision was to be vested within the private sector.

Employment for the 1990s proposed a radical deregulation and privatisation of the training system. While the influence of the state was to be drastically reduced at the sectoral/industry and national levels, new employer-led institutions of labour market governance and regulation were to be created at the local level. The view was that 'localities [were] more likely to find solutions that work' (Department of Employment, 1988, 39). 1988 represented a point where the labour market institutions of the 'dependency culture' gave way to the regulatory mechanisms of the 'enterprise culture' (Coffield, 1990; Streeck, 1989) within a geographical context which now emphasised the local and not the national.

The TECs, therefore, represent one of the most prominent examples of the government's labour market and industrial training strategy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. There is consequently a large and growing body of literature which is concerned with their origins and development (for example, see; Ashby, 1989; Bartlett, 1990; Bennett, 1994; Bennett, McCoshan and Sellgren, 1990; Bennett, Wicks and McCoshan, 1994; Boddy, 1992; Coffield, 1990; Evans, 1992; King, 1993; Main, 1990; Peck, 1991a; 1991b; 1992b; 1993; 1994b; 1995a; Peck and Jones, 1995; Stratton, 1990). The first TECs were established in April 1990 and all were in place by October 1991 (Bennett, Wicks and McCoshan, 1994). Their creation and early development paralleled the privatisation of the Skillcentres and their operation in the private sector. Both initiatives were examples of the 'localism' which underpinned the government's regulation of the labour market in the 1990s.

The changes envisaged under the TEC programme were not simply to do with spatial scale and efficacy of delivery systems. The TECs, as a means of rebuilding the economy through local initiative, were concerned with empowerment, shifting responsibility from the national to the local and, within the neo-liberal context, from the public to the private sector. TECs were not intended to simply manage and deliver existing programmes at the local level. They were charged with assessing the

economic and social needs of their locality, defining local strategies and allocating resources to stimulate local economic development (Coffield, 1990). They were to be 'a new kind of organisation, locally based and born of the enterprise culture' (Training Agency, 1989, 4), revealing the logic of voluntarism and the radicalism of the market (Peck, 1995a).

In reality, the TEC initiative shared many of the problems associated with the institutional change within the STA and the Skillcentres including, the continuing dependency upon DE funds, with government placing social welfare objectives, particularly combatting unemployment, as a restraint on 'market' logic; and, the imposition of the market logic onto a sphere of government activity, creating markets where arguably they were never present in a fully-functioning form.

The STA retained a dependency upon DE/MSC funds throughout its existence. Despite a small shift in income away from the MSC and towards private employers, the STA remained dependent on the adult training services of the MSC for over three-quarters of its income. In the trading year 1985-6, provision of adult training for the MSC constituted over 86% of the STA's income, whilst services for employers accounted for just 10% (MSC, 1986). By 1987-88, adult training accounted for 78.6% of income, compared to 14.4% from employers. If YTS income is added into the MSC's commitment to funding the Skillcentres, then even in 1987-88, over 85% of the income of the STA was still derived from government (MSC, 1987a; Training Commission, 1988). The ability of the Skillcentres to 'lever-in' private sector funds from within their local labour markets was proving to be a slow process.

The creation of a 'training market' by the government, and the requirement upon the STA to operate within an enterprise culture and a market logic, was also constrained by the employers. The failure of the private sector to take responsibility for skill formation has been an accepted feature of the British industrial system and a repeated basis for state intervention and labour regulation. The expectation that private funds would flow rapidly, and at an acceptable level, into the restructured STA and its Skillcentres was ambitious within this context. Employers had traditionally been more

concerned with the acquisition of skilled workers appropriate to their needs, rather than skill formation within the labour force.

The Skillcentres had sought to respond to immediate and expressed local needs, to support skill formation, increasingly among workers already employed. Placement had improved within the Skillcentres (National Audit Office, 1987), although this improvement was achieved within the context of an increasing number of Skillcentre trainees being on day or block-release from local employers. The low placement rates were also due to the failure of the Skillcentres to move away from the traditional trades and towards skill areas related to the application of new technology, despite a determination from within the MSC to achieve this shift from at least 1984 (MSC, 1985a). This meant that the Skillcentres were increasingly out of step with the government's own expressed commitment towards this new technology training under the objectives of the NTI (MSC, 1981c; Department of Employment, 1981). However, it may be argued that the limitations upon the STA, through the MSC's social welfare objectives, required the Skillcentres to continue to provide low-level skills training for those made redundant through industrial change.

Within this context, therefore, the sale of the Skills Training Agency, was the logical outcome of the failure of the reconstructed STA to fulfil the objectives set for it by the MSC and government. Deregulation in this instance meant privatisation, enabling the individual Skillcentres to reflect the immediate skill needs of local employers, apparently unfettered by the requirement to respond to what was believed to be at that time an agenda of diminishing national importance, namely unemployment. The reconstructed STA had not 'empowered' local employers with any greater responsibility for training. The privatisation of the STA offered some scope for employer empowerment, regulated and controlled by the employer-led and directed TECs.

The government White Paper of late 1988 (Department of Employment, 1988) had introduced the intention to move the STA into the private sector. In March 1989, the Secretary of State for Employment informed Parliament of the decision to offer the

Agency for sale by private tender, either as a whole or as a number of separate training businesses (National Audit Office, 1991). The independent advisers on the feasibility of privatisation, reported that the STA, 'reduced to a core of strategically located Skillcentres', could be sold to the private sector as a viable training business (National Audit Office, 1991, 1). In May 1990 the government completed the sale of 45 Skillcentres to Astra Training Services Ltd (Astra), a company formed by three senior executives of the STA, achieving the first management buy-out within the Civil Service. The DE sold a further six Skillcentres to three other organisations. The remaining nine Skillcentres were to be closed.

The sale of the STA was contentious in terms of both the act of privatising the Skillcentre network, which had in one form or another been in the public sector and providing skills training since 1917, and the particulars of the sale to Astra (see British Broadcasting Corporation, 1990; Halsall, 1990; Harper, 1990; Johnston, 1990; Knewstub, 1990; Leadbeater, 1989; Mason, 1990; Millward, 1990; Osborn, 1989; The Guardian, 1990; The Independent, 1990; The Times, 1990a; 1990b; Timmins, 1990; Whitfield, 1990; Williamson, 1990; Wood, 1990a; 1990b). The DE received 275 expressions of interest, 149 potential purchasers were invited to submit indicative offers. Twenty-six of the 33 organisations who had put in indicative offers were invited to submit final offers, which were received from sixteen organisations (NAO, 1991, 3-4). Although this level of interest would suggest an appraisal, by a number of organisations, of the STA as a viable commercial opportunity, this is less evident from the breakdown of offers by Skillcentre.

From this perspective, one organisation put in a bid for the whole Agency (not Astra), two submitted bids for a network of 20 or more centres; and 13 organisations submitted bids for between one and six centres (covering 28 centres in total). Other than offers from the network bidders, 26 centres were the subject of only one other bid and no further offers at all were made for 31 centres (Fig.4.5a-b) (Appendix 4.2) (NAO, 1991). In a significant number of cases it was apparent that there was in fact very little 'local' interest expressed in purchasing most of the Skillcentres. Astra's

Fig.4.5a-b
Privatisation of the STA in 1990: Final bids by skillcentre
(Source, National Audit Office, 1991)

(a) Network bids

● 4
● 3
  2
  1

Number of final bids

(b) Other bids
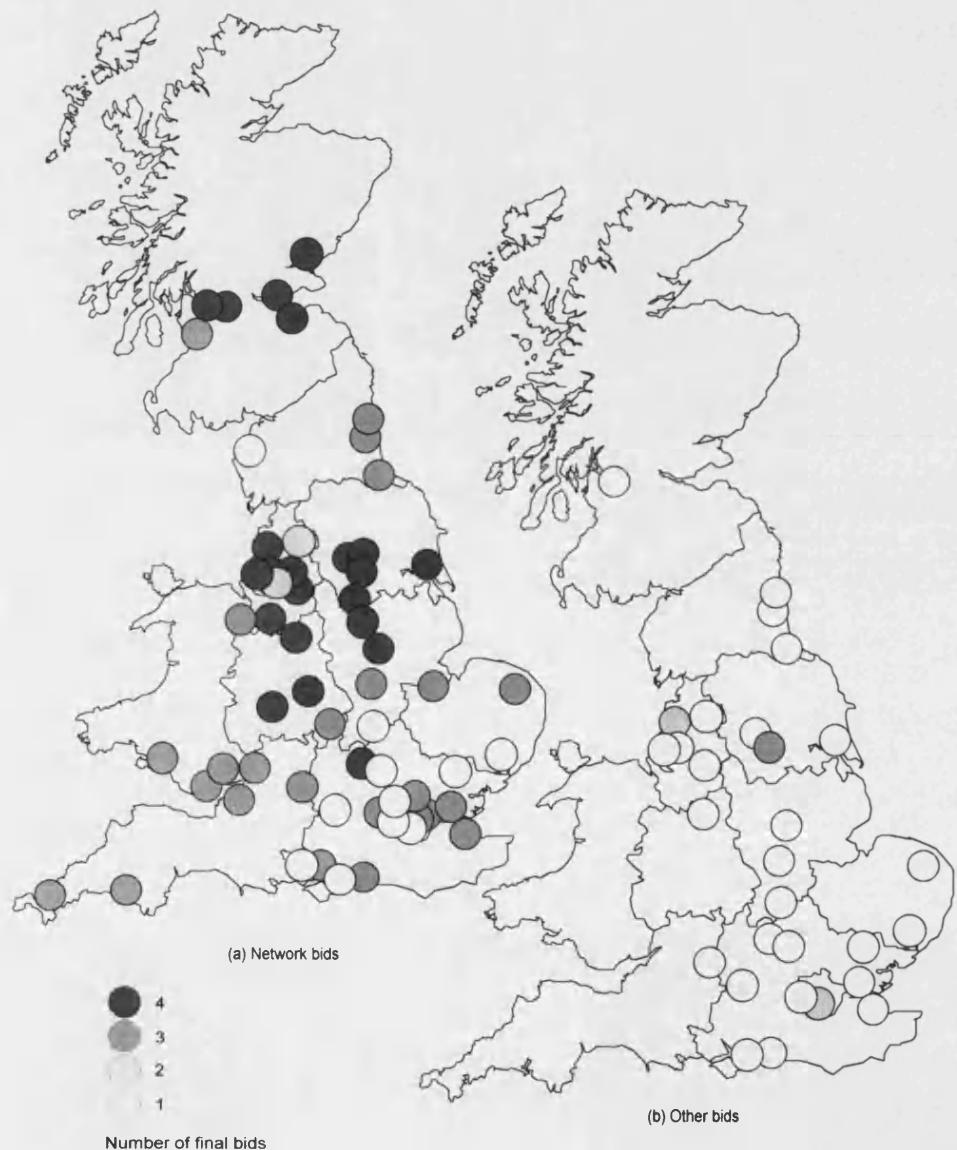
successful bid, led to a net payment to Astra of £10.7 million, government allowing 'negative' bids to cover the cost of restructuring and rationalisation (NAO, 1991).

Fig.4.6 shows the location of the 51 Skillcentres successfully transferred to the private sector and the remaining nine centres which were not sold and subsequently closed. The Astra bid maintained the appearance of a national network in that it retained a presence in each of the STA regions and most of the major population centres throughout Britain. Training for Industry and Commerce Company Limited (TICC Ltd) bought four centres, three of which were in the North-West region and the other in Ipswich. Two other Skillcentres were sold to individual organisations. METEL purchased Liverpool Skillcentre and Training Business Ltd purchased Lambeth Skillcentre in south London. Also within London, Skillcentres at Barking, Deptford and Enfield were sold to Astra. Twickenham and Perivale Skillcentres, in West London, remained unsold and were closed.

In 1992 the four centres purchased by TICC Ltd 'went into liquidation' (The Financial Times, 1993) and in July 1993, just over three years after the privatisation of the STA in May 1990, Astra Training Services, which had purchased 45 Skillcentres, was placed in the hands of the receiver (FT, 1993). Thirteen centres were sold to one businessman to form a new company, AST Training, and three other centres were sold to other individuals (Whitebloom, 1993a). AST Training intended to establish at least three regional divisions and were seeking to expand in other areas (Whitebloom, 1993b). Other bids were received for other regional groupings but were rejected by the receiver. For example, Greater London Enterprise (the former Greater London Enterprise Board of the Greater London Council), submitted, in consortium with the London Skillcentre managers, a management buy-out proposal for the remaining London Skillcentres (Whitebloom, 1993c).

The collapse of Astra, the first collapse of a privatised government department agency (Whitebloom, 1993a), marked the end of any claims of a residual national network of skills training centres, even within the private sector. In June 1995, the AST group of companies, operating the last substantive group of thirteen Skillcentres, albeit as

Fig.4.6
Skillcentres transferred to the private sector and those left unsold: 1990
(Source: National Audit Office, 1991)

Astra Training Services Ltd (ATS)

Training for Industry and Commerce Company Ltd (TICC)

Merseyside Education Training and Enterprise Ltd (METEL)

Training Business Ltd

Skillcentres unsold
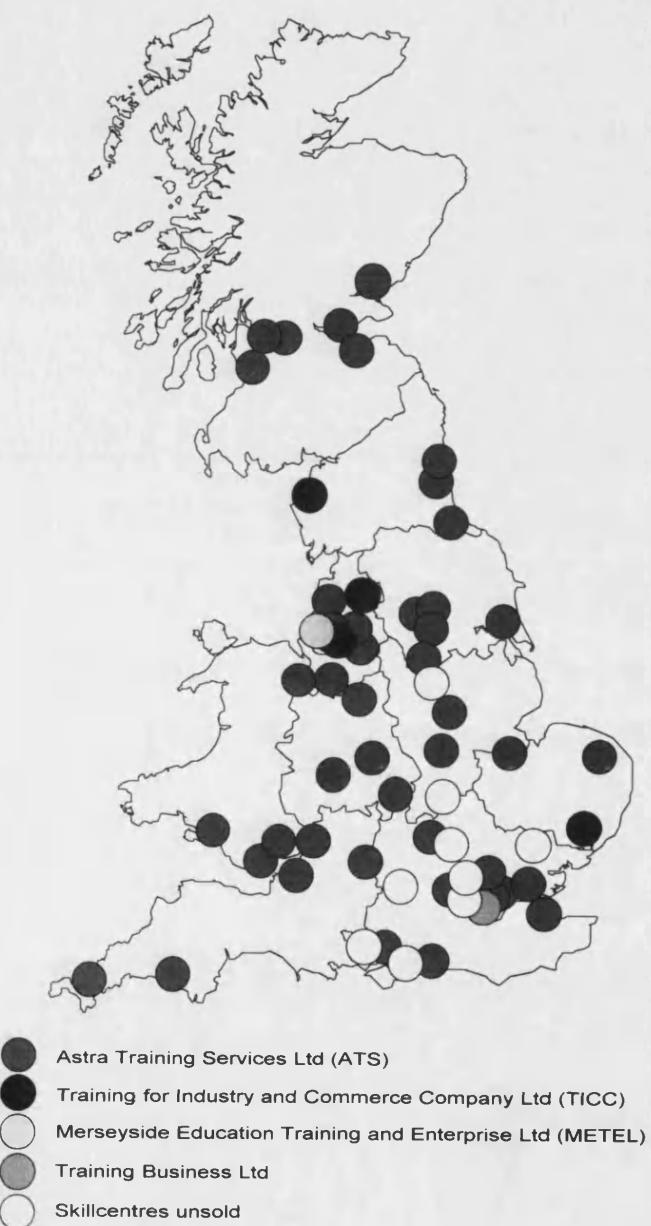
separate regional companies, also went into voluntary liquidation (Whitebloom, 1995).

The closure, following privatisation, of nearly all of the former STA Skillcentres within a relatively short period of time, demonstrated the limitations of this policy of transferring responsibility for industrial training to the private sector, and following the imposition of the market logic, the vulnerability of that agency/company to market failure. In a written submission to the House of Commons Employment Committee (1992), Astra, prior to its collapse, argued that 'government-funded training suffered from the lack of a coherent long-term strategy'. Most companies, they argued, in the context of recession and rising unemployment were cutting jobs. Astra concluded that many training providers were in financial difficulties and were leaving the training market, and that 'this damage to the training infrastructure may take years to repair' (Employment Committee, 1992, 25; Wood, 1992a).

In December 1988 when 'Employment for the 1990s' was published, the national level of unemployment had been falling for two years, dropping below 2 million. The recession began in the middle of 1990 and by early 1993 unemployment was again over 3 million. The unanticipated onset of recession led directly to declining government budgets, cutbacks in private training investment, and rising local unemployment. Regulatory environments with their 'market-led' policy initiatives have proved vulnerable to market failure and 'a training system driven by the short-term needs of the market is self-evidently likely to produce under-investment in skill-formation' (Peck, 1992b, 343).

As Peck notes, establishment of the TECs, to which may be added the privatisation of the Skillcentres was, 'predicated on an expectation of tightening labour markets and falling unemployment' (Peck, 1994b, 106). The TECs, designed to privatise the process of skill formation in tight labour markets, were now operating in a collapsed labour market with accelerating unemployment. The privatised Skillcentres had been established within a framework which demanded from them an immediate response to

expressed needs. In the context of recession, those expressed needs were for employers to cut costs and labour and not to buy-in external training services.

The parallel with the TECs, however, is not simply one of experience within a common local labour market and national economy situation. The STA had been privatised in order to free the Skillcentres from the inflexibility of the national training market, to allow them to be, within the context of a market situation, more responsive to local labour market needs, and to release them from a dependency upon DE/MSC, and consequently government funding. The recession from 1990, however, operated in a more complex manner than the expected reduction in private sector training investment. Increasing unemployment placed a major restriction on TEC budgets and spending priorities (Bennett, Wicks and McCoshan, 1994)

The privatised Skillcentres, far from breaking their link with government funding for training the unemployed, were just one more step removed from that source of funding as the local TECs, committed to supporting training for the unemployed, were now their largest customer. Astra, reminded government of its policy by stating that they wanted 'the focus of government spending on training to be on those people who are most likely to benefit from it most rapidly' (Wood, 1992b). In 1992, however, just prior to their collapse, Astra was still predominately training unemployed people in the same basic craft skills that had been taught in the Skillcentres and GTCs since the end of 1945, namely 'building trades, engineering, welding and electronics' (Employment Committee, 1992, 27).

While Astra's decline was, therefore, in part attributable to the recession, it was its relationship with the local TECs, and in turn their relationship with government which was critical. Astra's financial difficulties ultimately stemmed from changes in the structure and funding of government training programmes, particularly Employment Training (ET). ET was vulnerable to cuts by the DE in 1992 as part of their response to the government's Public Expenditure Survey. Astra, as one of the largest providers of ET training, through its contracts with the local TECs, was particularly vulnerable to cuts in this scheme (Employment Committee, 1992; Wood, 1992c). At the same

time Astra was again caught, through the nature of its indirect customer relations with government, into low-skill training for the unemployed, with employer-funded training diminishing in the face of recession.

Within this context of national economic recession and cuts in public expenditure, both elements of Astra's income base, direct private sector contracts, and indirect public-sector funding through the TECs, reduced to a point where their business was not viable. The disinvestment from training by industry, and the large number of training providers, made this a 'very competitive market'. The employer-led market forces approach of the TECs recognised that within a recession, the vulnerability of Astra to market failure was an acceptable consequence of the enterprise culture and free market competition (FT, 1993).

4.6 Conclusion

This has been a different form of analysis from that presented in chapter three. A number of distinct regulatory periods have been identified, as they were previously. However, in this chapter, their definition has been from another perspective, that of changes in the dominant institution of labour market regulation and governance, namely the Manpower Services Commission in Britain between 1974-93, including the immediate post-abolition period.

The MSC under the Labour administration of 1974-79, represented the creation of a new state institutional form in terms of labour regulation and governance within Britain, and an attempt to establish a comprehensive national manpower planning system within Britain at the sectoral and industry levels. The incoming Conservative government, recast the MSC as a means of social control and legitimation in the face of high unemployment, directing attention away from national manpower planning, using the MSC to restructure industrial relations; and, latterly, as a catalyst for change from a 'dependency' culture to the 'enterprise' culture. In the final regulatory period, and as part of an active neo-liberal labour market strategy, the MSC was again restructured and finally abolished, as the institutions of labour market regulation and

governance became employer-led, deregulated and privatised, empowering business and focusing attention at the level of the 'locality'.

These changes reflect dramatically conflicting political positions as to the role of the state within society and the economy, which to a large extent have been expressed through policy directed at different geographical contexts and levels of industrial organisation. The earlier national, sectoral and industry-based initiatives being replaced by a focus upon the locality and the firm. This period shows a changing emphasis upon different geographical and organisational contexts, expressed through different institutional forms and mechanisms of labour regulation and governance within Britain.

Change in the Skillcentre programme has been placed into the context of these broader processes of change operating at the institutional level of the MSC, through different governments and their changing policy formulations and industrial training strategies, and within the context of change in the British economy and society. The changing infrastructural and geographical form of this skills training initiative may be viewed as the outcome of the intersection of these processes and mechanisms, operating at different spatial scales and ultimately within the context and specificities of place. Part three of this thesis, comprising chapters 5-7, continues and develops this explanatory framework within the local economy, local labour market and Skillcentre training provision and infrastructure context of Greater London.

Chapter Five

Industrial and local labour market change in Greater London

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins the process of relating the institutions and distinct periods of labour regulation and governance at the national and regional scales, as identified above, to the specificities and context of the local labour markets which constitute the Greater London area. Chapters six and seven will make that link through a detailed consideration of the GTC and Skillcentre provision in the London area. This chapter begins to set that provision within the historical context of industrial, sectoral, employment and local labour market change in London.

GTC and Skillcentre provision in London, between approximately 1929 and 1993, must be viewed within the broader industrial, social and political context of that period, and in terms of processes operating at a variety of spatial scales, but intersecting and interacting within the context of this particular place, Greater London (Fig.5.1). Chapters three and four, through an understanding of the political economy context of the development of GTC and Skillcentre provision at the national level, identified a set of distinct periods of labour regulation and governance which were seen, in most instances, to produce a changing national and regional landscape of training centre provision. The changing, but particular and unique industrial, social and political context of Greater London may also be interpreted both in terms of its relation to that national political economy, and consequently its relation to that same national context of GTC and Skillcentre training provision. The issues identified at the broader spatial scale may or may not have had specific consequences within the London context, or contemporary or residual consequences in terms of state-funded training centre provision. Equally other relevant and local issues may have been more significant in influencing the nature and levels of GTC and Skillcentre training provision in London, as well as access to training for any potential trainees resident within different parts of the Greater London area.

Fig.5.1
Greater London and London boroughs
(Source: GLC, 1985)

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to identify and present broad aspects of the changing economy of Greater London in order to 'locate' London within the national context previously identified, and by so doing develop a local context within which it is possible to revisit and reconceptualise the nature of the posited generative mechanisms, identified as important at the national scale, which underpin the development of state-funded GTC and Skillcentre training.

5.2 Growth and development

Industry in London in the 19th century was characterised by craft workshops, typically employing a handful of workers. The heavier and more 'offensive' trades were scattered through the eastern outskirts and in the poorer suburbs south of the Thames (Martin, 1966). Martin characterises industry in London at this time in terms of 'localised' districts where particular industries were concentrated. In particular, he draws examples from the clothing, furniture, printing, the 'precision' industries (gold and silversmiths, watch and clock makers, instrument makers and the like) and heavier metal industries, frequently drawn to waterside locations. In the first half of the 19th Century London's industrial geography centred upon a now inner zone stretching from Holborn in the west to Poplar in the east and southwards to Lambeth. Many of London's traditional and localised trades were concentrated in this area, providing the bulk of London's manufacturing employment (Green, 1991).

By the time of the creation of the London County Council (1889) pressures to restructure, in the form of 'sweated' labour, or to relocate away from these inner areas was for many trades considerable, with many of those pressures being derived from significant increases in the cost of land, soaring property rates to fund infrastructural improvements and increasingly stringent controls on manufacturing factories and workshops. At the end of the 19th Century, therefore, with the dispersal of some industries to then peripheral locations, it was possible to identify a substantial range of industries and sectors of employment which had distinctive geographies. The construction industry, for example, was concentrated in north, west and south London, where manufacturing was at that time largely absent, but under-represented amongst

the industrial factories and complexes of East London (Green, 1991; Hall, 1962; Hobsbawm, 1964; Martin, 1966).

By 1900 industry was still relatively undeveloped in West London. Industrial development was taking place but, according to Martin (1966), 'only certain tracts were ripe for colonisation by manufacturing'. What industrialisation there was west of London was significant but strongly 'localised'. The existence of good transport links, previous extractive industries and working-class housing and labour were cited as important locational factors for new industry. Also significant, both in terms of the development of new industries across London and the later development of GTC and Skillcentre training provision, was the post-war (1914-18) disposal of temporary Government factories which, although located in fringe areas where industrialisation had been beginning, served to further stimulate industrial development.

Some of these sites were also later to be the location for Government funded training centres, including Park Royal and Perivale in West London, the Wandle Valley (Waddon) in South London and the Lea Valley (Enfield) in North London. Changes at this time in the organisation of industrial production, particularly in relation to large-scale activities to serve the growing mass market of London, necessitated the development of industrial estates in what were then peripheral locations around London (Pratt, 1994a). The wartime infrastructural developments at government factories and depots around London facilitated the subsequent and rapid development of these early industrial estates, such as at Slough and Park Royal, which were also the locations for early GTC developments.

In the 1920s and 1930s, industrial growth in London, particularly in the outer suburbs, was very rapid and generally ran counter to the economic recession and depression which was developing at the national level. Green (1991) makes the point that the 'consistently high rate of growth' of the London economy, often in the face of national and international cyclical economic fluctuations, owes much to both the 'local' diversity of industrial and commercial activity coupled with the high consumption demands of a major metropolitan area. London's economy was also sustained during

the world depression of the 1930s by industrial import substitution rather than free trade. Import tariffs forced international competitors to restructure their activities and locate in Britain. In this wave of tariff-beating foreign investment London benefitted disproportionately as the mass production of goods necessitated access to the largest possible market. London, as the focus of the national communications network and as an enormous domestic market, gained the bulk of this growth (Leonard, 1984). Key industries and sectors which grew significantly in the London economy at this time were linked to this domestic market and included, mechanical and electrical engineering and vehicles, aircraft and food and drink industries.

Within this context of a growing buoyant regional economy, however, restructuring of industry within London meant that population and industrial growth was almost totally contained within the outer ring surrounding the administrative region of the London County Council. Between 1934-38, for example the LCC suffered a loss of 191 factories, compared to a gain of 429 new plants in the outer London ring (Abercrombie, 1945; Green, 1991). Although many of these developments were on green-field sites, industrial growth in outer London was still concentrated into many of the areas which were beginning to be industrialised in the pre-war period. Green (1991) illustrates the continuity of this growth and development, as identified in Abercrombie's Greater London Plan (Fig.5.2). Industrial growth in this period was largely concentrated into four main areas. These were, the North-West quadrant, stretching from Hendon in the north to Brentford in the west (Leonard, 1984); the Lea Valley to the north and east; the lower Thameside area, from Newham eastwards; and, the Wandle Valley to the south, where new engineering plants were located (Green, 1991; Hall, 1962; Martin; 1966). The industrial expansion of these regions was to have a major impact upon the subsequent location of GTC and Skillcentre training provision in Greater London for the next sixty years. The specialist industrial districts of the late 19th Century and the new industrial areas of the first part of the 20th Century created a pattern which is still influential and recognisable.

The needs of wartime production (1939-45) and post-war reconstruction across London created a period of distinctive industrial change and restructuring. The

Fig.5.2
Industrial areas in London 1918-39 from Abercrombie's Greater London Plan
(Source: Green, 1991)

△ INDUSTRIAL AREAS ESTABLISHED BEFORE 1918
▲ INDUSTRIAL AREAS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN 1918 AND 1939

construction industry in particular was to 'benefit' in the immediate post-war period from the particular and substantive need for the rapid rebuilding of major parts of London. The 'specificity' of London can not be simply read off from the technical character of production. Specialisation in production is also a specialisation in skill and the 'unusual and atypical' demands of wartime production and post-war reconstruction placed a particular and distinct burden upon London in terms of the provision of necessary skills. Changes in the nature and extent of government-funded skills training during this period reflected that need.

Beyond the immediate post-war period the rate of industrial growth in Greater London fell behind that for Britain as a whole. In the years 1951-56 manufacturing employment in Greater London expanded by 86,000 or 5.2%, compared with a rate of 6.6% for Britain. Between 1956-58 London's manufacturing employment fell by 1.2% compared with the national decline of just 0.2%. At the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s (1958-62) manufacturing again expanded by 2.1%, but was well behind the national growth rate of 4.7% (Martin, 1966). Martin comments that during this period Greater London failed to out-perform the national rate in any of these periods. This period is relatively ignored in contemporary accounts of change in the London economy, largely because nationally it represented a period of stability when compared to the industrial decline which was to follow. In the context of this thesis, however, it is significant as a period when government training policy receded to the margins of the labour market, to perform a largely residual social welfare function. Within London, it is significant in terms of the beginnings of the changing fortunes of the London manufacturing economy, as compared to the national economy. It also represents the beginnings of a changing local industrial and social context within which the infrastructure of state-funded training provision developed.

The 1950s and early 1960s have been characterised nationally as a period of relative prosperity and growth, with near full employment, all part of the 'long post-war boom'. London's economic prosperity during this period, at least in terms of its manufacturing base, was less impressive. Although some of the comparatively poor performance may be accounted for by the movement of industry away from the LCC area and into the

surrounding area of the Greater London 'conurbation' (Hall, 1962; Martin, 1966). Both Hall and Martin illustrate the geography of industrial development in London at this time. Martin (1966) maps the principal industrial areas within the Greater London conurbation in 1954 in terms of the density of 'operatives' (Fig.5.3). Whilst Hall (1962) maps the geography of manufacturing industry in Greater London in 1951 both in terms of the number of workers and a 'Local Location Quotient' measuring the degree of concentration (Fig.5.4).

It is perhaps worth noting that both Hall and Martin placed considerable emphasis at this time upon 'localisation' and 'concentration' as a means of identifying London's distinctive industrial districts, recognising both the local labour market diversity and complexity within the Greater London area. Both maps show the continuing concentration of industrial development in the inner zone, dating from at least the 19th Century, coupled with the outer suburban growth of the first half of the 20th Century. In terms of both the then contemporary and subsequent location of GTC and Skillcentre provision, Hall's map in particular illustrates both the basis for GTC locations and, with the hindsight of the later decline of inner-city manufacturing industry, the spatial conflict which was to emerge in Greater London between the economic and training needs of increasingly outer London's manufacturing industry and the social needs of London's inner-city and increasingly unemployed workforce. Conflicts in space and place which may also be seen as conflicts between co-existing and distinct needs for labour regulation and skill formation.

5.3 Industrial decline and employment change

By the 1960s, London's industrial landscape was beginning to change, and this change was to manifest itself disproportionately within distinctive geographical contexts within the Greater London area. As noted previously, part of London's resistance to cyclical economic recession had been both its diversity of industrial activity and the propensity for new industries to develop within close proximity to this major consumer market. Consequently, resistance to structural change in manufacturing was helped by the manufacturing industries which represented earlier links in the

Fig.5.3
Principal industrial areas in terms of density of operatives: Greater London 1954
(Source: Martin, 1966)
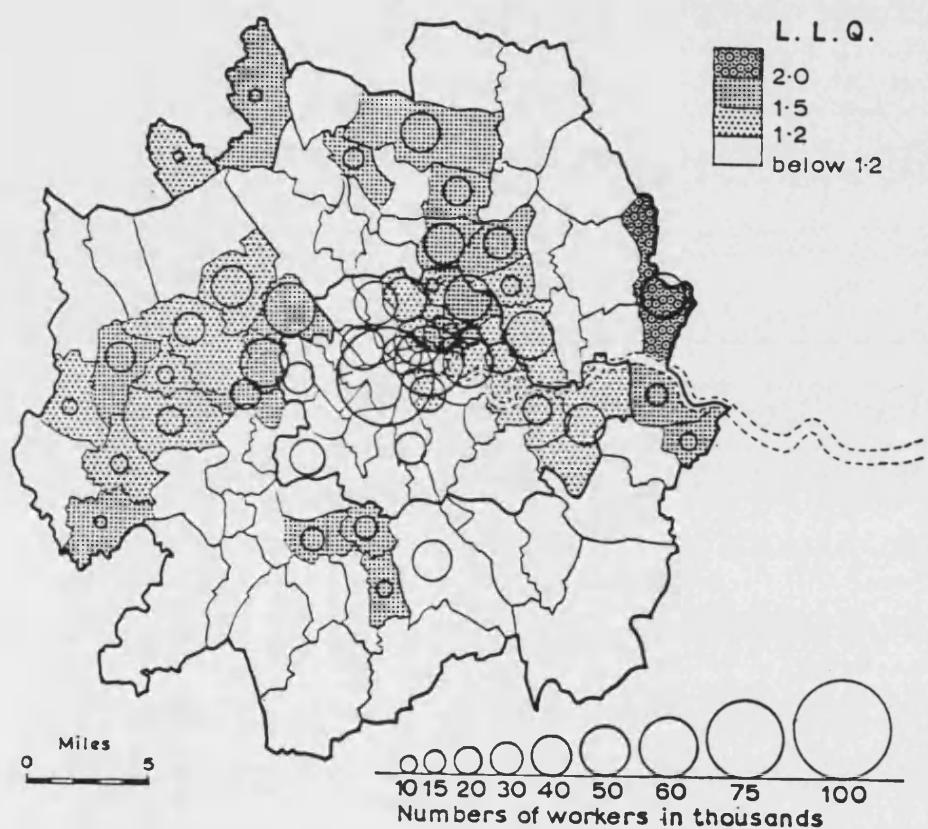
productive process being less important in London than those representing later links, associated with finished and frequently high-value added goods. Thus London was deficient in textiles, but not clothing; and in woodworking, but not furniture (Hall, 1962). London avoided, therefore, the early impacts of deindustrialisation compared to those regions specialising in one particular industrial process, such as textiles and iron and steel, and which were already suffering from intense overseas competition.

London was one of the principal manufacturing centres in Britain, but by 1961 the 1.5 million people working in London's factories in 1951 had begun to decline to 1.43 million. Twenty years later, in 1983, that figure had fallen dramatically to 594,000 (Greater London Council, 1985). The fall in employment in the manufacturing sector between 1961 and 1970 (approximately 350,000) was by far the most important factor in employment change in London at this time, and accounted for three quarters of the total fall in employment. The fall in the manufacturing sector was continuous throughout the period (Foster and Richardson, 1973; Westergaard, 1964). By the middle of the decade the construction industry also started to decline, suffering approximately 60,000 job loses in London during the 1960s. Both male and female employment in manufacturing had fallen by about 20%, although overall women's employment fared better given their lower concentration in the manufacturing and construction industries, and their ability to move into the growth areas of the service industries.

Although a similar pattern of manufacturing decline was apparent within the national economy, it was becoming apparent that London was suffering even greater levels of job loss. Britain lost 25% of its manufacturing jobs in the decade between 1971 and 1981. In the same decade London lost 36% of its manufacturing jobs and inner London 41% (Greater London Council, 1985). Table 5.1 shows how employment levels in manufacturing in Greater London in 1971 were back to the levels of 1921. London during the period 1921-51 experienced a growth in manufacturing which had run counter to the economic recession experienced across the rest of Britain. In the thirty years after the start of the 1950s, however, the decline in manufacturing in London was at a faster rate than the national experience, and almost led by 1981 to a

return to the manufacturing employment levels of London in the second half of the 19th Century (Greater London Council, 1986a).

Table 5.1 Change in employment in London: 1861-1981 (thousands)

	1861	1921	1951	1971	1981
Manufacturing	469	1053	1523	1049	671
Construction	98	147	283	196	163
Transport and Communication	138	347	420	440	373
Distributive trades	139	535	599	525	477
Insurance, banking and finance	34	110	187	404	463
Public administration and defence	45	210	317	334	315
Professional services	74	207	365	508	601
Education and health	-	-	-	392	424
All services	903	2090	2743	2622	2636
All employed	1479	3216	4288	3939	3528

Source: Hall (1962); GLC (1986a); Census of Employment

Table 5.2 shows the nature of job change in London during the 1970s. London suffered a net loss of nearly 380,000 manufacturing jobs of which nearly 60,000 were in electrical engineering, nearly 50,000 in clothing and over 43,000 in paper, printing and publishing. Outside of manufacturing major job losses were experienced in construction, transport, public administration and the distributive trades. The gross level of job loss in London during this decade (604,600 jobs) was only partially offset by the increases in the service sector industries (185,900 jobs). Almost without exception, all manufacturing sectors lost jobs in London in the 1970s (Greater London Council, 1986a). These changes in the structure and scale of the London economy have been attributed to five main reasons.

First, regional shift or decentralisation. The GLC estimated that 200,000 of London's lost manufacturing jobs could be attributed to what it termed 'industrial drift', particularly into the rest of the South-East region. Second, technological change and the growth of the 'knowledge economy', so that increased production could be secured with fewer workers. In London, while manufacturing employment fell by 38% during the 1970s, value added fell by only 14% (GLC, 1986a). Third, the changing role of the London, and for that matter the British labour market in the international division of

labour. The fourth factor relates to changes in consumer services, either through technical change, for example in retailing, or through the substitution of domestic goods for purchased services. Finally, and fundamentally, economic recession. London's advantage during the recession of the 1930s, namely its mass domestic consumer market, was in large part the basis for its decline in the 1970s. The origins of the crisis in the world economy since the early 1970s centred partly upon the end of a period of expansion based on the mass production of consumer durables. The industrial restructuring which sought to counter this economic depression and restore profitability was particularly damaging to the London labour market and economy (GLC, 1986a; Massey, 1984; Pollard, 1992).

Table 5.2 Change in employees in employment: London & RoSE 1971-1981 (thousands)

	London	Rest of South East
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	+1.5	-18.2
Mining & quarrying	+2.8	-0.1
Food, drinks & tobacco	-39.3	-6.7
Coal & petroleum products	+0.4	-1.5
Chemicals & allied industries	-17.4	-1.7
Metal manufacture	-12.4	-5.4
Mechanical engineering	-30.3	-31.4
Instrument engineering	-16.5	-3.2
Electrical engineering	-59.7	+19.3
Shipbuilding & marine engineering	-3.8	-11.5
Vehicles	-16.2	-34.7
Other metal goods	-31.3	-7.2
Textiles	-3.5	-4.1
Clothing & footwear	-48.3	-10.4
Bricks, pottery and glass	-9.2	+11.5
Timber & furniture	-19.6	-7.1
Paper, printing and publishing	-43.8	-12.4
Other manufacturing	-27.9	-12.0
Construction	-33.1	+14.3
Gas, electricity & water	-19.7	+0.4
Transport & communication	-65.9	+25.4
Distributive trades	-54.1	+91.2
Insurance, banking & finance	+49.6	+84.9
Professional & scientific services	+93.0	+176.4
Miscellaneous services	+43.3	+129.7
Public administration & defence	-52.6	-39.8
Total	-414.0	+345.7

Source: GLC (1986a); Annual Census of Employment

In the recession of the early 1970s the number of apprentices in London reflected this scale of industrial decline. Between just 1971 and 1973 apprenticeships in London fell by a third from around 19,000 to just 13,000. A rate of decline which was only exceeded by that between 1981-85 when the number more than halved from 11,000 to around 5,000 (GLC, 1986a; GLC, 1986b). At a national scale this decline in apprenticeships within private industry had previously been recognised in the 1960s through the Industrial Training Act 1964, which established a range of Industrial Training Boards. In the 1970s, the Employment and Training Act 1973 continued this public recognition of the limits to voluntarism through the creation of the Manpower Services Commission.

Within Greater London, the London Region of the MSC worked on skills training provision, and meeting the costs of skills training, within London's declining manufacturing base which was increasingly unable or reluctant to fund relatively unproductive, and increasingly un-necessary long-term time-served apprenticeships. At the beginning of the 1980s, the 'local' offices of the MSC were joined by the Greater London Training Board (GLTB), as part of the GLC, seeking to sustain apprenticeship schemes, to develop new high quality training schemes in work areas of new demand, and to direct training at those groups of workers who faced discrimination in the labour market and barriers to employment and training. Both these 'local' institutions of skill formation and labour market regulation and governance were, within this context of industrial change, most important in the creation and construction of London's distinctive training infrastructure and changing landscapes of labour regulation during the 1970s and 1980s.

Both these institutions of labour regulation and skill formation were working within a London economy where the labour market outcomes and social implications of this period of rapid industrial change and decline were not evenly distributed within the Greater London area. The inner-city 'problem' served to 'locate' the overall decline of employment in Greater London within the local labour market contexts of the development and decline of manufacturing industry in London over the last hundred

years (Department of the Environment, 1977). Whilst Table 5.3 shows the scale of the decline in manufacturing industries in London between 1971-81, Fig.5.5 shows how the consequences of that decline, in terms of unemployment, were located predominately within the inner London area (GLC, 1986a). The problems faced by the MSC in London and the GLTB, conflicts between the economic needs for skills training in London and the social purposes of assisting those people most disadvantaged by this industrial restructuring, were as much conflicts in space and place as they were conflicts amongst the segmented labour force.

Table 5.3 Manufacturing employment in London: 1981 and percentage change 1971-81

	Total Employment 1981	Percentage Change 71-81
Mechanical engineering	68,000	-39
Electrical engineering	115,000	-31
Other engineering	23,000	-48
Vehicles	45,000	-25
Metal goods n.e.s.	45,000	-42
Food, drink & tobacco	69,000	-40
Chemicals & allied inds.	48,000	-30
Clothing & Footwear	35,000	-60
Timber & Furniture	28,000	-42
Paper, printing & publishing	118,000	-25
Other manufacturing	56,000	-50
Total manufacturing	650,000	-38

Source: GLC (1986a)

During the 1980s whilst significant changes emerged in the industrial and employment structure of London, manufacturing industry continued to decline (Kowarzik and Landau, 1991; Kowarzik, Williamson and Leonard, 1989; Leonard, Maginn and Kowarzik, 1991; Leonard, Maginn and Williamson, 1991; Pratt, 1994b). This period is particularly relevant to this thesis as the survey of Skillcentre trainees in Greater London, detailed in chapter seven, relates to the early 1980s when the London Skillcentre network was temporarily at its greatest extent.

The Skillcentres, both nationally and within London, were dominated by skills training in the engineering and construction industries. Both of these sectors continued to suffer severe problems during the 1980s. The 'Metal goods, engineering and vehicle

Fig.5.5
Unemployment in Greater London: 1986
(Source: GLC, 1986a)

18.6 - 23.0

13.6 - 18.5

8.6 - 13.5

3.6 - 8.5

0 - 3.5

Unemployment rate (Percentage)
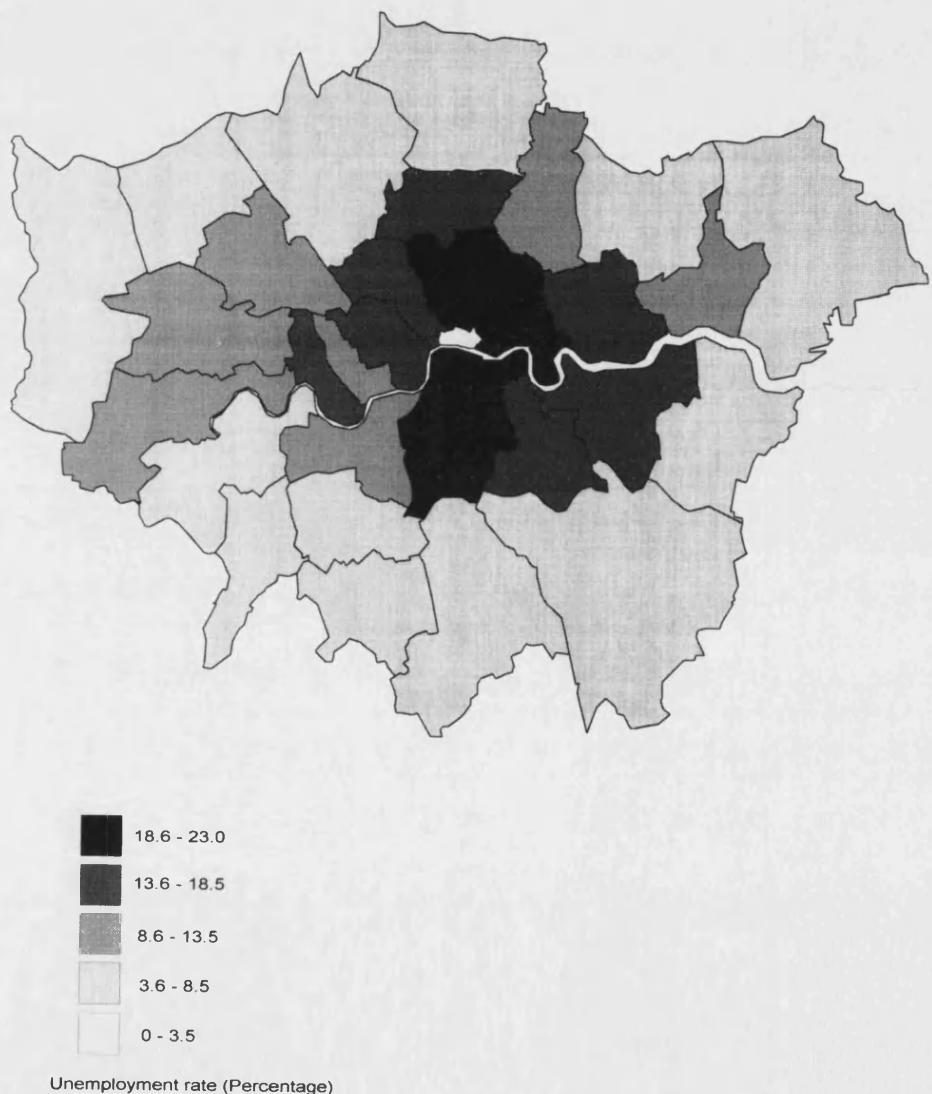
industries' sector declined by nearly 35% between 1981-87, representing a loss of over 100,000 jobs. Within London, the rate of decline for the engineering sector as a whole was almost greater than in any other industry and more than double the national rate of employment decline in the engineering industry (Kowarzik et al, 1989). 'Other manufacture', with some of the most important manufacturing industries in London, including printing, food and drink, clothing and furniture, also declined by over 72,000 jobs, a decline of over 23% (Table 5.4). Some of the decline in these industries and subsectors assumed even greater significance for a local economy and labour market *within* London, given their high level of geographical concentration (Kowarzik and Landau, 1991).

Table 5.4 Employees in employment by industry: London 1981-87

Industry (SIC 1980)	No. of employees 1981	No. of employees 1987	% change 1981-87
Agriculture	1,800	1,600	-11.1
Energy	55,500	46,100	-16.9
Extraction	72,800	46,800	-35.7
Metal goods	301,100	196,800	-34.6
Other manufacture	310,000	237,900	-23.3
Construction	161,400	136,500	-15.4
Distribution	686,600	690,800	+0.6
Transport	368,300	314,100	-14.7
Banking	565,900	754,200	+33.3
Public admin. & education	580,600	589,100	+1.5
Health & other services	453,900	492,400	+8.5
All industries	3,557,900	3,506,200	-1.5

Source: Kowarzik and Landau (1991)

Changes in the construction industry in London were more difficult to assess. Between 1978-85 a 7% increase in employment in this sector in Britain, contrasted dramatically with an official government figure of a 17% decline in the sector within Greater London. 1983 saw new orders for construction in the GLC area fall to three-quarters of their 1973 value in real terms. As a result the number of building workers in London declined by 20% in the period 1971-81. By 1982, 45,000 workers, more than 20% of London's construction workforce were registered as unemployed (GLC, 1985). Between 1981-91 the construction sector in London continued to decline by around 40% (Pratt, 1994b). In the early 1980s, however, major skill shortages were

being reported as large building developments in central London and Docklands were progressing.

Given these increasing 'local' demands for skilled labour it was apparent that other changes in employment practices in the construction industry were not being revealed by the regional statistics. The Training Agency estimated in 1988 that the 'size of the lump is likely to exceed 40% of the total (construction) workforce in London' (Training Commission, 1988). Whatever the reality of the employment situation, the decline in directly employed workers and the growth of casualisation, self-employment and labour-only sub-contracting led to a significant decline in training within the industry (Kowarzik et al, 1989; Leonard et al, 1991). The generally unstable organisation of the industry led to high labour turnover, more than double the manufacturing average, and consequently few incentives for employers to provide adequate training. The number of construction industry craft apprenticeships in London fell by over 35%, from 3,089 to 2,003, between 1980-84. Skill formation within the industry in London was increasingly being provided by the public sector, which in 1983 meant that direct labour organisations in London employed some 14% of all the sector's workers whilst providing 35% of all training places (GLC, 1985). The MSC's response in the mid-1980s was to attempt to move away from the traditional organisation of training, namely time-served craft apprenticeships, and towards the definition of a series of discrete skills, with training being based on the concept of 'skills-testing' (GLC, 1985). Within this context, the implications for London-based Skillcentre trainees within these industries was considerable in terms of gaining skills accreditation within the construction industry.

Overall, in the second half of the 1980s, almost 300,000 manufacturing jobs were lost nationally, and no less than half of these losses were in London. At the same time the major growth area in London remained the banking, insurance and business service sector, which grew by over 47% in the period 1985-90 (Table 5.5) (Leonard et al, 1991). The 1980s marked a fundamental shift in the structure of employment in London. The new model of employment structure, albeit built upon long-standing and internationally important areas of work within the London economy, rested upon the

changing balance between the manufacturing and commercial and service sectors. By 1990, the service sectors accounted for 84% of all employment in Greater London, an area which even in the mid-1960s was still being referred to as a 'manufacturing city' (Martin, 1966). During the past thirty years, the London city-region was transformed from a materials-based to a mainly information and financial-based transactional economy (Hamilton, 1991).

Table 5.5 Employment change in London by sector: 1985-90 (thousands)

Industry (SIC 1980)	June 1985	June 1990	Change 1985-90 Absolute	Percent
Agriculture	2	1	-1	-50.0
Energy & water	45	42	-3	-6.7
Metal, min. & chem.mfg.	62	35	-27	-43.5
Metal goods, engin. & vehicle mfg	252	155	-97	-38.5
Other manufacturing	255	228	-27	-10.6
Construction	142	139	-3	-2.1
Wholesale, hotel & catering	381	371	-10	-2.6
Retail distribution	326	362	+36	+11.0
Transport & communication	328	317	-11	-3.4
Banking, insurance, business	627	923	+296	+47.2
Public admin. & defence	373	390	+17	+4.6
Education, health, other services	672	788	+116	+17.3
All industries	3,454	3,745	+291	+8.4

Source: Leonard, Maginn and Kowarzik (1991)

At the beginning of the 1990s, with the effective end of the government-funded Skillcentre training provision, manufacturing and construction employment in London continued to fall by 4.2% in the year to March 1990, declined nationally by just 0.9%, but increased in some regions including Scotland, Wales, the North, East Midlands and the South-West (Leonard et al, 1991). The decline in manufacturing employment in both these sectors in London between 1981-91 was around 40% (Pratt, 1994b). Although higher level skill shortages continued to be reported, the privatisation of the Skillcentre network at the start of the 1990s, particularly within this context of persistent industrial decline in London, offered little prospect for success. This was particularly the case within a manufacturing and construction industry recession where private sector employers, who were historically reluctant to meet the costs of skills

training, were experiencing high labour turnover and increasing pressures for greater labour productivity.

Into the 1990s, although the period of service sector employment growth in London was to change significantly, the 'knowledge' economy was firmly embedded. For manufacturing industry, at the end of the 1980s, there were signs that employment in the manufacturing sector was stabilising after years of steady decline (Kowarzik et al, 1989; Meadows, Cooper and Bartholomew, 1988). This optimism was based upon the growth of small firms whose production was once again geared to domestic consumer markets in London and the South-East. At the beginning of the 1990s, however, this view needed to be placed within the context of, and prospects for, London's competitiveness in the global manufacturing economy (Hamilton, 1991). Overall, the impact of changes brought about by the departure from London of major employers, who were restructuring in the face of changes in the international organisation of production, would be experienced for many years to come. Within London, the effects of this persistent decline were spatially uneven and more complex, in terms of the impact on London's local labour markets, than the conventional picture presented of inner-city decline.

5.4 Local labour markets and industrial districts

This section illustrates aspects of the nature and form of the distinctive industrial districts and local labour markets within Greater London by indicating their structure and levels of self-containment over periods of significant industrial change. Although it has been argued that the simple conception of the travel-to-work area is an inadequate conceptualisation of the idea of the local labour market, it has also been maintained that the geographical settings within which workers conduct their everyday lives are important. This section, therefore, informs the later analysis of Skillcentre catchment areas contained within chapter seven.

Those who favour the view of a segmented labour market and overlapping local labour market structure within Greater London argue that the loss of manufacturing in

London left a gap in the occupational structure which had distinctive and uneven spatial implications (GLC, 1986a). This was not an argument about causes but it was a debate about outcomes and the manner in which the product of industrial change in London could be understood in terms of specific local area problems. Within this context, and within the theoretical and explanatory framework developed earlier, any understanding of both Skillcentre training provision in London and access to that same training initiative must include an appreciation of local labour market self-containment and the distinctive nature of local economies within Greater London.

In 1951, almost 4.5 million people travelled to work each day either within the London 'conurbation' or either way across its boundaries. Over 60% of these people went to jobs either inside their own home boroughs or in adjacent areas. The majority of journeys were purely local, only central London generated longer distance commuting (Westergaard, 1964). By the 1960s, although this level of self-containment was not sustained, it was possible to identify distinctive local labour market areas, albeit at fairly arbitrary levels of self-containment, across the whole of the Greater London area (Smart, 1974). Figs.5.6a-c show the labour market sub-areas of London (within the eventual London labour market area, as defined by Smart).

At the minimum self-containment level of 37.5% the boundaries within the Greater London area were largely consistent with the base administrative borough boundaries, except in the area of the 'central London complex' (Fig.5.6a). At the 50% self-containment level this picture changed significantly (Fig.5.6b). Apart from the extended central complex, which now included most of inner London, except for the East End and Greenwich, and significant parts of south and south-east London, a smaller number of distinctive local labour markets were apparent, many of which are significant in terms of the Skillcentre locations and catchment areas identified from the post-war period and through to the 1980s. Smart (1974) noted that at this level, distinguishing the more self-contained parts from those most dependent upon the centre illustrated distinctive areas with clear sectoral links. Beyond this level, two areas beyond the 'central complex' of London stood out as achieving a 'semi-independent existence as labour markets'. These were the 'East London complex',

								37	Southwark
							29 Kingston	38	Staines
1	Barking	8	Canvey Island	15	Egham	22 Hackney	30 Leatherhead	39	Sunbury
2	Barnet	9	Caterham	16	Elstree	23 Hammersmith	31 Merton	40	Sutton
3	Basildon	10	Central Complex	17	Enfield	24 Haringey	32 Newham	41	Swanscombe
4	Bexley	11	Cheshunt	18	Epsom	25 Harrow	33 Northfleet	42	Thurrock
5	Brent	12	Croydon	19	Esher	26 Havering	34 Redbridge	43	Tower Hamlets
6	Brentwood	13	Dartford	20	Gravesend	27 Hillingdon	35 Richmond	44	Waltham Forest
7	Bromley	14	Ealing	21	Greenwich	28 Hounslow	36 Southend	45	Waltham Holy Cross

221

Fig.5.6b
London labour market areas: 50 percent self-containment
(Source: Smart, 1974)

1 Barking	6 Dartford	11 Gravesend	16 Richmond
2 Basildon	7 Ealing	12 Hillingdon	17 Southend
3 Central Complex	8 East London	13 Kingston	18 Staines
4 Cheshunt	9 Edgware	14 Newham	19 Thurrock
5 Croydon	10 Enfield	15 Northfleet	20 Woolwich
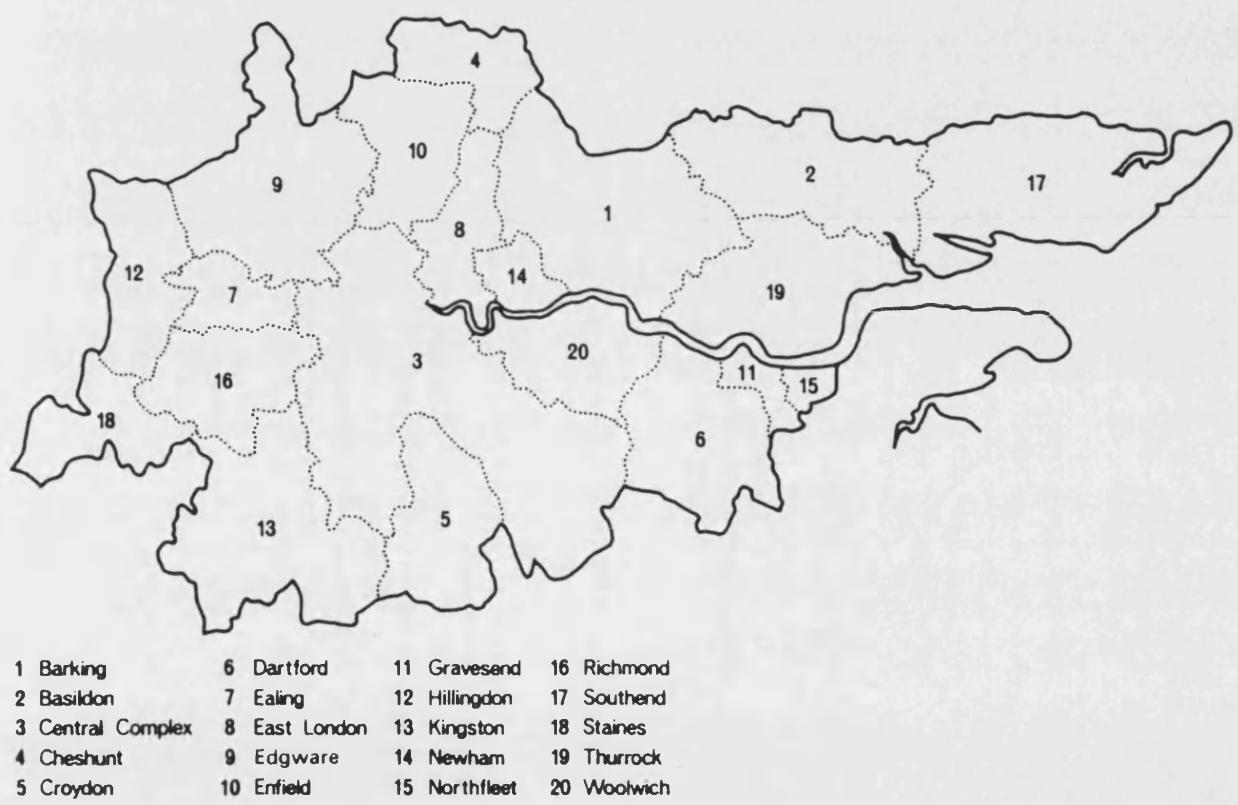
Fig.5.6c
London labour market areas: 62.5 percent self-containment
(Source: Smart, 1974)

1 Central Complex	3 Gravesend	5 Thurrock
2 East London Complex	4 Southend	6 West Middlesex
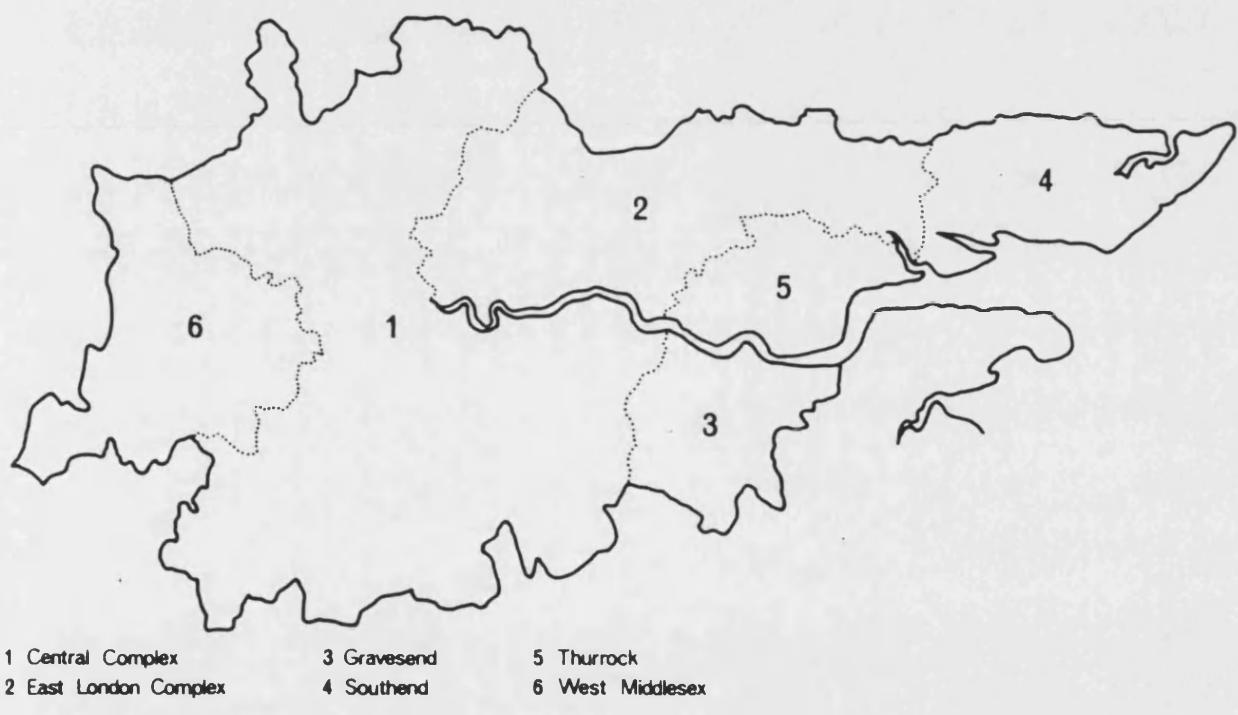
extending from the East End and across the Lea Valley, and the 'West Middlesex' complex, 'cohering around the industries' developed in West London in the 1920s and 1930s (Fig.5.6c).

Smart (1974) compared his analysis of the London labour market with the conclusions reached by Westergaard in his study of the travel to work figures from the 1951 Census. Westergaard wrote, that 'Greater London is a conglomeration of local communities only partially dependent on each other. These communities together form a large, continuously built-up area; and they share a common link with Central London as a source of services and employment. But they are far more loosely tied to each other, and even to the Centre, than is generally assumed' (Westergaard, 1964, 127). Smart was able to support this conclusion 'so far as it shows that a number of distinct parts of Greater London function as semi-independent labour markets, contradicting the familiar stereotype of a labour force overwhelmingly oriented towards the conurbation centre' (Smart, 1974, 292).

Repeating this exercise in the early 1980s, the GLC found that with some modifications this pattern still held (GLC, 1986a). Outside the central area the least self contained borough was Redbridge, effectively a dormitory area for neighbouring Barking. While the most self-contained boroughs, again outside of the central area, were areas of the outer ring, namely Hillingdon, Hounslow, Croydon, Enfield and Kingston, with concentrations of industrial and service employment. Every outer London borough except Redbridge was self-contained at the 37.5% level, while only four inner London boroughs achieved this level (Fig.5.7).

In terms of the manufacturing and construction industries, similar patterns emerged. Figs.5.8a-b show the percentages of persons in employment who worked outside their borough of residence in those industries in 1981 (GLC, 1986a). In manufacturing, only Tower Hamlets in Inner London had a comparatively low proportion of their resident manufacturing industry workforce (41%) working outside of their home borough. In outer London, six boroughs had comparable levels, namely Barking and Hillingdon (41%), Brent and Croydon (46%), Enfield (45%), Hounslow (37%) and

Fig.5.7
Percentage of residents working locally by London borough: Greater London 1981
(Source: GLC, 1986a)

60 and above

50 - 59

41 - 49

40 and below
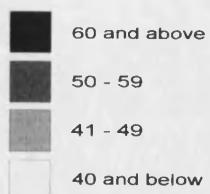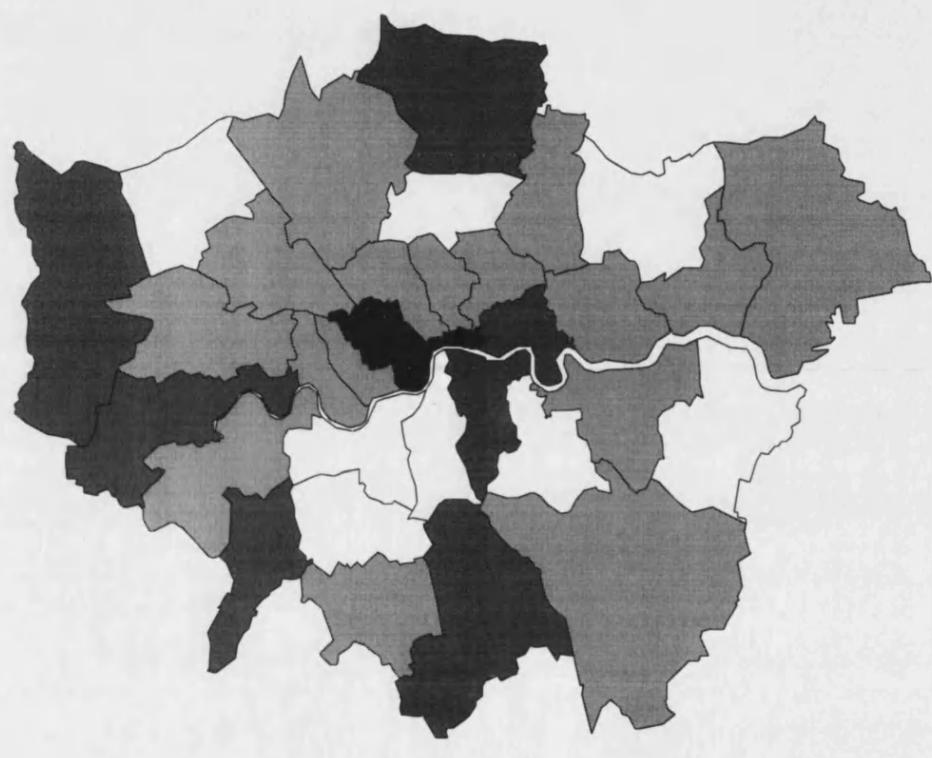
Residents working locally (Percentage)

Kingston (47%). Within construction, and within a generally more 'localised' picture, only Westminster in inner London had less than 40% of its resident construction industry workforce working outside of their home borough. Whilst in outer London, Croydon (39%), Enfield (38%), Hillingdon (36%) and Richmond (39%) had comparable levels.

These borough-based measures of 'out migration' in order to gain employment are also broken down by socio-economic group. Table 5.6 shows these levels of 'local' employment in Greater London in the early 1980s (GLC, 1986a). In terms of the Skillcentre training provision in London at that time, many of the Skillcentre locations figure prominently within those boroughs which, for the 'manual' and 'manufacturing' categories of worker, appear within the 'local employment' group, that is 60% and above of the group work in the borough. Skillcentre sites in Hounslow, Richmond, Croydon (2), Enfield, Greenwich (2) and Barking all fall within these areas of localised employment in related work areas. What was also apparent from the statistics was that amongst the semi-skilled and unskilled, the source of many Skillcentre trainees, the proportion working locally was higher than the average for the borough, suggesting that many manual workers operate in rather localised labour markets and are consequently particularly vulnerable to unemployment when those local economies suffer industrial decline (GLC, 1986a).

In terms of industrial 'districts' within London, Kowarzik and Landau (1991) link patterns of employment change within Greater London, between 1981-87, to the relative fortunes of particular industrial sectors which are concentrated in particular boroughs. Pratt (1994b) also explains the variation in employment change between the 'patchwork of smaller, sometimes overlapping, economies' which comprise Greater London by a combination of factors including, the particular spatial distribution and the variable rates of change experienced by different industrial sectors within Greater London. Kowarzik and Landau, for example, illustrate that by the mid-1980s many of the inner London boroughs which had experienced massive manufacturing job losses in the 1970s were then being out-paced in terms of manufacturing decline by the outer London boroughs, making the geographical impacts of industrial restructuring a much

Fig.5.8a
Persons in employment in manufacturing industries working outside borough of residence: Greater London 1981
(Source: GLC, 1986a)

☐	70 and above
☐	60 - 69
▨	50 - 59
▨	41 - 49
■	40 and below
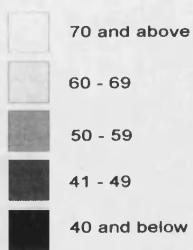
Persons in employment working outside
borough of residence (Percentage)

Fig.5.8b
**Persons in employment in construction industries working outside borough of
residence: Greater London 1981**
(Source: GLC, 1986a)

70 and above

60 - 69

50 - 59

41 - 49

40 and below
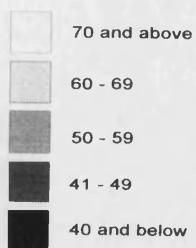
Persons in employment working outside
borough of residence (Percentage)

more complex 'local' issue than that suggested by the notion of the 'inner-city problem' (Leonard, 1984; 1985; Kowarzik and Landau, 1991).

Table 5.6 Local employment in London by socio-economic group and manufacturing: 1981

Category of worker	Local employment 60% and above of group work in borough		Dormitory areas Below 30% of group work in borough	
Professionals	None		Barnet Haringey Islington Richmond Waltham Forest	Hammersmith Harrow Merton Sutton Wandsworth
Other non-manual	Hillingdon	Westminster	Bexley Haringey	Lewisham
Skilled manual	Hounslow Westminster	Croydon	Waltham Forest Havering	Lewisham
Semi-skilled manual	Hillingdon Hounslow Barnet Croydon Greenwich	Westminster Kingston Enfield Bromley	None	
Unskilled manual	Hillingdon Richmond Westminster Enfield Croydon	Hounslow Kingston Barnet Bromley	None	
Manufacturing	Barking Hounslow	Hillingdon	Kensington Lewisham	Lambeth

Source: GLC (1986a); Census 1981

During the period 1981-87 Greater London as a whole only experienced a decline in employment of just under 1.5%. From an 'inner-city' perspective, total employment in Inner London was comparatively stable, recording a growth of 0.1% over the period. Outer London, by comparison suffered a decline of 3.5%. The borough level statistics, however, reveal a much more volatile employment situation with quite considerable job losses in some industrial sectors being offset by employment growth in service sector activities. In Inner London boroughs such as Lambeth, employment continued to decline at a fast rate. 17,900 jobs were lost over the period 1981-87, representing a decline of 13.6% in total employment. At the sectoral level within this borough the construction industry declined by over a third (34.4%) in the period 1984-87. Other Inner London boroughs such as Camden experienced a small growth in total employment between 1981-87 (1.1%) but this concealed major changes in the

structure of employment within this administrative area. Between 1984-87 manufacturing declined by 28.4% (7,200 jobs) and construction by 23.5% (1,800). All of this job loss was, however, countered by a growth of just over 21% (9,100) in the banking, finance and business services sector, which became the most important sector of employment in Camden offering 52,100 (24.7%) jobs within the local economy (Kowarzik and Landau, 1991).

In Outer London, boroughs such as Barking (-19.8%), Brent (-11.4%) and Redbridge (-18.4%) all suffered considerable job loss during the 1980s, contrasting with the considerable gains being experienced within other boroughs in inner and outer London, such as Kensington (12.2%), Tower Hamlets (14.2%) and Sutton (14.9%). Pratt (1994b) explains and contrasts the different employment experience of boroughs such as Barking & Dagenham and Kensington & Chelsea in terms of their local dependence upon different industrial and commercial sectors and the variable performance of those sectors during the 1980s.

To treat London as being 'made up of hermetic local labour markets is to mis-specify it' (GLC, 1986a). Segmentation processes which structure the labour market do not simply produce a one-to-one mapping with labour demand, simply differentiated across geographical space. The labour force of particular areas within London can also not simply be regarded as distinct and homogenous. Segmentation on the basis of class, race, gender and other social processes and formations, including skill and the 'flexibility' of labour, will intersect and interact with these distinctive geographies of industry and employment to produce different outcomes in different places at different times. Thus in some areas high local unemployment can co-exist with expanding employment, as illustrated by the scale of industrial change in the London Borough of Camden during the 1980s, co-existing with an apparent situation of local employment stability and growth. The nature of, and processes underpinning, these local labour market divisions in Greater London, however, are important in understanding the context and relevance of 'place' as settings within which these and other processes of labour market segmentation are enacted over time.

5.5 Conclusion

Of necessity, this chapter has not attempted an exhaustive presentation of industrial change in London. It has been deliberately selective in order to inform the subject matter of this thesis. In so doing it has sought to provide three contextual elements in support of the later analysis. First, an historical perspective on the development, growth and decline of London's industrial structure. Second, an appreciation of the differences, similarities and complexities of London's industrial experience compared to the national picture. Finally, an understanding of the significance and relevance of 'place' and geographical context within the changing Greater London economy.

Each of these elements provides an opportunity to both reconceptualise the posited generative mechanisms, expressed as distinctive periods of labour regulation and governance, and to begin to ground these theoretical frameworks and empirical findings at the national level within the distinctive and local empirical context of Greater London and the training experience of Skillcentre trainees in London in the early 1980s. Chapter six, by drawing upon each of these elements develops the link between these 'revisited' and distinctive labour regulatory periods and the local 'construction' of uneven local landscapes of skill formation, training provision and opportunity, as well as distinctive local training infrastructures, within the context of Greater London.

Chapter Six

Landscapes of skill formation and labour regulation: the case of Greater London

6.1 Introduction

Chapters three and four have traced the development and decline of the state's intervention into the direct provision of industrial training in designated centres away from the workplace, between 1917 and 1993. In so doing, they identified a series of distinctive labour regulatory periods which are fundamental to an understanding of the changing form and nature of that training provision over time and within 'place'. Chapter five began the process of relating those periods to the particular context of industrial change within Greater London. Chapter six, in drawing upon this analysis of labour regulation and governance at the national scale and the historical and geographical specificities of Greater London, illustrates the processes underpinning the construction and development of distinctive local landscapes of skill formation, training provision and opportunity (Leonard, 1997). This principal objective, is achieved through two sections.

First, change in the regulatory infrastructure within London, with the opening and closure of Government Training Centres and Skillcentres, is interpreted in theoretical terms through a series of regulatory landscapes which vary over time and through space. These landscapes are seen to contribute to local uneven development, in part due to the geographical variation in access to state training provision over time. In terms of both the 'intentional' and 'incidental' local consequences of national policy formulation and implementation in relation to skills formation and training provision, these changing and variable regional landscapes represent part of the outcomes associated with the development of 'distinctive local training infrastructures'.

This thesis has illustrated how, during different regulatory periods, national training policy has been conceived of both in terms of an effectively 'aspatial' national network, and at times as an adjunct to regional policy, explicitly directed to the assistance of 'disadvantaged' areas. Within both these contexts, changes in the national

labour regulatory infrastructure offer a framework for the further analysis and interpretation of changes at the level of the local labour market. The local labour market intersection and interaction between the causal relations of labour demand, labour supply and the regulatory activities of the state, creating these local training infrastructures, is in significant part dependent upon these apparently exogenous decisions. The first section of this chapter, therefore, indicates what form these 'idealised landscapes' might take within the complex local labour market context of a metropolitan area such as Greater London.

The second section considers the detailed reality of these 'landscapes' through the example of the changing nature of state-funded skills training provision through GTCs and Skillcentres within Greater London. This section summarises the change and variation in the infrastructure of this form of labour regulation within London by relating the development and decline of 'local' GTC and Skillcentre training to the regulatory periods identified earlier and the industrial context presented in chapter five. Selected examples, from between 1929-93, illustrate three important issues in the creation and development of these regulatory landscapes relating to skills training within Greater London.

First, the historical development of this training provision in London, related to these regulatory periods, will illustrate the relationship at the level of the local labour market between the national policy setting and its regional and local manifestation. Second, the Greater London example provides an illustration of the manner in which these regulatory landscapes and distinctive local training infrastructures are in large part actually constructed at the local level within the context of specific economic, social and political structures. Finally, change in the state provision of skills training in London, demonstrates the importance of an historical perspective as a framework through which resistances, lags and inertia within the system can be identified and interpreted in terms of their influence upon trainee's access to skills training.

The presentation of change in the provision of this form of skills training in London, therefore, follows a chronological sequence, linked to these distinctive periods of

labour regulation, and as revised in the context of the specificities of industrial, social and political change in Greater London. Particular attention is given to the early 1980s, informing the survey of Skillcentre trainees and Skillcentre catchments and markets contained within chapter seven. These case studies of two Skillcentre locations in Greater London exemplify the links and conflicts between national and local policy formulation, implementation and the relevant institutions of labour regulation and governance. In addition, they also illustrate the manner in which the segmented labour market intersects with the way in which labour is mobilised locally. The earlier theoretical frameworks and the empirical findings at the national scale are now grounded and embedded within the empirical reality of this aspect of skills training within Greater London.

6.2 Landscapes of labour regulation and state-funded skills training

This section places the historical development of the GTCs and later Skillcentres of Greater London within the conceptual framework of these landscapes of labour regulation. Beyond this level of analysis, and at the level of the local labour market, it is then possible to introduce the empirical detail and specificities of place which enable an appreciation of the state's local regulatory role within the context of changing regulatory need at the national level. This understanding of the purposes underpinning this form of state intervention within a particular local labour market situation must also be seen within the context of economic and social processes operating at a range of spatial scales. At the level of each local labour market, however, this explanatory framework illustrates how the intentional and incidental consequences of labour regulation and governance will have significant implications in terms of skills training opportunities for potential trainees.

Figs.6.1a-c offer an idealised view of aspects of the skills training landscape of labour regulation in Greater London across two distinct periods of regulatory need. Fig.6.1a offers a simple conceptualisation of these landscapes in which each 'layer' represents the different labour market regulatory need in each distinct period. In this situation the GTCs/Skillcentres do not coincide across each layer, representing a totally new

Fig.6.1a-c
Idealised views of skillcentre training landscapes of labour regulation within an urban area across two distinct periods of regulatory need

t1

(a)

t0

t1

(b)

(A)

(B)

(B)

(A)

(A)

t0

t1

(c)

t0

Area of high unemployment   GTC or Skillcentre
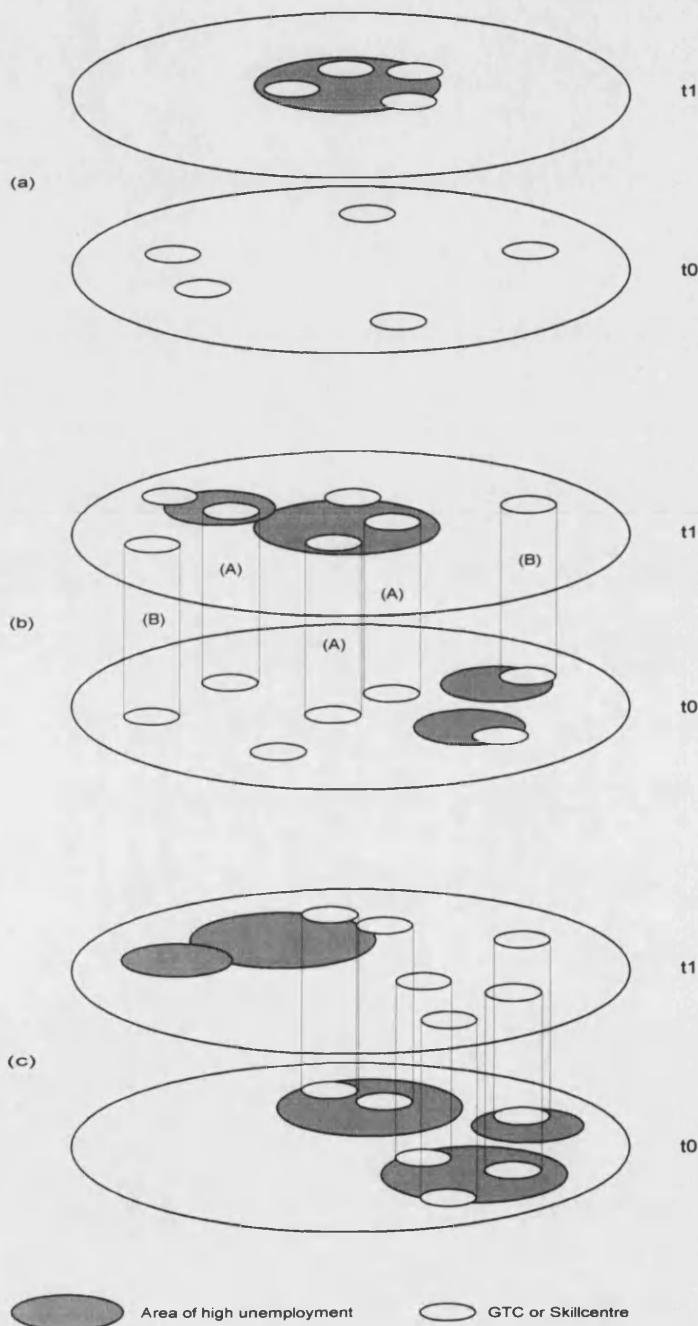
configuration of training centres to meet separate needs, in this instance, to combat inner city industrial change and high unemployment. The training centres in this example are locationally flexible to meet changing circumstances.

Fig.6.1b, introduces 'impurities' into the landscapes. In this situation, in some instances a different regulatory purpose is regarded as achievable at a later time but within the same built infrastructure (A). In other training centres, due to locally specific circumstances and conditions, or policy inertia, the earlier infrastructure and training offer is maintained, albeit no longer synchronised with perceived national or local policy priorities and objectives (B). Other centres have also closed and opened in order to meet these new regulatory purposes.

Fig.6.1c suggests another possible situation in which the training centre configuration remains constant between regulatory periods, providing essentially the same training offer, but meeting different *nationally*-defined regulatory needs. However, increasingly these needs are out of line with the *local* economic and social relations of that particular local labour market. Indeed, the perception of regulatory need at the national level may become out of synchronisation with the national context of industrial change and training need. In this instance at the local level, however, the national labour market regulatory intervention is over time inconsistent with the local intersection of the causal relations underpinning local labour market structure.

In a similar manner, but through changes in the scale of the urban area, it is also possible to illustrate how a spatial configuration of training centres within an area such as Greater London, through inertia in the location of the centres, may over time be ineffective in meeting policy objectives at the local level. Fig.6.2 shows two regulatory landscapes, separated by 40 years, in which the locations of the training centres have remained constant, whilst the built-up area of the urban region has increased significantly. In this situation, assuming limitations and restrictions on the catchment areas of the training centres, and social change within different parts of the urban area, it is conceivable that significantly different socio-economic groups would gain access to this skills training opportunity over time.

Fig.6.2
Idealised skillcentre regulatory landscapes within an urban area separated by 40 years

t40

t0

Built-up area

Skillcentre

Government Training Centre
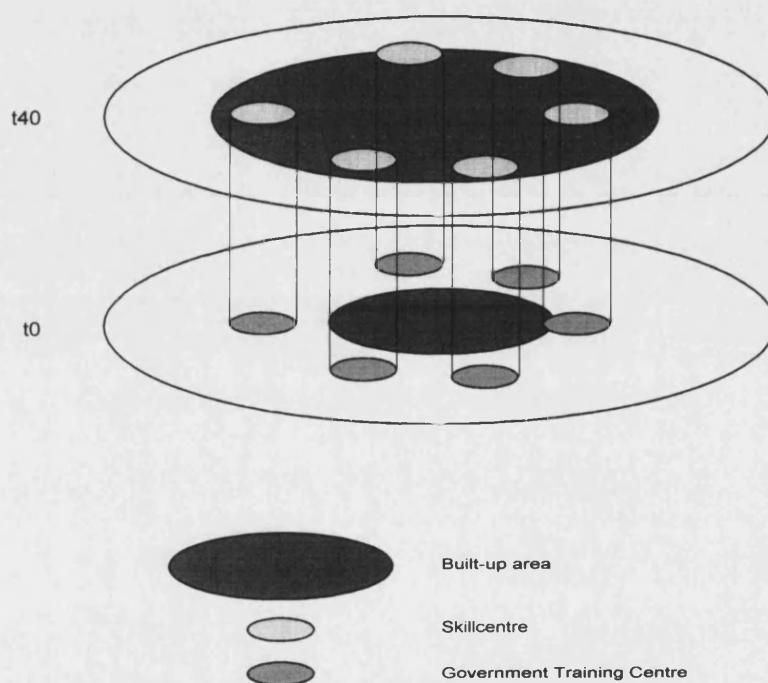
The above examples, by no means exhaustive, illustrate the potential complexity of the continuum of the local landscape of labour regulation within any particular local labour market situation. They have begun to illustrate how changing regulatory need when coupled with inertia, lags and resistances within the training system, which may themselves be the product of local or national circumstances, can produce complex local landscapes of labour regulation. The impact of these developments upon individuals seeking skills training, however, in large part depends upon the issue of the extent to which individual training centres exhibit distinct catchment areas, restricting and limiting access to training for significant groups within the working population.

The notion of a Skillcentre catchment area is in itself a complex issue. To simply reduce it to the friction of distance would be to conceive of it in terms of a simplistic travel-to-training area, and deny the theoretical formulations presented earlier in this thesis. In that presentation, it was argued that it was necessary to hang onto both sides of an equation which recognised the importance of labour market segmentation *and* the fact that labour is mobilised locally. Within that context, it is apparent that access to Skillcentres in London was more than simply an issue of spatial proximity. Selection of trainees most likely to fulfil the MSC's performance criterion of post-training placement in employment, utilising their acquired skills, for example, would through a form of inverse-care, serve to reinforce the existing segmentation processes. Equally, Skillcentres generally reflected and reinforced the gender-based inequalities within the related work areas, by providing skills training to a very low proportion of women.

It is apparent that a simple notion of 'catchment' suggests that all the working population resident within that catchment area would have equality of access to and eligibility for the skills training offer. Both the above examples recognise that this idea represents a crude geography of social relations. This issue of catchment is dealt with in greater detail within the analysis of the Skillcentre trainee survey in chapter seven. For the purposes of this section, however, it is appropriate to consider the implications of a constrained geographical catchment for GTCs and Skillcentres,

albeit in terms of its likely impact upon access to training for an already 'privileged' group, at least in terms of their eligibility to gain access to training.

Fig.6.3 illustrates a possible spatial distribution of training centres in Greater London across two distinct regulatory periods, one where priority was given to economic policy, and the other, social objectives. In each case a limited catchment area around each centre, represents the residential area for a significant majority of the existing trainees. Three examples of potential influence, in terms of access to training, are illustrated. First, a change in the configuration or numbers of training centres between the two periods would have a significant impact on the population effectively served by these centres (A). Second, assuming a centre remained in the same location across two different regulatory periods, then the new regulatory need would have to be derived and achieved from perhaps the same resident population, depending on the extent of the time period separating the two regulatory periods (B). Finally, allowing for the growth of urban regions and socio-economic change within different localities over time, the training centre may be seeking to derive its trainees from a distinctly different resident population than that envisaged by the earlier locational decision (C).

If catchment areas around GTCs and Skillcentres are seen to work in this manner, then it is unreasonable, on the basis of both labour market segmentation and the mobility of labour, to consider London as one local labour market. The locational decisions of a previous time period may have significant implications for workers seeking access to training in a more recent time. The remainder of this section seeks to unpack and illustrate some of these processes by means of reference to the reality of change in the geographical distribution of GTCs and Skillcentres over time and within the particular circumstances and context of the Greater London area.

6.3 Evolution and patterns of GTC and Skillcentre training in London

The history and geography of this aspect of skill formation and labour regulation and governance in Greater London is one of a changing response to regulatory need across approximately 70 years. At the same time, however, and this may be stated for any

Fig.6.3
Idealised view of skillcentre regulatory landscapes within an urban area across two distinct regulatory periods prioritising economic and social objectives

Social objectives: inner-city decline and
high unemployment

t1

(A)

(B)

(C)

(A)

t0

Economic objectives: support for engineering and
construction industries

Built-up area

High unemployment

Skillcentre and catchment
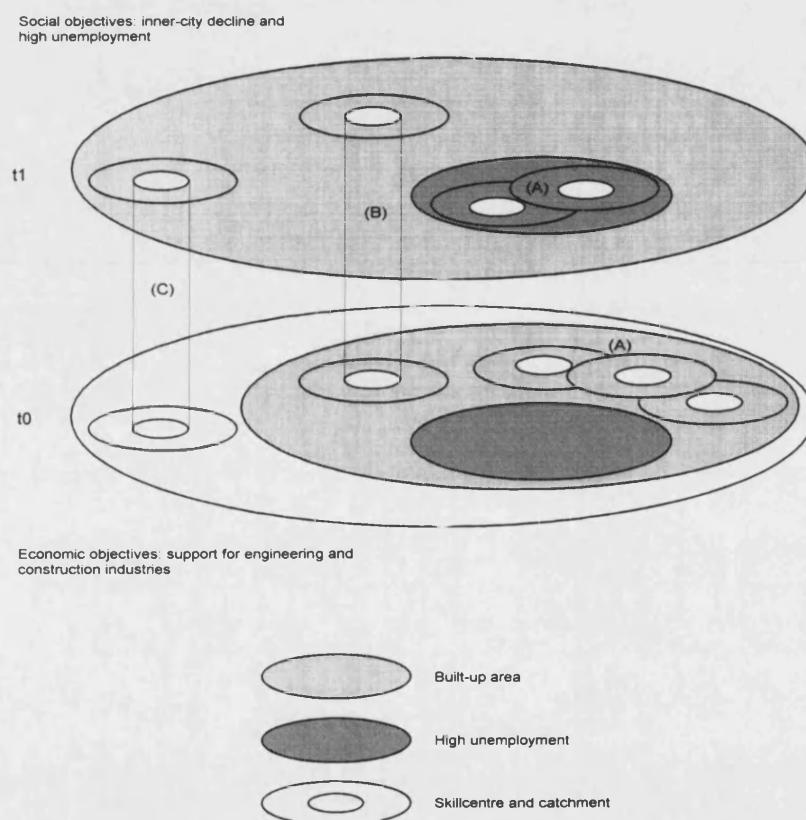
particular local labour market context, the London experience is distinctive and unique in terms of the manner in which the local manifestation of labour regulation articulates and intersects with both the local labour market and national context. In the case of London, quite substantial change in the location of this skills training provision is at the same time coupled with the GTCs and later Skillcentres displaying extreme geographical inertia in the context of substantive national and local industrial change, and change in regulatory need at both spatial scales.

This section attempts to illustrate seven quite distinct regulatory landscapes within London which can in most cases be related to distinct regulatory periods within the continuum of skills formation and labour regulation within Britain over the last 70 years. By mapping and interpreting these landscapes of labour regulation, it also becomes possible to understand and explain the configuration of this aspect of skills training at any one particular time and in so doing appreciate the importance of a broad set of processes, operating over time and at a variety of spatial scales, in terms of their influence upon access to this specific state-funded policy initiative on skills training.

Fig.6.4 illustrates in graphical form the changing location of GTC and Skillcentre training in London for these selected times. Seven periods are depicted covering the period from the late 1920s through to 1993. Each of the regulatory layers should be viewed in terms of the above 'idealised' models. As a spatial reference boundary, the administrative area of the former Greater London Council has been utilised at each level. This area, however, had no 'official' significance in the period prior to 1965, when the London County Council was the administrative authority of London local government, and since 1986 following the abolition of the Greater London Council.

6.3.1 Industrial transference and industrial growth (1929-1931)

The first regulatory landscape shows the earliest (1929-31) state-funded training centres in, and around, London. The map shows three training centres (all located outside of the then administrative area of the London County Council), at Park Royal
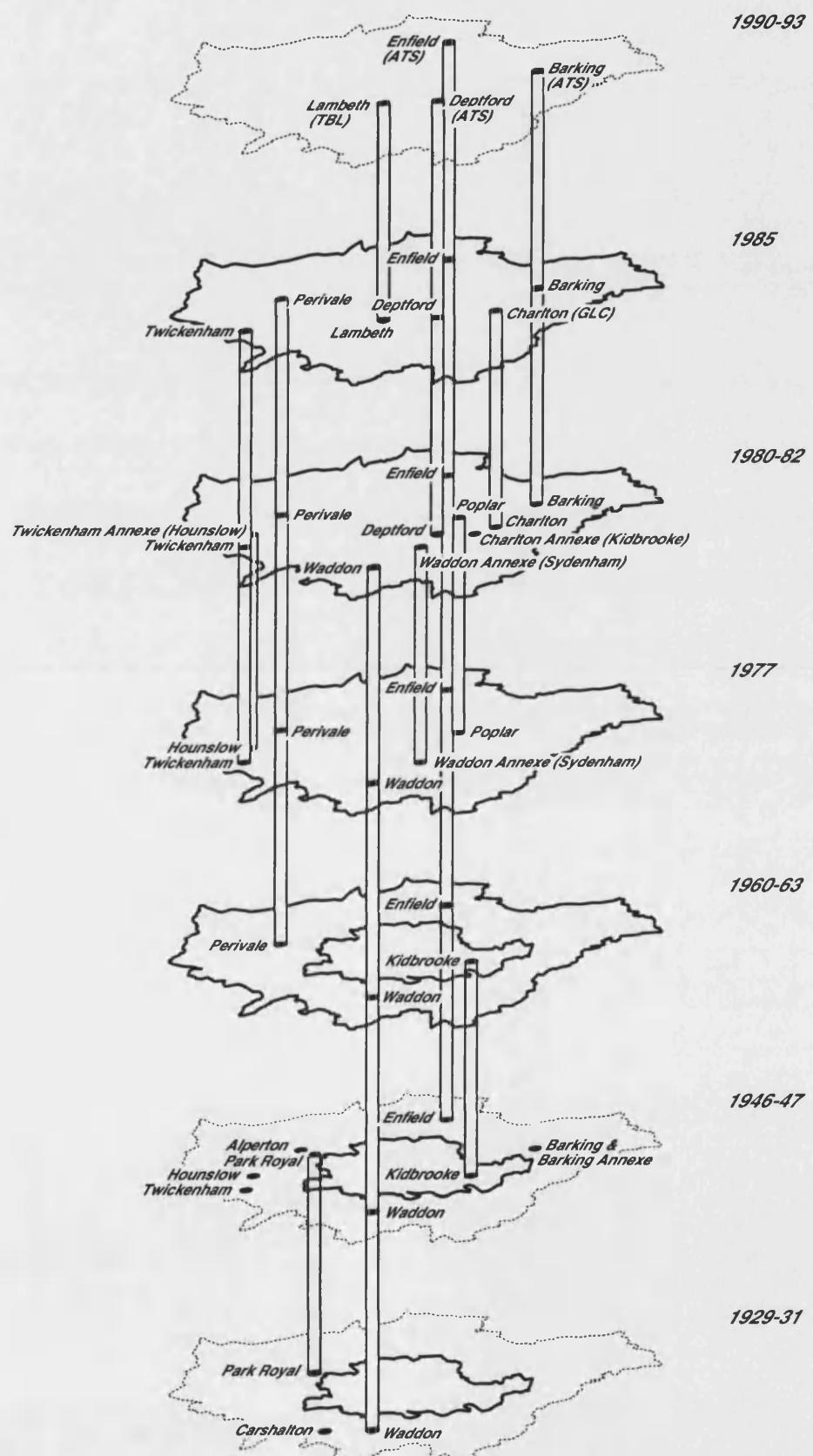
Fig.6.4
Location of GTC and Skillcentre training in Greater London for seven time periods between1929-93

in West London and Carshalton and Waddon in South London. The Park Royal
training centre was opened in May 1929, through the 'urgent representation' of the
Industrial Transference Board, with the explicit purpose of providing a means for
"...dealing with the problems arising out of the surplus of labour in the mining areas"
(Ministry of Labour, 1929a, 37-38). This early GTC, although located in an industrial
area on what was then the edge of the London metropolitan built-up area, was
primarily concerned with providing training for unemployed workers from the
'depressed' mining areas across Britain. In choosing locations for these new training
centres, the relative buoyancy of the local economy in which the GTC was to be
located was of prime importance.

> "In selecting sites for new training centres the Department had in view,
> among other considerations, the desirability of establishing the new
> centres, not in the depressed areas from which the men were to be
> drawn, but rather in parts of the country where the industrial
> developments taking place promised a substantial absorption of trainee
> labour."
>
> (Ministry of Labour, 1930a, 33)

One of the perceived advantages was that if 'the centre was within easy distance of a
district in which industry was expanding and vacancies were likely to be obtained,
employers who were in need of labour could conveniently be invited to visit the centre
in order to see the men at work and make their own selection of the men they required'
(Ministry of Labour, 1930b).

By the end of 1929, Park Royal was offering 400 training places under this scheme.
Carshalton training centre, which also opened in 1929, was not a GTC, but operated in
support of this scheme as a Transfer Instructional Centre. Under this initiative,
workers were again transferred from the 'depressed' regions, but were deemed to be
ill-prepared for the industrial training and work regime offered at the early GTCs. The
scheme was directed primarily to men in the depressed areas who had a poor record of
employment making direct transfer to employment in some other part of the country
impossible without risk of failure, and "who were either unsuitable for, or not

prepared to accept, the longer course of training in a Government Training Centre" (Ministry of Labour, 1930a, 37).

The final GTC in the London region at this time was located at Waddon (near Croydon) in South London. Waddon opened as a GTC in February 1931 and remained as a GTC and Skillcentre for over 50 years until its closure under the MSC's Skillcentre rationalisation plan of 1984. Waddon was established under the same regulatory conditions as Park Royal and the other centres located in or close to London (Slough GTC, for example, opened in 1929). In 1930, when the arrangements were being made for opening a new GTC at Waddon, "...the policy of selecting sites for new centres away from the depressed areas in parts of the country where industrial development was taking place was maintained" (Ministry of Labour, 1931, 32).

A number of general and important points are apparent from the specifics of these examples and this regulatory landscape in particular. First, this landscape of labour regulation and governance was created out of an emerging national regional policy designed to alleviate problems of surplus labour in one set of localities, namely the 'depressed mining areas', and secondly to facilitate labour supply and attempt to secure conditions for industrial production and growth in other buoyant regions, in this case London. The London GTCs and TIC were not in any sense part of a national network at this time. Their existence was due to an appreciation of problems within the labour market circumstances of particular localities. The location decision was primarily one of relative buoyancy between regions and localities. The outcome of that policy alone, would be to increase the economic differences between the regions. However, this policy of 'transference', as detailed in chapter three, was just one part of an emerging regional policy in Britain (Booth, 1978; 1982; Harris, 1991; 1995).

The other side of these attempts to alleviate high unemployment in these regions was, as chapter five indicated, the buoyant local economy in London during the 1920s and 1930s. The decline of the heavy industries in the North and the associated decline within the mining communities were part of the declining position of Britain in the world economy. The new growth industries, based on the domestic market, were in

large part located in close proximity to London, particularly outer north-west London, which during the interwar years was the most rapidly expanding industrial sector of London (Martin, 1966; Massey, 1984; Pratt, 1994a). Whilst the national picture was one of economic decline the 'local' circumstances of the London economy facilitated the opening of GTCs, as part of the developing regional policy.

The location of these GTCs, therefore, closely followed the growing industrial areas of London during the 1930s. Chapter five indicated that these areas were primarily outer west and north-west London, the Lea Valley in outer north London and the area around the Wandle Valley in outer south and south-west London. All of the early GTCs and the TIC were located in these areas. Park Royal in the north-west, Waddon and Carshalton to the south and south-west; and just outside London early GTCs were located in Slough to the west, and Watford to the north. Pratt (1994a) notes that from a 1938 survey of early trading estates that the majority were located 'on the arterial road network to the north and west of London'. This pattern of GTCs in London remained the same until 1938 when another outer west London centre was opened in Hounslow.

Pratt (1994a) also details the political economy of these early industrial estates, including Park Royal and Slough, and illustrates how their growth and location was in part linked to these broader industrial and sectoral changes in the British space-economy, as well as the restructuring of the organisation of production, based upon the principles of mass production and its associated space-extensive needs. In addition, and as shown earlier, in the case of the industrial estates in Slough and Park Royal, the post-war disposal of government factories and depots to developers, facilitated further industrial growth in areas where industrial development was already growing prior to 1914 and where wartime government-funded infrastructure offered a further locational advantage (Hall, 1962; Martin, 1966; Pratt, 1994a). The GTC locations in south and south-west London were in similar locations where government factories had been sold (Martin, 1966).

The local labour market significance of this period of labour regulation was that for each of these centres the notion of a local catchment was largely irrelevant as at this time approximately 90 per cent of the training places were occupied by men from the 'depressed' areas (Ministry of Labour, 1930a). However, the outcome of locating the GTC at Waddon, for example, would have implications for London's working population, in terms of their access to training, for the next fifty years, particularly, under different conditions of labour regulation, when the recruitment of trainees was linked directly to the local labour market area in which the GTC was located. At the same time, in 1931, Waddon was outside of the LCC area and on the limits of the London built-up area. Over the next fifty years, the growth of metropolitan Greater London meant that the social and economic circumstances of that locality were likely to change considerably from a time when the trainees were derived from the unemployed of a totally different local labour market.

6.3.2 Post-war reconstruction (1946-1947)

The number and location of GTCs in London remained the same until 1938 with the opening of a new centre in Hounslow (Ministry of Labour, 1939). The war-time numbers of GTCs across Britain varied according to the war effort needs. By 1946 and early 1947, the number of GTCs in London had increased significantly in order to meet both the post-war needs of reconstruction and resettlement. The second layer of Fig.6.4 shows an increase to nine GTCs across London. Waddon and Hounslow, from the pre-war period, continued to provide training. Although training at Park Royal continued, the centre at Park Royal was a new centre, dating from 1947, built to meet the new regulatory need, that of skills training in the building trades to facilitate reconstruction. Of the other six GTCs, all with the exception of Kidbrooke in south-east London were outside of the LCC area. Centres at Barking and Enfield were established at the end of the war, whilst the new centres at Alperton, Kidbrooke and Twickenham were open by August 1946, followed by Barking Annexe in late 1946 (Ministry of Labour, 1947).

Within this context, Figs.6.5 and 6.6 illustrate the regulatory landscape of GTC skills

training provision for reconstruction in the immediate post-war period within and

surrounding the London County Council area. The location of these centres puts into

concrete reality the abstract and idealised views of dynamic labour regulatory

landscapes within urban labour markets detailed earlier (Figs. 6.1-3). Fig.6.5 shows

the growth of the London built-up area between 1914 and 1958 (Superimposed upon a

base map of the later GLC administrative area) (Jones and Sinclair, 1968). Fig.6.6

uses the 1939 built-up area, coupled with the GTC sites in London during 1946, to

show that these centres were generally located outside of the LCC area and towards

the 'limits' of the then London metropolitan urban region. These locations were at that

time, perhaps most appropriate for meeting the building trades skills training needs

associated with the reconstruction of the post-war London area.

Training in the engineering trades had been effectively suspended at the end of the

war, and GTC training was turned over almost exclusively to skills training in the

building trades (Ministry of Labour, 1947). The London GTCs, therefore, were

intended under this period of labour regulation to provide skilled workers for the

construction industry, actively engaged in the rebuilding of London. Consistent with

that need these centres were generally accessible to the central London built-up area of

that time. The need was for space-extensive sites to facilitate training in these skill

areas, and not for factory-based locations. A number of the new post-war GTC

locations, however, were also located in the areas of rapid industrial growth during the

inter-war years, such as at Alperton in outer north-west London, Twickenham in west

London and Enfield in north London, in the Lea Valley area. Given the industrial

structure of London in the post-war period, all of the GTC sites in London at this time

may also be seen to be located within localised residential areas of skilled manual

labour, from which the recruitment of trainees was most likely, particularly during the

immediate post-war period of resettlement of ex-service personnel.

The demand for skilled workers in the building trades was considerable and nationally

many of the new GTCs were only intended to meet this perceived short-term need and

so were established as Emergency Training Centres (Ministry of Labour, 1947). A

Fig.6.5
Growth of the Greater London built-up area between 1914-1958
(Source: Adapted from Jones and Sinclair, 1968)
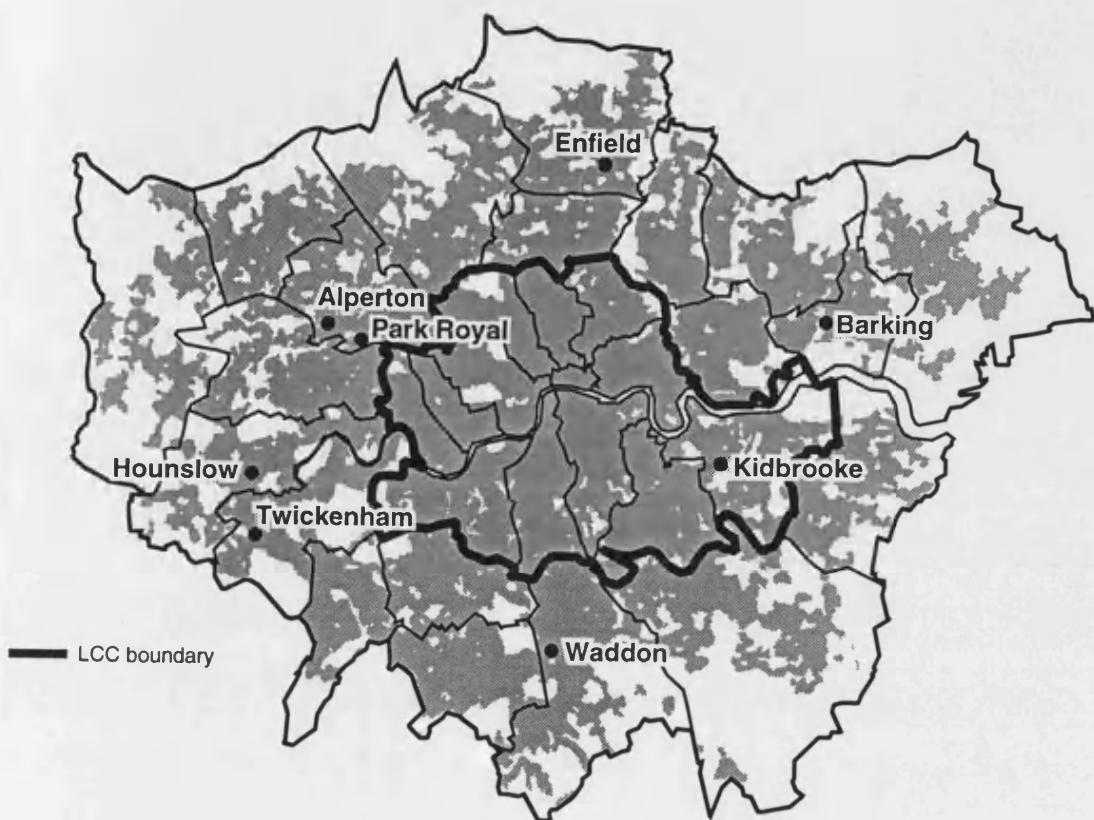
Fig.6.6
London built-up area of 1939 and GTC sites in London during 1946
(Source: Adapted from Jones and Sinclair, 1968; Ministry of Labour, 1947)

number of these building trade ETCs became permanent GTCs over time, so that many of the London GTCs at this time, opened to support the demand for skilled labour in the construction industry, remained as GTCs until the late 1980s. The locational decisions of the 1940s apparently being subsequently reinforced by training needs under different regulatory conditions and within the developing industrial structure and local labour markets of London.

Although the London ETC locations were probably retained as GTCs because of continuing industrial growth in these areas, it is also possible to argue that the inertia of the physical infrastructure, linked to the industrial districts and local labour markets within London, contributed to future decisions concerning the location of GTC and Skillcentre skills training in London. If this was the case then the 1946-47 regulatory landscape in London is a good example of one form in which the inertia within the skills training system could influence access to training in subsequent periods.

Even allowing for the closure of many of the London Skillcentres in the period up to 1963, it is apparent that the location and distribution of Skillcentres in London in the early 1980s was very similar to the distribution of GTCs in London in 1946-47. By 1947, the geographical pattern of labour regulation in London, in terms of skills training at GTCs, based upon the immediate post-war priority of reconstruction, had established a locational pattern which would characterise Skillcentre training in London in the 1980s as being essentially based in outer London. This was the case even within conditions of labour regulation, industrial structure and social need which were significantly changed, and geographically different, from those of the later 1940s.

This view of a geographical and policy 'inertia' was also supported by the content of the training and the effective exclusion of certain groups within the working population. The post-war emphasis upon the building trades was continued in the London GTCs which date from this period, even under circumstances of substantial decline within the construction industry. Although the training offer diversified from this time it was essentially back to the pre-war form with a greater emphasis upon the

building trades. Equally the pre-war gender divisions were effectively restored at the end of the war. Between August 1939 and July 1945 over 229,000 men and 110,000 women were admitted to GTCs across Britain. In the period between July 1945 and December 1946, 48,578 men and only 252 women were admitted to training (Ministry of Labour, 1947).

6.3.3 Retreat to the margins of state intervention (1960-1963)

By 1960, the number of GTCs nationally had declined to fourteen, four of which were located in London at Enfield, Kidbrooke, Perivale and Waddon. The Perivale site was the only new location in this regulatory landscape. The centres at Alperton and Park Royal had been closed and a new centre replaced them just a mile away, the existing centres still exerting an influence upon the location of a new training centre. Waddon, Kidbrooke and Enfield continued to provide training. Enfield in particular provided training from the immediate post-war period through to and beyond privatisation, eventually closing in the early 1990s.

By 1960, within the context of a relatively buoyant national economy and relatively low unemployment, the national GTC network was performing almost a residual regulatory role. The fourteen GTCs were located across Britain, and '...situated near the chief industrial areas' (Ministry of Labour, 1960a, 7), so that by 1963 the national economic objectives of GTC training were increasingly more explicit and dominant than the previous social role. Vocational training at GTCs was still, through legislation, geared at resettlement. However, in effect the GTCs were now aimed at both '...unemployed persons needing special help, and to assist in meeting demands for skilled labour in industries of importance to...national prosperity' (Ministry of Labour, 1960b, 190).

Within the complex localised industrial districts and local labour markets within Greater London achieving both these objectives from the remaining GTC locations was increasingly difficult, especially if the purpose was to support those growth industries which were generating greatest demand and local labour market groups who

were in greatest need. Within London, these two groups were increasingly spatially separated. As previously indicated, by the 1960s unemployment in the older industrial areas of inner London was considerable and the four remaining GTCs were not best located to meet this need. In terms of the second national objective of meeting demands for skilled labour in growth industries, the London GTCs were still geared towards skills training in the comparatively more industrially prosperous areas of outer London. In this context, the London GTCs were able to respond to the more explicitly economic agenda whilst still being seen, given their recruitment of trainees from the unemployed of outer London, to support segments of the labour force who were comparatively disadvantaged in labour market terms. This situation represented the beginnings of what may be seen as a growing conflict within the GTC and later Skillcentre training provision in Greater London between 'policy and place'.

The 'shift' towards a more explicitly economic agenda for GTCs, in support of industry, was part of a national agenda, most apparent in the Industrial Training Act 1964, which recognised the limits to voluntarism in relation to skills training in Britain. Within the local labour market context of Greater London, however, and in relation to GTC training, that national economic agenda was beginning to be in conflict with the social problems emerging within inner-city areas suffering enormous job loss following industrial restructuring and plant closure. In this instance, the segmented labour market did not provide a simple one-to-one mapping with local labour market structures. The objectives of the essentially 'aspatial' policy, aimed at supporting disadvantaged segments of the labour force, could be achieved in Greater London outside of those areas of greatest disadvantage. Only in the 1970s and 1980s, when urban policy was explicitly required to address the inner-city problem, would the then Skillcentre network be regarded as 'inflexible' in meeting the skills training needs of inner-city residents.

The four remaining London training centres, therefore, utilised to all intents and purposes centres which were in existence under the post-war conditions of reconstruction and resettlement, to provide what was perhaps perceived as the minimum level of GTC provision for London under changing circumstances of labour

regulation and governance, which prioritised the economic over the social. GTC sites in the north of London (Enfield), the south (Waddon), east (Kidbrooke) and west (Perivale) provided, at least in simple geographical terms, a coverage across London, but in terms of limited catchment areas, an inadequate level of provision for disadvantaged workers resident in London's inner-city areas.

6.3.4 National manpower planning versus the inner-city problem (1977)

The low point of GTC provision in the 1960s had, by 1977, grown into the national Skillcentre network, which had led to the re-establishment of a number of former GTC sites in London and the opening of a new centre in the inner-city area of the east end of London. The mid-point of the MSC's original five-year plan was experiencing, both nationally and particularly within the major metropolitan areas, a conflict in labour regulation between the long-term policy objective of developing a comprehensive manpower planning strategy for Britain, and the shorter-term need to combat increasingly high levels of unemployment.

The London Skillcentres, at this time, were required to fulfil both roles, however the centres established across London at this time were located, with the exception of the Skillcentre in Poplar and Waddon Annexe, in the same places as those GTCs established under different regulatory conditions, up to nearly fifty years earlier. Waddon, Enfield, Twickenham and Hounslow were all training in the immediate post-war period, with Waddon dating back to the early 1930s and Hounslow 1938. Perivale, as already noted, was a replacement for the earlier centres at Alperton and Park Royal, and effectively in the same location. The only 'new' locations were at Waddon Annexe, in Sydenham, and Poplar in Tower Hamlets.

Whilst demand for training within these centres was substantial, with waiting lists on a significant proportion of the courses, the decision to locate this growth in the Skillcentres for London principally at outer London sites which had previously provided training, illustrates the Department of Employment and MSC's belief at that time that London effectively constituted 'one large local labour market' (As stated in

preparatory interview for Skillcentre survey by London Regional Office of the MSC) (Also GLC, 1986a). The existence of distinctive catchment areas for each of these centres (see chapter seven), however, at one extreme suggests that the move to recreate Skillcentre training provision at existing locations failed to recognise the complexity of the London labour market, in terms of the manner in which labour was mobilised locally, the way the local labour market was segmented and the interaction between the two. Later policy initiatives by the London Region of the MSC and the GLC in the 1980s (see below) suggest that this was the case.

At the other extreme it suggests that meeting the national government's economic and social objectives of Skillcentre training meant drawing unemployed workers from areas where their chances of 'placement' in related work were greatest. Within London, although unemployment in these outer London industrial districts was rising rapidly, they still represented a more 'effective' location than many of the inner-city areas where there was a structural change in employment away from manufacturing and towards service industries. In the late 1970s, both these views were prevalent within the London Region of the MSC (Interview with LRO, MSC).

In the mid-1970s, however, the MSC recognised the problems of developing a national manpower planning strategy within the context of rapidly rising unemployment. Its analysis of that problem, however, was resolutely fixed at the national level and the growth of the Skillcentre programme, towards the end of the Labour government, reflected that national economic objective and not the social and local labour market needs of inner London. Within London, the 'local' labour market regulatory need, associated with the growing inner-city problem, required a relatively new configuration of Skillcentres within London. Within the national manpower policy framework at that time, however, the emphasis was upon meeting the requirement for skilled workers, and not any particular 'local' problems of unemployment within London.

This emphasis was not simply an issue of placing the 'national' before the 'local'. More fundamentally it represented a misconception that the Skillcentres could symbolise

and represent a national 'network' when in practice their value had always been closely linked to local labour market conditions and regulatory need. The growth of the Skillcentre 'network' in the later 1970s, as an expression of the national objectives of overcoming skill shortages and combatting unemployment, may have paid insufficient attention to particular local labour market structures and processes of labour market segmentation.

At the end of the 1970s, whilst the national skills training priority was economic, the local labour market situation in London meant that the London Skillcentres were increasingly being looked to as a source of skills training for disadvantaged groups within the London labour market. A disadvantaged working population which was predominately inner-city located, to be trained from sites which were predominately based in outer London. These were Skillcentre locations which graphically represented the progressive lack of synchronisation between the Skillcentre training offer, conceived and formulated at the national level, and the training needs of workers where industrial change and consequent processes of labour market segmentation were rapidly changing the labour market structure of London.

6.3.5 National and local institutions of labour market governance (1980-1986)

The regulatory landscapes for the 1980s (Fig.6.4) show the effects of gradual policy change in terms of a limited increase in Skillcentre provision to serve the skills training needs of the inner city population. Between 1980-82, the existing centres in north, west and south London were still training through eight existing Skillcentres and associated annexes. In east and inner south London, however, the London network had been substantially increased. Training continued at Poplar, and new centres were opened in Charlton and Deptford. Training was re-established at sites which had previously provided training, at Barking and Kidbrooke (later Charlton Annexe). This configuration of Skillcentres represented the most extensive spread of sites across London, and is also the period covered by the Skillcentre trainee survey, presented in chapter seven.

The 1980-82 landscape reflects a very temporary peak in the provision of training through Skillcentres in London, but one which coincided with the MSC's announcement of a Skillcentre rationalisation programme in January 1980, almost immediately after the change of government in May 1979. Just as the inner-city issue was beginning to be addressed in terms of Skillcentre locations, the new Conservative government began a process which would eventually move the emphasis back to the skills needs of employers and away from the social problems of the inner-city.

The change in emphasis towards inner London at the start of the 1980s, however, reflected policy decisions made under the Labour administration of 1974-79, as an eventual response to a long period of industrial decline, particularly in relation to London Docklands, and an increasing problem of redundant skills amongst the workers previously employed in the related industries. This shift in the location of provision was particularly reinforced by the opening of a 'flagship' Skillcentre at Deptford. The local regulatory need for Skillcentre training was very closely linked to problems of unemployment across London and particularly in terms of the skills mismatch amongst workers previously employed in the London Docks. The national economic objectives of the MSC's earlier strategy were in themselves by the early 1980s largely redundant in London, where the skills training objectives were increasingly social, in terms of relieving unemployment and 'warehousing' segments of the labour force who could not find employment with their existing skills and under the economic conditions of recession.

The 1985 landscape illustrates the outcome of a series of rationalisation programmes and plans and other closures between 1981 and 1984 within London. The 1980 rationalisation plan scheduled closure for Enfield and Enfield Annexe, Charlton Annexe at Kidbrooke and Poplar. Enfield Skillcentre was reprieved, however the other centres closed. Those in inner east and south London (Poplar and Kidbrooke) were to be replaced by the new Skillcentres at Barking and Deptford, opening in 1982. In April 1982 a consultation document from the MSC proposed that the Charlton Skillcentre should also close, transferring all of its training courses to Deptford. This document began a long process of negotiation and discussion between the Greater

London Council and the local community to maintain training at the centre in the form of the Charlton Training Consortium, part funded by the GLC, and operational from April 1984 (Greater London Council, 1986b). At this time, two other new centres had been proposed for inner London, the first at Camden, in inner north London, and the second at Vauxhall. Both new Skillcentres were, under these proposals, 'deleted from the forward programme'.

By 1984, the MSC's second Skillcentre rationalisation plan was to have significant implications for the provision of skills training through Skillcentres in London. The new Skills Training Agency had, since April 1983, been operating at arms length from the MSC and was required, through its business plan, to achieve full cost recovery from 1986-87. The second rationalisation plan envisaged the closure of Skillcentre sites in London, at Twickenham, Waddon and Waddon annexe at Sydenham. The intention being to retain training at Skillcentres in London at Barking, Deptford, Enfield, Perivale, and on a very limited basis at a new Skillcentre in Lambeth. On this occasion, Twickenham Skillcentre was reprieved but Waddon and Waddon Annexe were confirmed for closure (Greater London Training Board, 1985a).

The 1985 landscape, therefore, shows training at Enfield, Perivale, Twickenham, Deptford and Barking. In addition, the 'limited collection of courses'...'known as Lambeth Skillcentre' and the 'reopened (by the GLC) Charlton Training Centre' offered 'no substitute for the infrastructural loss these closures represented for south London' (Greater London Training Board, 1984). Although Deptford in inner south-east London was always intended to replace some of the older existing training provision in the area, the London Skillcentre forward programme envisaged new centres in Barking and Deptford, which were opened, Camden, which was deleted from the programme, and Vauxhall, which was also removed from the programme, but which re-emerged in a very limited form in Lambeth in the mid 1980s. If all these plans had been developed, it is apparent that the balance of Skillcentre sites in London would have shifted significantly towards inner London.

London may have, in operational terms, been regarded by the Department of Employment and the MSC as one large local labour market, but the political priorities of the late 1970s and early 1980s had required even the Skillcentre programme to respond to the 'problem' of the inner cities. That shift had its origins in plans to open a Skillcentre in south-east London as long ago as 1968, but these were not realised until the opening of Deptford in 1982 (Greater London Council, 1986b, 121). The broader decision, dating from the late 1970s, to locate Skillcentres in the inner cities suggests that the MSC did, given the regulatory need to tackle high unemployment in these areas, belatedly acknowledge the local impact and catchment of these training centres.

Labour regulation in London in the mid 1980s, however, in this aspect of skills formation, changed significantly from that of the late 1970s. The developing commitment to skills training in inner London, a predominantly social role, was overtaken by a new period of labour regulation, in which the criterion of cost recovery by the Skillcentres was effectively a requirement for each individual Skillcentre to demonstrate its value to the training needs of local employers, a move away from the needs of the individual towards a more explicitly economic and market-led training offer. Value, in this instance, was to be demonstrated by employers being willing to pay a market cost for Skillcentre services. This move to a market-led strategy with each Skillcentre being regarded as a separate cost centre, marked a significant change from the comprehensive manpower planning of the MSC and the combined economic and social objectives of the national Skillcentre network.

These policy changes in the early 1980s led to a significant change in the spatial configuration of Skillcentres within London. The new policy directives again shifted attention away from the broader area-based concern of the inner-city, and towards a reinforced emphasis upon the particular local labour market context within which these Skillcentres were operating. The London Region Office of the MSC was, however, working within the local labour market and labour market institutional context of Greater London, where other organisations and agencies were particularly concerned with the social problems generated by industrial restructuring in London and their disproportionate impact upon particular groups and geographical areas.

Two extended examples from this period illustrate the importance of the local labour market context *within* London, by the manner in which the local, specific and particular state means of labour regulation were, in significant part, constructed and structured through interactions with other local agents, including local training organisations, groups representing local communities, local employers and local government to create a distinctive local training infrastructure. These illustrations of the importance of understanding the delivery of the Skillcentre training provision at this finer spatial scale are drawn from the training experience at Twickenham and Charlton Skillcentres.

Twickenham-Lambeth

Twickenham Skillcentre opened in August 1946 to serve the post-war need of providing skilled workers for the reconstruction of London. In 1982, the Greater London Training Board (GLTB), as part of the Greater London Council, contributed funding towards an experiment by the Training Services Division of the MSC, aimed at encouraging the take up of training courses at the Twickenham Skillcentre by the unemployed of Lambeth, and in particular Brixton. The scheme involved transporting by bus, potential trainees from Lambeth to the Skillcentre for induction visits to enable them to sample trades. Most of those taking advantage of the scheme came from the Brixton, Clapham and Battersea areas. Others came predominately from Streatham and Norwood, with a smaller group being located in Camberwell, Kennington and Walworth. A few came from longer distances across London, such as Walthamstow, Leytonstone and Hackney (Greater London Training Board, 1983a).

The original intention of the scheme was to give priority to trainees introduced through this scheme, although for some courses, this '...had the effect of blocking access to trainees coming through normal channels' (GLTB, 1983a). Before the scheme started there were only six trainees on courses at the Twickenham Skillcentre from Lambeth. Within fifteen weeks of the transport scheme starting, 25 Lambeth residents were in training with a further 61 waiting for course vacancies (GLTB, 1983a). The scheme was deemed to be generally successful and the MSC, on the basis

of this experiment, was '...considering introducing similar schemes in other parts of London, and [had] initiated discussions with appropriate boroughs' (GLTB, 1983a).

The scheme was also successful in promoting access to training for ethnic minorities within south London. Prior to the scheme only one of the six existing trainees, resident in Lambeth, was of west indian origin. In terms of ethnic origin, however, out of the initial 121 participants, 45 (37%) were west indian. Where the scheme was not a success, was in relation to promoting access to training at Skillcentres for women. Out of an initial 121 participants, only four (3.3%) were women. Given the Skillcentre history and experience this in itself was not unusual. Importantly, however, the MSC tried to increase the numbers through contacts among women's groups in south London, and the GLTB, through the GLC, referred their report to relevant women's organisations as well as the Women's Committee of the GLC.

The experiment was anticipated to last until 1984 when the adult Skillcentre in Lambeth was due to be opened. The 'busing' experiment was extended beyond the induction visits to include transport for trainees successful in gaining training places. It was anticipated that the initiative would be phased out as training places at Lambeth Skillcentre became available.

This scheme demonstrated the finer detail which needs to be acknowledged in the workings of the London local labour market, the role of a variety of local interest groups and agents in the provision of this aspect of skills training in London, and also the manner in which the state's infrastructure and institutions of labour regulation and skills training can effectively serve to reinforce, reflect or reduce inequalities which exist within the processes of labour market segmentation.

The Lambeth-Twickenham transport scheme, involved moving potential trainees approximately ten miles across London in straight-line terms. The Twickenham Skillcentre catchment was, without this intervention, inadequate to meet the substantial demand identified within Lambeth and the surrounding area. The local labour market context of the residents of Lambeth in south London, and in particular

the extent of the local labour market for the local working population of west indian origin, was such that their training needs were not being met by the configuration of Skillcentres across London.

The scheme had involved the local London region representatives of the MSC, regional government in the form of the GLC and the GLTB, local government in the form of the relevant London boroughs, and a series of interest groups representing different and overlapping segments of the local community. Without this scheme the MSC, through its Skillcentres, was reinforcing the processes of labour market segmentation and local labour market disadvantage operating within this part of Greater London. The negotiation and consultation between all these relevant groups and agents allowed a temporary coalition of actors to create a distinctive and local training infrastructure.

The decision to reprieve Twickenham Skillcentre in the 1984 rationalisation exercise, therefore, was essentially made on financial grounds, but may also have been due to this increased recognition that with the closure of Waddon and Waddon Annexe at Sydenham, and the revised and limited proposal for the development of Lambeth Skillcentre, that large areas of south London would have been left without any Skillcentre provision (GLTB, 1985a). The consideration given by the MSC to repeat this initiative at other centres across London suggests that this was not an isolated problem, that local catchments were an important issue in the operation of the London Skillcentres, and that the existing infrastructure of skills training was inadequate to respond to London's inner-city problem as well as the demand for skills from London's employers. The London Region Office of the MSC, although working within a national context of meeting employer's needs was also able to respond to local social needs through its interaction at the local level with other local agencies and institutions of labour regulation and governance.

Charlton-Deptford

The proposed and eventual closure of Charlton Skillcentre in inner south-east London provides another illustration of both the local labour market and local training infrastructure issues identified and exemplified above. In April 1982 the MSC issued a consultation document proposing the merger of training provision between Charlton and Deptford Skillcentres, through the transfer of all courses from Charlton and the closure of the Charlton site. Deptford had opened earlier in 1982 and Charlton Annexe at Kidbrooke had already been closed by the MSC.

Deptford was no more than three miles from the Charlton centre, however the proposed closure generated a substantial response from within the locality (GLTB, 1983b). At the instigation of the Greenwich Employment Resource Unit a series of meetings were called to discuss alternative options. These meetings were attended by representatives of seventeen interest groups, including the GLC, MSC, GLTB, the Inner London Education Authority, London Boroughs of Greenwich and Lewisham, Docklands Forum, Trades Councils, Adult Education Institutes and community groups from across inner south-east London (GLC, 1986b). In addition to these groups a steering group was formed from the new Charlton Training Consortium which included representatives from a number of the above groups and extended membership to Woolwich College, Vietnam Trust, Lewisham Unwaged Action Group, The Simba Project, Greenwich Afro-Caribbean Association, and Greenwich Action Group on Unemployment (GLC, 1986b). With the appointment of a development worker the consortium continued to reach out into the community and by January 1986 the membership consisted of representatives from over 35 local organisations.

These organisations represented the diversity of local interests which were apparently not being catered for, and as *they* perceived the local training situation, effectively excluded from access to the existing training opportunities offered through both Charlton and Deptford Skillcentres. This issue was later reinforced by the report of the enquiry team comprising the Deptford Skillcentre enquiry which investigated equal

opportunities policies and procedures at the Skillcentre, which concluded and confirmed that there was a lack of understanding of the issues of racism and sexism by both the Skillcentre and the MSC. 'Relations between the Skillcentre management and...groups most concerned with women's training in the local community appeared to have broken down completely' (Stamp and Crawford, 1987).

The new Charlton Training Centre sought to continue successful existing courses, but also, to provide skills training that '...took into account the needs of groups hitherto discriminated against...' (GLC, 1986b, 132). It was the intention of the centre to improve on the courses run by the MSC at Charlton, not only in terms of achieved skill levels, but also in terms of the access of people to the courses. Trainees were selected as a result of a complex points procedure which was intended to give a basis for selection in accordance with the centre's priorities. Apart from the equal opportunities issues, questions were asked in relation to un/employment status, existing skill levels, previous training and work experience, age, and levels of formal education. The GLTB, in its assessment of the Charlton experience concluded that,

> "In its short existence, the Consortium has been able to demonstrate
> that people who are traditionally denied access to training courses to
> the level of skill offered at Charlton are able to successfully complete
> courses and to achieve qualifications to nationally recognised
> standards. The commitment of the local community and their belief in
> the importance of training has thus been vindicated."
>
> (Greater London Council, 1986b, 133)

In local labour market terms, the Deptford and Charlton Skillcentres had the potential for drawing their trainees from a very similar catchment given their geographical proximity. It is apparent from the above example, however, that although spatial proximity meant that local people may have found the new Skillcentre at Deptford geographically accessible, the closure of Charlton Skillcentre provided an opportunity to demonstrate that spatial proximity and the manner in which labour is mobilised locally, is an inadequate means for assessing issues of accessibility to these training opportunities. The manner in which the MSC had reinforced and replicated in their Skillcentre training and eligibility procedures the same segmentation processes

apparent within the labour market, had provoked a response which created, for a limited period, another temporary coalition of interest groups to produce a very distinctive local training infrastructure in inner south-east London.

It is possible to conceive of this situation as two very local and distinct regulatory landscapes created by separate institutions of labour regulation, working across the same geographical space, but with distinct and essentially conflicting interpretations as to the regulatory need and the form it should take to achieve ultimately the same social and economic objectives (GLTB, 1983b; 1985b). At one level and extreme, Deptford Skillcentre was the product of the MSC's national manpower planning strategy, and had a distinctive catchment of trainees selected to best meet those needs and objectives. At another, and in response to the apparent inadequacy of that provision at the local level, Charlton Training Centre, at the initial instigation of the Greater London Training Board, as part of the Greater London Council, sought to respond to other local skills training needs. In so doing, the centre drew upon another 'catchment' in terms of the people and groups who gained access to the training, but at the same time co-existed spatially with the catchment of the Deptford Skillcentre. This is an important illustration of how labour market segmentation breaks down the simple geographical coherence of the travel-to-work (or training) concept, but adds considerably to our understanding of segmentation processes and ultimately helps develop a more sophisticated conception of how 'geography matters'.

Changes in the regulatory landscape of skills training in London, in the mid-1980s, and as exemplified by the Skillcentre network, reflected major shifts in the national government's policy formulations regarding the means by which the state was to support industry through the provision of skilled labour. Most importantly, skills training was to be market-led and this meant the closure of Skillcentres and the creation by the Skills Training Agency of teams of 'peripatetic instructors' as a move away from fixed investments and towards an increased capacity for a flexible response to expressed needs (GLTB, 1985b). These 'needs' were increasingly the needs of employers and consequently the training of the employed, rather than the training of the unemployed. As part of this strategy, the Skillcentre review was undertaken on a

centre-by-centre basis, rather than in terms of a national network, and the future of each of the remaining Skillcentres was to be determined in terms of full cost recovery and the ability of each Skillcentre to sell its training services to local employers at a market price. Skillcentre provision in London was to be even more closely scrutinised in terms of its ability to respond to and provide skilled labour for local employers.

6.3.6 Privatisation (1990-1993)

The final regulatory landscape of Fig.6.4 illustrates the outcome in London of that change in the nature of labour regulation in Britain. The privatisation of the Skillcentre network in 1990 led to the continuation of skills training at former Skillcentres at just four sites. Buyers were not forthcoming for Twickenham and Perivale Skillcentres and they were subsequently closed. Three of the former London Skillcentre sites were sold to Astra Training Services, namely Barking, Deptford and Enfield. These three centres were subsequently closed when Astra went into receivership in 1993. The other remaining centre was in Lambeth, which was sold to Training Business Ltd.

Under this arrangement each of the Skillcentres operated effectively as a separate cost centre, and had implicitly been prepared for privatisation since 1984 under the cost-recovery business plan of the Skills Training Agency. With little scope for cross-subsidy between Skillcentre sites, and without the possibility of state funding to support social need in the absence of economic opportunity, the privatised Skillcentres were always vulnerable to employers historically witnessed unwillingness to meet the cost of skills training. Arguably, the Skillcentres were privatised, via a market-led strategy, where no real market for skills training existed. The very short-lived landscape of private sector labour regulation, instigated by the privatisation of the Skillcentre network, possessed many lessons for the Training and Enterprise Council initiative which was to follow.

6.4 Conclusion

Chapter six has illustrated, with particular reference to the example of skills training provision in GTCs and Skillcentres in Greater London, the geographical outcomes of the changing nature of labour regulation and governance across a number of different time periods and within a particular local labour market context. In general, the central state's role has been seen to change significantly in response to a set of variable economic and social circumstances at the national level. These circumstances have been seen to vary through time and space, and particularly within place. This chapter has provided both an idealised view of these changing regulatory landscapes as well as examples of the nature of this local intersection of causal labour market processes within Greater London and particular sub-areas or localities within that broader regional context.

The chapter has argued and exemplified the view that these regulatory landscapes are best studied at the local level, are actually in significant part constructed at this level through the local interaction of labour market processes operating at a variety of spatial scales, and within an historical context which is fundamental to an understanding of access, opportunity and eligibility to this aspect of skills training within a local labour market.

In order to understand these issues of access to skills training within any particular geographical setting, it has been argued that it is necessary to place any period of study into an historical perspective in order to understand the influence and impact of inertia, lags and resistances operating within the skills training system in Britain. These issues have been seen to be important, both in terms of the built infrastructure and the content of the training offer, in influencing access to training within London. Policy and locational decisions which were made at least thirty years earlier have been instrumental in terms of gaining access to training opportunities across relatively small geographical areas within Greater London in the 1970s and 1980s.

The issue of GTC and Skillcentre catchment areas has been examined with particular reference to two examples in south London. The idea that, in terms of the provision of skills training in these centres, Greater London may, on the basis of excess demand, be regarded as one large local labour market, has been confronted and seen to be lacking. Particularly in terms of the effectiveness of relevant policy in overcoming labour market disadvantage generated through the way in which labour is mobilised locally and processes of labour market segmentation. Catchment, in relation to the London Skillcentres, has been seen to be an important issue in delivering and restricting access to skills training policy locally to groups already disadvantaged within the labour market.

Whilst catchment as an issue appears important in setting simple geographical limits to access to these skills training initiatives, the examples given above illustrate two related issues. First, the importance of placing catchment within the context of the nature of labour market segmentation within the London labour market. Second, the need to view the local agents of the national institutions of labour market regulation and governance, responsible for the local implementation of policy, within the framework of other locally-based institutions of labour regulation, including regional and local government.

Chapter seven examines these issues of catchment, segmentation and accessibility, through a survey of Skillcentre trainees across Greater London in the early 1980s. These trainees, successful in their application for skills training, arguably embody the outcome of both the then contemporary landscape of labour regulation coupled with the residual consequences of previous regulatory formulations, constructed at a variety of spatial scales, but operating within the geographical context of Greater London. Chapter seven, through an analysis of the Skillcentre trainee survey, seeks to place these trainees in London in the 1980s, within the theoretical and empirical context developed above.

Chapter Seven

Access to training in context: Skillcentre trainee survey of Greater London

7.1 Introduction

This chapter builds upon the theoretical and explanatory framework developed throughout this thesis. Chapters three and four, sought to interpret these state-funded training initiatives from an historical and geographical perspective which emphasised the national and institutional context within which these related policy programmes were developed and implemented. Chapters five and six have, within the context of industrial and labour market change in London, placed the development of GTCs and Skillcentres in London into that same framework. This chapter develops those arguments further, by considering the training experience of London's Skillcentre trainees in the early 1980s. These trainees, albeit as non-passive recipients of state-funded training, were in part the outcome of that same institutional legacy, coupled with the then contemporary processes of labour market regulation and governance and the residual consequences of other past and then present underlying causal labour market processes conjoining within the local specificities of place.

By extending the analysis through to the experience of the individual trainee, the abstract theorisation developed earlier, via the institutional and historical analysis focused at the national and local labour market levels, is linked to and grounded in the concrete reality of this particular everyday setting. This chapter seeks to interpret that everyday experience from within this explanatory framework. In so doing, it recognises the importance of 'hanging onto' both sides of an equation which acknowledges that labour is mobilised and constrained locally (in a simple geographical sense), and is subject to and embodies the outcomes of historical and other contemporary labour market process operating at a variety of spatial scales. The manner in which this chapter is presented, therefore, reflects this intention by using the simple geographical notion of Skillcentre catchment areas as one contextual device for illustrating the relationship between training opportunity or access to training within a local labour market; *and* industrial structure and the institutional

structures of labour market regulation and governance; *as well as* processes of labour market segmentation; *and,* ultimately, arguments relating to the structural coupling between a regime of accumulation and its associated modes of social regulation.

By way of introducing this analysis, the decision to focus upon London in the early 1980s needs to be restated. The earlier chapters developed the institutional analysis at both the national and local levels of Britain and London through to the privatisation and subsequent closure of the Skillcentre network in the early 1990s. This timescale served in particular to locate these related policy initiatives within more recent debates relating to changes in the regime of accumulation and its associated coupling with the mode of social regulation. It is possible, therefore, to interpret labour market process within any particular place and at any particular time from within this perspective which is concerned with these broader abstract theoretical themes, historical and institutional analysis at different spatial scales, and the local specificities and conjunctural interactions between causal and underlying labour market processes. London in the early 1980s, however, is a particularly useful context and setting for exemplifying conjunctural local labour market process.

As we have already seen, the early 1980s were an important period in the development of the London Skillcentres, reflecting both the end of the Labour government's (1974-79) national expansion of the Skillcentre programme and the beginnings of the incoming Conservative government's Skillcentre rationalisation programme. The national comprehensive manpower planning policy of the late 1970s was being replaced by the beginnings of 'localism' and the 'enterprise culture' of the mid-1980s. This policy response took place within the setting of a Fordism/Post-Fordism debate (GLC, 1986a), as part of the analysis of the continuing industrial change and decline experienced across London during the 1970s. The apparent transition from one regime of accumulation to another (albeit poorly specified and defined), prompted extensive policy experimentation and debate between the national and local agencies of labour market regulation and governance.

Whilst at the national level, the policies of the former Labour administration were being rapidly dismantled, within London, both perspectives on government and the role of the state, were still embodied within the conflicts and resolutions between 'competing' and 'local' institutions of labour market regulation and governance, namely the Greater London Council, principally via the Greater London Training Board, and the London Regional Office of the Manpower Services Commission. Each of these regulatory institutions were at that time working to achieve very different policy objectives, whilst operating within the same geographical space, namely the complex local labour markets of Greater London. This conflict in purpose was at this time best illustrated by the policy response to the continued industrial change and decline in Greater London which had had a disproportionate detrimental impact upon London's inner-city areas. London in the early 1980s, therefore, witnessed an important period of policy conflict between the social welfare concerns centred upon the inner-city and the increasingly dominant economic policy objectives of supporting business and enterprise through policy initiatives focused and implemented at the local level but frequently outside of these 'problem' areas. The Skillcentre trainee survey in the early 1980s was, therefore, conducted within this complex setting of economic, social, political and institutional change operating at local and national scales and intersecting within the specificities of place, in this instance Greater London. As such, it represents an important exemplar of the labour market processes identified throughout this thesis.

In general, and within Britain, Skillcentre training was at this time serving a variety of purposes. Primarily, the national economic objectives of meeting the demand for skills from employers was dominant. This had been established under the first five-year plan of the MSC and was reinforced in the early 1980s by the new Conservative government. Under this new administration, the MSC sought to respond to the training needs of local employers, and through reduced government expenditure and full cost-recovery, establish a local 'market' for skills training. In both these situations, however, the national level of unemployment was a key factor in limiting these economic purposes. Skillcentres had always, therefore, performed a social role and it remained the case in the early 1980s that Skillcentre training would continue to derive

its trainees from groups within the labour market who were disadvantaged either through 'lack of skills' or through 'displacement' as a consequence of industrial restructuring.

At the same time, within Greater London, these changing conditions of labour regulation and governance, were being enacted within the particular local labour market circumstances of substantial industrial change and manufacturing decline, the social problems associated with inner-city decline, and a developing political situation of increasing conflict between central government and the Greater London Council. The London Region Office of the MSC was, in the early 1980s, having to implement national policy directives which were changing rapidly, within a local economic, social and political environment which was also experiencing rapid change, and through a training infrastructure which was undoubtedly seen as 'inflexible' within the framework of the Greater London local labour markets. The national picture of labour regulation and governance was 'distorted' by the local circumstances and environment of the Greater London labour market.

The outcome of these processes of change, operating at different spatial scales but intersecting and interacting over time and within the context of the Greater London economy and labour market, was to produce a particular local training infrastructure and distinctive landscape of labour regulation and governance. The survey of Skillcentre trainees in London, in the early 1980s, considers in detail the then Skillcentre catchment areas as a significant part of that 'landscape' and as one outcome of that training infrastructure created and constructed within the local labour market and industrial context of Greater London.

Within this context, issues of access to training could not be reduced simply to the circumstances contemporary to the trainee's attempt to gain access to training. Equally, access to training could not be seen solely and simply in terms of the personal attributes of the individual. Access to training varies both within and between local labour market areas representing, over time, the relationship between segmentation processes and place. In terms of the individual, and the context and

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environment within which they conduct their everyday activities, this local regulatory landscape constitutes a most significant 'setting', representing the geographical arena within which access to education, training and work is limited and constrained.

The processes underpinning this local training infrastructure and landscape of labour regulation have been identified in terms of segmentation of the labour market arising from changes and variations in labour demand, labour supply and the labour regulatory activities of the state. This chapter seeks to unpack elements of these causal processes, for a particular time period, within a specific local labour market context. The identification of the nature of this regulatory landscape within an urban context, is approached by an analysis of the characteristics and experience of Skillcentre trainees. These trainees, having gained access to this state-funded training provision, are seen to embody the intersection and interaction of these historical and contemporary causal labour market processes within the specificities of their particular local labour market situation.

The analysis of the survey of Skillcentre trainees is based upon a questionnaire survey of 1019 trainees working at eleven Skillcentre sites across Greater London. The survey constitutes the outcome of interviews of all 'adult' trainees at all of the Skillcentre sites operating in London during principally 1980, on dates when access to the Skillcentres was granted by the MSC (Appendix 7.1 for full details). Fig.7.1 locates the Skillcentre survey within a selected history of this form of skills training, and the broader setting of changing periods of labour regulation and governance.

The chapter is structured into three distinct sections, with each section seeking to locate the experience of the trainee's within the broader historical, institutional and geographical analysis, as well as the local specificities of the Greater London economy and local labour markets. The first, within the context of both the economic and social objectives attributed to Skillcentre training, profiles the Skillcentre trainee and course provision within London. This essentially aspatial perspective, or a limited perspective which views Greater London as one single labour market, serves as a

Fig.7.1
Skillcentre trainee survey, selected industrial training policy programmes and periods of labour market 'regulatory need': Britain 1917-1993

Year	Training Policy	Regulatory Period
1910		
1920	*Instructional factories*	Wartime production and management of post-war reconstruction
	Government Training Centres	Economic depression - beginnings of national training
1930	*Home Training Centres* *Transfer Instructional Centres*	system
1940	*Emergency Training Centres*	Wartime production and regulation of skills training - postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation
1950		
1960		Near full employment - training policy performs residual social welfare function at margins of labour market
1970	**Skillcentres**	
1980		Comprehensive national manpower strategy - rise of the MSC
London skillcentres trainee survey		Restructured MSC - growth of enterprise culture
1990	**Astra Training Services**	Abolition of MSC - shift of regulatory focus and
(1993)	(closure)	responsibility from state to market

means of locating the Skillcentres target population within the context of the segmented labour market and the relevant industrial sectors. This 'target' population was seen to be, by the MSC, a means of achieving these same economic and social objectives. The second section considers the same trainee population in terms of the geographical detail of the London local labour markets and Skillcentre catchment areas. This section shows how each of the Skillcentres, both in simple geographical terms and in terms of labour market segmentation, served a partial sub-set of the relevant working population within the local labour markets which comprise Greater London. The final section brings together both the segmented and local labour market perspectives, and places Skillcentre training in Greater London in the early 1980s into aspects of the then contemporary context of London's broader environments of training, employment and labour mobility. This section illustrates the way in which the existing segmentation of the London labour market, despite the apparently strong social objectives attached to Skillcentre training in London, was reinforced by this particular state-funded skills training initiative. This final section reinforces the view that access to this form of skills training in London was indeed the product of the contemporary policy objectives of government, but mediated through the intersection of locally and nationally derived residual consequences of previous periods of labour regulation and governance and the present and past changing local labour market and industrial context of Greater London.

Skillcentre training in London in the early 1980s represented one setting for this set of potential and actual conflicts and changes in policy formulation and implementation, between the national and the local, inner versus outer London, between the economic and the social, the growth of the Skillcentre network and its rationalisation, the extension of state intervention and the creation of a private 'market' for skills training, as well as the essentially aspatial perspective of the segmented labour market and the geographical complexity of the local labour market. This 'mix' of purpose and objectives was the context within which the Skillcentre training survey was undertaken in the early 1980s, and this chapter seeks to unpack the nature and detail of these processes within the context and specificities of the complex local labour market situation of Greater London.

7.2 Infrastructure, industrial sectors and segmented labour markets

Chapter six provided an account of change in the Skillcentre training network in London in the early 1980s. The Skillcentre survey (Appendix 7.1), in consultation with the London Regional Office of the MSC, took place principally in 1980 with two additional surveys undertaken in 1981 and early 1982 in order to reflect the dynamism within the Skillcentre network at that time. The survey included, therefore, Skillcentres which were scheduled for closure, as well as new centres which were already planned at the time of the initial contact with the MSC. A simple snapshot of Skillcentre provision at one particular moment would have been unlikely to reflect the changing intentions, aims and objectives of the MSC in the London of the early 1980s.

7.2.1 Skillcentre infrastructure in London

Fig.7.2 details this situation, showing the locations of the eleven operational sites across London, which were included in the survey, as well as three other sites which were part of the forward planning programme. The eleven sites included in the survey were, Barking, Charlton, Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke), Deptford, Enfield, Perivale, Poplar, Twickenham, Twickenham Annexe (Hounslow), Waddon, and Waddon Annexe (Sydenham). The three other Skillcentres planned for London at this time were Camden and Vauxhall (subsequently deleted from the forward programme) and later Lambeth, which did open on a limited basis, but primarily concerned with the skills training of young people, and outside of the time frame of the Skillcentre survey. At the beginning of the survey period, both Barking and Deptford had not yet opened.

Fig.7.2 also shows the number of adult trainees at each Skillcentre site as respondents to the survey questionnaire. For each Skillcentre, the number of respondents can effectively be regarded as the Skillcentre population of adult trainees at that time. The majority of the Skillcentre courses operated on a rolling basis, so that the total Skillcentre population fluctuated over time as trainees left and entered training. The

Fig.7.2
Skillcentre locations and number of adult trainees in attendance: Greater London 1980
(Source: London Regional Office, Manpower Services Commission)

Enfield

Camden

Barking

Perivale

Poplar

Vauxhall

Charlton

Twickenham Annexe
(Hounslow)

Charlton Annexe
(Kidbrooke)

Lambeth

Deptford

Twickenham

Waddon Annexe
(Sydenham)

Waddon

Skillcentre in operation

Skillcentre deleted from forward
planning programme

196
150
100
50
37

Number of skillcentre trainees
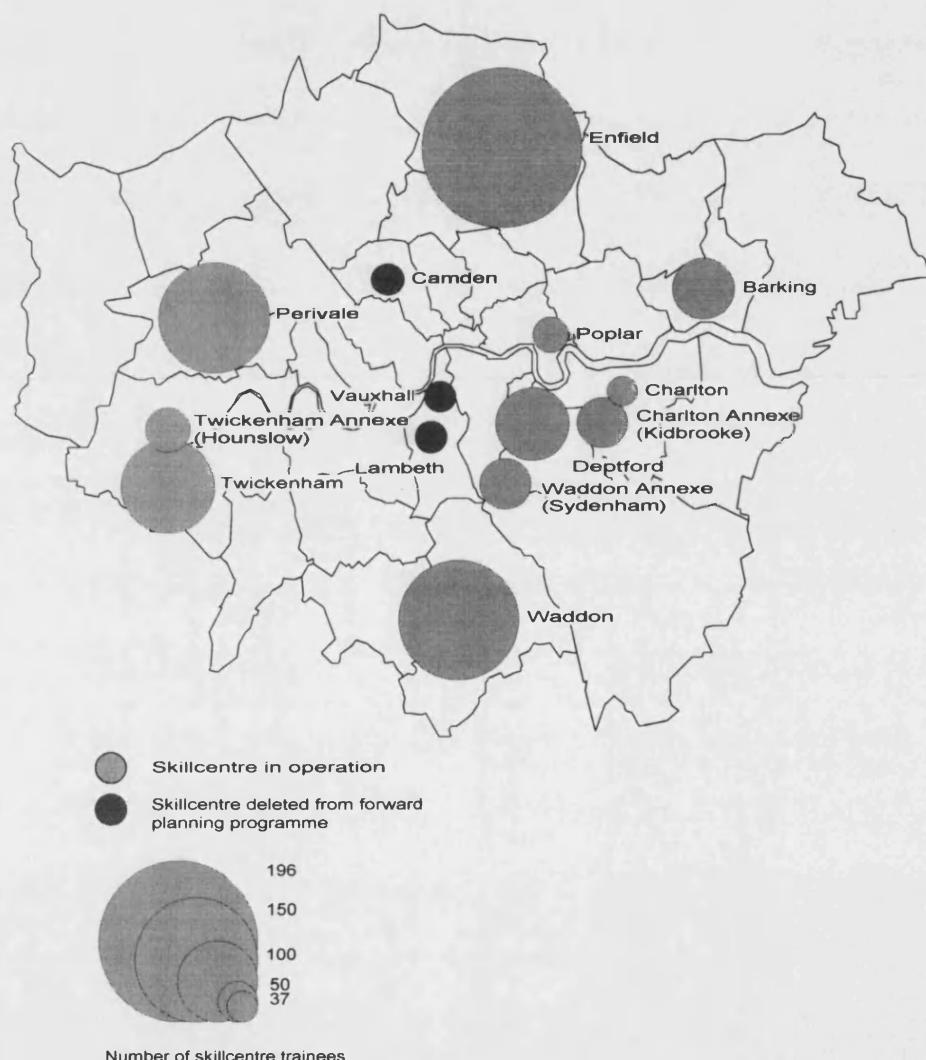
questionnaire being completed by trainees within the class, with on average less than one refusal at each centre (8/1027 0.8%).

As Fig.7.2 and Table 7.1 show, nearly 60% (596/58.5%) of the trainees at this time were receiving their training at four Skillcentres, namely Enfield, Perivale, Twickenham and Waddon (this increases to 70% if the annexes to Twickenham and Waddon are included, 713/70%). These four centres and their two annexes, represented the oldest Skillcentre sites in operation in London, reflecting in part the locational decisions of the former Ministry of Labour of anything up to fifty years earlier. These centres were established outside of the former London County Council (LCC) boundary and were consequently in 1980 located in outer London boroughs, namely Enfield, Ealing, Richmond and Croydon, within the boundary of the later administrative structure of the Greater London Council (GLC).

Table 7.1 Number of skillcentre trainees by skillcentre: London

Skillcentre	Number of trainees	Percentage of trainees
Barking	74	7.3
Charlton	37	3.6
Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke)	62	6.1
Deptford	90	8.8
Enfield	196	19.2
Perivale	136	13.3
Poplar	43	4.2
Twickenham	116	11.4
Twickenham Annexe (Hounslow)	55	5.4
Waddon	148	14.5
Waddon Annexe (Sydenham)	62	6.1
Total	1019	100.0

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

The remainder of the Skillcentre sites, located in inner south-east and inner north-east London, were relatively small training centres, although these centres were subject to considerable change at the time of the survey. Barking (74 trainees/7.3% of the London Skillcentre adult trainees) and Deptford (90/8.8%) were relatively new centres which were in the process of increasing their numbers but only at the expense of other centres within the area. Charlton (37/3.6%) and Kidbrooke (62/6.1%) were operating

beneath capacity and would eventually transfer their courses to Deptford. Whilst Poplar (43/4.2%) was scheduled for closure and was effectively replaced by the new centre at Barking. The older outer London centres within the network were also subject to evaluation under the early Skillcentre rationalisation plans of 1980, but were at this time able to offer some stability and consistency in their training provision compared to the inner-city locations.

The situation in the early 1980s, however, reflected by the Skillcentre survey, was one in which the MSC's forward planning programme for Skillcentre training in London was beginning to attempt to bring about a shift in the location of training provision from outer to inner London. This movement reflected the national policy intentions of the previous Labour administration but was consistent with then mainstream Conservative government policy concerning the inner-city. The early Skillcentre rationalisation plans, however, within an overall context of reducing public expenditure, involved closing the older inner city centres and in part replacing them with new purpose built Skillcentres. For the period of the Skillcentre survey, the older centres in inner London were still training but were gradually being phased out, and the new inner-city centres were only just beginning to provide skills training, or were still in the early stages of planning. Ultimately, within a policy context which more closely reflected the growing neo-liberal state, the planned inner-city Skillcentres were deleted from the programme as market forces were liberated arguably at the expense of social need. The Skillcentre survey of these eleven sites, therefore, portrays both the 'dynamism' within the system and also the inherent lags and inertia which resisted a rapid response to changing policy priorities within the London and British Skillcentre networks.

7.2.2 Craft skills and industrial change: Skillcentre training courses

In line with this developing emphasis upon the development of a quasi-market for skills training, the 1984 national Skillcentre rationalisation exercise sought to close the outer London Skillcentres located in Twickenham, Waddon and Waddon Annexe (Sydenham). These centres were not only not synchronised spatially with mainstream

policy priorities towards the inner-city, they were also increasingly, in terms of the content of their training provision, out of synchronisation with the changing skill demands and needs of employers. In the early 1980s, Skillcentre training in London was largely being undertaken in centres which were historically resourced for skills training in work areas which were increasingly devalued by local employers in industries and sectors functioning and restructuring in the context of economic recession. The significance of a reliance upon traditional manual craft skills and semi-skilled work areas was even more acute, therefore, given the industrial context presented in chapter five, where the construction and engineering industries and the manufacturing sector in general were seen at this time to be suffering substantial decline in both inner and outer London.

The older centres, contributing a significant majority of the London Skillcentre trainees, were, therefore, "...largely involved in [these] so-called 'traditional' skills which involve a longer term training and which do not signal themselves in the short term labour needs of [London's] employers" (Greater London Training Board, 1984). In terms of meeting the economic policy objectives of meeting the demand for skills amongst local employers, the Skillcentres were literally ill-equipped to respond to rapid technological and sectoral change. These centres, established under different conditions of labour regulation, were still, although producing trainees regarded by many as skill 'dilutees', tied into many of the constraints and practices of the craft training traditions of an earlier period. The so-called traditional skill areas of these older centres reflected both the inertia of the built infrastructure and the resistance to change within the craft skill work areas which then dominated the Skillcentre training provision.

The diversity of course provision within the London Skillcentres is detailed in Table 7.2. Thirty-eight different trade area courses were current at the time of the Skillcentre survey. However, this range of provision masks a significant emphasis upon the traditional craft skills. Training for the construction sector dominated the skills training offer within the London Skillcentres, with 420 (41.2%) trainees engaged in these trade areas, with bricklaying (136) and carpentry (135) providing over 60% of

Table 7.2 London skillcentre courses by trade area and number of trainees

Course	Number of trainees	Percentage
CONSTRUCTION		
Bricklaying	136	13.3
Carpentry	135	13.2
Heating and ventilation	22	2.2
Painting and decorating	27	2.6
Plastering	16	1.6
Plumbing	51	5.0
Street masonry and paving	13	1.3
Woodcutting machining	9	0.9
Slating and tiling	11	1.1
(SUB-TOTAL)	(420)	(41.2)
PLANT & AUTOMOTIVE		
Contractors plant repair	13	1.3
Heavy vehicle repair	51	5.0
Motor vehicle body repair	25	2.5
Motor vehicle repair	59	5.8
Motor vehicle spraying	25	2.5
(SUB-TOTAL)	(173)	(17.0)
ENGINEERING PRODUCTION		
Automatic lathe setting	5	0.5
Capstan lathe setting	13	1.3
Centre lathe turning	37	3.6
Milling machine setting	11	1.1
Precision grinding	6	0.6
Sheet metal working	16	1.6
Toolmaking fitting	8	0.8
Welding (Plate)	49	4.8
Welding (ASME pipe)	16	1.6
(SUB-TOTAL)	(161)	(15.8)
ENGINEERING SERVICING		
Detail fitting & machining	24	2.4
Draughtmanship	4	0.4
Fitting general maintenance	20	2.0
(SUB-TOTAL)	(48)	(4.7)
ELECTRICAL/ELECTRONICS		
Electrical installation	21	2.1
Electronic test & service	18	1.8
Fitting electrical	11	1.1
Industrial electronics	43	4.2
Instrument maintenance	8	0.8
Radio TV and electronic servicing	33	3.2
(SUB-TOTAL)	(134)	(13.2)
GENERAL SERVICE TRADES		
Hairdressing (Mens)	8	0.8
Typewriter repair and maintenance	29	2.8
Watch and clock repair	16	1.6
(SUB-TOTAL)	(53)	(5.2)
MISCELLANEOUS TRADES		
Scientific glass-blowing	7	0.7
Screen process printing	12	1.2
Tailoring	11	1.1
(SUB-TOTAL)	(30)	(3.0)
[TOTAL]	[1019]	[100.0]

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

these trainees (271/64.5% of construction trade trainees). After the building trades, Skillcentre trainees were grouped into three other main industry and trade areas. Motor vehicle repair (173/17.0%), engineering (161/15.8%) and electrical engineering (134/13.2%) provided the next three main areas of skills training.

The top ten courses at the time of the survey, in terms of trainee numbers, are listed in Table 7.3, along with the 'principal courses of instruction' at GTCs in 1929 (Ministry of Labour, 1930a, 34). Allowing for technological change, the dominant trade 'families' of the early 1980s, particularly the building trades, vehicle repair and engineering trades, were also dominant during the inter-war period of the 1920s and 1930s. The London Skillcentres which date from that period, and also from the immediate post-war period (1946), were located and built, therefore, for the provision of these trades, in more space-extensive sites at the edge of the metropolitan area. Chapter six has detailed how the emphasis in 1946 was upon the provision of skilled workers, principally in the building trades, to facilitate reconstruction across London, and consequently the skills training provision was not intended to directly 'service' the areas within which they were located. More significantly, given their other role of 'resettlement' their location reflected proximity to the skilled and semi-skilled manual workers who were potential trainees.

Table 7.3 Principal training courses at London skillcentres (1980) and British GTCs (1929)

London skillcentres (1980-82)	British GTCs (1929)
Construction trades Bricklaying, carpentry and plumbing	Building trades Bricklaying, plastering and carpentry
Plant & automotive trades Motor vehicle repair, heavy vehicle repair, motor vehicle body repair and spraying	Furniture trades Wood machining, cabinet making, upholstering and french polishing
Engineering production trades Welding, centre lathe turning, sheet metal working and lathe setting and turning	Coach building trades Body building, coach trimming and coach painting
Electrical/electronics trades Industrial electronics, servicing & electrical installation	Metal working trades Motor repairing, smithing, precision filing and fitting, sheet metal working, machine tool operating
General service trades Typewriter repair & maintenance	Miscellaneous trades Gas and hot water fitting, electric and oxy-acetylene welding, hairdressing

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980); Ministry of Labour (1930a)

Fig.7.3 shows for each Skillcentre site the percentage of trainees engaged in each of seven groups of skills training. In addition each pie diagram is proportionate to the number of trainees engaged in adult training courses at each centre. The diagrams show a high proportion of the trainees involved in training associated with the building trades, vehicle repair and engineering. These three training 'families' accounted for between 53.5 and 100% (average 77.1%) of the trainees at each Skillcentre throughout London. Electrical engineering, containing more recent training developments within the Skillcentres, on average, accounted for just 12.3% (0% at four centres to 32.2% at Deptford).

The long-term dominance of these skill and trade areas meant that even for the newer Skillcentres within the London network, there was still a considerable emphasis upon these traditional training courses. Both Barking and Deptford illustrate this, with Deptford receiving trainees and courses from Charlton and Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke). The transfer of courses from the old to the new Skillcentres served in part to perpetuate the existing training offer. Deptford, however, also had a higher proportion of trainees in electrical engineering, regarded by the MSC as an example of the then more contemporary skill and trade areas sought by local employers.

The ability of a potential trainee to gain access to a particular trade, however, was likely to be as much a function of the then contemporary mobility of labour within London, as it was the product of the diversity and range of the training offer, itself influenced by past regulatory needs and the inertia operating against change in the Skillcentre system. Although certain skill and trade areas were to be found at a range of Skillcentres across London it is apparent that access to training in a particular trade area was likely to be in large part a function of Skillcentre catchment, namely the extent to which labour was mobilised locally. Fig.7.4 illustrates the potential for this within the building trades. Even at this level, it is apparent that the great majority of the training places available in the construction trades were located in the outer London Skillcentres. Some 85% of the building trade trainees were on courses at Skillcentres located in outer London (this partly reflects the residential location of construction workers in London - see below). Within this overall distribution,
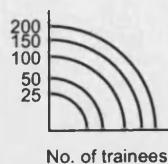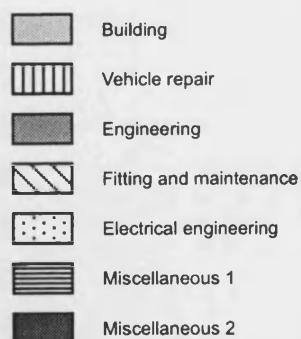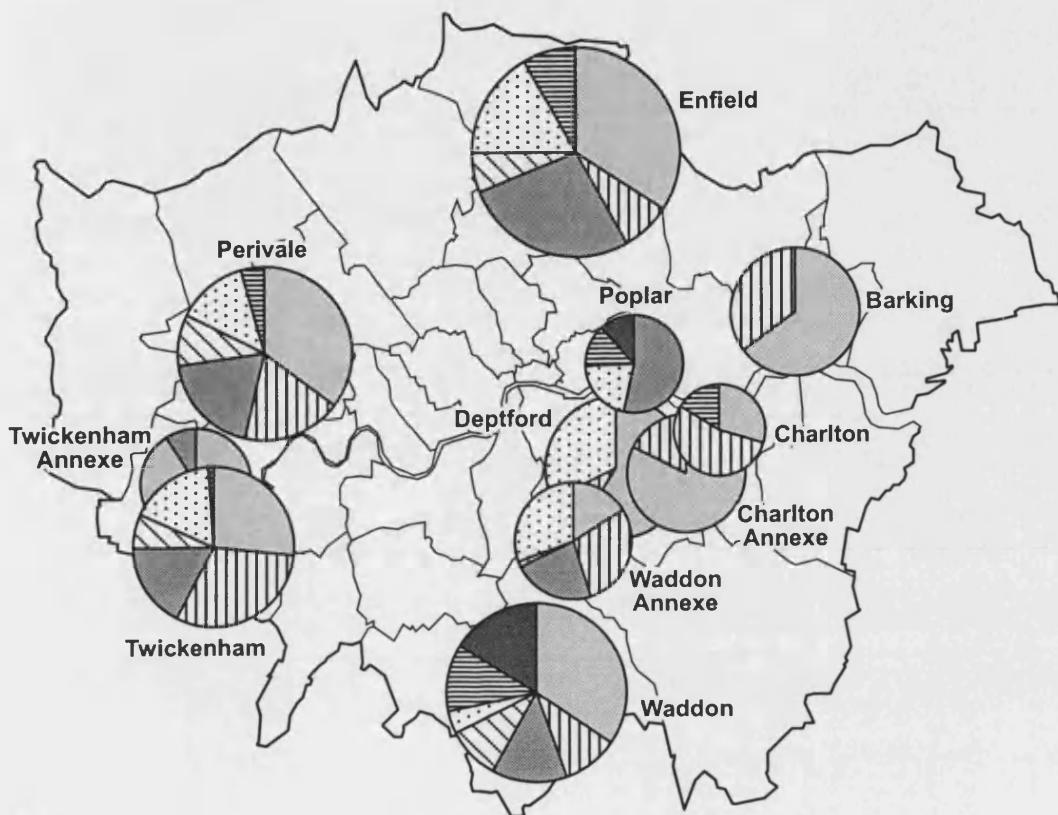
Fig.7.3
Percentage of skillcentre trainees engaged in seven 'families' of skills training for each
Greater London skillcentre location: 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Fig.7.4
Skillcentre trainees engaged in construction trades skills training: Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Skillcentre

70
50
30
10
0

Number of construction trade trainees
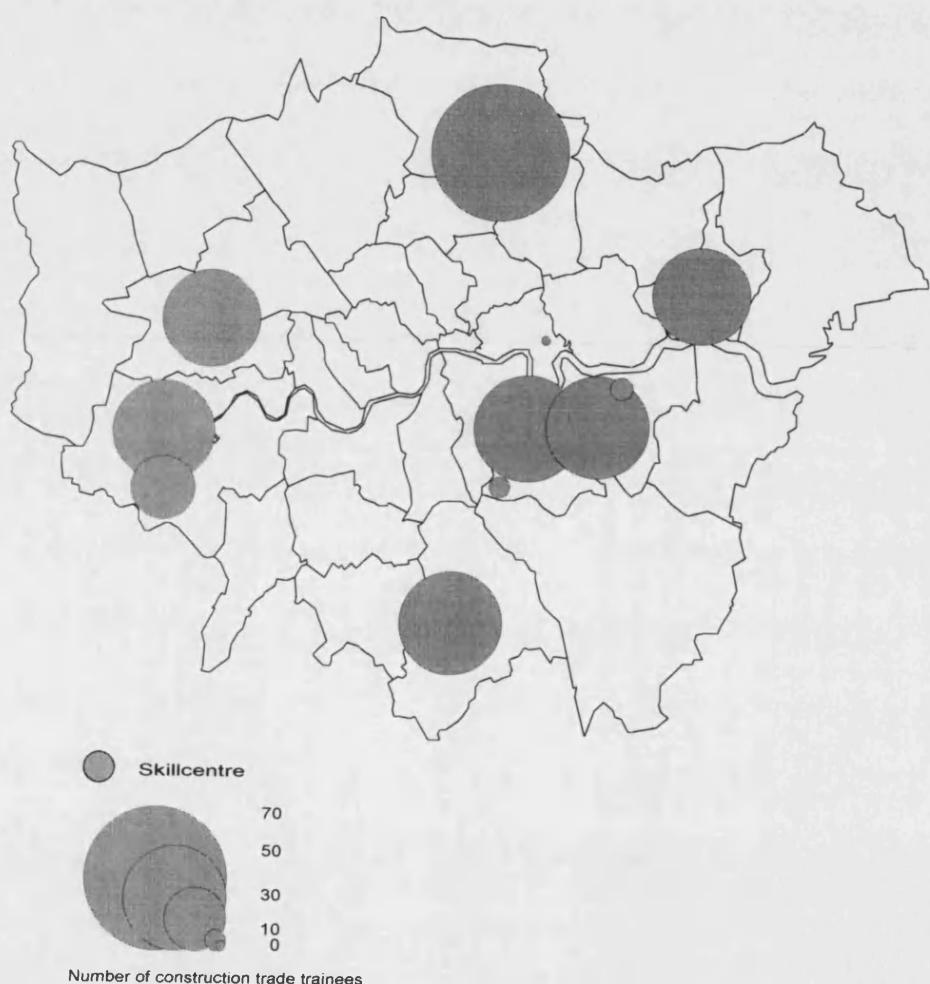
however, it was also the case that certain courses were often only available at one or a small number of Skillcentres across London. Table 7.4 details the spread of trainees within the building trades and shows how certain courses could only be accessed from one or two locations across the whole of London. Training in slating and tiling was only available through Barking Skillcentre; plastering at Waddon and Twickenham Annexe (Hounslow); and heating and ventilation at Deptford and Twickenham.

Table 7.4 Construction trades training by skillcentre and number of trainees: London 1980

Skillcentre	Bri	Car	H&V	P&D	Pla	Plu	SMP	WM	S&T	Total
Barking	19	11	0	7	0	0	0	0	11	48
Charlton	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Charlton Ann. (Kidbrooke)	27	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51
Deptford	20	17	12	0	0	4	0	0	0	53
Enfield	22	27	0	0	0	11	7	0	0	67
Perivale	8	12	0	0	0	17	6	5	0	48
Poplar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twickenham	0	13	10	0	0	8	0	0	0	31
Twickenham Ann. (Hounslow)	23	10	0	8	9	0	0	0	0	50
Waddon	17	0	0	12	7	11	0	4	0	51
Waddon Ann. (Sydenham)	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Total	136	135	22	27	16	51	13	9	11	420

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

Bri-Bricklaying; Car-Carpentry; H&V-Heating and ventilation; P&D-Painting and decorating; Pla-Plastering; Plu-Plumbing; SMP-Street masonry and paving; WM-Woodcutting machining; S&T-Slating and tiling

For the MSC, the overall level and range of provision meant that a broad range of Skillcentre training courses were available across the whole of the London labour market. In terms of meeting their objectives, this was acceptable to the MSC as long as they continued to regard the London labour market as one single local labour market. In addition, the beginning of the shift away from training the unemployed and towards training the employed on day and block-release, meant that employers would meet the cost of their employees travelling to training almost regardless of where that specialist training facility was located within London. From this 'market' perspective, the variation in the nature and level of training provision at each of the London Skillcentres was not a problem to the MSC, in fact there were good 'cost-effective' reasons for Skillcentres to specialise, not least due to the problems of recruiting sufficient specialist instructors.

For the significant majority of the trainees who were unemployed at the time of training, however, the impact of this variation in the content of the training provision between Skillcentres in London, would in large part be determined by perceived and actual travel-to-training constraints, and consequently Skillcentre catchment. This example, illustrates the importance of understanding the nature of the intersection of contemporary processes of labour mobility with the outcomes of contemporary and past periods of labour regulation and governance, within the specificities and context of a particular local labour market situation. In so doing, it is possible to hang onto both sides of a local labour market equation which considers both geography and segmentation arising from the activities of the state.

In terms of gaining access to a particular training course and chosen vocation, the diversity and range of Skillcentre-based training courses in London at that time was much more constrained and limited than the overall picture of provision would suggest. For potential Skillcentre trainees, access to a particular course and Skillcentre was the product and local intersection of a diverse range of processes and decisions relating to labour regulation and governance, operating at a variety of spatial scales, from the level of the local Skillcentre management through to national policy formulation, in both the past and the present. These regulatory processes were coupled with issues and problems associated with labour mobility or Skillcentre catchment.

From the perspective of the potential trainee, however, access to, and eligibility for, Skillcentre-based training in London in the early 1980s, was simply the outcome of a local Skillcentre-based judgement as to their suitability. Suitability, however, had to be seen within the policy objectives attributed to this form of state-funded skills training. That judgement being in part a reflection of the personal characteristics of the potential trainees but also, a decision which embodied the framework of labour regulation and governance established over time and within the specificities of place. For these successful trainees, therefore, their Skillcentre training opportunity was the outcome of their intentional or incidental negotiation of the geographical and institutional constraints operating within the specificities of their particular local labour market and local economy context.

7.2.3 Segmenting the labour market: profile of Skillcentre trainees

Women's participation in GTC and Skillcentre training had always been very low,
except for the particular and exceptional circumstances associated with the regulated
suspension of this division during war-time. Outside of this context, and despite
campaigns to increase the number of women trainees, women generally and nationally
comprised less than 3% of the adult trainees at GTCs and Skillcentres. Skillcentre
training in London in the early 1980s was no exception to this position. 987 of the
trainees (97.1%) were men, leaving only 29 (2.9%) women trainees across the whole
of the Skillcentre adult courses and sites within Greater London.

Skillcentres in the early 1980s in London were open to men and women within the
working population but the continued domination of the traditional male-dominated
craft skill work areas, and the continued gender division of labour within this society,
meant that an effective exclusion of women from Skillcentre training remained.
Skillcentre training in London generally supported the registered unemployed, who
were predominately male, within a local economic situation where women's
employment was growing. The gender bias in Skillcentre training was the product,
therefore, of the consequences of past processes of labour regulation, contemporary
processes of regulatory need and economic restructuring, and continuing processes of
segmentation of the labour force on the basis of gender.

The age profile of the Skillcentre trainees (Table 7.5) shows that the majority of the
trainees were aged between 20-29 (609 trainees/60.4%) with an emphasis upon those
in their early twenties, and an age peak at 20-21 (20-24 350/34.7%). Although over
87% of the trainees were aged between 19-39 years, the survey found an age range for
adult training of between 16 and 60. The essentially young adult male Skillcentre
population, however, had other personal characteristics which reflected the social
objectives of the skills training whilst also, in terms of post-training placement, being
conducive to the fulfilment of the MSC's economic skills training objectives. Nearly
70% of the trainees had left school at the minimum leaving age (658/68.6%), with a
further 23.9% (229) staying on until 18. Just over a third of the trainees (321/33.8%)

left school with no formal certificated qualifications, and a further 44.7% (425) trainees left school with some GCE 'O' levels or CSE qualifications.

Table 7.5 London skillcentres trainee survey: age profile

Age	Number of trainees	Percentage
16-19	59	5.9
20-24	350	34.7
25-29	259	25.7
30-34	157	15.6
35-39	73	7.2
40-44	48	4.8
45-49	29	2.9
50-54	16	1.6
55-60	17	1.7
Total	1008	100.0

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

Since leaving school with this generally low base level of accredited qualifications, over three-quarters of the trainees (765/75.1%) had not attended any other training courses provided by the MSC/Training Agency. A small proportion had attended TA Training Workshops (37/4.2%), Work Preparation Short Courses (25/2.8%) and Community Industry (26/2.9%). The majority of the trainees, therefore, were at least five years past their school leaving age and had a low level of formal qualifications and other skills training gained outside of the workplace and provided through the state.

In employment terms, a significant number of the trainees did claim to have some experience in the area of their Skillcentre training course (316/31.3%). Table 7.6 categorises this experience, and shows that 47.5% (150) of these trainees had experience in engineering and related trades. A further 70 trainees (22.2%) regarded themselves as 'construction workers' with other related trades well represented (for example, painters and decorators and woodworkers each accounting for 2.9% of these trainees). Work in relation to electrical services accounted for 8.2% (26). However, in all of these examples the level of experience is open to question, and may simply reflect working within the trade area rather than having acquired relevant skills. This

is perhaps exemplified by the 29 (9.2%) trainees who claimed 'experience' in their Skillcentre trade, but regarded themselves as 'labourers' within that context.

Table 7.6 Occupational experience in skillcentre training area

Occupation	Number of trainees	Percentage
Farmers, foresters	1	0.3
Electrical & electronics	26	8.2
Engineering workers	150	47.5
Woodworkers	9	2.9
Clothing workers	5	1.6
Paper & printing workers	2	0.6
Makers of other products	1	0.3
Construction workers	70	22.2
Painters & decorators	9	2.9
Drivers	2	0.6
Labourers nec	29	9.2
Warehousemen/storekeepers	1	0.3
Sales workers	2	0.6
Service workers	2	0.6
Professional, technical	5	1.6
Armed Forces	2	0.6
TOTAL	316	100.0

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

Nearly all of the trainees had had a job since leaving full-time education (986/97.2%). For those trainees who had claimed some previous experience of their training area, nearly a third (58/30.4%) had been in that work for less than a year. A further 37.7% (72) worked in that related trade/skill area for between one and three years. 36 (18.8%) of the trainees had worked in a related trade for over five years. These trainees were almost exclusively the older trainees who had more stable employment records, and were most likely re-training following redundancy. A more stable pattern of employment appears amongst the trainees in relation to their last job prior to training, whether it was related to their training course or not. 27.6% (255) had been employed in their last job for less than a year, with 30.5% (282) working for between one and three years in that last job. However, 42% (388) of the trainees had been in their last job for more than three years prior to training, with nearly a third of these trainees having been in their last job for more than 10 years. Where the last job was regarded as their 'normal' line of work only 18.2% (60) worked in their normal work for less than a year, 33.3% (110) for between one and three years, and a significant 19.7% (65) working for between three and five years in what the trainees perceived to be their 'normal' job. Perhaps most significantly in terms of the fulfilment of both

economic and social objectives, at the time of their application for the Skillcentre training over 60% of the trainees were unemployed (622/62.1), the majority of these being registered as unemployed (541/87.0% of unemployed). A further 37.1% (372) were, however, employed or self-employed, with just 8 trainees (0.8%) in full-time education or training.

Overall, therefore, the Skillcentre trainees in London represented a distinctive group, generally (and extracting a commonality of experience from within a variable population) with the following characteristics. The 'average' trainee was almost certainly male, and in their early twenties. They were more likely to be single and to have no children, with a significant minority still living with their parents. They had left full-time education at the minimum school-leaving age and had few formal qualifications. Post school, few of the trainees had sought further skills training, as provided by the state. In general, most of the younger adult trainees were formally unskilled, although a significant grouping, through their work experience, regarded themselves as semi-skilled or skilled manual in another work area from their Skillcentre training.

At the time of their application to the Skillcentre, a substantial majority of the trainees were unemployed, although over a third of the trainees were on day/block-release from their employer. A significant minority of the trainees claimed to have some relevant work experience in the trade/skill area of their Skillcentre course. Nearly all the trainees had had a job since leaving full-time education and for many of the trainees that experience had been significant in terms of the length of time they had been in any particular job. In employment terms, however, the average trainee, whilst experiencing unemployment, did not perceive themselves to be completely marginalised within the labour market or moving between a disparate set of casual jobs. Over 80% of the Skillcentre trainees felt that they did have a 'normal line of work' (794/82.9%), with over a third of the trainees seeking to extend their skills base in a trade within which they already felt they had some experience.

Three distinctive groups of trainees emerge from this analysis. First, the majority of the trainees in their twenties reflected an explicit emphasis upon those young adults who had generally left education at the minimum school-leaving age, with a variable labour market experience, comprising periods of employment and unemployment with none or limited further skills training. Given the high level of unemployment amongst young adults at this time, coupled with the developing concern about the growth of long-term unemployment, this group were a priority in terms of both temporarily 'warehousing' a disadvantaged section of the labour market at a time of economic recession, and as an attempt to stabilise, as early as possible and through the acquisition of skills in demand by local employers, employment experiences which could otherwise easily become the basis for long-term unemployment in the trainees later years.

The long 'tail' of older trainees points to a second objective of Skillcentre training at this time. Access to this training was also targeted towards older members of the working population, particularly those who had been made redundant through the in-situ restructuring, re-location or closure of their local employer. In the context of significant and continuing job loss within the London regional economy the Skillcentres were increasingly geared towards the task of re-training skilled adult workers. These workers had experienced a stable employment record, often over a considerable period of time, but were now subject to the effects of industrial change and restructuring within their local economy and now found their skills and experience devalued and 'mis-matching' with the needs of local employers.

The third significant grouping, were those workers who were already employed at the time of their training, and who were generally seeking, either through their own actions or through the support of their employers, to enhance and develop their existing skills base. Many of these trainees were on day or block release from their existing employer and represented the gradual shift in Skillcentre training away from the unemployed and towards the employed. This significant group of trainees reflected the developing neo-liberal policy emphasis upon meeting the needs of local employers through skills training provision. The anticipated growth in the size of this group of

trainees in particular, represented the basis upon which the Skillcentres would eventually be expected to trade-in-profit, charging employers directly for training services and establishing a quasi-market for skills training as a prelude to privatisation. As detailed earlier, the establishment of this quasi-market for skills training had a significant impact upon the geographical availability of Skillcentre training throughout Britain, and particularly within London at the end of the 1980s (Leonard, 1999).

For the first two categories of Skillcentre trainee, the emphasis appeared to be upon the primarily social welfare objectives of supporting people and distinctive groups disadvantaged within the labour market. In terms, however, of the national regulatory need at this time, the Skillcentres were intended to be primarily supporting the essentially economic objectives of providing skilled workers to meet local employer demand and as a secondary social purpose, to ameliorate the worst effects, in terms of the impact upon the local working population, of industrial change and restructuring. Within London, in the early 1980s, and within the local context of inner-city decline and growing manufacturing job loss in the outer London industrial areas, the economic objectives associated with Skillcentre training were perhaps increasingly difficult to achieve. The work experience of the trainees suggests, however, that the economic objectives of this form of skills training were still dominant even within this local context of persistent industrial decline and associated large-scale social problems. Within the broad context of the segmented labour market and the MSC's view of London as one single labour market, both the economic *and* social objectives were to be achieved by supporting workers clearly disadvantaged in the labour market but not necessarily those in greatest need, or indeed resident in areas of greatest social deprivation.

Although this training was, in terms of the segmented labour market, assisting disadvantaged workers, they were generally not 'marginalised' workers. Many of the trainees felt that they had a 'normal' line of work, had been in their last job for some years, and possessed relevant work experience. Those workers made redundant through industrial restructuring, for example, possessed a good skills base with

extended work experience. Whilst the growing number of trainees who were employed and on day and block-release from local employers could also clearly not be seen as marginalised.

The trainee profile suggests that Skillcentre training in London could be seen to reflect and reinforce broader processes of labour market segmentation. In terms of the MSC fulfilling their objectives through this cohort of trainees, it is apparent that many of the trainees had already demonstrated their employability through their work experience prior to training. The MSC's criterion for success of 'placement in work and utilising taught skills' following Skillcentre training, was more likely to be achieved by such a group rather than by a set of trainees who had no sense of their 'normal' line of work, who had an even more limited and fragmented work experience record, and who had no previous relevant experience in a related trade.

Arguably, this cohort of adult trainees at London Skillcentres in the early 1980s, represented a chosen sub-set of the working population most likely to meet the primary economic and secondary social objectives of the MSC's Skillcentre training initiative. As such, the trainee profile, suggests that although they represented groups disadvantaged within the labour market, they did not represent those workers most marginalised within the segmented labour market. It is possible to argue, therefore, that the selection of the trainees through interview, facilitated the success of this training initiative, by choosing trainees most likely to subsequently achieve placement in their chosen vocational trade, rather than those workers in greatest need.

The MSC, through both the London Region Office and the individual Skillcentre managers, accepted this 'inverse-care' interpretation and acknowledged the selectivity attached to the eligibility procedures by stating that the Skillcentre training was targeted at this particular and distinctive type of worker, and maintaining that other training and work preparation initiatives were available to support those in greater labour market need (Skillcentre survey preparation interview, LRO, MSC). The Skillcentre trainee, therefore, represented workers who had already demonstrated their employability, through related but variable work experience over the previous 5-10

years, through a more stable employment history which had been terminated by redundancy and through their employment status at the time they entered training. Selection and the development of a skills training 'market' was reinforcing the segmentation processes already in operation within the labour market.

7.3 Skillcentre catchments and local labour markets

Whilst the Skillcentre trainees had negotiated the institutional constraints upon eligibility for training, the geographical constraints associated with this aspect of skills formation and labour regulation in Greater London also served to disadvantage and exclude potential Skillcentre training applicants. Whilst the Skillcentre training was seen to reflect and reinforce labour market segmentation processes, the coherence of the segmented labour market was 'distorted' by the geographical constraints of access and catchment. Much as the internal spatial coherence of the travel-to-work-area was 'sliced up' by the recognition of the importance of labour market segmentation processes, workers within the same segment of the labour market experienced differential access to Skillcentre training because of their location within Greater London. This section details this geography of Skillcentre training in London.

Fig.7.5a shows the residential location, by London borough, of the Skillcentre trainees in Greater London in the early 1980s. For reference, the location of the London Skillcentre sites are also included. Whilst each of the London boroughs had Skillcentre trainees resident in their administrative area, it is also apparent that the spatial distribution of trainees across London was variable and that this variation, as argued below, was significant. Fig.7.5a (and Table 7.7) shows a range in percentage terms (and absolute numbers) of between 0.9%-6.8% of trainees (9-67) across all the London boroughs. The outer London boroughs (49.3%), and the trainees resident beyond the Greater London boundary (12.1%) accounting for 61.4% (609) of the adult trainees attending the London Skillcentres.

This in itself was important in two ways. First, given the established mainstream policy aimed at resolving of the inner-city problem, the location of eight of the eleven

Fig.7.5a
Residential location of skillcentre trainees by borough: Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Skillcentre

6.1 and above

4.6 - 6.0

3.1 - 4.5

2.1 - 3.0

0.0 - 2.0

Skillcentre trainees by residence
(Percentage of respondents)
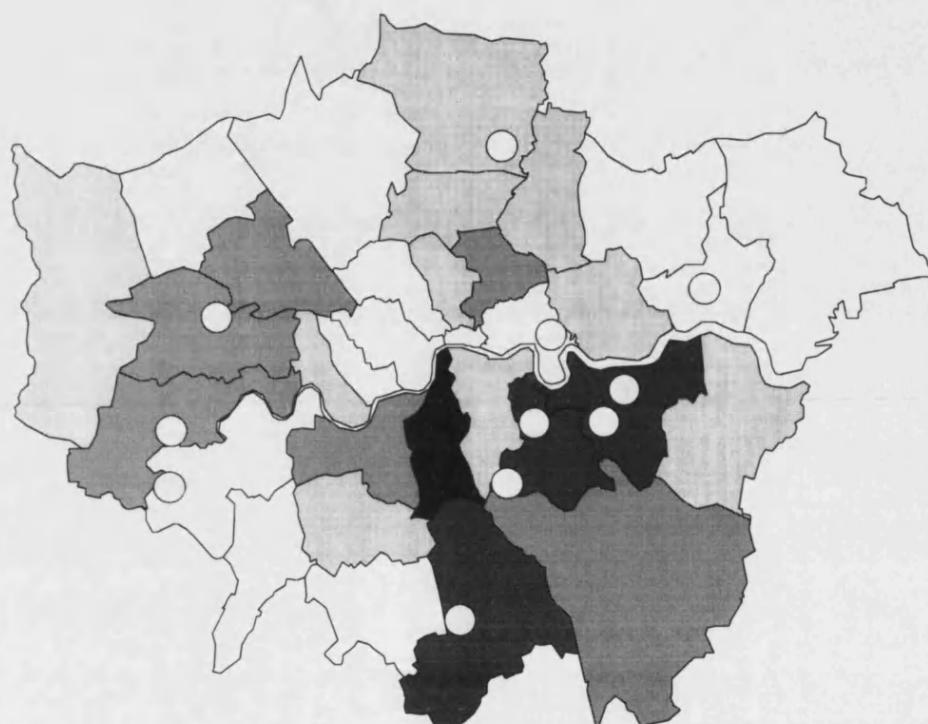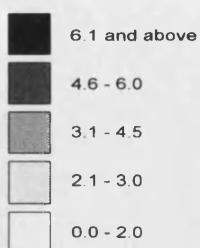
Outside London (12.1%)

Skillcentre sites in the outer London boroughs was an obstacle to supporting and achieving these policy objectives (Fig.7.5b). Secondly, given that the location of the London Skillcentres was, in the early 1980s, largely the product of locational decisions made in the past under very different circumstances of labour regulatory need, the Skillcentre capacity for responding to changing social and economic need within a local labour market context such as Greater London, was constrained by the inertia, lags and resistances operating within this element of the distinctive local training infrastructure.

Table 7.7 London skillcentre trainees by borough of residence

Borough	Number of trainees	Percentage
Camden	13	1.3
Hackney	33	3.3
Hammersmith & Fulham	22	2.2
Haringey	28	2.8
Islington	29	2.9
Kensington & Chelsea	10	1.0
Lambeth	67	6.8
Lewisham	58	5.9
Newham	29	2.9
Southwark	29	2.9
Tower Hamlets	16	1.6
Wandsworth	37	3.7
Westminster	12	1.2
Inner London Total	383	38.6
Barking & Dagenham	19	1.9
Barnet	16	1.6
Bexley	26	2.6
Brent	32	3.2
Bromley	32	3.2
Croydon	53	5.3
Ealing	44	4.4
Enfield	27	2.7
Greenwich	55	5.5
Harrow	9	0.9
Havering	17	1.7
Hillingdon	21	2.1
Hounslow	32	3.2
Kingston-upon-Thames	11	1.1
Merton	23	2.3
Redbridge	17	1.7
Richmond-upon-Thames	16	1.6
Sutton	15	1.5
Waltham Forest	24	2.4
Outer London Total	489	49.3
Outside London	120	12.1
Total	992	100.0

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980)

Fig.7.5b
Location of Greater London skillcentre sites and Inner London boroughs: 1980
(Source: London Regional Office, Manpower Services Commission; GLC, 1986a)

● Skillcentre

☐ Inner London boroughs
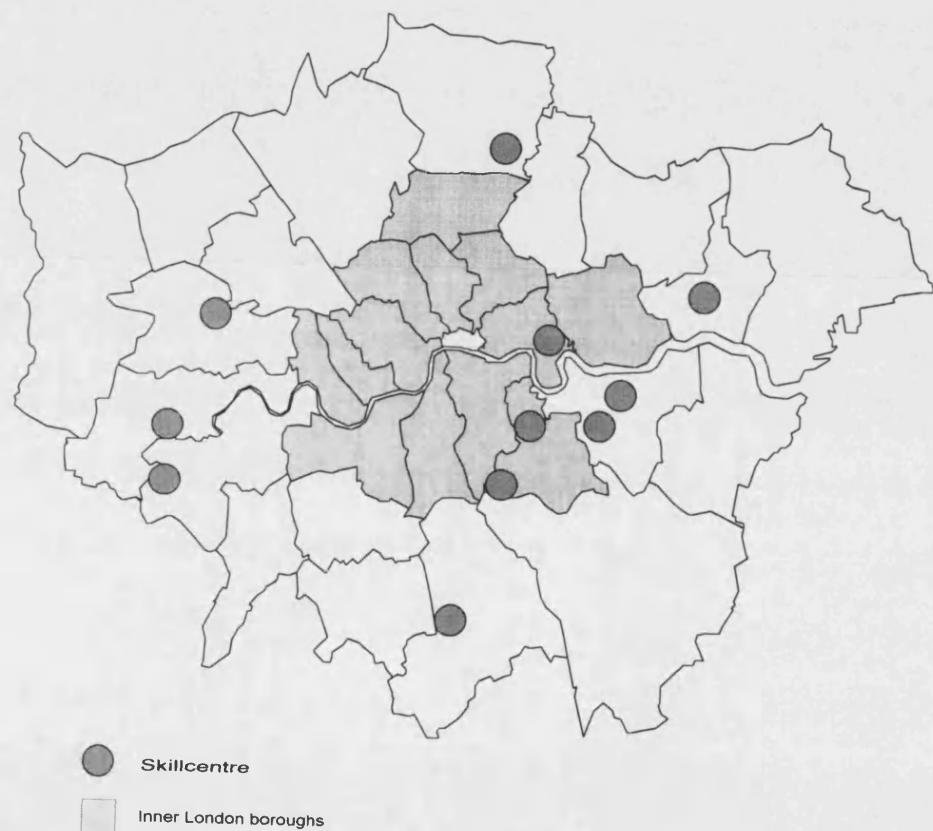
The variation apparent at the level of the London boroughs, however, is also important in relation to the view that each of the London Skillcentres had a distinctive catchment area which intersected with the labour market segmentation processes to further restrict and exclude potential trainees seeking skills training. Fig.7.5a shows a number of boroughs which had higher numbers of Skillcentre trainees resident within their areas in relation to neighbouring boroughs. Comparing this spatial distribution of the Skillcentre trainee's place of residence with the location of the London Skillcentres, there is a strong visual correlation between the two distributions, along with a number of clear anomalies. This spatial distribution of Skillcentre trainees initially highlights at least three distinct catchments in parts of south and south-east London, west London, and north and east London.

Access to Skillcentre training advantaged certain workers and disadvantaged others, workers who co-existed spatially, through labour market segmentation, as well as those living in different parts of London, through local labour markets. If those catchments were in part derived from locational decisions made under past and different conditions of labour regulation, then this training initiative will not have been successful in terms of its contribution to reducing labour market disadvantage within localities and geographical areas prioritised by mainstream state policy. The emphasis of British inner-city policy, for example, was not simply one of helping and assisting people disadvantaged in the labour market. As part of a broader set of policy initiatives geared towards the regeneration of these areas, inner-city policy was specifically directed towards helping that same group of people *within* particular places. The detailed analysis of the Skillcentre catchment areas in London, developed below, illustrates the extent to which the Skillcentre training initiative of the early 1980s, was generally unable to flexibly respond to changing social and economic conditions within London.

7.3.1 South and south-east London

The strongest concentration of Skillcentre trainees was in inner and outer south and south-east London. The boroughs of Lewisham (58/5.8%), Greenwich (55/5.5%) and

Croydon (53/5.3%) had the highest percentages of resident Skillcentre trainees, excluding Lambeth (67/6.8%), across the whole of London. These three boroughs, accounting for the homes of 16.6% of the trainees (166), also accounted for the locations of five of the eleven London Skillcentre sites operating over the survey period. These Skillcentres were Charlton and Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke) in the London Borough of Greenwich, Deptford and Waddon Annexe (Sydenham) in Lewisham, and Waddon in the borough of Croydon.

The outer London boroughs of Bromley (32/3.2%) and Bexley (26/2.6%) also had relatively high levels of resident trainees compared to over half of the remaining London boroughs. The main anomaly within this pattern, however, were the boroughs of Southwark and Lambeth. Lambeth, as already mentioned above, had the highest proportion, in percentage terms of resident trainees than any other London borough. Whilst Southwark, a neighbouring inner London borough, and geographically closer to the four Skillcentres of south-east London, had a relatively low proportion of resident trainees.

This thesis has argued that the 'friction of distance' represents a crude and inadequate geography of social relations, and that a simple distance-decay function should not be expected within the complex overlapping and segmented labour markets which comprise Greater London. The high figure for Lambeth may in part be explained by the policy initiative undertaken by the GLC, and detailed in chapter six, to 'bus' trainees to Twickenham Skillcentre from the borough of Lambeth, and thus overcome the problems of Skillcentre access and catchment.

In addition, the lower proportion of resident trainees in an area such as Southwark, may also be in part explained by the means through which the potential trainees became aware of the training opportunity, and this may have had implications across and within quite small areas of Greater London. Whilst over 70% of the trainees (711/72.9%) found out about their Skillcentre training course through the various offices of the Department of Employment (DE) and the MSC, only 21 trainees (2.2%) approached the Skillcentres directly, but 70% (690) learnt about the training

opportunity through a jobcentre (509/52.2%) or employment office (181/18.5%). Apart from friends and relatives (208/21.3%), these were the main means of initial contact between the DE/MSC and the trainee.

The survey respondents who derived their course information from these offices, cited 50 different jobcentres and 51 different employment offices. The range of trainees accepted from each of these offices, varied between 1-12 for the jobcentres, and between 1-36 for the employment offices. Figs.7.6a-b show the distribution of the offices referred to by the trainees. The proximity of a local Skillcentre in part correlating with an increased number of trainees who derived their course information from the local office of the DE. In particular, across the whole of London, the south and south-east London employment offices of Lewisham (21/3.2%), Woolwich (26/4.0%) and Croydon (36/5.5%) provided course details to the highest number of Skillcentre trainees. These offices are in close proximity to the Skillcentres in south-east London, and Waddon Skillcentre in south London in Croydon.

The south and south-east London catchment was identified in Fig.7.5a from the residential location of the Skillcentre trainees. Five Skillcentre sites were seen to be located within this area which included at least the outer London boroughs of Croydon and Greenwich, and the inner London boroughs of Lewisham and Lambeth. To a lesser extent, the boroughs of Bromley and Bexley, Southwark and possibly Wandsworth in the inner south-west of London may also be included. The five Skillcentre sites were sited at Charlton (37/3.6%) and its annexe at Kidbrooke (62/6.1%), Waddon (148/14.5%)and its annexe at Sydenham (62/6.1%) and Deptford (90/8.8%). These five, of the eleven London centres, accounted for 399 (39.2%) of the adult Skillcentre trainees across London over the period of the Skillcentre survey.

These five Skillcentres each derived their trainees from an essentially local catchment, the catchment for each centre displaying its own generally distinct geographical characteristics. Figs.7.7a-e illustrate the catchment areas for each of these Skillcentres, in terms of the trainees residential location. Charlton Skillcentre drew nearly 40% of its trainees from the borough of Greenwich (11/39.6%), within which it was located.

Fig.7.6a
Skillcentre trainees deriving information about skills training from a jobcentre:
Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)
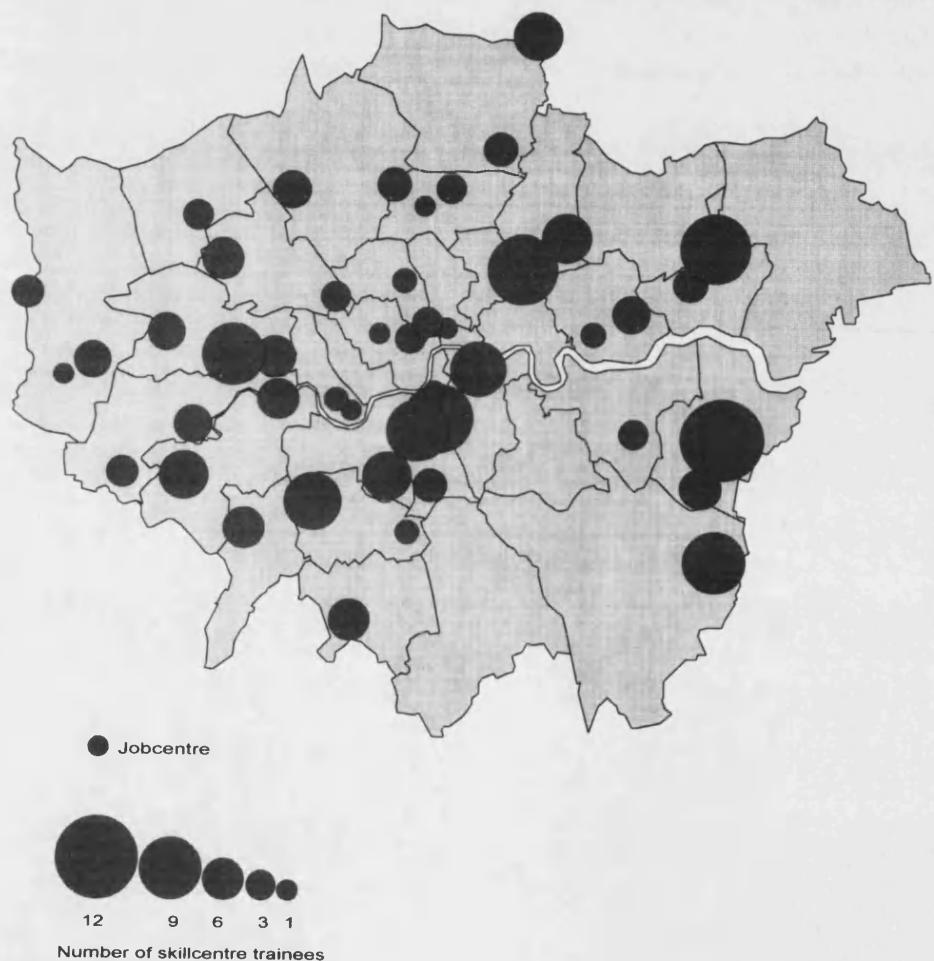
Fig.7.6b
Skillcentre trainees deriving information about skills training from a Department of Employment office: Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Legend:

● Employment office

36   27   18   9   1

Number of skillcentre trainees
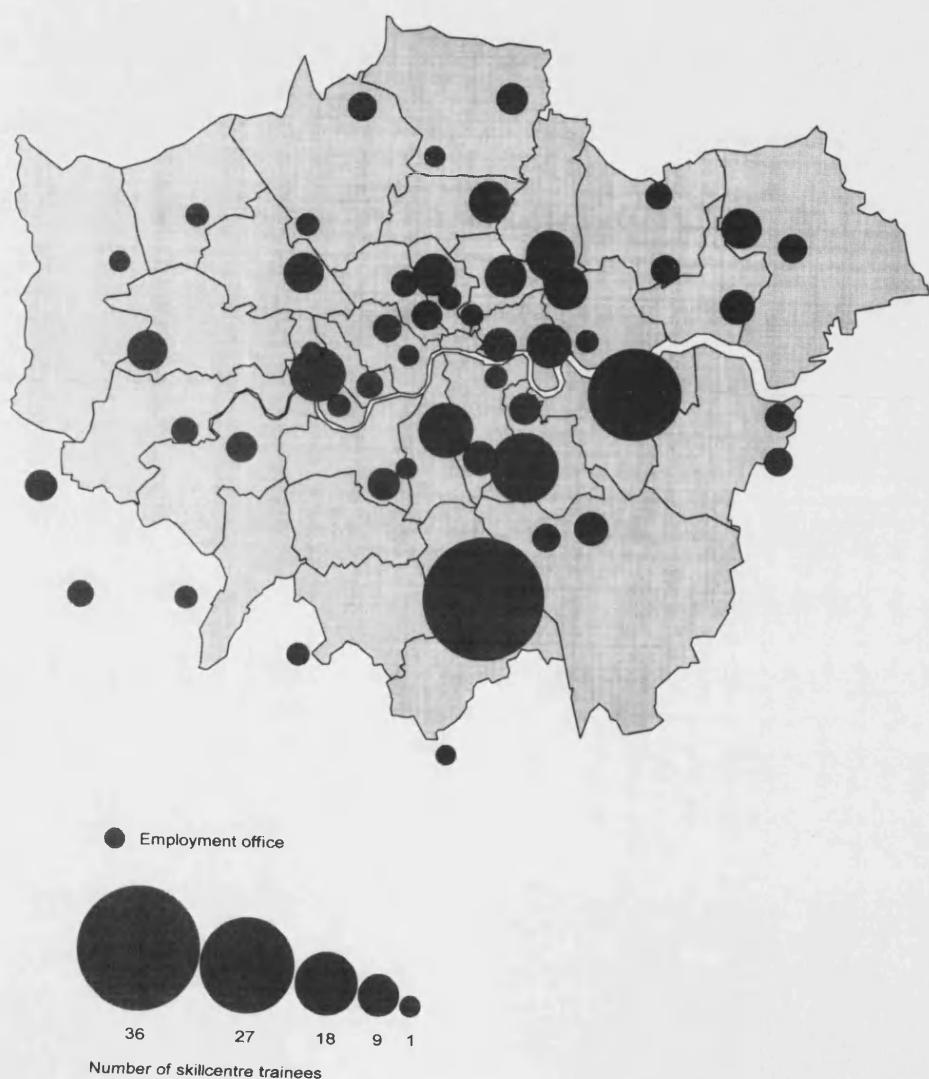
Together with the two neighbouring boroughs of Lewisham and Bexley, these three boroughs provided over 70% of the Skillcentre's trainees (Fig.7.7a). Lambeth in inner south London provided the only other substantive source of trainees (6/16.7%), with just three trainees (8.4%) crossing the River Thames in order to gain access to these training courses. The catchment for this Skillcentre, therefore, was tightly drawn around these four boroughs.

The subsequent closure of Charlton Skillcentre and its re-opening under the control of the Charlton Training Consortium (see chapter six) represented a form of interplay and interaction between different local and non-local labour market institutions. This situation, although it may still be seen in terms of the construction of a distinctive local training infrastructure, created two separate and local landscapes of labour regulation within the same geographical context. The former MSC Skillcentre at Charlton, and the nearby 'flagship' MSC Skillcentre at Deptford, were managed by agents of the local (Charlton) and central state (Deptford), and derived their catchment from potentially the same geographical area but from distinctly different segments of the labour market and different social groups.

The GLC, through the GLTB, were particularly concerned to provide a skills training opportunity in this area which was concerned to reduce disadvantage in this local labour market on the basis of the *ascribed* characteristics of the workers, particularly gender and race, as opposed to the MSC's local Skillcentre which may arguably be seen to have sought to achieve its labour market objectives via selection and eligibility procedures based on the *achieved* characteristics of the trainees, principally their previous employment and skills (Peck, 1996). With these essentially separate motivations, the distinctive local landscapes of labour regulation which co-existed spatially represented two relatively autonomous training infrastructures, linked by the built and geographical environment of the MSC's former Charlton Skillcentre and the different and essentially conflicting perspectives on labour market disadvantage and the appropriate local means of labour regulation.

Fig.7.7a
Charlton skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

○ Charlton skillcentre

■ 20.1 - 30.6

■ 10.1 - 20.0

▨ 3.1 - 10.0

□ 0.1 - 3.0

□ 0.0

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)

▨ Outside London
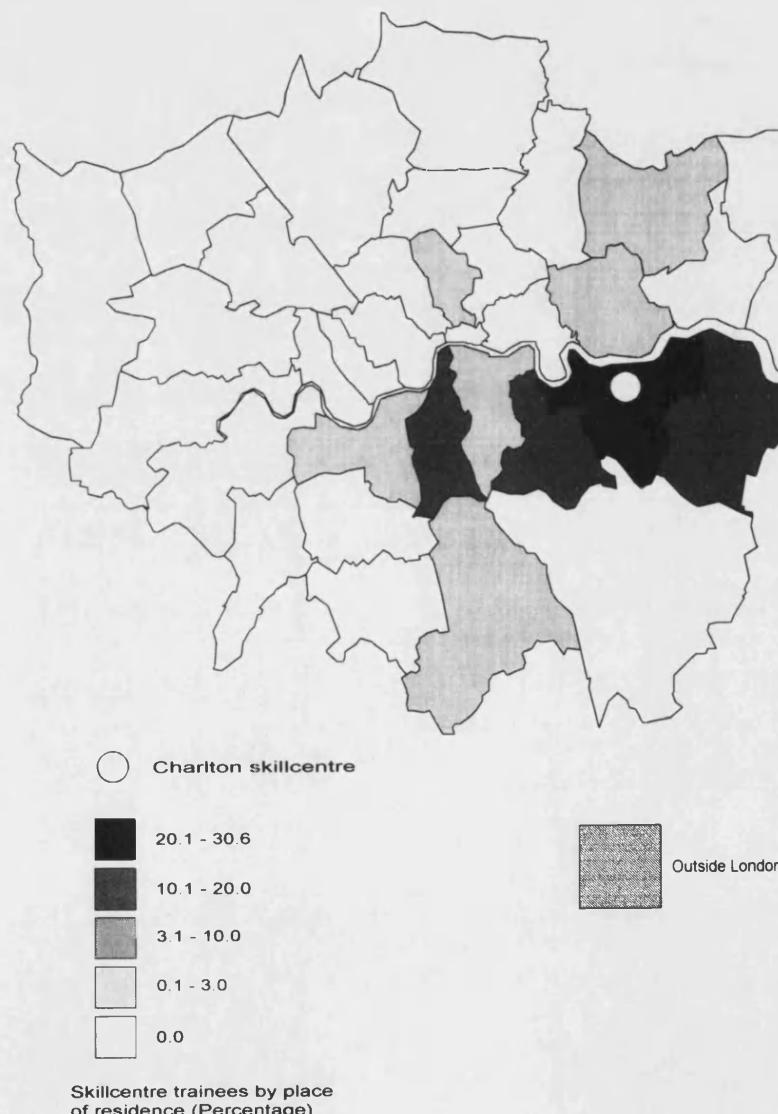
Charlton Annexe, at Kidbrooke, displayed an equally clear catchment pattern, but one which was distinctly different from its neighbouring Skillcentre in Charlton (Fig.7.7b). In this instance, 19.7% of the trainees (12) lived in the borough of Greenwich, where the Skillcentre was located. However, 27.9% (17) of the trainees lived in the neighbouring inner London borough of Lewisham. The Skillcentre at Kidbrooke was located near to the administrative boundary between Lewisham and Greenwich. The Kidbrooke catchment, when compared to Charlton Skillcentre, spread more substantively into a number of neighbouring boroughs, including the boroughs of Southwark (9.8%) and Lambeth (8.2%) to the west, and Bromley (14.8%) and Bexley (6.6%) to the south-east and east. These last two outer London boroughs, together with the outer London borough of Greenwich, provided over 40% of the trainees to this Skillcentre, again with only four trainees crossing the river (6.6%). The Charlton Annexe catchment was clearly focused upon Lewisham and Greenwich, with a secondary south of the Thames catchment encompassing Bromley, Southwark, Lambeth and Bexley. Together these six south and south-east London boroughs accounted for 87% (53) of this Skillcentre's trainees.

Deptford Skillcentre, at the time of the survey, was in the process of developing its own training offer and also receiving trainees and courses from Charlton and Charlton Annexe. Whilst the catchment area of the Skillcentre, therefore, retained some significant similarities to those of its neighbouring centres, located in Charlton and Charlton Annexe in Kidbrooke, it also displayed significant differences, not least in terms of the spread of boroughs which 'supplied' trainees. The four principal boroughs constituting this catchment were Greenwich (17.6%), Bexley (12.9%), Lewisham (11.8%) and Southwark (10.6%).

In addition, and unusually for the inner London Skillcentres, 18.8% of the trainees at Deptford started their journey-to-training from outside of the Greater London area. Also counter to the experience at the previous two Skillcentres, Deptford drew 15.5% of its trainees from north of the river, spread across seven boroughs. So while Deptford, as a then new inner-city Skillcentre, received trainees from eleven of the

Fig.7.7b
Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke) skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

◯ Charlton Annexe (Kidbrooke) skillcentre

- ■ 20.1 - 27.9
- ■ 10.1 - 20.0
- ▨ 4.1 - 10.0
- □ 0.1 - 4.0
- □ 0.0

▨ Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
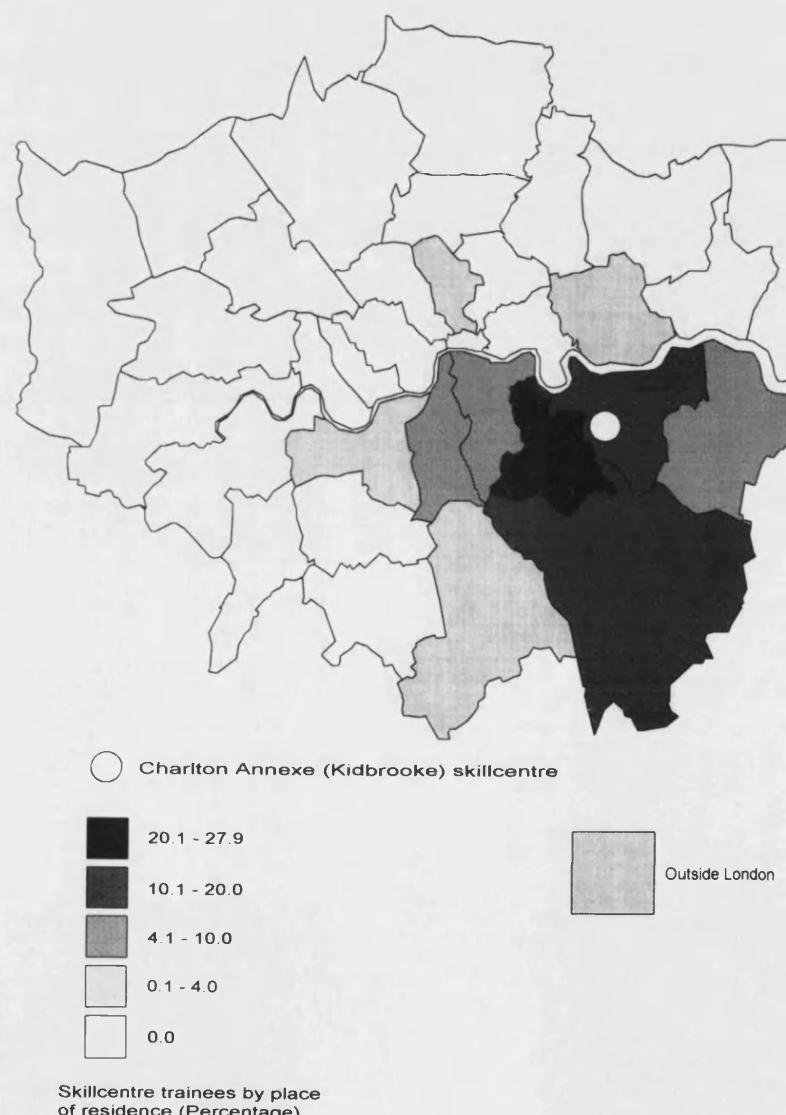
thirteen inner London boroughs, it also still gained 56.4% of its trainees from outer London boroughs and outside of Greater London.

The scheduled closure of Poplar Skillcentre, located directly across the river in Tower Hamlets, and the 'running-down' and transfer of its courses to Deptford, may have accounted for the north London trainees. In addition London's new 'flagship' and purpose-built Skillcentre was intended to deliver the relatively new policy emphasis of serving the needs of disadvantaged inner-city residents and this will have been reflected in the trainee selection. The catchment area illustrated in Fig.7.7c, therefore, primarily centred as it was upon two inner and two outer London boroughs, namely Southwark, Lewisham, Greenwich and Bexley, may well have represented a transitional stage in the rationalisation and restructuring of the London Skillcentre network. Deptford in the early 1980s was still attempting to serve the needs of trainees from the older Skillcentres scheduled to close under the MSC Skillcentre rationalisation plan of 1980, namely Charlton Annexe and Poplar. It was also seeking to extend its training provision to encompass a greater proportion of trainees resident in inner-city areas.

The three Skillcentres considered so far only had in total four trainees who were resident in the London Borough of Croydon. Waddon Skillcentre, also located in that borough, was after Enfield (196 trainees), the second largest Skillcentre in London (148/14.5%), and with its annexe at Sydenham was the biggest Skillcentre unit within the Greater London network (210/20.6% in total). The catchment area around the Skillcentre at Waddon (Fig.7.7d) was, therefore, both extensive and clearly defined. The catchment, covering fifteen boroughs and drawing a significant number of trainees from outside of Greater London, was in one sense space-extensive, but it was also arguably 'place-intensive' centred as it was upon the borough of Croydon.

The Waddon catchment reinforces the view that each of the London Skillcentres operated within the organisational and institutional structures of the London region of the MSC, and also as a relatively autonomous entity deriving their trainees principally from a local catchment and distinctive segments of that local training and labour

Fig.7.7c
Deptford skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)
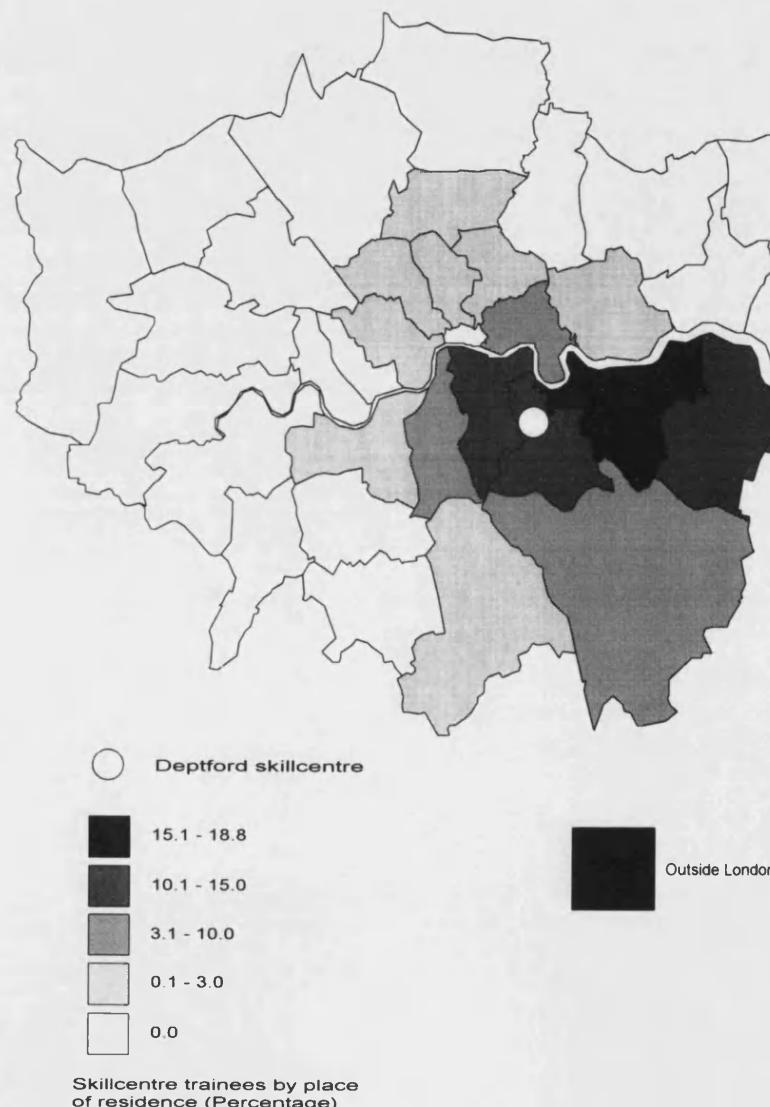
○ Deptford skillcentre

■ 15.1 - 18.8

■ 10.1 - 15.0

▨ 3.1 - 10.0

▦ 0.1 - 3.0

□ 0.0

■ Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)

Fig.7.7d
Waddon skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

◯ Waddon skillcentre

■ 16.1 - 20.9

■ 8.1 - 16.0

▨ 3.1 - 8.0

▢ 0.1 - 3.0

▢ 0.0

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)

■ Outside London
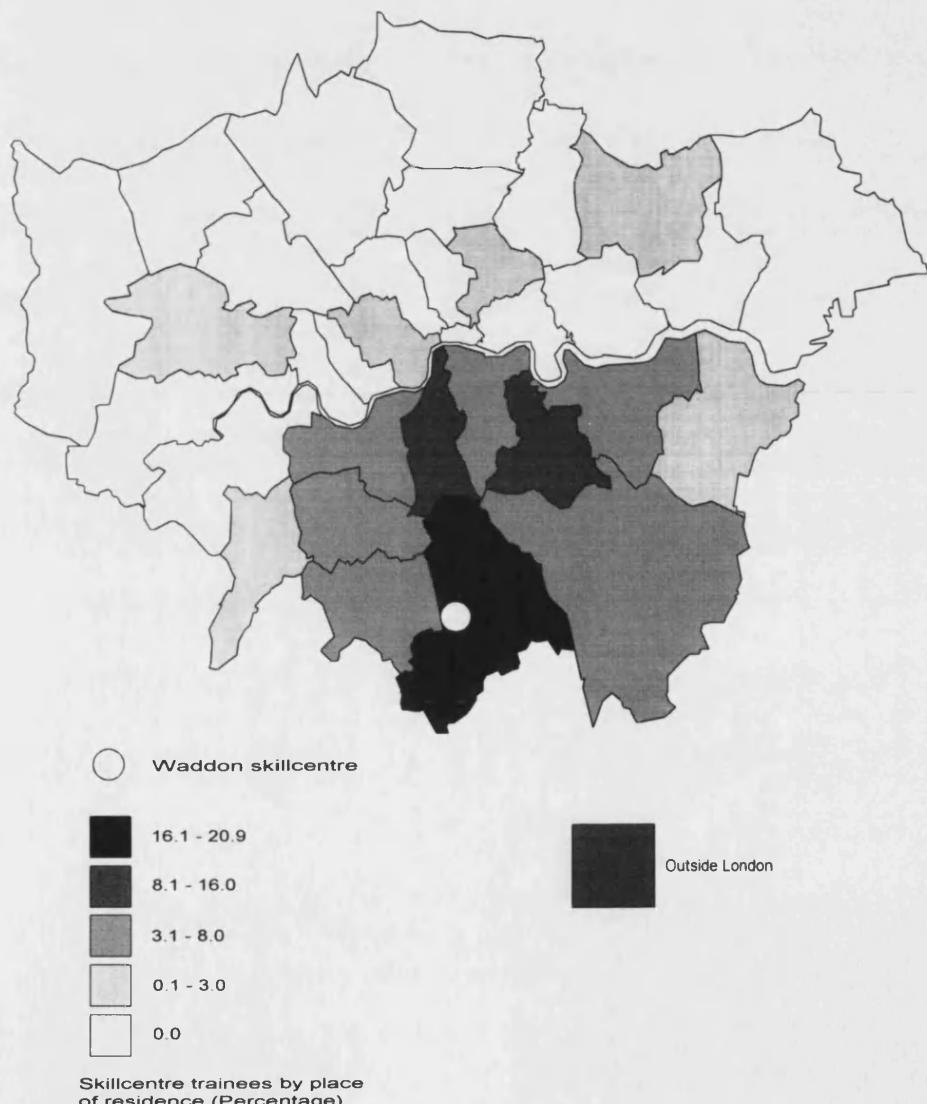
market. The Waddon Skillcentre catchment area also illustrates how the locational decisions of past regulatory periods, Waddon opened in February 1931, could have a major impact upon access to training in subsequent periods, under decidedly different circumstances of labour regulation and governance.

The north London boroughs provided only 4.2% (6) of the trainees at Waddon. The outer London location also meant that nearly two-thirds (98/66.4%) of the trainees lived in outer London boroughs and outside of the Greater London area. The Waddon catchment was centred upon the borough of Croydon providing 20.9% (31) of the trainees homes. Whilst Lambeth was the source of 14.2% of the Waddon trainees, and another inner London borough, Lewisham, was next with 8.8%. In terms of inner-city need these boroughs might have been expected to figure prominently in the Skillcentre's catchment, representing two of the inner London boroughs closest to the Waddon site. Placed in geographical context, however, their contribution is less significant given the 20.4% of trainees in total deriving from the three outer London boroughs bordering Croydon, namely Bromley, Merton and Sutton, who contribute just four less trainees than Lambeth and Lewisham, but whose experience of industrial decline and social disadvantage was significantly less than these inner-city boroughs. The Waddon catchment, therefore, covered a significant part of inner and outer south and south-east London, but the localised effect of the Skillcentre location meant that 41.3% of the trainees were resident within the four outer boroughs of Croydon, Bromley, Merton and Sutton.

Waddon Annexe, based at Sydenham, was located at one of the southernmost points of the inner south London borough of Lewisham, almost on the administrative boundary with the outer London borough of Bromley and close to the northernmost point of the borough of Croydon. The influence of this location was apparent from the catchment area of this Skillcentre, illustrated in Fig.7.7e. Most importantly, however, the Skillcentre at Sydenham was the annexe of, and consequently administered by, Waddon Skillcentre. A significant proportion of the trainees heard about the training course through Croydon employment office (17.9%) and the Brixton EO (12.8%). Twelve of the trainees would have preferred to have attended another Skillcentre, with

Fig.7.7e
Waddon Annexe (Sydenham) skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

◯ Waddon Annexe (Sydenham) skillcentre

■ 12.1 - 19.7

■ 8.1 - 12.0

▨ 3.1 - 8.0

□ 0.1 - 3.0

□ 0.0

■ Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
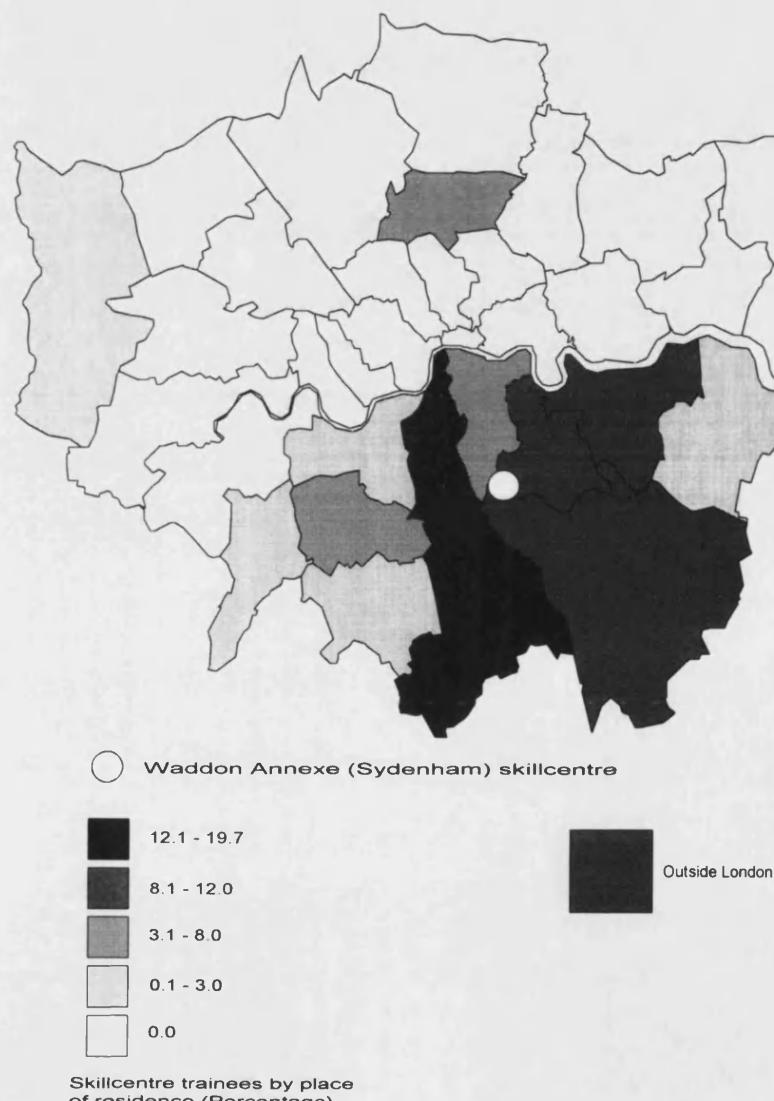
five preferring Waddon. The catchment of Waddon Annexe at Sydenham, therefore, was the product of both its central location in south London, and the influence of the Croydon EO/Waddon Skillcentre and the employment office at Brixton in Lambeth. Consequently, despite its inner south London location, still over 60% of the trainees were resident in outer London and outside of the Greater London area, although the three inner south London boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham, did account for just over a third of the trainees (21/34.5%).

7.3.2 West London

This catchment was served by the three Skillcentre sites at Perivale (136/13.3%), Twickenham (116/11.4%) and Twickenham Annexe (55/5.4%). Together, these three sites accounted for 307 (30.1%) adult trainees at Skillcentre sites in London during the period of the survey. Three boroughs in this area had higher levels of resident trainees compared to the surrounding boroughs, namely Brent (32/3.2%), Ealing (44/4.3%) and Hounslow (32/3.2%). Perivale Skillcentre was on the boundary between Brent and Ealing, Twickenham Annexe was sited in Hounslow, and Twickenham Skillcentre was in Richmond but close to the boundary with Hounslow. Given the socio-economic structure of west London, and these boroughs in particular, it would have been anticipated that the Perivale centre would draw trainees from Brent, whilst Twickenham would extend its catchment area towards Hounslow rather than Richmond.

The detail of their catchment areas is developed below. However, it seems that these three Skillcentres, established in these locations since 1938 (Hounslow), 1946 (Twickenham) and 1960 (Perivale), had a distinct catchment within the traditionally more industrial areas of outer west London. Bordering this area, comparatively higher numbers of Skillcentre trainees were also found to be resident in Hillingdon and the inner London borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.

The trainee catchment evident (Fig.7.8a) around Perivale Skillcentre was centred upon the two boroughs of Ealing (27/20.5%) and Brent (21/15.9%), but also, compared to

Fig.7.8a
Perivale skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

○ Perivale skillcentre

■	16.0 - 20.5
▨	8.0 - 15.9
▨	3.0 - 7.9
□	0.1 - 2.9
□	0.0

Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
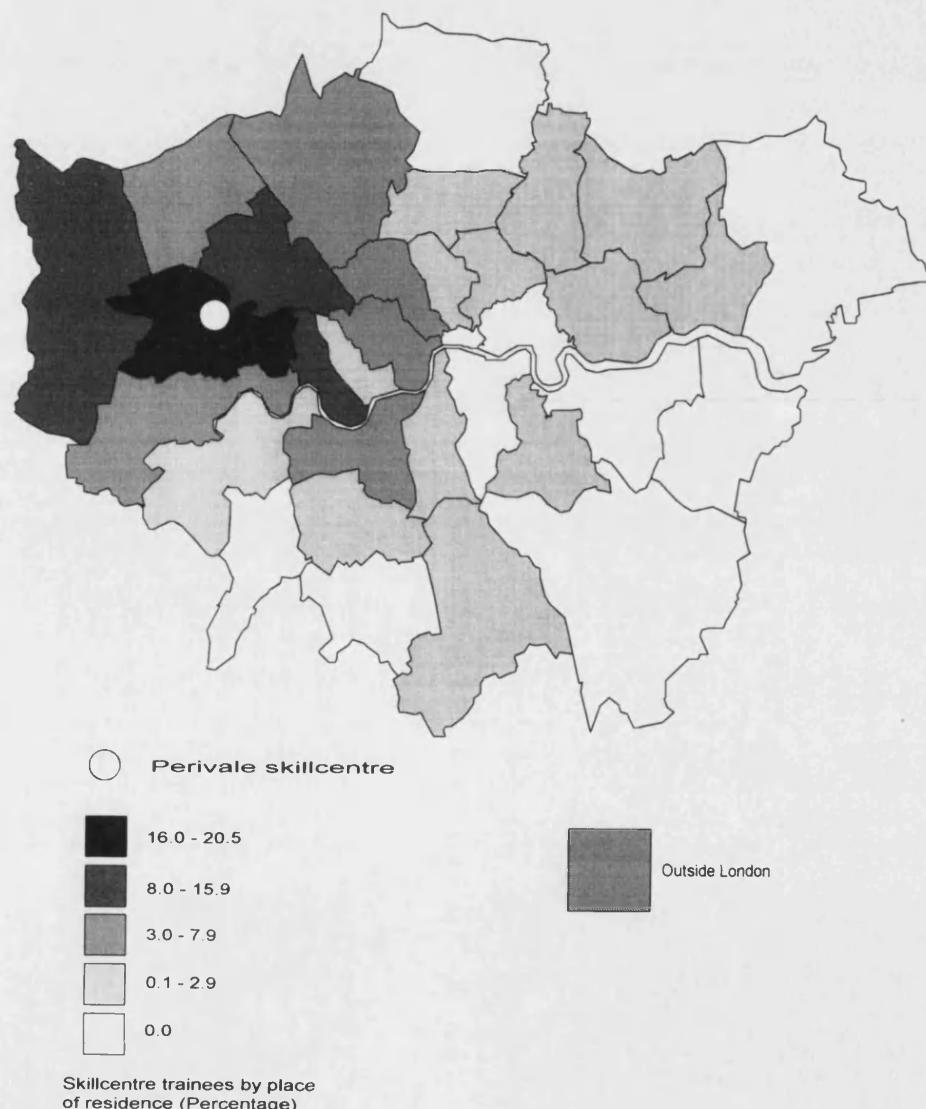
the south and south-east London Skillcentres, spread across a much greater number of London boroughs. In south and south-east London, the five Skillcentres derived trainees from between 10-15 boroughs. In comparison, Perivale Skillcentre in the west, smaller than Waddon Skillcentre, drew its trainees from 23 different boroughs, with its 'tail' extending to Croydon in the south and Barking and Dagenham in the east. Noticeably, however, the catchment area in both inner and outer London is particularly concentrated in the western part of both these areas, with only between 4.7-7.7% of the trainees, depending on the placement of boroughs, resident in the eastern half of Greater London.

In that sense, therefore, Perivale was as much a 'west' London Skillcentre as the previous five centres were 'south' London. Within this west London context, however, Perivale, to the west of London but north of the Thames, drew the great majority of its trainees from north London (92.3%). Consistent with the south and south-east London Skillcentres, however, Perivale also provided Skillcentre training to a much greater proportion of trainees resident in outer London and outside of the Greater London area. Nearly 60% of the trainees (59.8%) lived in outer London, rising to 65.9% when including those resident outside of London.

Over a third (48/36.4%) of the trainees, however, were resident in Ealing and Brent, with Perivale Skillcentre occupying a location almost on the administrative boundary between both these boroughs. A secondary concentration of trainees were resident in boroughs bordering this concentration, in Hillingdon (8.3%) to the west and Hammersmith and Fulham (9.8%) to the east in inner London. Perivale Skillcentre was very central to the 'West Middlesex' travel-to-work area identified in chapter six as a significant area of self-containment (Smart, 1974). The boroughs of Hounslow and Richmond-upon-Thames, to the south of Ealing, had a low level of trainees but this was explained by the location of further Skillcentres within those boroughs.

Twickenham Skillcentre was located in the London borough of Richmond-upon-Thames but close to the boundary with the neighbouring borough of Hounslow. Fig.7.8b shows the catchment for this centre which was principally centred upon the

Fig.7.8b
Twickenham skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

○ Twickenham skillcentre

■ (black)	10.1 – 16.7
■ (dark grey)	7.1 – 10.0
▦ (medium grey)	3.1 – 7.0
▢ (light grey)	0.1 – 3.0
□ (white)	0.0

■ Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
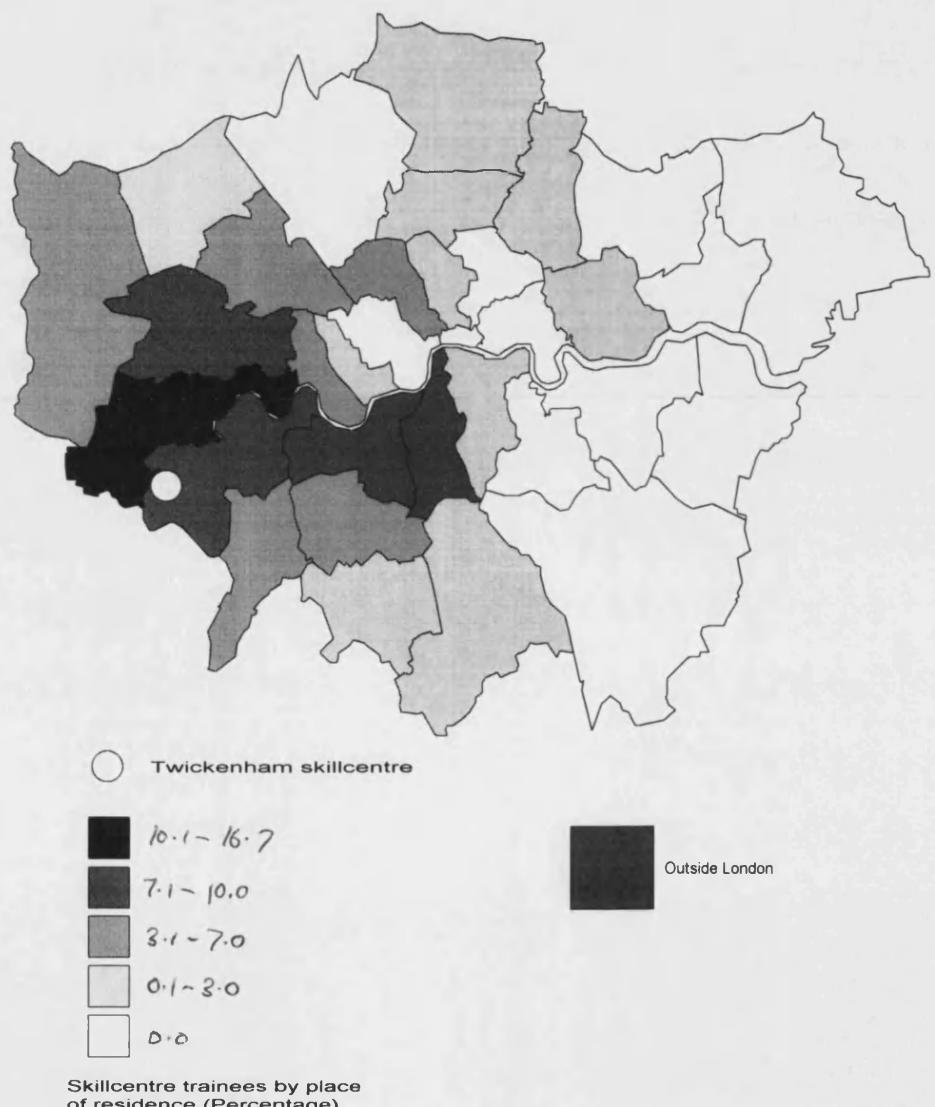
five boroughs of Hounslow (19/16.7%), Ealing and Richmond (each providing 8.8% of the trainees), Wandsworth (9.6%) and Lambeth (7.9%), with the last two boroughs being in inner London. Again, the Twickenham catchment was derived from a spread of 21 boroughs, and in this instance, the south-west London location generated a greater proportion of trainees from boroughs south of the Thames (43%). The west-east divide was still most evident with only 1.8-3.6% of the trainees deriving from the east of London, with a much broader band of east London boroughs sending no trainees at all to Twickenham Skillcentre. Again over 60% (60.7%) of the trainees lived in outer London, rising to nearly 70% (69.5%) when those living outside of London were included.

The focus around Hounslow, Ealing and Richmond was perhaps to be anticipated, however the inner London 'arm' of the catchment, including Wandsworth and Lambeth is significant. The continuation eastwards of the Twickenham catchment to include the boroughs of Wandsworth and Lambeth reflects the industrial sectors served by these Skillcentres (see below - catchment in context) but also the influence of another source of labour regulation and governance, in this instance the Greater London Training Board of the Greater London Council. The scheme to 'bus' trainees from the Lambeth area to Twickenham was funded by the GLC, but with the co-operation and support of the MSC London region. The detail and impact of this initiative has been detailed in chapter six, however, the Twickenham catchment was just beginning to be 'distorted' by this local state attempt to influence the impact of the central government's Skillcentre programme within this particular and very local labour market context. Its impact was not simply restricted to Lambeth, for although most of those taking advantage of the scheme came from Brixton (in Lambeth) but also Clapham and Battersea in the borough of Wandsworth. Significantly, however, the continuation and development of this scheme, in the absence of the planned Lambeth Skillcentre, was eventually restricted given the initiative's success and dominance over what the MSC termed the 'normal' eligibility and selection procedures (GLTB, 1984).

The importance of this initiative is in terms of an interface between 'alternative', and in this instance local, forms of regulatory influence, and policy formulated and implemented by the central state. This example may be interpreted in terms of an intersection between two distinct, and at that time essentially contrary, political institutions of labour regulation and governance. In this instance, central government in the form of the MSC, and local government in the form of the GLC. Both bodies were seen to be operating at different spatial scales but were both concerned to implement their policies within the same geographical and labour market context, namely London. The 'busing' example, represented the construction at the local level of a distinctive training infrastructure through the intersection and interaction of local and non-local regulatory institutions and agencies concerned with the social regulation of this particular local labour market.

The final Skillcentre comprising the west London catchment, was located in Hounslow, and formed an annexe to the Skillcentre at Twickenham. Fig.7.8c shows the catchment for this annexe. This smaller Skillcentre (55 trainees), compared to the two other west London centres, had a much smaller spread of boroughs providing trainees (14). The catchment for the Hounslow Skillcentre was principally centred upon the London boroughs of Hounslow (9/17.3%) and Richmond (5/9.6%). Two lesser 'wings' spread north, to Ealing and Brent, and east into inner London to include Wandsworth and Lambeth, with each of these four boroughs providing 5.8% (3) of the trainees. Also in inner London, the borough of Kensington and Chelsea provided 7.7% (4) of the trainees.

To an even greater extent than the other west London Skillcentres, Hounslow derived its trainees almost exclusively from west London, and to an even greater extent from outside of the Greater London area. Nearly a quarter (11/21.2%) of this relatively small number of trainees were resident outside of the GLC area. This meant that only just over a quarter (14/26.9%) of the Hounslow trainees lived in inner London and nearly three-quarters (73%) resident in outer, and outside of, the London area.

Fig.7.8c
Twickenham Annexe (Hounslow) skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

○ Twickenham Annexe (Hounslow) skillcentre

- 20.1 - 21.2
- 10.1 - 20.0
- 5.1 - 10.0
- 0.1 - 5.0
- 0.0

Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)

318
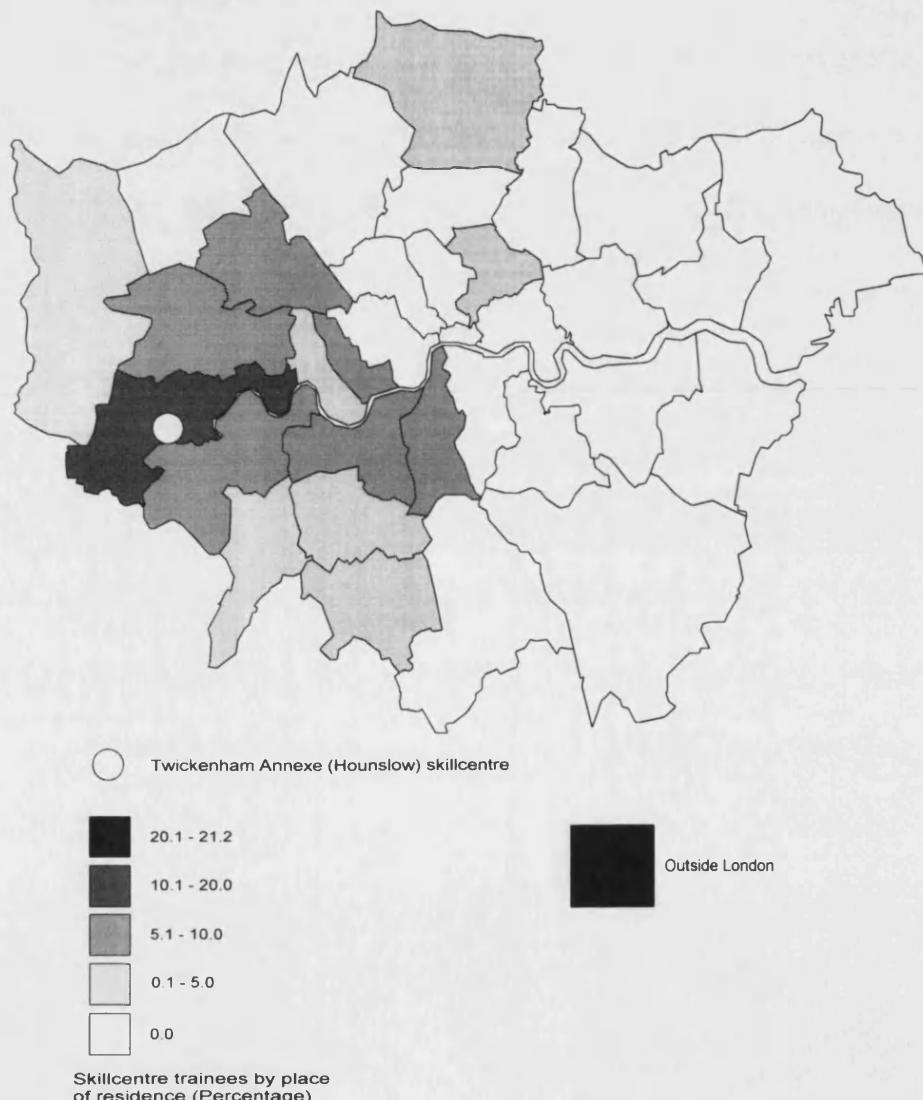
With one or two exceptions, the Hounslow catchment must be regarded as very 'local'. In terms of the concentration of trainees from Hounslow and to a lesser extent Richmond, it may also be regarded as a more 'focused' but similar catchment to that of the neighbouring and larger Twickenham Skillcentre. Twickenham Skillcentre, although located in the London borough of Richmond-upon-Thames, also derived its trainees principally from Hounslow, with significant but lesser numbers of trainees resident in the boroughs of Richmond, Ealing, Wandsworth and Lambeth. The emphasis, at Twickenham and Hounslow Skillcentres, upon trainees resident within the borough of Hounslow, at the expense of those resident in the borough of Richmond was as much a reflection of the different industrial districts and 'local economy' of those two areas as it was the socio-economic residential structure (Greater London Council, 1985; Leonard, 1984).

The definition of the west London catchment was, therefore, centred upon the outer west London boroughs of Ealing, Brent and Hounslow. Whilst trainees were drawn from a much wider range of boroughs, it was apparent that the distinctive industrial 'district' embodied by these three boroughs was being served by the three Skillcentres of Perivale, Twickenham and its annexe at Hounslow. Similarities were apparent between this catchment and that identified in south London, noticeably in terms of the proportions of trainees living outside of inner London and the distinctive nature of the catchment for each Skillcentre. However, the west London catchment arguably illustrated even more distinctly the clearly defined geographical limits associated with this training scheme, particularly in the case of the sharp divide in the catchment between the boroughs of Ealing and Hounslow and the local Skillcentres of Perivale (Ealing 20.5% of the trainees, Hounslow 3%) and Twickenham Annexe at Hounslow (Hounslow 17.3% and Ealing 5.8%).

7.3.3 North and east London

Within north and parts of east London a further concentration of trainees was apparent, but in this instance, spread across a larger number of inner and outer London boroughs. The focus for many of these trainees was Enfield Skillcentre in outer north

London. This limited concentration was spread across at least six boroughs, namely Enfield (27/2.7%), Haringey (28/2.8%), Waltham Forest (24/2.4%), Hackney (33/3.3%), Islington (29/2.9%) and Newham (29/2.9%). The emphasis upon Enfield is less clear given the influence of the two remaining Skillcentre sites in east London, at Poplar and Barking, which border this third region.

The London Borough of Tower Hamlets, where Poplar Skillcentre was located, had a relatively low level of resident trainees (16/1.6%), and much the same situation prevailed in relation to Barking Skillcentre in the borough of Barking and Dagenham (19/1.9%). Each of these centres and boroughs, however, had much greater concentrations of trainees bordering their locations and areas. Both Skillcentres were in a state of substantive change. Poplar, was in the process of closing as an outcome of the 1980 Skillcentre rationalisation programme, whilst Barking, although the site of a Skillcentre in London in the immediate post-war period, had only recently opened and was still developing its skills training offer. Enfield, however, was at the time of the survey, the largest of the Skillcentre sites in London (196/19.2%), and given its relative isolation in outer north London, was likely to account for the majority of the trainees located in a band stretching from the inner-city boroughs of Hackney, Islington and Haringey, out to include the outer London boroughs of Waltham Forest and Enfield.

These three centres, therefore, were different to each other in terms of size, type of course provision, the length of time training had been provided within each centre, and at the time of the survey, their status in terms of the MSC's early Skillcentre rationalisation plan and the MSC London Region's forward development programme. Compared to the west London catchment in particular, it was perhaps more difficult to conceive of this catchment in terms of one particular geographical and industrial focus.

Enfield, in outer north London, was the largest individual London Skillcentre at the time of the survey (196 adult trainees). Fig.7.9a shows the distinctive catchment area of this Skillcentre. Unlike all the other London Skillcentres, trainees were derived

Fig.7.9a
Enfield skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Enfield skillcentre

12.1 - 17.1

9.1 - 12.0

3.1 - 9.0

0.1 - 3.0

0.0

Outside London

**Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)**
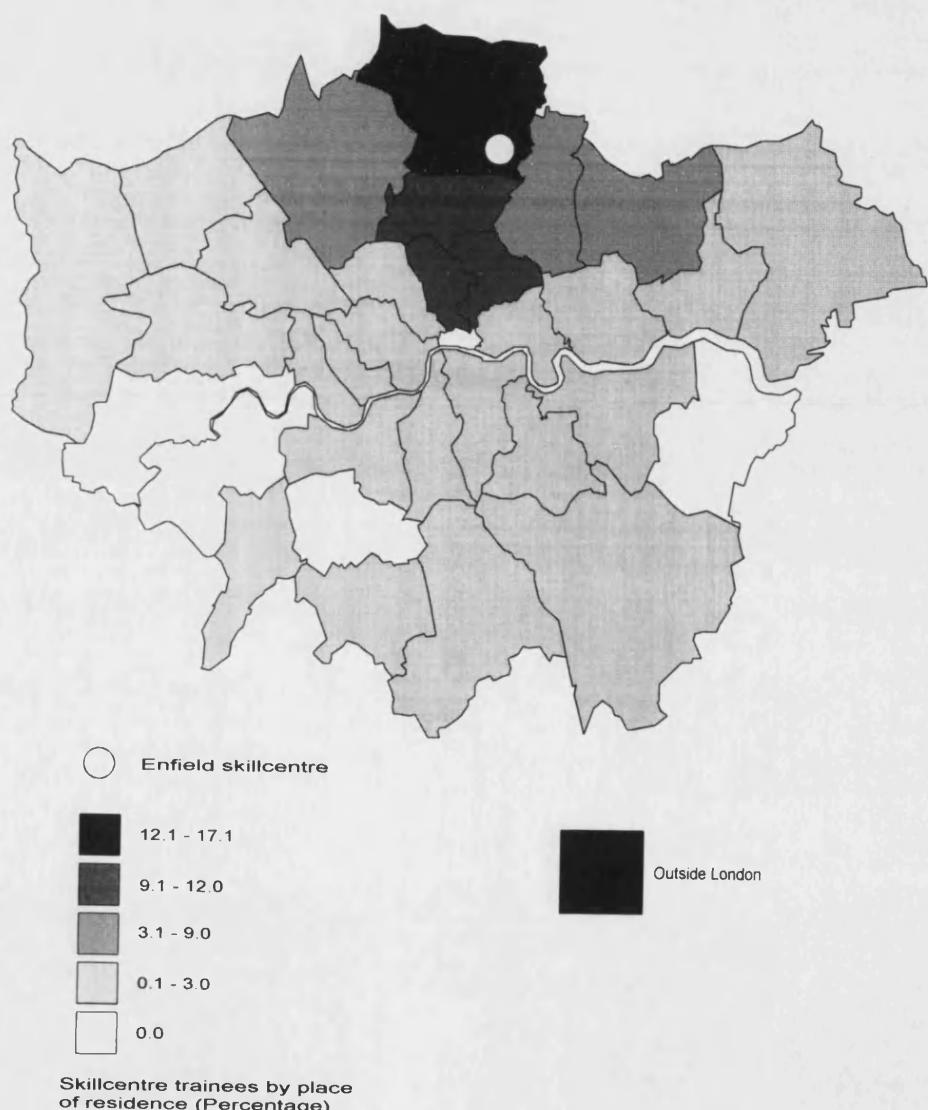
from nearly all the London boroughs (28 boroughs), as well as from outside the Greater London area. Although located in an outer London borough, all the inner London boroughs, excluding the City of London, provided trainees to this Skillcentre, accounting for 44% (85) of the Enfield trainees. Although the majority of the trainees still lived in outer London (75/38.8%), and outside of the Greater London area (33/17.1%).

Enfield, however, drew nearly half of its trainees from inner London boroughs. In particular the three inner north London boroughs of Hackney (20/10.4%), Haringey (19/9.8%) and Islington (18/9.3%) provided 29.5% of Enfield's trainees, and over two-thirds (67.1%) of the trainees at Enfield who were resident in inner city boroughs. This geographical catchment reflected the industrial growth in the Lea Valley in north London in the earlier part of this century (see chapter five and below). The primary catchment for Enfield Skillcentre, therefore, was centred upon the five boroughs of Enfield (25/13.0%) and Waltham Forest (14/7.3%) in outer London, and Hackney, Haringey and Islington in Inner London. Beyond this core, a fairly consistent 'distance decay' was apparent with a comparatively higher proportion of trainees attending the Skillcentre being resident in the neighbouring outer London boroughs of Barnet and Redbridge. Arguably, however, the Enfield catchment, whilst drawing upon the same target population from within London's segmented labour market, reflects the combined effects of geographical proximity and the socio-economic structure of the Greater London boroughs.

Enfield Skillcentre, was established in 1946 in order to facilitate the reconstruction of Greater London in the immediate post-war era. 35 years later, the same Skillcentre location was serving a 'local' trainee population drawn principally from the surrounding Greater London boroughs, including a number of inner London boroughs which had, in employment terms, suffered significantly during the economic recession, as well as areas in outer London and outside of Greater London. By the early 1980s, Enfield had been scheduled for closure under the MSC's 1980 Skillcentre rationalisation plan, along with Kidbrooke and Poplar. The labour regulatory need of the later 1970s and 1980s, namely the 'inner-city problem' meant that Enfield

Skillcentre, with its comparatively high proportion of trainees drawn from inner London boroughs, was reprieved from closure. Enfield was subsequently retained following the 1984 rationalisation and was in 1990, one of the three London Skillcentres privatised and purchased by Astra as a viable training centre aimed at meeting the needs of principally local employers.

Whilst many of the features of the Enfield catchment area may be recognised in the catchments of the other Skillcentres, Enfield was an important example of the manner in which a government-funded training centre was established under particular conditions of labour regulatory need, and subsequently under distinctly different circumstances of labour regulation *and* governance continued to provide training opportunities. In the early 1980s, and within the context of the other two Skillcentres in inner and outer east London, Enfield Skillcentre constituted a distinctive and effectively separate north London catchment. Their own catchment areas are in turn so distinctively different, however, they merit consideration as a separate and distinct east London catchment.

Poplar Skillcentre, one of the smallest Skillcentres in London, with just 43 adult trainees, was preparing for closure, following the MSC's 1980 rationalisation plan. This truly inner-city Skillcentre was, in the context of the then contemporary mainstream government policy, rather surprisingly being closed, although its course provision was being transferred to the 'flagship' inner-city Skillcentre which had recently opened in Deptford. Poplar Skillcentre was, however, always distinct as a London Skillcentre in that it was located in the 'inner-city' in the east-end borough of Tower Hamlets. It was distinctive in terms of the built infrastructure, a factory unit, and consequently its course provision, which was centred upon factory-based machinery and industrial electronics. Construction trades were completely excluded from the training offer at Poplar. Poplar Skillcentre, however, was also very distinctive in terms of its geographical catchment area (Fig.7.9b).

Certain elements of the catchment were consistent with the other London Skillcentres. Although located close to the River Thames in north London, only 14.3% (6) of the

Fig.7.9b
Poplar skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

◯ Poplar skillcentre

■ 15.1 - 26.2

■ 8.1 - 15.0

▨ 3.1 - 8.0

☐ 0.1 - 3.0

☐ 0.0

Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
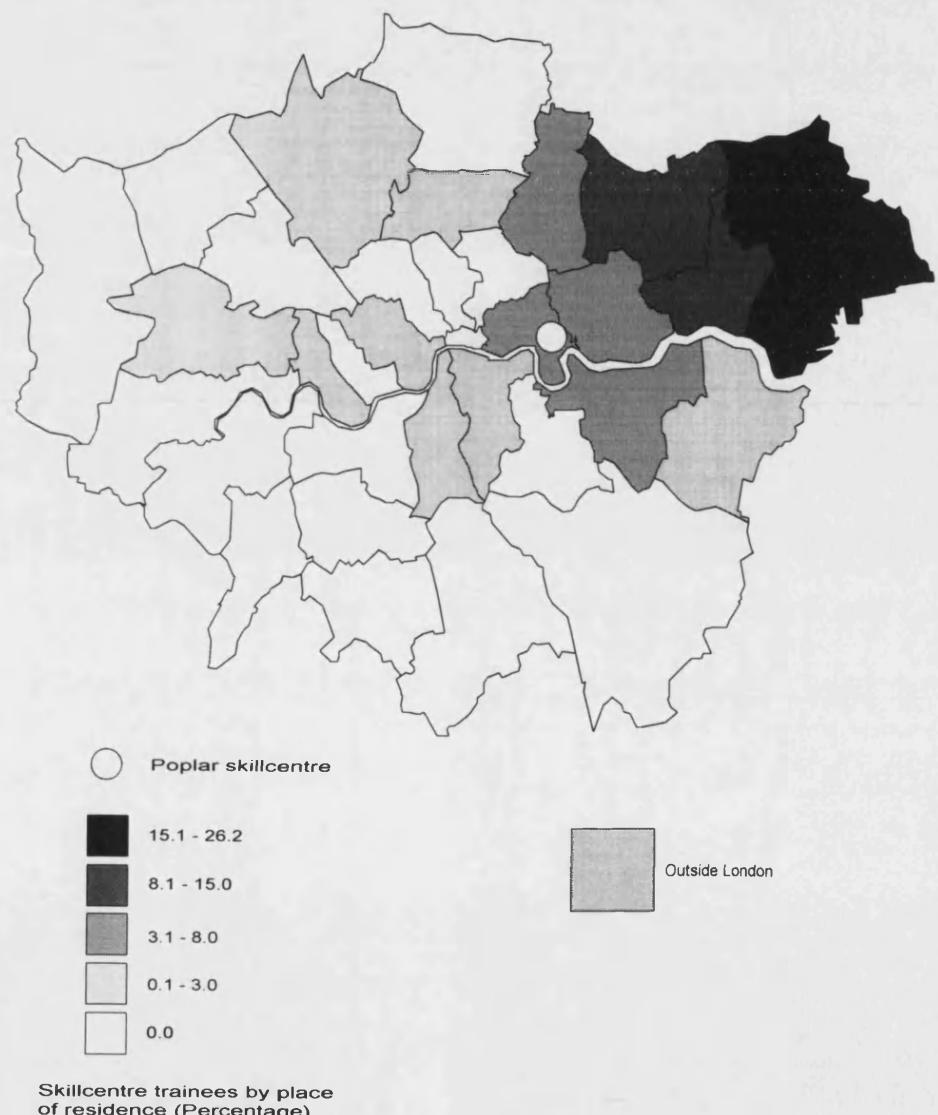
trainees crossed the river to gain access to training. Also, being located in east London, the Skillcentre catchment was clearly skewed towards the east London boroughs, with 71.3% (30) of its trainees coming from inner and outer north-east London. However, this inner-city Skillcentre only derived 31% (13) of its trainees from inner London boroughs. Tower Hamlets itself, only contributed two (4.8%) trainees. With Tower Hamlets providing only 4.8% of the trainees, the boroughs of Hackney, Newham and Waltham Forest each provided 7.1% of the trainees. Further away from Poplar, Redbridge and Barking and Dagenham each provided 9.5% of the trainees, whilst at the extreme of outer east London, Havering had 26.2% of the Poplar trainees resident within the borough.

The explanation for this apparent reversal of the catchment 'effect' stems primarily from the residential location of the Skillcentre 'target' population in this part of London, as well as the changing industrial and commercial structure of Tower Hamlets, the limited range of training courses and the course provision at the new Skillcentre site at Barking and the MSC's selection criteria. 'Catchment in context' below shows the residential location of skilled manual and manufacturing workers, as well as apprentices and trainees in employment in London. Havering in outer east London had significantly higher numbers of these workers in employment when compared to Tower Hamlets. The inner east London borough, however, dramatically exceeded Havering in terms of the economically active unemployed.

Within this context, trainee selection based upon the MSC's performance criterion of post-training placement in the training trade and the movement towards meeting the skills needs of local employers by training the employed, would have effectively excluded many of the 'local' inner-city applicants who may have had both a significantly worse employment record and less chance of securing local employment in their chosen trade. Poplar Skillcentre, although located in the inner-city, was not ideally located to meet the labour regulatory needs of the 1980s under a Conservative government committed to supporting local employers by meeting their skills training needs in an immediate and direct form.

Barking Skillcentre was regarded by the MSC as being in a better location to facilitate the skills training needs of the local employers of east London. It only opened in the early 1980s and was just beginning to develop its training provision. North-east London was again the principal source of trainees but in this instance the trainees were centred, in terms of their residential location, upon the Skillcentre borough and the neighbouring boroughs (Fig.7.9c). Barking Skillcentre derived nearly half of its trainees from inner London boroughs (33/48.6%), with nearly half of these trainees resident within the borough of Newham (15/22.1%). The catchment was centred upon Newham to the west of the Skillcentre which was located in Barking and Dagenham in outer east London. The boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Newham, Barking and Dagenham and Havering provided over half the trainees (35/51.6%), forming a Thameside line from inner to outer east London.

Training provision at Barking Skillcentre was only concerned with certain construction trades (64.9% of trainees), and vehicle repair. Barking's training offer was, therefore, both distinct from many other of the London Skillcentres, and in occupational skill areas which were completely different from those on offer at Poplar. Given the 'dynamics' of this east London Skillcentre situation, these two Skillcentres should be viewed as a whole to provide an overview of the east London catchment based upon two local Skillcentres providing a mutually exclusive training offer. In this situation (Fig.7.9d) the apparent catchment effect was more consistent with that found in other Skillcentres across London. Trainees resident in Havering could achieve access to training in their chosen factory-based trades by travelling to Poplar, and conversely inner London residents, particularly in Newham, could gain access to skills training in the construction trades by travelling to Barking.

7.4 Skillcentres in London: catchment in context

This section places these catchments into the context of the then contemporary local labour markets which were themselves the product of both contemporary and historic labour market processes. The manner in which the state-funded Skillcentre training served to reinforce, reflect or reduce labour market disadvantage and/or facilitate the

Fig.7.9c
Barking skillcentre catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

Barking skillcentre

15.1 - 22.1

10.1 - 15.0

3.1 - 10.0

0.1 - 3.0

0.0

Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
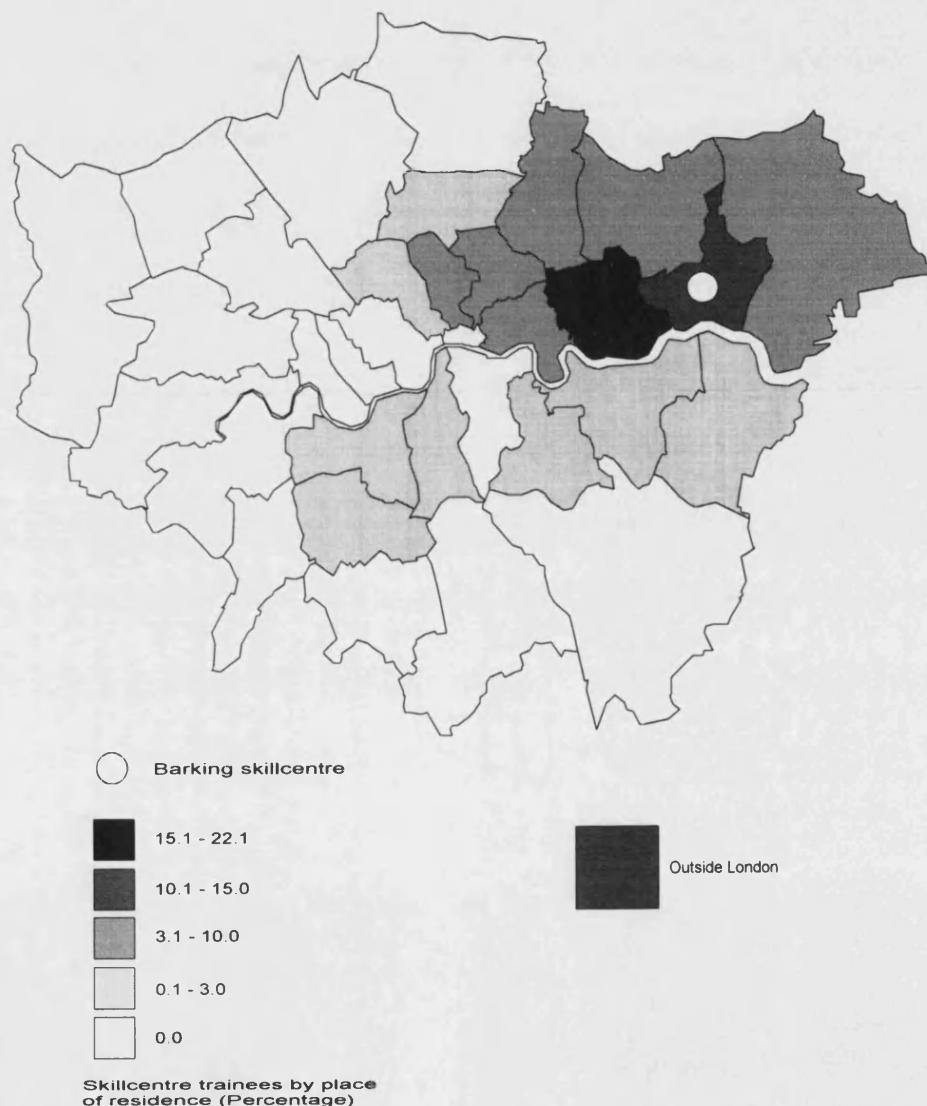
Fig.7.9d
Poplar and Barking skillcentres catchment area
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

◯   Poplar and Barking skillcentre

■	12.1 - 16.4
▨	6.1 - 12.0
▨	3.1 - 6.0
▢	0.1 - 3.0
▢	0.0

■   Outside London

Skillcentre trainees by place
of residence (Percentage)
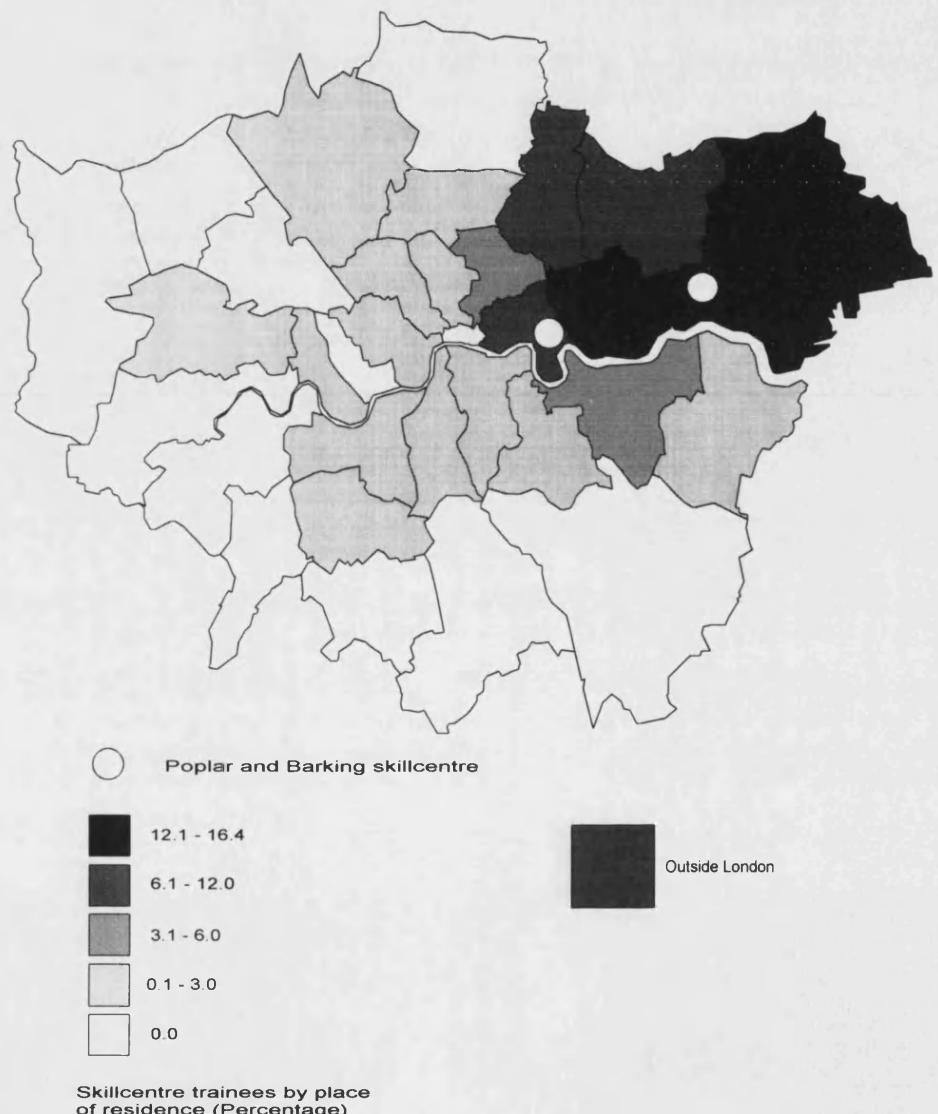
imperatives of production, must be viewed within this context of their intersection and interaction with both the segmented *and* local labour markets operating within and across Greater London, at any particular time.

This section, therefore, places the catchments in context by looking at the manner in which labour is mobilised locally, and locating aspects of the trainee's experience and behaviour within the broader context of Greater London's training and employment environments in the early 1980s. First, the residential location of the Skillcentre trainees across London are compared to indicators of the distribution of the Skillcentre target population. Second, the trainees local labour market experience is illustrated in terms of the geographical location of their pre-training employment. Finally, within the post-training environment, the trainees perception of their future job-search areas are mapped and interpreted. This experience must be seen within the context of the industrial change, industrial districts and local labour markets detailed in chapter five, as well as the historical development of the London GTCs and Skillcentres related in chapter six.

7.4.1 Skillcentre training and segmented and local labour markets

From this perspective, the overall distribution of the residential location of Skillcentre trainees in London (Fig.7.5a) in the early 1980s was largely consistent with both London's industrial and local labour market structure but with some significant anomalies. Chapters five and six illustrated the nature of London's travel-to-work areas and the levels of 'local employment' and borough self-containment experienced by the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. This section, in also considering the manner in which labour is mobilised locally, looks first at the spatial distribution of these same groups of workers across Greater London, in 1981, in terms of their residential location. In so doing, it links labour market segmentation with local labour market structures, placing the Skillcentre catchments within the context of both sides of this labour market equation.

Figs.7.10a-c shows the spatial distribution, by residence, of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers in employment in London in 1981. Although the Skillcentres drew the majority of their trainees from the unemployed, these maps illustrate the local labour market form of this part of the segmented labour market within London, and consequently to a certain extent, the residential location of the MSC's target Skillcentre population. The retraining of skilled workers made redundant through industrial restructuring was an increasingly important part of the Skillcentre provision in the early 1980s. Fig.7.10a shows skilled manual workers by residence and similarities are apparent between this distribution and the residential location of Skillcentre trainees. This is particularly the case in parts of west London and south and south-east London. There are also some clear differences, particularly in outer east London. Overall, this was not the majority grouping within the Skillcentre trainees but the industrial district and local labour markets in London have clearly influenced the Skillcentre locations and catchments.

In comparison, the distribution of semi-skilled manual workers by residence (Fig.7.10b) has a stronger visual correlation with the overall distribution of Skillcentre trainees. This was an important grouping within the Skillcentre trainees based upon their work experience. As with the skilled manual workers, the majority of these workers were resident in outer London (58.9% compared to 65.3% for skilled manual). Concentrations of these workers were apparent in the outer west, inner and outer south, outer north and inner east areas of London. The low numbers of these workers resident in the outer south-west, outer north-west and inner north-west areas was particularly consistent with the Skillcentre catchment pattern. In relation to particular Skillcentre catchments, this distribution of workers helps explain the north and east London catchments, particularly in north-east London where the catchment for Barking Skillcentre closely follows the semi-skilled manual distribution.

A significant proportion of the Skillcentre trainees were, however, in terms of their achieved characteristics, drawn from the unskilled manual group, a particularly vulnerable group in terms of labour market disadvantage. Fig.7.10c shows that the spatial distribution of this group of workers was significantly different to that of the

Fig.7.10a
Skilled manual workers by place of residence: Greater London 1981
(Source: Greater London Council, 1986a)

1501 - 1945

1201 - 1500

901 - 1200

601 -900

323 - 600

Skilled manual by residence
(All persons - 10% sample)

1201 - 1599

1001 - 1200

801 - 1000

601 - 800

385 -600
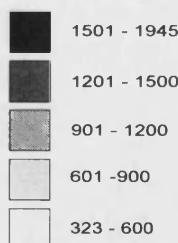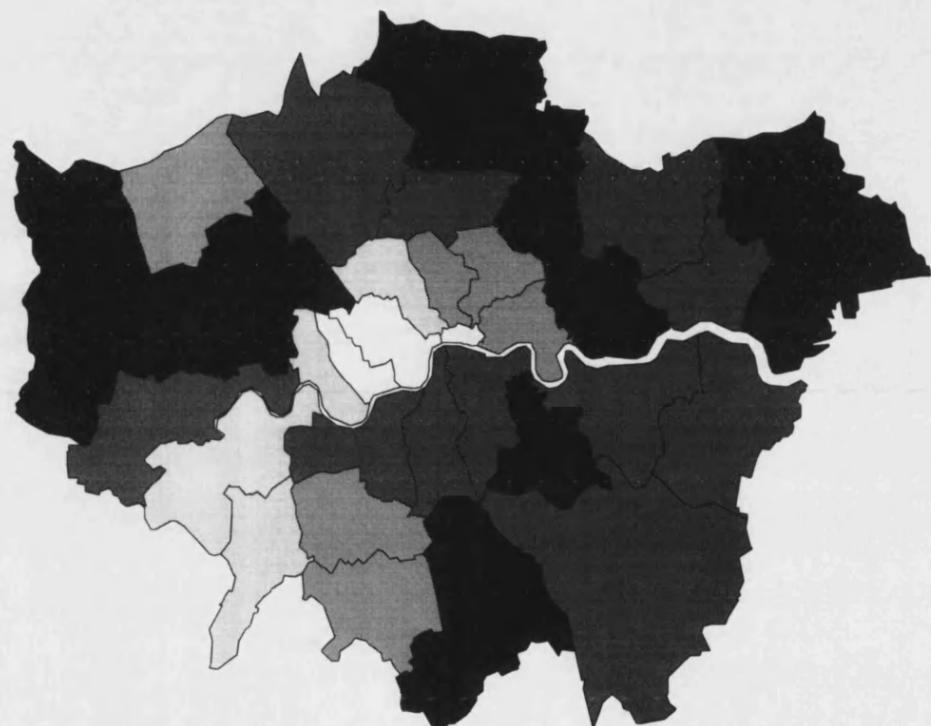
Semi-skilled manual by residence
(All persons - 10% sample)

Fig.7.10c
Unskilled manual workers by place of residence: Greater London 1981
(Source: Greater London Council, 1986a)

901 - 1074

701 - 900

601 - 700

401 - 600

197 - 400
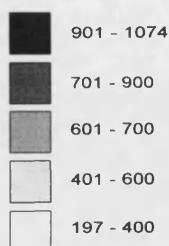
Unskilled manual by residence
(All persons - 10% sample)

previous two groups. In terms of the Skillcentre locations, this distribution clearly justifies the grouping of Skillcentre sites in inner south-east London. This group of workers were almost exactly split between inner and outer London (outer 50.4%). In detail, however, the particular concentration of workers in inner south and south-east London and inner east London, points to the lack of Skillcentre provision in some of these areas, the need for the GLC/GLTB initiatives in Charlton and Lambeth as detailed above, the need for the new Skillcentre in Deptford but concern over the closure of Skillcentres in Poplar and Charlton and the deletion of the planned Vauxhall Skillcentre from the forward programme.

This picture is reinforced by the picture of economically active workers unemployed and seeking work. Fig.7.11a shows the distribution across London of all economically active men aged 16 and over seeking work. Whilst the boroughs of Brent and Ealing stand out in west London, the main concentration of unemployed workers spread in an arc from Wandsworth in the south-west through to Hackney and Newham in the north and north-west of London. Figs.7.11b-c show similar patterns of unemployed male workers for two key groupings within the Skillcentre trainee cohort. Fig.7.11b shows the economically active men out of employment and aged between 20-24 years, representing the peak group within the Skillcentre trainees. Whilst Fig.7.11c illustrates the 19-39 age group who contributed over 87% of the Skillcentre cohort.

In both cases, three areas emerge as distinct concentrations of unemployed workers; outer west London, namely Brent and Ealing; inner south London, including the boroughs with the highest numbers unemployed in these groups in London, Lambeth, Southwark and Wandsworth; and inner north and east London, principally Hackney, Newham and Haringey. The map of Skillcentre trainees by residential location (Fig.7.5a) bears some relation to these problem areas, but it is equally clear that the Skillcentre catchment differs significantly from this distribution, not least in terms of the inner London dominance of Figs.7.11a-c giving way to the outer London majority illustrated in Fig.7.5a. In detail, this is exemplified by the location and catchment of the Skillcentres in Waddon, Hounslow and Twickenham, and the lack of Skillcentre provision in Lambeth, Southwark and Wandsworth.

Fig.7.11a
Economically active men seeking work - all ages 16 and over: Greater London 1981
(Source: Census 1981, County Report for Greater London)

9501 - 10137

7501 - 9500

5501 - 7500

3501 - 5500

1998 - 3500
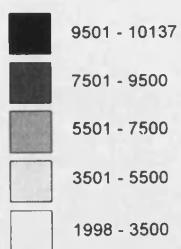
Economically active seeking work
(Men - all ages 16 and over)

Fig.7.11b
Economically active men out of employment - 20-24 years: Greater London 1981
(Source: Census 1981, County Report for Greater London)

⬛	1601 -2069
⬛	1301 - 1600
⬛	1001 - 1300
⬜	701 - 1000
⬜	346 - 700
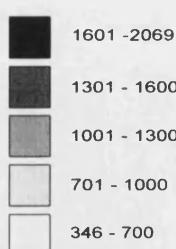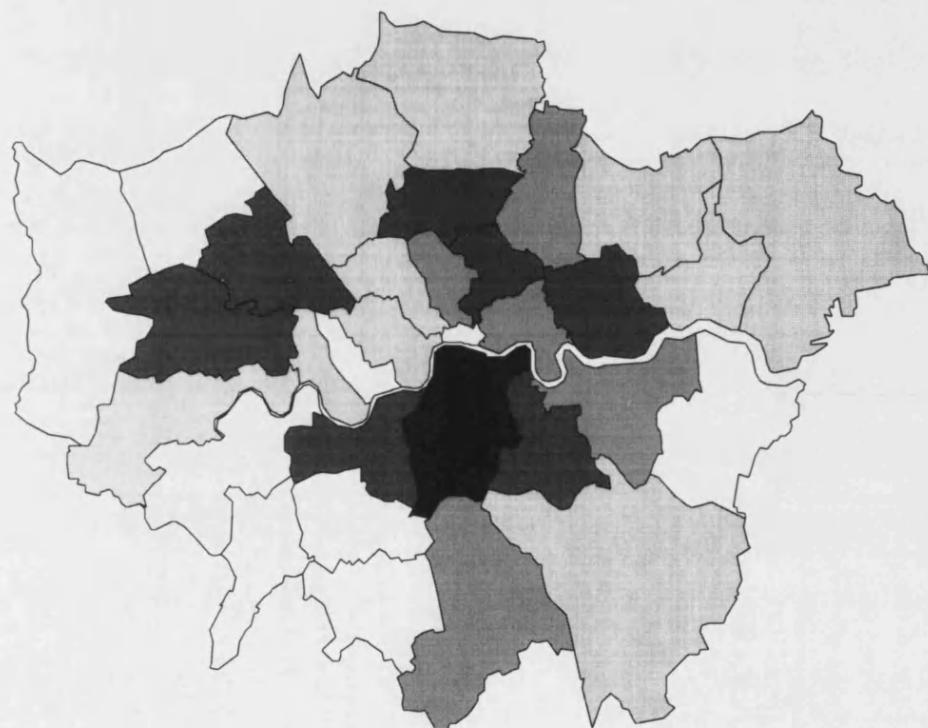
Economically active out of employment
(Men - 20-24 years)

■	5001 - 5953
■	4001 - 5000
▨	3001 - 4000
☐	2001 - 3000
☐	1088 - 2000

Economically active seeking work
(Men - 19-39 years)

Table 7.8 Skillcentre trainee location quotients by unemployed and unskilled manual workers

Borough	Location quotient Unemployed	Location quotient Unskilled manual
Camden	0.46	0.58
Hackney	0.83	1.09
Hammersmith & Fulham	0.85	0.84
Haringey	0.85	1.32
Islington	0.90	0.90
Kensington & Chelsea	0.50	0.70
Lambeth	1.38	1.34
Lewisham	1.58	1.59
Newham	0.77	0.70
Southwark	0.69	0.51
Tower Hamlets	0.46	0.44
Wandsworth	0.96	0.99
Westminster	0.46	0.43
Inner London	**0.85**	**0.89**
Barking & Dagenham	0.88	0.73
Barnet	0.63	0.83
Bexley	1.38	1.10
Brent	0.85	1.07
Bromley	1.38	1.40
Croydon	1.79	1.88
Ealing	1.27	1.14
Enfield	1.04	1.06
Greenwich	1.75	1.67
Harrow	0.60	0.66
Havering	0.73	0.64
Hillingdon	1.08	0.79
Hounslow	1.52	1.17
Kingston-upon-Thames	1.15	1.06
Merton	1.58	1.33
Redbridge	0.79	0.90
Richmond-upon-Thames	1.29	1.29
Sutton	1.31	1.18
Waltham Forest	0.85	0.93
Outer London	**1.15**	**1.11**

Source: London skillcentres trainee survey (1980); Census (1981) County Report for Greater London

Table 7.8 reinforces this overall view by detailing location quotients for Skillcentre trainees in London by borough of residence, calculated in relation to the borough unemployment levels (figures for men only (16 years plus) have been used given the 97% male occupancy of the London Skillcentres) and the residential location of London's unskilled manual workers. These figures show how the Skillcentres were in some instances serving areas of high unemployment, however, the general outer London over-representation within the London Skillcentres (even without the 'outside London' trainees being included); as well as the 'catchment effect' of the Skillcentre locations upon recruitment within 'local' boroughs, distorted any capacity to spatially target Skillcentre training to problem inner-city areas. Lambeth in inner London was

an exception, although as detailed above, local residents were at the time of the trainee survey able to take advantage of the GLC/GLTB initiative to increase access to Twickenham Skillcentre for Lambeth residents.

In terms of the industrial sectors and industries served by the Skillcentres, an even greater emphasis upon outer London local labour markets is evident. The distribution of male workers in employment in manufacturing industries (Fig.7.12a), shows over 70% of the workforce resident in outer London, and the extremes of outer London in particular. Specific concentrations of these workers are found in Enfield, Croydon, Havering and Hillingdon and Ealing, covering north, south, east and west outer London. This distribution would reinforce the outer London catchments of at least Enfield, Waddon, Perivale and would in part account for the number of Havering residents taking up training places at their 'nearest' London Skillcentre in Poplar.

The distribution of construction workers (Fig.7.12b) is almost equally oriented towards outer London (65.7%) but possesses a slightly different distribution with a greater emphasis upon inner and outer south and south-east London. The Skillcentres were particularly given over to training in the construction trades and the five Skillcentres in south and south-east London were particularly well located to service this resident population. Again, inner south London figures prominently in these distributions, and areas such as Lambeth were highlighted in chapter five in terms of the scale of job loss particularly in the construction industry. The lack of local provision within this context was particularly important.

This picture of Skillcentre provision in relation to local labour markets across London must also be viewed within the broader skills training environment, allowing for other private and public sector providers. The map of male apprentices and trainees, including Skillcentre trainees, across London in 1981, illustrates how the London Skillcentres generally reinforced the processes of labour market segmentation in London *in particular areas* (Fig.7.13). Nearly two-thirds of these trainees were resident in outer London (62.85%), similar to the Skillcentre trainee distribution, and many of the Skillcentres derived their trainees from areas where significantly higher

Fig.7.12a
Male manufacturing workers in employment by place of residence:
Greater London 1981
(Source: Census 1981, County Report for Greater London)

2001 - 2075

1501 - 2000

1001 - 1500

501 - 1000

353 - 500
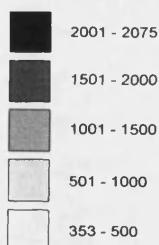
Manufacturing workers in employment by residence
(Men - 10% sample)

Fig.7.12b
Male construction workers in employment by place of residence:
Greater London 1981
(Source: Census 1981, County Report for Greater London)

■	901 - 1105
■	701 -900
▦	501 - 700
□	301 - 500
□	176 -300
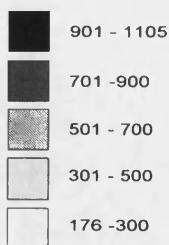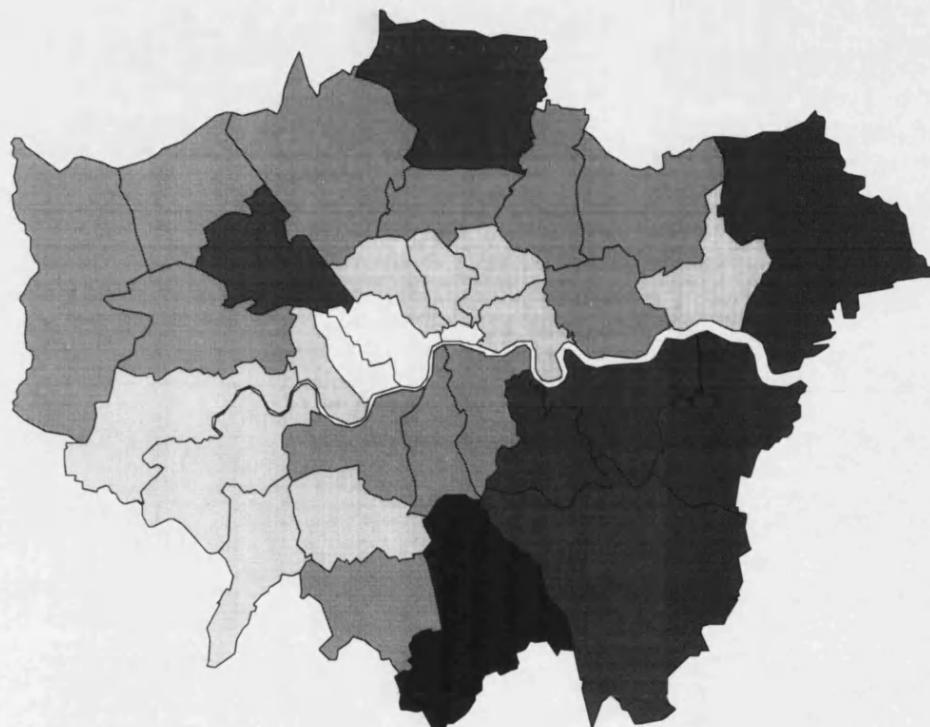
Construction workers in employment by residence
(Men - 10% sample)

Fig.7.13
Male apprentices and trainees by place of residence: Greater London 1981
(Source: Census 1981, County Report for Greater London)

4.1 - 4.8

3.1 - 4.0

2.1 - 3.0

1.6 - 2.0
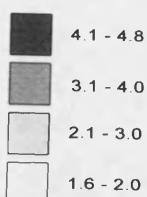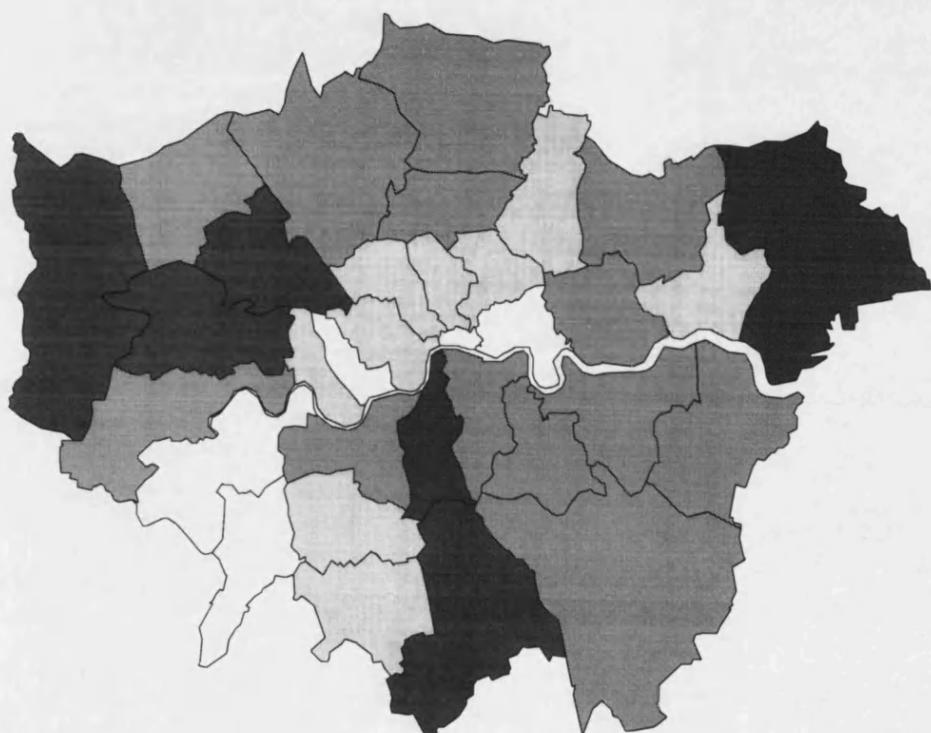
Male apprentices and trainees by residence
(Percentage distribution)

numbers of apprentices and trainees were already resident (see Fig.7.5a), particularly in outer London. In this sense, the relatively buoyant outer London industrial districts and local labour markets with their higher levels of 'local employment' for unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers (GLC, 1986a; see chapter five), and comparatively better training environments, were being supported and reinforced by many of the London Skillcentre locations and catchments.

7.4.2 Locating Skillcentre trainees employment experience

The majority of the London Skillcentre trainees have been seen to be resident in outer London and outside of the Greater London area (61%). Their employment experience reflected that residential pattern but also shows some interesting variation. Fig.7.14 shows the location of the trainees last job prior to beginning their Skillcentre training. The proportion of trainees working in outer London and outside of the London area (431/58.3%) was an approximate reflection of their residential location. However, within this group the proportion working in outer London was lower in relation to those living in outer London (48.9% resident and 40.1% working). Whilst the percentage of those working outside of London was substantially higher then the residential figure (12.1% rising to 18.2%). The proportion resident in inner London was comparable to the percentage working in inner London (38.4% resident and 41.3% working).

These broad geographical figures, however, may have masked some significant movements between these three areas. By looking at the relationship, however, between the trainees residence, at the time of their last job, and the location of that job, then the overall picture is one of very little movement between these areas. For those trainees that lived outside of the Greater London area, 89.8% (132) also worked outside of London, with only 8.8% coming in to work in outer London and only 1.4% travelling into inner London.

Within outer London, 71.9% of the trainees lived and worked in the outer boroughs, with just under a quarter (24.4%) travelling into inner London, and only 3.7% moving

Fig.7.14
Location of skillcentre trainees last job prior to commencing skillcentre training:
Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

10.0 and above

5.0 - 9.9

3.0 - 4.9

2.0 - 2.9

0.0 - 1.9
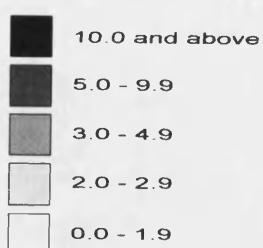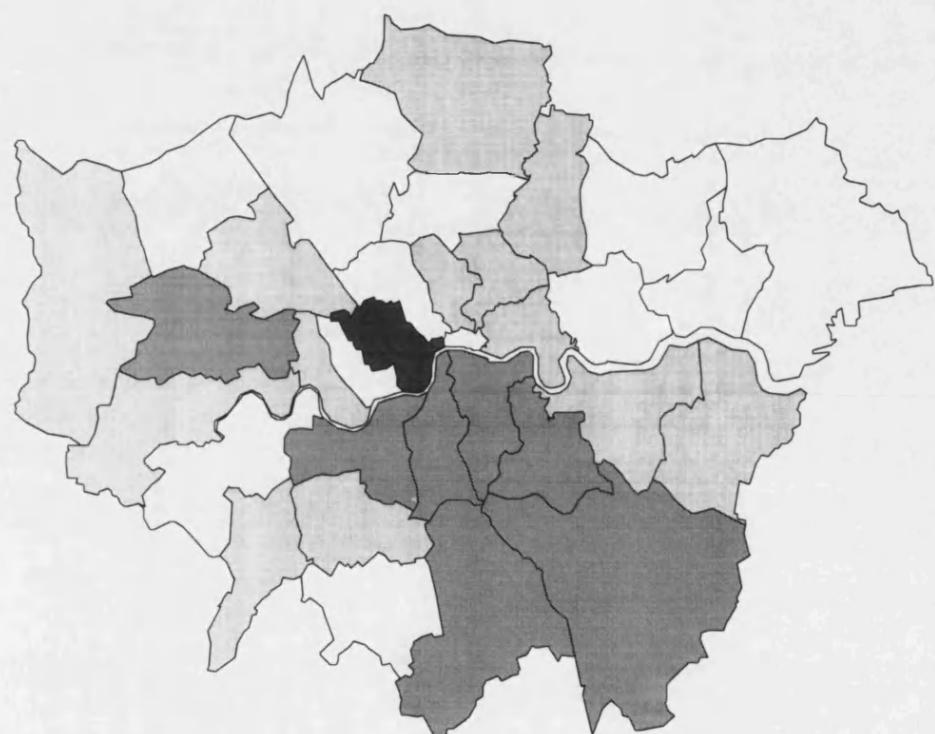
Last job before training
(Percentage distribution)

Outside London (18.2%)

outside the Greater London area. This outer London dependence ranged from 91.7% in Kingston, down to 47.7% in Greenwich. In inner London, the picture is almost the reverse of that found in the outer London area. 81.6% of the trainees resident in inner London also worked in inner London. Only 18.2% travelled to an outer London borough, and just one trainee (0.2%) made the journey from inner London to outside the Greater London area. The range of inner London dependence was less variable than that experienced in outer London, varying from 100% in Westminster, down to 61.5% in Haringey in north London.

From this data it appears that the trainees employment experience prior to training was, in terms of their geographical mobility, quite extensively constrained by their residential location or deliberately restricted by their own perception of a viable and acceptable journey to work. In this context, travel-to-training, at a London Skillcentre, may be seen to be constrained by the same set of circumstances which influenced the trainees access to work. Skillcentre locations in outer London would attract, or be accessible to, an essentially outer London target population.

In terms of the trainees perception of the journey-to-training, and as a further indicator of the relatively constrained 'local training markets' which were operating within Greater London, 358 trainees (36.6%) were offered a choice of Skillcentre to attend with over two-thirds (214/67.7%) indicating that their preference had been decided on the basis of the Skillcentre being 'closer or easier to get to'. Nearly 20% (63/19.9%) made their choice on the basis of 'waiting lists', but only 5.4% (17) indicated that their choice was due to the course being 'more suitable or better'.

Amongst the trainees who had not been given a choice of Skillcentre, 135 trainees (13.2%) indicated that they would have preferred to attend another Skillcentre, with 87.9% (102) again citing proximity and access as the reason for their preference. Trainees tended to travel to training principally by car (382/38.2%), train (286/28.6%) and bus (208/20.8%) to minimise the journey to Skillcentre time, which for the majority of trainees (791/80.1%) was no longer than one hour.

Within the context of these movements, therefore, the Skillcentre trainees were in the majority living, and to an even greater extent working, in outer London and outside of the Greater London area. This picture is further reinforced by Fig.7.15 which shows, for those trainees who claimed to have experience in the trade/skill area within which they were training, the location of that relevant employment experience. Over a third of these trainees gained that experience in employment located outside of Greater London (75/36.4%). Over 73% worked in outer, and outside of, London combined. With only just over a quarter of these trainees gaining their experience from employment located in inner London (26.7%). This pattern suggests that upon completion of their Skillcentre training, the successful trainees would at least have attempted to reflect their pre-training employment experience.

7.4.3 Post-training job search

The job search intentions of the Skillcentre trainees, upon completion of their training, reinforce this picture. Interpreting this data, however, is complicated given the diversity of intentions and manner of expressing those intentions. Each of the sub-sets of responses which make up this picture of job search preference across London and beyond, however, reflect the pre-training employment and training experience of the Skillcentre trainees.

A substantive number of the respondents seemed to indicate far-ranging geographical areas of job search, perhaps indicating a willingness to seek employment from any location. 11.2% (106), for example, indicated their intention to seek employment 'anywhere', whilst a further 241 trainees (25.4%) answered 'London' as their job search area. A further 159 trainees (16.8%) referred to areas outside of Greater London. These areas ranged geographically from major cities across Britain, including Manchester and Birmingham; to counties principally surrounding the London area including, Kent, Essex, Surrey and Hertfordshire; through to 'Britain' and other countries including Ireland, Scotland, USA, Australia and even 'Europe' and 'Africa'.

Fig.7.15
Location of pre-training experience in skillcentre skill/trade area: Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

5.0 and above

3.0 - 4.9

2.0 - 2.9

1.0 - 1.9

0.0 - 0.9
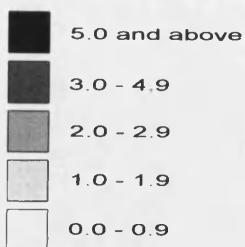
Outside London (36.4%)

Pre-training experience in skill/trade area
(Percentage distribution)

Within Greater London, however, a pattern of preference appeared which was consistent with the residential location of the trainees, their pre-training employment and the location of the Skillcentre training. Fig.7.16 shows some of these geographical preferences for post-training employment, highlighting for a substantial sub-set, the boroughs most preferred for post-training job search and employment. A significant number of trainees indicated either a borough, a geographical sector within London, or inner or outer London. For those who indicated their preference in terms of a named borough (169/17.8%), 68.7% (116) were outer London boroughs. Amongst those trainees who named a borough or stated 'inner or 'outer' London, 158 trainees (61.7%) opted for outer London.

Amongst these overlapping sub-sets, a group of 273 trainees (28.8%) identified a geographical sector as their preferred job search area. These figures show a distinct preference for south and south-east London in particular. Over 42% (115) of these respondents indicated these two sectors. Equally east and north-east London were the geographical sectors within Greater London that the Skillcentre trainees least favoured for their job search (28/10.2%). The other four chosen sectors, across north and west London showed a small preference for the west of London (38/13.9%).

Those trainees who indicated a named borough as their job search preferred location identified three areas which are essentially consistent with the trainees residential location and the location of their Skillcentre training. South and south-east outer London was a preference area, with Bromley, Bexley, Greenwich and Croydon appearing as one area of preference. Croydon in particular, chosen by 18.9% (32) of these trainees, stands out as the most preferred London borough for post-training job search. West London was also a preferred location for post-training employment. Particularly high levels of preference were expressed for the 'Skillcentre boroughs' of Ealing and Hounslow. Whilst other west London boroughs had comparatively high preference 'scores', namely Hillingdon and Brent. In north London a smaller preference area centred upon Islington and Haringey, encircled to the east and north by Hackney, Waltham Forest and Enfield.

Fig.7.16
Skillcentre trainees preferences for post-training job search and employment:
Greater London 1980
(Source: London skillcentres trainee survey)

■	10.1 - 18.9
■	6.1 - 10.0
▨	3.1 - 6.0
▢	2.1 - 3.0
□	0.0 - 2.0
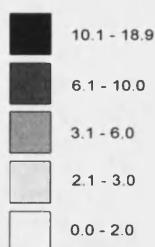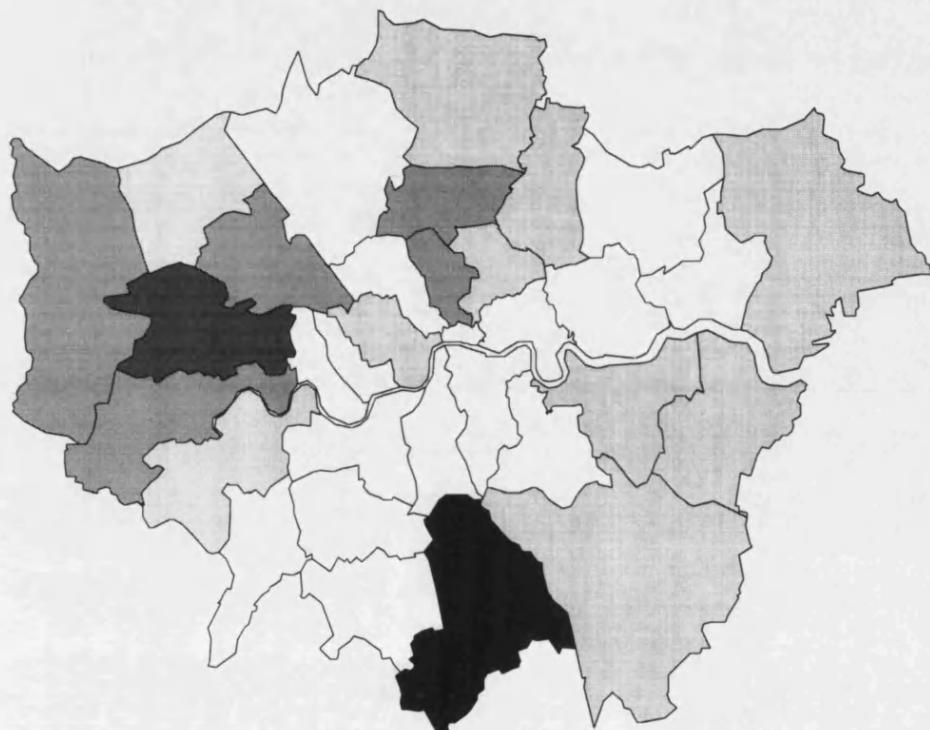
Job search and preferred location of
post-training employment
(Percentage distribution for named boroughs)

Within the outer London boroughs in particular, the comparatively high level of 'self-containment' for semi-skilled and unskilled workers was reinforced by the Skillcentre cohort. The London Borough of Croydon illustrates this effect. In south London 58.5% of the Skillcentre trainees resident in Croydon attended Waddon Skillcentre, and a further 22.6% Waddon Annexe. For over a third of the Croydon trainees (37.8%), their last job was in the borough (Bromley at 6.7% was the next highest borough). And in terms of job search areas, the only named borough was Croydon, which was the preference for 54% of the trainees ('London' at 18% was the next highest preference). Across London, the strength of the 'local employment' effect in outer London compared to the inner London boroughs was evident. London Skillcentres to a large extent drew upon essentially 'local' catchments in order to derive the Skillcentre training cohort. This set of trainees have been shown to have generally lived 'locally' to the training centre, to have been employed 'locally' prior to their Skillcentre training, and also to have anticipated finding work in the post-training environment within the same constrained geographical areas.

7.5 Conclusion

Placing aspects of the Skillcentre trainees characteristics and experience into the industrial, local labour market and institutional structure of labour market regulation and governance of Greater London in the early 1980s has revealed important linkages between both the then contemporary and earlier labour market processes. The residual consequences of past periods of industrial growth, restructuring and change, for example, coupled with past phases of state-funded labour market regulation provided a setting within which the then contemporary labour market processes were enacted and developed. These labour market relations were in turn set within a geographical context where labour has been seen to be mobilised locally within the broader geographical area of Greater London.

Examples of these labour market relations have been illustrated throughout this chapter, set within the explanatory framework developed throughout this thesis, the complexity of London's local labour markets and industrial districts, the geographical

notion of catchment, and the experience and personal characteristics of the Skillcentre trainees. First, the Skillcentre infrastructure in London in the early 1980s was significant. In a situation of Skillcentre restructuring and change, each of the eleven sites were either the residual outcome of past periods of labour market regulation, or were the first expressions and beginnings of a then new set of policy objectives radically revising the nature of state intervention in skills training. Many of the London Skillcentres represented locational decisions and regulatory purposes of anything up to fifty years earlier. Whilst others reflected the late 1970s concern for the social problems of the inner-city, and as a then new theme, the attempt to more directly meet the economic needs of local employers. These decisions were not simply institutional responses to changing regulatory needs, such as in the post-war reconstruction situation of 1946, but also responses to industrial change and development in particular industrial districts within London, such as in the development of industrial estates in west and south London in the 1920s and 1930s and the decline of engineering in inner east London in the 1960s and 1970s. Within these historical and geographical contexts, the simple and very partial explanatory perspective of 'catchment' (as an expression of the way labour is mobilised locally) took on a greater significance as trainees access to training was constrained or facilitated by past and present policy decisions developed at 'local' and 'national' scales but implemented within the labour market specificities of a particular place.

Second, the skills training offer in London at that time also reflected past and present regulatory needs, resistance to change in the face of continuing industrial decline in related industrial sectors, and the beginnings of a new emphasis upon training the employed rather than the unemployed. Within the complex economic, social and local labour market situation in London at that time, all of these issues had significant implications in terms of labour market segmentation processes and access to training within different parts of the Greater London area. Although a period of changing skill demands and needs, the London Skillcentres were historically resourced for and dominated by skills training in what were increasingly devalued skills areas associated with traditional craft skills areas. This had been the case prior to the 1939-45 war, but the wartime and post-war emphasis upon engineering and construction trades skills

remained in place through to the 1980s and to privatisation and closure in the 1990s. The new technology training needs of the early 1980s were consequently not being met by the Skillcentres making them vulnerable to rationalisation and restructuring under the changing and developing policy objectives of the increasingly neo-liberal state.

Within London, in terms of labour market segmentation processes and coupled with the complexity of London's local labour markets, these policy objectives were having significant implications in terms of gaining access to Skillcentre training. A growing shift towards training the employed rather than the unemployed and retraining the skilled following redundancy, only served to reinforce the skilled/unskilled and employed/unemployed divisions within London's labour markets. This change also had other important geographical dimensions within London, with the outer London majority of London Skillcentre trainees reinforcing the map of skilled manual workers, the map of trainees and apprentices within London, and the existing geography of London's manufacturing districts where a significant majority of the trainees intended to undertake their job search following completion of their Skillcentre training. At a time of high unemployment, particularly in London's inner-city areas, this reinforcement of the conjoined labour market segmentation and local labour market processes ran counter to the social welfare needs of London's marginalised workforce and the related maps of the unemployed and unskilled manual workers within and across Greater London.

The London Skillcentre trainees of this period were in terms of their work experience, and the geography of that experience, not the most marginalised members of London's working population. They were clearly workers in need of skills training, and consequently social as well as economic objectives were being fulfilled. However, in the context of the deletion of three proposed inner-city Skillcentres from the forward planning programme of the MSC's London Regional Office, social welfare objectives were increasingly secondary to the economic objectives of supporting London's employers in their local areas. As a consequence, the experience, characteristics and residential location of the London Skillcentre trainees may be interpreted as a means

of fulfilling the MSC's performance criterion of post-training placement in employment. A view reinforced by the catchment area of Deptford Skillcentre, the 'flagship' Skillcentre within inner south-east London, which continued to derive many of its trainees from outer London boroughs such as Bromley and Bexley.

Finally, in terms of the then 'local' institutions of labour market regulation and governance, the geography of Skillcentre trainees in London also in part reflected conflicts of purpose between two major agents of skill formation operating within the same geographical space and representing the local and nation-state. The MSC in London, were charged with a responsibility to deliver the skills training policy objectives of the then Conservative government, which differed significantly from the policy programmes of the previous Labour administration. Those new national policy programmes still reflected issues of social welfare, and arguably social control, but they were increasingly redirected, from within effectively the same infrastructure, towards the economic objectives of employers within particular local labour market contexts (In relation to Skillcentre training the London Region Office of the MSC failed to acknowledge the local labour market complexity of the Greater London area). The GLC through the GLTB, however, adopted an explicit emphasis upon reducing labour market disadvantage within particular local labour markets within London, and consequently concentrated attention upon London's inner-city, particularly Docklands, and upon labour market disadvantage based upon certain ascribed characteristics of the workforce. This institutional conflict was reflected in the catchments associated with Skillcentres in west and inner south-east London where trainees were 'bused' from Lambeth to Twickenham and where the GLC-supported Charlton Training Consortium reopened Charlton Skillcentre for the benefit of a distinctly different 'client population' from that receiving training at the MSC's nearby and newly opened Deptford Skillcentre. Two very different local catchments and populations gaining access to skill formation opportunities, operating within the same geographical and temporal space, reflected conflicting local and national priorities associated with the economic and social purposes and aims of labour market regulation and governance.

These examples and themes illustrate how this chapter has grounded the theoretical framework of this thesis, and the historical analysis of GTC and Skillcentre training at the national level, in the empirical reality of Skillcentre training at a particular time and within a specific local labour market context. Skillcentre training in Greater London in the early 1980s was the product of the intersection and interaction of economic, social and political processes, processes of production, reproduction and regulation, operating at a variety of spatial scales and over time, and within the context of place. In particular, access to this state-funded training initiative has to be seen in terms of the local intersection of processes of labour market segmentation and local labour market structures.

Chapter seven, within the framework of industrial change in London, as detailed in chapter five, and the evolution of GTC and Skillcentre training in London, as presented in chapter six, has unpacked these processes underpinning access to this form of skills training. A number of key issues have been identified which suggest that Skillcentre training in London in the early 1980s served to reinforce local labour market segmentation processes both through the personal characteristics and experience of the trainees and the geographical and local labour market situations within which those trainees lived and the training experience was undertaken and located. From this perspective, outer London was privileged over inner-city areas, employers needs increasingly dominated over the social welfare needs of individual workers, workers most suited to fulfilling the MSC's policy objectives were prioritised over those in greatest labour market need, and comparatively buoyant industrial areas within Greater London were better resourced than the depressed and older manufacturing areas of inner London. In these circumstances, parallels can be drawn with Peck's analysis of the implementation nationally of both the YTS scheme and the present Labour government's 'New Deal' for the young unemployed. In both instances the structure, implementation and management of these initiatives was argued as having and likely to have differential impacts within comparatively buoyant and depressed local labour markets within Britain (Peck, 1990a; 1990b; 1998a). Within an urban setting such as the complex and varied local labour markets of Greater London, and the geographical context of Skillcentre catchment, the Skillcentre training policy

programmes also may be seen to have differential impacts and outcomes within the more economically and socially buoyant and depressed areas.

From this perspective, the Skillcentre trainees have been seen to have negotiated intentionally or incidentally the institutional and geographical constraints operating within Greater London in the early 1980s. In so doing, they have been drawn from labour market segments and local labour markets which facilitated the changing mix of the then contemporary objectives associated with this training initiative. Within the framework of this thesis, however, the Skillcentre trainee survey represented one particular temporal and geographical moment. It is only within the historical and geographical framework developed within this thesis that this 'moment' may be effectively interpreted in order to offer explanations which broaden understanding of process and context. Chapter eight concludes this thesis by presenting a synthesis and critical review of the theoretical and empirical findings, as well as elements of a research agenda which may be developed from this work.

Chapter Eight

Geographies of labour market regulation: synthesis and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has sought to interpret, from a geographical and historical perspective, changes in the form and nature of a related series of British government-funded adult industrial training initiatives offered through Government Training Centres and the later Skillcentres, from their effective inception in 1917 through to their privatisation and eventual closure in 1993. A central focus of this undertaking has been the identification of geographical landscapes of labour market regulation, control and governance. These landscapes have been illustrated at both the level of the national labour market, influenced as it is by international processes, and at the level of the local labour market. The latter in particular, being presented as an important scale at which the intersecting and interacting generative causal processes which underpin labour market structures may usefully be interpreted and understood.

As an extension of this analysis, it has also been argued that the labour market experience of each GTC and Skillcentre trainee, in terms of their educational, training and employment record, embodied not only their contemporary and contingent circumstances, but also the historical and residual consequences of earlier periods of government policy aimed at labour market regulation and control and constructed under very different economic, social and political conditions at both the national and local levels. In this very direct sense, the geographies of labour market regulation may be recognised at the international and national scales, through the regional and local, encompassing the day-to-day setting and context within which the individual trainee seeks access to these training opportunities.

This thesis has suggested, however, that it is necessary to engage in analysis which recognises the importance and significance of each of these spatial scales and at the same time illustrate aspects of the manner in which policy formulation and implementation at the national level must be understood in terms of its operation within another spatial scale, namely the local labour market and consequently

interpreted in terms of the institutional context relevant to both settings. At the local level this relationship is in part represented in terms of the formation of 'distinctive local training infrastructures', and in more general terms, by regarding the local labour market as a 'conjunctural phenomenon', whereby geographies of labour demand, supply and the regulatory activities of the state intersect and interact within the geographical context of place.

Comparatively recent contributions to a 'labour geography' have generally acknowledged these spatial and temporal relationships but have restricted their analyses and explanations either to a limited part of contemporary policy formulation and implementation, and/or either the national or local scales, arguably stressing selected moments of change and crisis at the expense of an understanding of related policy development and restructuring over time, for different regulatory purposes, generating different outcomes at different spatial scales. This study has also been primarily concerned with a particular and limited set of state-funded and provided industrial training initiatives, but it has attempted to locate these training programmes within a broader historical, institutional and policy context as well as a geographical context which embraces a range of spatial scales.

By necessity partial, in terms of the chosen exemplars from the complexity of reality, this thesis has linked elements of the British state's attempts, over time, at labour market regulation and control, through the funding and provision of industrial training opportunities at GTCs and Skillcentres. In so doing, it has sought to illustrate how these policy initiatives, constructed at the national level, have been variously intended to meet national, regional and local regulatory purposes and that the subsequent geographical outcomes have been in response to changing economic, social and political circumstances operating at a variety of spatial scales. The more geographically detailed analysis of these same training initiatives within the context of what may loosely be termed the Greater London labour market, has linked the national governmental, institutional and policy framework to the specificities of the geography of labour demand, social relations of labour reproduction and the labour regulatory

activities of the 'local state', operating within this particular geographical and regional context.

From this perspective, access to these same training programmes for potential trainees, over time and within the geographical context of 'place', must be seen to be the product and outcome of the intersection of contemporary processes operating at different spatial scales, as well as the historic and residual consequences of labour market processes operating both within and between places and again at national and local levels. The study of Skillcentre trainees in Greater London in the early 1980s has been interpreted and analysed from within this explanatory framework in order to illustrate how the labour market and institutional specificity of London at that time, and in the past, had influenced the 'local' nature and provision of these industrial training initiatives, but within the context of the changing national and regional regulatory purposes which had underpinned this policy formulation and which continued to structure and direct its form and purpose.

As synthesis and conclusion, this final chapter, from the perspective of these particular state-funded and provided skills training initiatives, links the broader and historically changing purposes of the state at the national level, with the specificity of particular local labour market contexts, identifying sub-national geographies of labour market regulation and governance. The chapter, is structured into two sections. First, the GTC and Skillcentre experience in Britain, covering a significant part of the 20th Century, is interpreted in terms of the apparent changing role of the state within the context of the structural coupling between what may now be termed an 'accumulation system in transition' and arguably related changes in elements of the mode of social regulation. Second, within this same context and drawing upon the Greater London example, sub-national geographies of labour market regulation and governance are seen to be in large part a 'local' consequence of these changing policy purposes at the level of the nation state, coupled with the conjuncture of other economic and *extra-economic* causal processes intersecting and interacting at the local level.

8.2 Regimes of accumulation and changes in the mode of social regulation

As identified in chapter two, the shift towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Century from an 'extensive' accumulation regime, which was characterised by rapidly expanding markets for industrial products, to an 'intensive' regime which was more concerned with increasing the efficiency with which inputs to production were used, also prompted over time a significant change in the regulatory mechanisms employed by the state to facilitate production and maintain capital accumulation and profitability. This intensive regime, termed Fordism, was seen to be dominant across much of the North American and Western European manufacturing belt until at least the 1960s, since when, these same economies have been arguably seen to be experiencing a further transformation to a new accumulation regime which has been termed Post-Fordism, centred upon various forms of 'flexibility', within both production and the labour process.

According to regulation theory, for these significant changes to constitute a new regime of accumulation, a structural coupling between the new accumulation system and the mode of social regulation must be achieved, either through intent, chance discovery or experimentation. This thesis has attempted to identify at the national level, and in selected government-funded institutions and policy programmes associated with skills training in Britain between 1917-1993, changes in the national economy and related changes in the role of the state. Combining a theoretical level of abstract generalisation, and this concrete skills training perspective, it has been possible to recognise a number of important periods of regulatory stability and periods of transition and change which 'coincide' with this conceptualisation of changes and 'adjustments' between and within systems of accumulation and their associated mode of social regulation.

Working simply at this abstract level of the regime of accumulation, however, would not have produced such a detailed account. The stability of the Fordist era, coupled with an emphasis within earlier structuralist analyses upon points of crisis and change, has perhaps led to the relative neglect of those regulatory mechanisms and processes

which have sustained Fordist production and capital accumulation; and equally by focusing attention to moments of crisis and transformation, afforded undue attention to the Fordist to Post-Fordist transition (Ekinsmyth, Hallsworth, Leonard and Taylor, 1995). As a consequence, the concrete study of state-funded adult skills training in Britain, during a period dominated for the most part by Fordist accumulation, has identified at least nine distinct periods of regulatory need which have generally produced different regulatory mechanisms, institutional responses and policy formulations, as well as different sub-national geographical outcomes.

This perspective, however, does offer an important contextual framework within which both extra-economic motivations and conjunctural sub-national conceptualisations may be considered. The early 20th Century transition from an 'extensive' to an 'intensive' regime has been illustrated earlier by reference to the late 19th Century calls for state intervention into the realm of industrial training in order to restore international competitiveness and consequently reduce unemployment. The growth and changes apparent in the then new GTC network of the 1920s and 1930s could in part be attributed to the onset of this new accumulation system in certain parts of Britain, particularly around the major market for consumption of these new goods and products, namely London.

The next significant period, marking the onset of another period of crisis and transition, relates to the early 1960s, with the explicit recognition of the need for GTC industrial training to increasingly reflect economic purposes and not the social objectives which had previously pre-dominated during the 1950s, as a residual welfare function within a nationally buoyant labour market. Although not a moment of transition to a different accumulation system, this policy shift was a response to the beginnings of the crisis in Fordist production in many parts of Britain, which would ultimately lead to claims of a new dominant, 'Post-Fordist', accumulation system. In terms of these state-funded skills training initiatives, this Post-Fordist transformation was apparent during the early 1980s when the Skillcentre network, as an increasingly 'arms-length' operation within the restructured Manpower Services Commission, was itself recast and individual centres were required to 'trade-in-profit', as an early

indication of the local market potential for skills training. The privatisation of the remaining Skillcentres at the beginning of the 1990s, was the logical outcome of the policy brief, in the later 1980s, to respond to 'local skills training needs' as expressed by 'local employers'. The journey to privatisation reflected not simply the prevailing 'enterprise culture' but also importantly, the changed role of the state, which in its neo-liberal form, extolled flexibility and innovation and the need to respond directly to the needs of the market.

The state-funded Skillcentres of the 1980s, and the privatised Skillcentres of the early 1990s, embodied the stated policy of the then government to break away from the traditional craft skills training which had dominated GTC and Skillcentre training for at least fifty years, to overcome trade union-led opposition to skills dilution (which had restricted the skills training offer within GTCs and Skillcentres) and to redraw the national Skillcentre network 'map' (which in many cases reflected the locational decisions of previous regulatory periods and needs). The restructured and ultimately privatised Skillcentres, under this neo-liberal formulation, were intended to provide skills training in new technology related to growth sectors of the industrial economy, producing flexible workers trained in the working practices of the post-Fordist workplace (with an emphasis upon improving the skills of the employed and not retraining the unemployed), and located in local labour markets where the market existed for quality skills training.

In this context, the Skillcentre programme at that time may be interpreted as part of the change in the role of the state as part of the changing mode of social regulation, and as part of a changing regime of accumulation. From this perspective, the changes in the Skillcentre initiative during the later 1980s and early 1990s, at an institutional level in terms of the restructuring of the MSC into the short-lived Training Commission and the transformation of the Skills Training Agency into the privatised Astra Training Services (STA to ATS through management buy-out), can be closely aligned with the contemporaneous setting up of the TECs and the present government's 'New Deal' initiative for employment and training (Peck, 1998a). In this context and broader perspective, the GTC and Skillcentre programmes can be

understood as part of the regulatory change from Keynesian welfare state to Schumpeterian workfare state.

By focusing upon these significant points of transition, however, attention has been directed away from other significant and subsequently influential periods of distinctive regulatory need. The residual consequences of these other periods can only be understood by identifying these periods of regulatory need *within* any particular regime of capital accumulation and not by focusing attention solely at periods of transition or change. Equally, changes in government policy relating to skills training can not only be understood in terms of a functionalist 'mapping' of policy as labour regulation onto industrial crisis and change. This is consistent with a broader reading of regulation theory which is concerned to illustrate the means by which the state seeks to maintain, in response to crisis, the conditions appropriate to capital accumulation, until that structural coupling between the dominant system of accumulation and the mode of social regulation can no longer be sustained. At the same time, the state's role will take different forms outside of that prescribed by its relation to the prevailing economic system, not least amongst these purposes being the retention of political power through government.

The nine distinct periods of labour regulation and governance identified in this thesis are not exhaustive but are significant in terms of the use by government of policy initiatives relating to skills training for the purposes of regulating labour. Many of the reasons underpinning these interventions may be interpreted in terms of the state's role in facilitating capital accumulation, others may be seen to be 'purely' political, social and cultural in their intent, although in nearly all instances it is possible to construct an interpretation which gives precedence to the economic. This thesis has identified the use of these skills training initiatives, at different times and sometimes at the same time, to support the conduct of war, to facilitate reconstruction and rehabilitation, as a means of social control and the legitimation of mainstream policy, as a welfare function, as a way of instilling the 'discipline' and convention of the working day, as a means of reducing regional inequalities and regional unemployment, as an element of 'inner-city' policy, as a means of advancing political ideology and maintaining

political power through government, and as a means of facilitating capital accumulation. The list may also not be exhaustive, but amongst these varied and diverse purposes it is significant that throughout the approximately 75 years that the different but related forms of these training initiatives existed, they only demanded a small fraction of government's expenditure amidst the totality of policy. As such, they illustrate the diversity of policy experimentation deployed by government in order to seek a successful regulatory environment maintained in the interests of industrial capital and production. The privatisation and subsequent closure of the remaining Skillcentres also adds support to the view that given the complexity of reality, all regulatory experiments, as abstractions and partial attempts at resolving regulatory problems, are destined for failure.

Within the framework offered by the regulation approach, each of the purposes identified above must also be seen in terms of the residual consequences passed on to subsequent governments, policy-makers, labour market institutions and infrastructure, as well as trainees. In this sense, path-dependency as an issue is critical to an understanding of the nature and form of these state interventions within any particular historical context, and this thesis has placed emphasis upon constructing this institutional and policy context in relation to these skills training initiatives. Whilst 'path-dependent' policy analysis must also incorporate the significance of other related policy programmes both within and outside of the realm of industrial training, it is also the case that policy formulations and institutional contexts outside of the 'national' are also significant.

Policy formulation at the level of the local state will have been undertaken within the context of national policy, but will have intersected and interacted with that same policy at the local level and within the context of 'place'. In part dependent upon the labour market institutions implementing the relevant policy programme, 'local' policy may reflect or reinforce the national policy objectives, or at one extreme, run counter to those same intentions. The parallel development of skills training policy, at national and local levels will reflect the 'independent' path-dependent (as well as interacting and intersecting) behaviour of labour market institutions at each level, which from a

national perspective may be seen as policy formulations 'downloading' onto pre-existing labour market institutions, policy and infrastructure. The relationship between the London Region of the Manpower Services Commission and the Greater London Training Board of the Greater London Council in the early 1980s, as detailed in chapters six and seven, exemplifies this situation and illustrates the importance of identifying 'distinctive local training infrastructures' within the context of place, creating geographies of labour market regulation and governance and linking the regulation approach with a reconceptualised local labour market.

8.3 Geographies of labour market regulation

Locating skills training in the GTC and Skillcentre networks within an understanding of the operation of changing regimes of capital accumulation within the British space-economy has enabled the presentation of a number of national level landscapes of labour market regulation and governance. These national 'geographies' of policy implementation illustrate, over time, the changing location and extent of these skills training centres, as a policy response to changing regulatory needs. Each of these regulatory 'landscapes', however, must be understood and interpreted in terms of both contemporary and residual consequences of previous periods of policy formulation and implementation. As a consequence, the likely 'success' of each period of labour market regulation through experimentation, was frequently predicated upon the configuration of GTCs, Skillcentres and their training offer constructed under the regulatory conditions of the past.

What these national landscapes of labour market regulation and governance illustrate is that changes in the mode of social regulation, associated with changes and crises in the dominant system of capital accumulation will produce policy responses which will have a changing form throughout the British space-economy. Over time, and largely dependent upon the nature of the regulatory crisis, different regions and localities will experience different levels of access to these skills training initiatives which will vary according to the stated national policy objectives. Consequently, the regulatory mechanisms prescribed at the national level can not simply be handed down to the

local level in a manner which is unproblematic. As stated earlier, to concede the importance of geographical contingency in national policy formulation, it is necessary to also acknowledge the importance of geographical contingency and the interaction of labour market processes at the sub-national level. The relationship between the accumulation system and the mode of social regulation must be understood at both national and institutional levels, but must also be understood within the context of the conjunctural structure of the local labour market. Different skills training policy outcomes and distinctive local training infrastructures are created in different places and at different times due to the intersection and interaction of local labour demand, labour supply as well as the regulatory activities of the state.

Although it has been possible to identify periods of distinctive labour market regulatory need at the level of the nation-state, the examples detailed earlier, particularly in relation to the Greater London labour markets, suggest that from the perspective of the local labour market, the available training infrastructure and resources were frequently inconsistent with the 'current' regulatory need. This situation was compounded by the attempt to achieve a range of policy objectives through the same training centres at the same time, often within Skillcentres established in locations intended to meet skills training needs of up to fifty years earlier. London in the early 1980s is an important example, where the Skillcentres increasingly dominant economic objectives of meeting local employers needs and trading in profit, conflicted directly with the social objectives of supporting the increasing problems of London's inner-city areas. These objectives, represented a conflict between policy and place, in that the location of Skillcentres in London at that time, could not serve both purposes effectively. As detailed in chapters six and seven, the resolution of this conflict, within the context of an increasingly neo-liberal national government, in favour of the skill needs of local employers, served to increase labour market disadvantage between the unemployed and lower skilled of London's inner-city and the working lower skilled population across the rest of Greater London. Labour market segmentation was effectively reinforced by these policy programmes in London at that time.

Within the same geographical context, provision of Skillcentre training in London could also only be understood by reference to the actions of the strategic regional authority, the Greater London Council, as well as the interaction of the local regional office of the MSC with the GLC, the London boroughs and other relevant trade union, community and voluntary organisations. This conjunctural and contingent relationship within the geographical context of Greater London and in relation to skills training in the local Skillcentres, produced a distinctive local training infrastructure in terms of adult skills training in national and local government funded and provided training centres. This political conjuncture was itself based upon the local specificities of London's changing industrial structure and social structures, particularly in terms of social class, gender and race, as elements of economic, social and political processes operating at other spatial scales. The selectivity of the GLC's policy response on skills training at that time, focusing on the ascribed characteristics of these same disadvantaged groups within the London labour markets, was in itself a response to the neo-liberal change in policy direction undertaken by the national government and manifest in their Skillcentre proposals implemented within Greater London and elsewhere in Britain.

From this local perspective, the abstract conceptualisation of the relationship between the accumulation system and the mode of social regulation may seem best suited to an analysis of 'long-wave' economic processes and national level regulatory mechanisms, within the context of processes of globalisation. However, this thesis has sought to link these abstract formulations with the concrete study of labour market institutions and policy formulations at the national and sub-national levels. The change and variation in outcomes has been expressed through the idea of landscapes or geographies of labour market regulation and governance which may be expressed as local, regional or national training infrastructures existing at different spatial scales and with the 'local' embedded within and interacting with the 'national'. The local landscapes depicted in chapter six, have been abstracted from a continuous process, but show both the configuration of GTCs and Skillcentres within London under the variable conditions of labour market regulation associated with national economic,

social and political change and crisis, as well as some of the infrastructural and locational links back to earlier periods of regulatory need.

Within this conceptualisation of these geographies of labour market regulation and governance, however, the trainees should be seen as active participants within, and not passive recipients of, these economic, social and political relations. Chapter seven, within the context of the Skillcentre catchments, the operation of London's local labour markets, the employment profile of the trainees and their post-training intentions, has indicated how the trainees, albeit within a restricted context, have the potential to contribute to the reproduction of larger institutional forms. From this perspective of the individual, the trainees as embodiment and outcome of the state's attempts at and experimentation with labour market regulation and control, may serve to reproduce societal norms, conventions, attitudes and acceptable behaviour (an important element of the mode of social regulation). They also, if successful in their training, reinforce the capital accumulation process via the state's socialisation of the costs of industrial training. And also, within their particular local labour market, and given their personal characteristics, previous work experience and post-training job search strategies, they serve to maintain or reinforce both the labour market segmentation processes and local labour market structures. All this assumes participation and outcomes which coincide with the state's intentions and objectives. Consequently the recognition of divergent outcomes ensures that this study of trainees represents an examination of social reproduction and not an expression of functionalist concepts.

Extending the study of spatial scales to the 'individual' represented a further means of unpacking the 'spatialities' that constitute places in a globalising world economy. In particular, it enables the linking of individual and collective agency, the agency of individuals and the collective agency of labour market institutions. These 'spatialities within actions' of individuals, individuals within collective agencies and between collective agencies exist as mechanisms within the economies and societies of places that can create 'spatial fixities', or temporarily stable geographical patterns and conditions of capital accumulation, production and consumption, and have many

parallels with notions of local embeddedness, local dependency, structured coherence and dynamic dependencies within urban labour markets (Taylor, Ekinsmyth and Leonard, 1997).

Extending Peck's (1994a) earlier understanding of the relationship between uneven development and social regulation, the geographies of labour market regulation illustrated throughout this thesis represent, within the competitive context of the international and increasingly global economy, attempts by government to regulate the uneven development of the national economy; state policies which produce uneven spatial effects, as an intentional or incidental consequence of their design; the conjunctural and contingent relations of the local labour market, where causal labour market processes, operating at a variety of spatial scales, intersect and interact with each other and with the residual consequences of historically-prior uses of that space; and through the spatialities within actions of individual trainees, the potential for the social reproduction of institutional forms. In all their complexity and interconnectedness, they 'emphasise both the necessity and fragility of attempts to regularise and govern a complex economic and extra-economic process' (Jessop, 1997a).

8.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter, as synthesis and conclusion, has been to reinforce the theoretical and empirical basis for this thesis, by linking abstract theoretical formulations as to the relationship between the system of accumulation and the mode of social regulation, with the concrete empirical study of labour market institutions and government policy programmes relating to skills training in GTCs and Skillcentres in Britain and London between 1917-1993. At the same time, this chapter has also sought to reinforce the arguments developed within this thesis and elsewhere, linking a reconceptualised view of the local labour market and a regulation approach. As such, this chapter and thesis has attempted to ground these theoretical formulations within particular empirical settings. And in so doing, open and extend discussion and explanation as to the relevance and significance of a range of geographical landscapes

and outcomes associated with the formulation and implementation of policy relating to labour market regulation and governance.

Appendix 4.1a

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

Scotland

KEY :

Skillcentre □

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ▭

DUMBARTON

GLASGOW HILLINGTON ANNEXE (GOVAN)

GLASGOW (QUEENSLIE)

DUNDEE

DUNFERMLINE

EDINBURGH

EDINBURGH ANNEXE

BELLSHILL

BELLSHILL ANNEXE

IRVINE

GLASGOW (HILLINGTON)
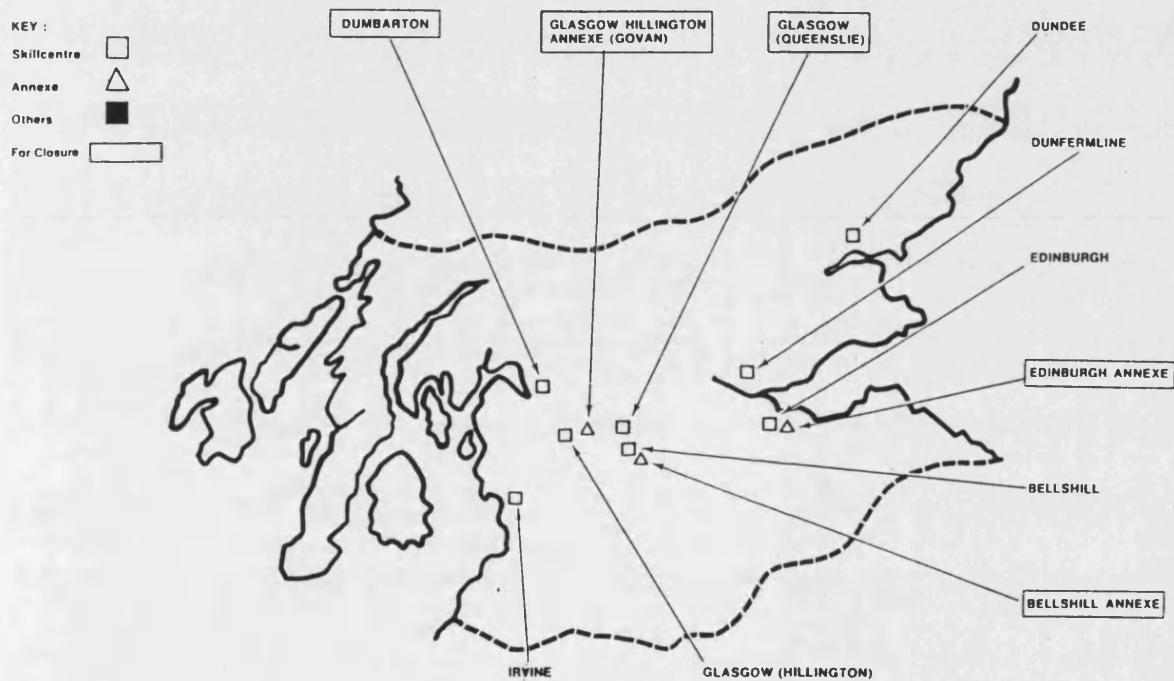
Appendix 4.1b

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

Northern England
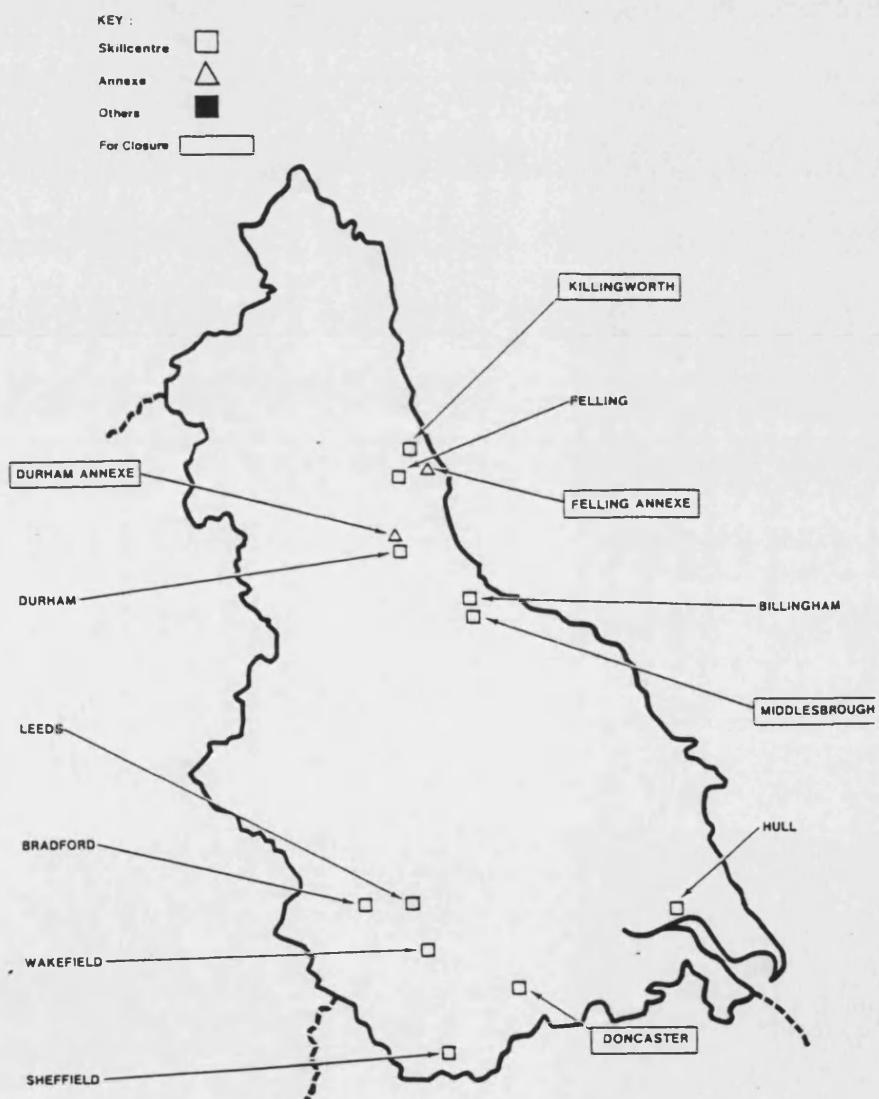
KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ▭

KILLINGWORTH

FELLING

DURHAM ANNEXE

FELLING ANNEXE

DURHAM

BILLINGHAM

MIDDLESBROUGH

LEEDS

HULL

BRADFORD

WAKEFIELD

DONCASTER

SHEFFIELD

Appendix 4.1c

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

North West England

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ▭

MARYPORT

PRESTON

HINDLEY

LIVERPOOL

ST. HELENS

MATU
(LIVERPOOL)

RUNCORN

EAST LANCS

ROCHDALE

HINDLEY ANNEXE
(WORSLEY)

MANCHESTER (DENTON)

MANCHESTER
(TRAFFORD PARK)
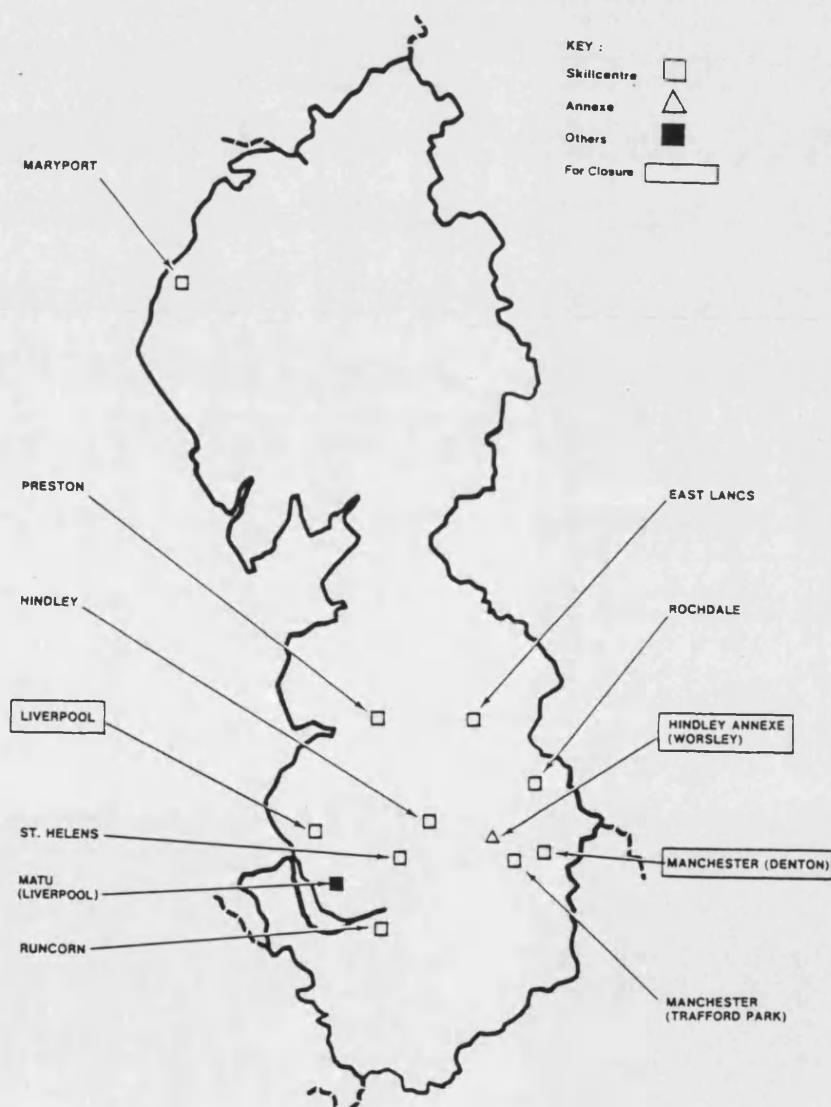
Appendix 4.1d

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

Midlands

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ☐

NORTH STAFFS

KIRKBY-IN-ASHFIELD
ANNEXE (CHESTERFIELD)

KIRKBY-IN-ASHFIELD

YPTC
(BIRMINGHAM)

LONG EATON ANNEXE
(BEESTON)

WOLVERHAMPTON

LONG EATON

BIRMINGHAM
(HANDSWORTH)

LEICESTER

WOLVERHAMPTON
ANNEXE (DUDLEY)

COVENTRY

BIRMINGHAM
(CASTLE BROMWICH)

LEICESTER ANNEXE
(NORTHAMPTON)

REDDITCH
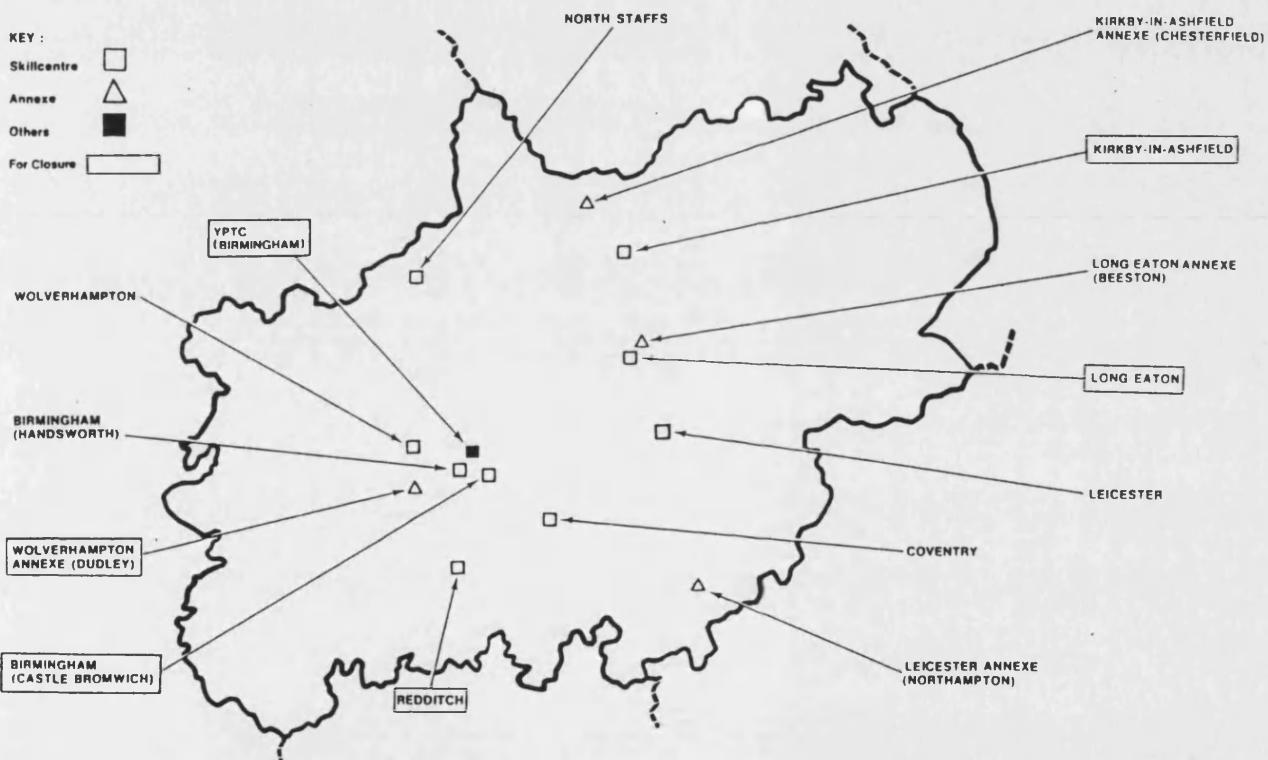
Appendix 4.1e

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

Wales

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ☐

WREXHAM

WEST GWENT

CARDIFF

NEWPORT

LLANELLI

PORT TALBOT
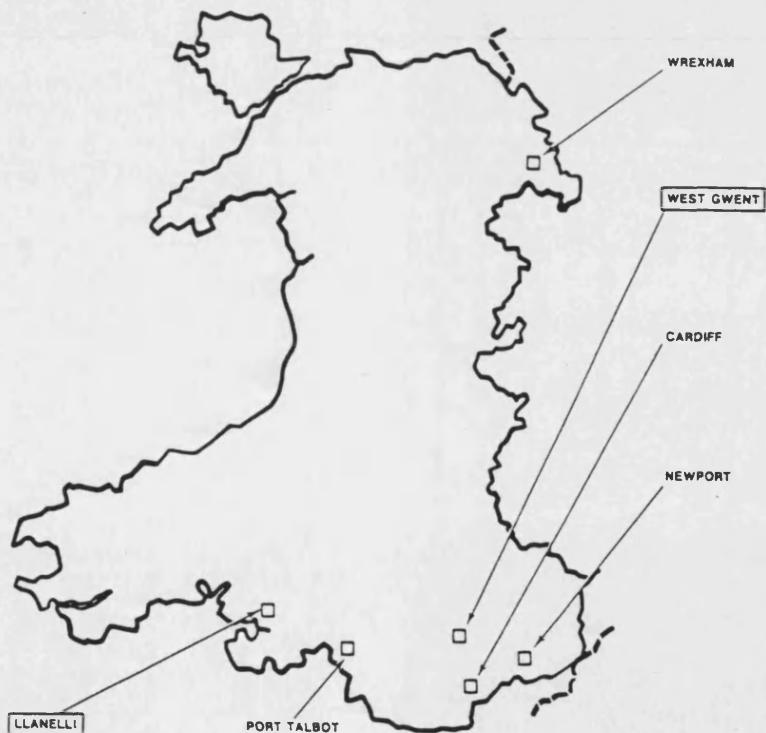
Appendix 4.1f

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

South of England (West)

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ☐

GLOUCESTER

GLOUCESTER ANNEXE

SWINDON

READING

BRISTOL ANNEXE (YATE)

SLOUGH

BRISTOL

SLOUGH ANNEXE

PLYMOUTH

PLYMOUTH ANNEXE (STOKE)

REDRUTH

WEST SUSSEX

SOUTHAMPTON

SOUTHAMPTON ANNEXE

PORTSMOUTH

WEST SUSSEX ANNEXE
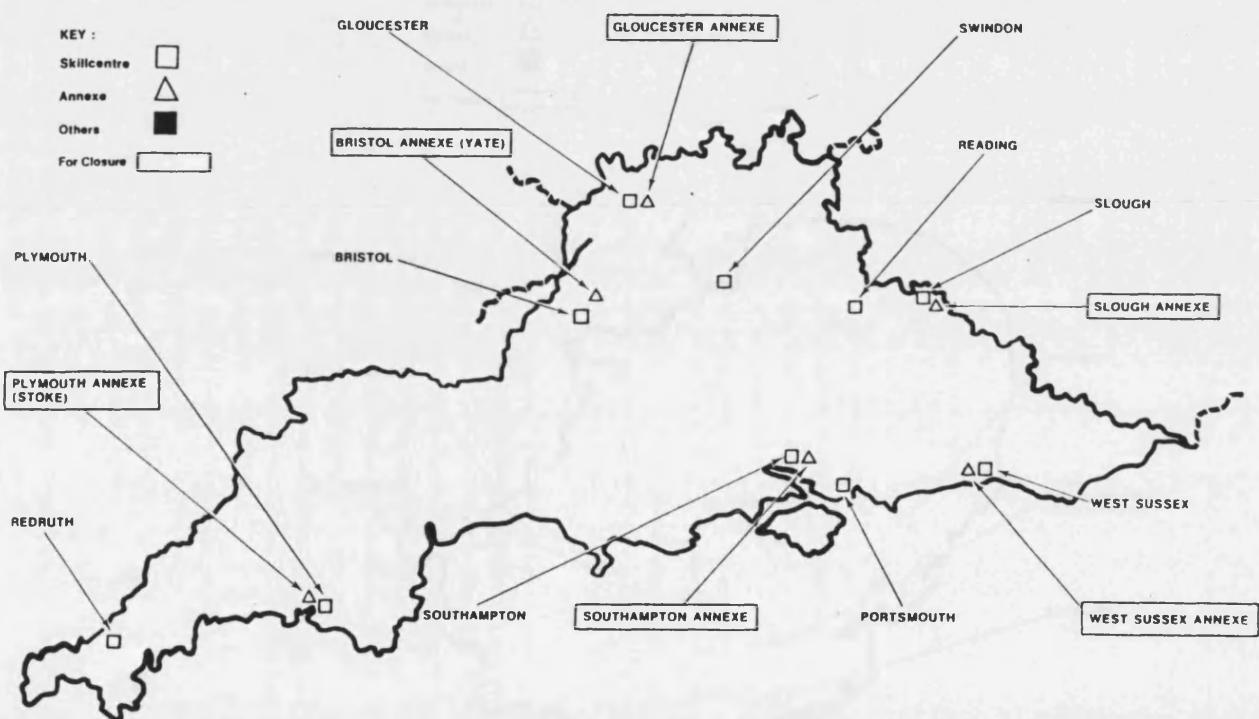
Appendix 4.1g

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

South of England (East)

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ☐

NORWICH

PETERBOROUGH

MILTON KEYNES

IPSWICH

LETCHWORTH

BASILDON ANNEXE
(CHELMSFORD)

BASILDON

MEDWAY ANNEXE
(SITTINGBOURNE)

For Skillcentres within
London area see
London map

MEDWAY
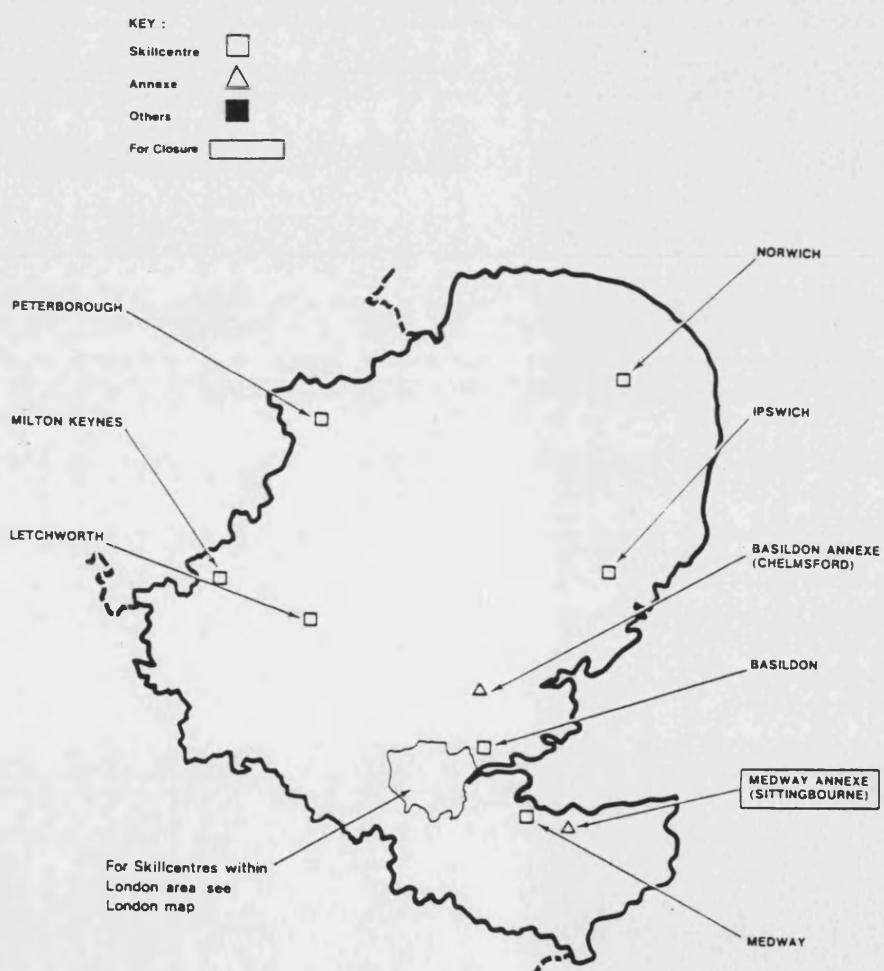
Appendix 4.1h

Skillcentres scheduled for retention and closure: STA Business Plan 1984
(Source: Employment Committee, 1985)

London

KEY :

Skillcentre ☐

Annexe △

Others ■

For Closure ☐

PERIVALE

ENFIELD

LAMBETH

YPTC
(LAMBETH)

BARKING

DEPTFORD

TWICKENHAM ANNEXE
(HOUNSLOW)

TWICKENHAM

WADDON

WADDON ANNEXE
(SYDENHAM)
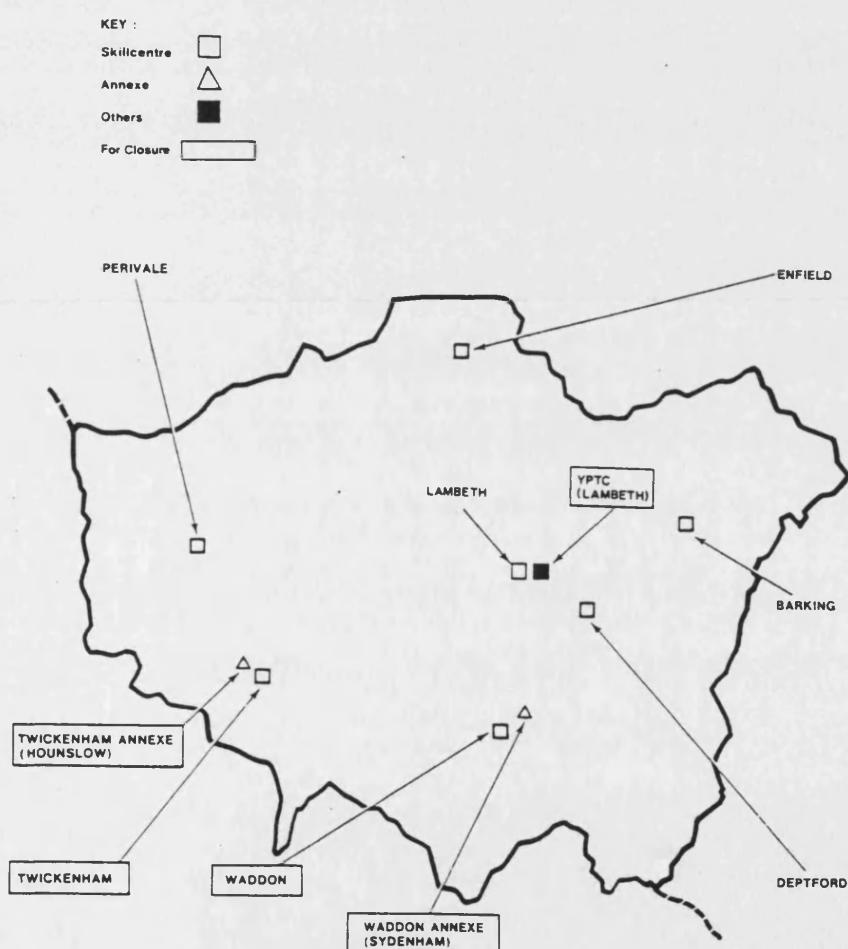
Appendix 4.2

Analysis by skillcentre of bids and purchasers of the Skills Training Agency

| Skillcentre	Final Bids			Purchaser
	Network	Other	Total	
Barking	3	0	3	Astra
Basildon	3	1	4	Astra
Bellshill	4	0	4	Astra
Billingham	3	1	4	Astra
Birmingham	4	0	4	Astra
Bradford	4	1	5	Astra
Bristol	3	0	3	Astra
Cardiff	3	0	3	Astra
Cheshire	4	0	4	Astra
Coventry	3	0	3	Astra
Deptford	3	0	3	Astra
Dundee	4	0	4	Astra
Dunfermline	4	0	4	Astra
Durham	3	1	4	Astra
Edinburgh	4	0	4	Astra
Enfield	3	0	3	Astra
Gloucester	3	0	3	Astra
Gwent	3	0	3	Astra
Hillington	4	1	5	Astra
Hull	4	1	5	Astra
Irvine	3	0	3	Astra
Leeds	4	0	4	Astra
Leicester	3	1	4	Astra
Manchester	4	1	5	Astra
Medway	3	1	4	Astra
Milton Keynes	4	1	5	Astra
North Staffs	4	1	5	Astra
Norwich	3	1	4	Astra
Nottingham	4	1	5	Astra
Peterborough	3	0	3	Astra
Plymouth	3	0	3	Astra
Preston	4	2	6	Astra
Redruth	3	0	3	Astra
Rochdale	4	0	4	Astra
Sheffield	4	0	4	Astra
Slough	3	0	3	Astra
Southampton	3	0	3	Astra
Swindon	3	1	4	Astra
Tyneside	3	1	4	Astra
Wakefield	4	3	7	Astra
West Glamorgan	3	0	3	Astra
West Sussex	3	1	4	Astra
Wigan	4	1	5	Astra
Wolverhampton	4	0	4	Astra
Wrexham	3	0	3	Astra
Liverpool	4	1	5	METEL
Lambeth	1	2	3	TBLtd
Cumbria	1	0	1	TICC
East Lancs	2	1	3	TICC
St Helens	2	0	2	TICC
Ipswich	1	1	2	TICC
Letchworth	1	1	2	Unsold
Portsmouth	1	1	2	Unsold
Reading	1	1	2	Unsold
Twickenham	1	1	2	Unsold
Perivale	1	0	1	Unsold
Chesterfield	4	0	4	Unsold
Northampton	1	1	2	Unsold
Millbrook	1	0	1	Unsold
Chelmsford	1	1	2	Unsold

Source: National Audit Office, 1991

Appendix 7.1

London Skillcentres trainee survey - questionnaire in context

The empirical work contained within this thesis was undertaken during two different time periods, and was developed on the basis of distinct and separate readings within academic and other literature. The research was also undertaken, therefore, during different parts of my own work and research experience. This appendix seeks to briefly document and contextualise this survey and research work.

I began to develop the trainee questionnaire survey whilst I was a postgraduate student within the Department of Geography at the London School of Economics during 1978, following the completion of my Masters (MSc) degree in Geography. My reading at that time was directed towards three main areas of research, which were then relatively 'new' areas of concern to geographers. These were, research into the 'labour process' and issues of skill formation and particularly the social construction of skill; marxian political economy, particularly issues relating to the role of the state; and, urban managerialism, with its concern for those managers and social gatekeepers apparently controlling access to society's scarce urban resources (see Leonard, 1979; 1982). As a consequence, my research at this time was focused upon a study of the Manpower Services Commission as arguably the most important state institution of labour market regulation; its officers at national, regional and local levels; and the impacts of its skills training initiatives upon those members of the labour force, regarded as disadvantaged and frequently excluded from the labour market.

Eventually, following extensive discussions with the MSC, I administered the skillcentre survey, principally during 1980. At the time I was working as a research assistant upon an unrelated project, and so the fieldwork was undertaken in my own time and at times agreed with the MSC. The questionnaire was administered at Barking and Deptford Skillcentres during 1981 as training had not commenced at these sites at the time of the initial survey.

The London Skillcentres trainee survey was undertaken at eleven operational Skillcentre sites within the London region of the Manpower Services Commission, with 1019 trainees completing the questionnaire. At each of the Skillcentres, each class of between 10-12 trainees suspended training for approximately 15 minutes to allow completion of the questionnaire. Given this situation, nearly all trainees agreed to complete the questionnaire following a short verbal introduction to the survey, offering confidentiality and anonymity to all respondents. The questionnaire was, therefore, completed by trainees within the class, with on average less than one refusal at each centre (8/1027 0.8%). For each Skillcentre, therefore, the number of respondents can effectively be regarded as the Skillcentre population of adult trainees at that time. The majority of the Skillcentre courses operated on a rolling basis, so that the total Skillcentre population fluctuated over time as trainees left and entered training.

Most importantly, the content and form of the questionnaire and the way it was implemented at each Skillcentre was heavily constrained and directed by the London regional office of the Manpower Services Commission. An 'in principle' agreement to undertake the survey took over nine months to confirm. The content of the questionnaire was finally approved after detailed and repeated meetings with 'representative panels' of MSC staff. The questionnaire was approved after six months following many drafts, a significant reduction in its length and the removal of significant detail concerning the trainee's family circumstances, and education, training and employment experience. In addition a question seeking information on the respondents ethnic group was also excluded.

The initial proposal was to administer a limited questionnaire to all adult trainees. This was intended to provide contextual and background information which would support a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with the trainees. It was also intended to conduct semi-structured interviews with a sample of the Skillcentre training instructors and in-depth qualitative interviews with the Skillcentre managers.

The interviews with the trainees and the instructors were not allowed as they would have represented too great a 'disruption of the training'. The most difficult part of the negotiation of the questionnaire survey with the MSC centred upon the need to suspend training in order to administer the questionnaire. This was 'unacceptable' initially and was only eventually agreed after many meetings over a considerable period of time. Extending this disruption any further to undertake detailed interviews of instructors and trainees was not possible. Formal interviews with the Skillcentre managers was also discouraged, although each of the managers did provide considerable information at the time of the visits. In the light of these constraints, the content of the questionnaire was changed, representing a necessary and considerable compromise between the preferred research methodology and not being granted access at all to the trainees within the London Skillcentres.

As detailed within this thesis, the early 1980s was a period of extensive restructuring within the MSC. The end of the 1974-79 Labour administration brought about a significant change in its remit, purpose and structure. Within London, these institutional changes were being undertaken within a 'local' economic, social and political context in which the London regional office of the MSC was having to respond to rapid and heavy job loss following industrial restructuring; extreme social deprivation and continuing social unrest within inner city areas; and, as the early 1980s progressed, an increasingly 'oppositional' and alternative local agency of labour market regulation, the Greater London Council.

Within these circumstances access to the skillcentre trainees was perceived by the MSC to be potentially damaging and detrimental to their work, and consequently access to the London skillcentres was only granted to me following these detailed negotiations and agreement as to the nature and 'conduct' of my visits to the centres. This account portrays the MSC as 'secretive and guarded', even though officers within the MSC were always extremely helpful and supportive within these limits and constraints. Contextualising this experience, however, is important in that it indicates both the constraints and limitations imposed by the MSC, as well as the local political and institutional 'environment and circumstances' within which the research was carried out.

My appointment within the Industry and Employment Branch of the Economic Policy Group of the Greater London Council brought this work to an unresolved conclusion in early 1983 (see Leonard, 1984; 1985). Following my appointment to the Department of Geography at the University of Portsmouth in 1992, I sought to continue this research work and complete my thesis, 'closing' this research experience. During 1993-94, and on the basis of reading into a new body of research writings which were concerned with the 'geography of labour', regulation theory, and the 'reconceptualised local labour market', I began the second phase of the empirical work. This stage of the research was concerned with detailing and interpreting the development of the related GTC and skillcentre training initiatives from their effective inception in 1917, through to their effective closure in 1993 following privatisation in 1990 (see Leonard, 1997; 1999).

This part of the thesis, which encompassed both the national context and the 'local' specificity of Greater London, was informed by my own work experience in labour market research in Greater London, over the preceding 10 years, within the Greater London Council, the London Strategic Policy Unit and the London Research Centre. Within each of these organisations, I was Head of a series of research groups, including the Areas and Infrastructure Unit (GLC); the Labour Markets Team (LSPU); and the Employment and Training Group (LRC).

My postgraduate study within London (1977-79), my negotiations with the MSC and my survey of over one thousand skillcentre trainees (1979-82), my work experience within London (1980-92) and my return to academic research (1992-present) have all served to structure and influence this thesis. Many of the theoretical and methodological issues and problems which I encountered, studied, wrote about and published in the late 1970s and early 1980s had been 'resolved', progressed and developed significantly by my return to these issues in the early 1990s. These effectively 'new' theoretical and methodological formulations offered ways forward from the theoretical and empirical 'impasse' of the earlier period. This thesis has been directed and strengthened by these experiences, developments and debates.

Skillcentre : ....

Course : ....

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING WITHIN GREATER LONDON - SKILLCENTRE TRAINEE SURVEY

PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS EITHER BY TICKING THE BOXES OR BY WRITING
DOWN YOUR ANSWER.

At each question there is a note to show you how the question should be
answered.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS WHICH APPLY TO YOU. THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. WE WILL BE VERY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR HELP.

Section A All these questions are about your own characteristics

1. HOW OLD ARE YOU ?
   Please write in your age   ....

2. ARE YOU :
   Please tick the correct box   [ ] Male

                                            [ ] Female

3. ARE YOU :
   Please tick the correct box   [ ] Married

                                            [ ] Single

4. AT WHAT AGE DID YOU LEAVE FULL-TIME EDUCATION ?
   Please write in your age when you left full-time education

                    ....

5. HAVE YOU PASSED ANY EXAMS OR OBTAINED ANY QUALIFICATIONS ?
   Please tick one or more boxes
                                 GCE O Levels [ ]
                                 GCE A Levels [ ]
                                      CSE's   [ ]
              Trade/Technical/Commercial   [ ]
                                      None   [ ]
                    Other (Please write in) ....

6. WHERE DO YOU NORMALLY LIVE ?
   Please just fill in the boxes   Street [   ]

                                      Area   [   ]

                                      Postcode [   ]

380

7. ARE YOU STILL LIVING AT YOUR PARENTS HOME ?
    Please tick one box

    Yes [ ]
    No [ ]

8. DO YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN STILL LIVING AT HOME ?
    Please tick one box

    Yes [ ]
    No [ ]

ction B. All these questions are about your previous work experience

    1. WHEN YOU APPLIED TO GO ON THIS COURSE WERE YOU :
        Please tick one of the boxes

                              Employed or self employed [ ]
                          In full-time education/training [ ]
                  Unemployed, registered at Employment
                  Office/Jobcentre/Prof & Exec Register [ ]
            Unemployed, not registered, but seeking work [ ]
                        Unemployed, not seeking work [ ]
                          Other (Please write in) ....

    2. HAVE YOU HAD A JOB SINCE YOU LEFT FULL-TIME EDUCATION ?
        Please tick one box

        Yes [ ]
        No [ ]

        If your answer is NO please continue at Section C. If your answer
        is YES please continue with the next question.

    3. DO YOU HAVE ANY PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE IN THE TRADE FOR WHICH YOU ARE
        NOW TRAINING ?
        Please tick one box

        Yes [ ]
        No [ ]

    4. IF YOU ANSWERED YES (TO QUESTION 3) PLEASE DESCRIBE THAT
        EXPERIENCE ?

        Please write in a brief description of the job, apprenticeship etc.
        State where it was (for example HOUNSLOW in LONDON) and how long
        you worked there

        ....

        ....

5. WHAT WAS YOUR <u>LAST</u> JOB BEFORE YOU CAME TO THE SKILLCENTRE ?
   Please fill in the spaces

   Name of job ....

   Brief description ....
                      ....

	Street	Area
Where was that job		
Where were you living		

6. HOW LONG HAD YOU BEEN IN THAT KIND OF WORK ALTOGETHER ?
   Please write in the number of years
   ....

7. WAS THAT <u>LAST</u> JOB YOUR NORMAL LINE OF WORK ?
   Please tick one box

   Yes, your last job was your normal line of work ☐

   No, you didn't have a normal line of work then ☐

   No, you had a different line of work before that ☐

8. IF YOU HAD A DIFFERENT LINE OF WORK WHAT KIND OF JOB WAS THAT ?
   Please fill in the spaces

   Name of job ....

   Brief description ....
                      ....

	Street	Area
Where was that job		
Where were you living		

9. HOW LONG HAD YOU BEEN IN THAT KIND OF WORK ALTOGETHER ?
   Please write in the number of years
   ....

Section C All these questions are about your skillcentre training

1. HAVE YOU TAKEN PART IN ANY OTHER MANPOWER SERVICES COMMISSION/
   TRAINING SERVICES DIVISION COURSES OTHER THAN YOUR CURRENT
   TRAINING ?

   Please tick one or more boxes

   Youth Opportunities Programme

   Work experience on employer's premises (20-22 weeks) [ ]

   Project based work experience (30 weeks) [ ]

   Training workshops (30 weeks) [ ]

   Community service (30 weeks) [ ]

   Employment induction courses (2 weeks) [ ]

   Work preparation short training courses [ ]

   Community Industry Scheme [ ]

   None [ ]

   Other (Please write in) ....

2. HOW DID YOU COME TO LEARN ABOUT THE COURSES AVAILABLE AT THE
   SKILLCENTRE ?

   Please tick one of the boxes

   Newspaper [ ]

   TV/Radio [ ]

   Other advertisement [ ]

   Friends/Relatives [ ]

   Jobcentre [ ]

   Skillcentre [ ]

   Employment Office [ ]

   District Office [ ]

   Other (Please write in) ....

3. IF YOU HEARD ABOUT THE COURSES THROUGH A JOBCENTRE, SKILLCENTRE,
   EMPLOYMENT OFFICE OR DISTRICT OFFICE PLEASE NAME IT

   Please write in the name, for example POPLAR SKILLCENTRE or
   HOLBORN JOBCENTRE

   ....

4. WHERE DID YOU APPLY FOR THE COURSE ?

   Please write in the name ....

5. WERE YOU OFFERED A CHOICE OF SKILLCENTRES TO ATTEND ?

   Please tick one box

   Yes ☐
   No ☐

6. IF YES (TO QUESTION 5) WHICH WERE YOU OFFERED ?

   Please tick one or more boxes

   Charlton ☐
   Charlton Annexe ☐
   Enfield ☐
   Enfield Annexe ☐
   Perivale ☐
   Perivale Annexe ☐
   Poplar ☐
   Twickenham ☐
   Twickenham Annexe ☐
   Waddon ☐
   Waddon Annexe ☐

   Others (Please write in) ....

7. IF YOU WERE OFFERED A CHOICE WHY DID YOU CHOOSE THIS ONE ?

   Please describe briefly why

   ....
   ....

8. WOULD YOU HAVE PREFERRED TO HAVE GONE TO A SKILLCENTRE WHICH YOU WERE NOT OFFERED ?

   Please name the skillcentre and say briefly why you would have preferred to have gone there.

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

9. IF YOU ARE LIVING AWAY FROM HOME DURING YOUR TRAINING DO YOU RECEIVE A LODGING ALLOWANCE, AND HOW MUCH IS THIS ALLOWANCE ?

   Please tick one box and fill in the amount if your answer is YES

   Yes ☐
   No ☐   Amount £...... a week

Section D All these questions are about your journey to work

1. HOW DO YOU NORMALLY GET TO THE SKILLCENTRE ?

    Please tick one or more boxes

                                        Walk [ ]
                                     Bicycle [ ]
                                         Bus [ ]
                      (British Rail) Train [ ]
     (London Transport Underground) Train [ ]
                                         Car [ ]
              Other (Please write in) ....

2. HOW LONG DOES IT NORMALLY TAKE YOU TO TRAVEL TO THE SKILLCENTRE
    FROM YOUR HOME ?

    Please write in the amount of time the journey takes

                                ....

3. HOW MUCH DOES IT COST YOU TO TRAVEL TO THE SKILLCENTRE AND BACK
    HOME AGAIN ?

    Please write in how much it costs for one WEEK of travel

                    Amount :   £_____ a week

4. HOW MUCH DOES THE TRAINING SERVICES DIVISION GIVE YOU TOWARDS
    YOUR TRAVELLING EXPENSES ?

    Please write in how much you receive from the Skillcentre for
    one WEEK of travel

                    Amount :   £_____ a week

5. IF YOU ARE LIVING AT YOUR NORMAL HOME DURING YOUR SKILLCENTRE
    TRAINING WOULD YOU HAVE STILL STARTED THE COURSE IF IT HAD
    MEANT LIVING AWAY FROM HOME ?

    Please tick one box   Yes [ ]
                                        No [ ]

Section E This question is about when you have finished your Skillcentre
           training

1. WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED YOUR COURSE AT THIS SKILLCENTRE WHERE
    WILL YOU BE LOOKING FOR A JOB ?

    Please write in the areas where you will hope to get a job, for
    example PARK ROYAL in LONDON or WATFORD or BIRMINGHAM etc.

    ....

    ....

            THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS NOW COMPLETED THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

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