

THE FIREMAN:

A SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE

HENRY J. DEAKIN *M. Sc.*

UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD

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PREFACE

Many books have been written about fires and firefighters but very few of these have been concerned with the attitudes and lifestyle of firemen and in this respect this study is unlike most that I have so far read.

I start by discussing the fireman in general terms and then move on to consider just one City Fire Brigade in England. I visited this Brigade just before the local government re-organisation in 1974 and the firemen I spoke to are now part of a much larger metropolitan brigade. The research could not, therefore, be called 'The Fire Service Today' and no attempt has been made to give an up to date, up to the minute, account of Fire Service Life. The setting is 1974.

CHAPTER IINTRODUCTIONA. The Historical Development of Fire-Fighting

Organized fire-fighting can be traced back to Ancient Rome. The first brigades were recruited from slaves and were known as the 'Familia Publica' and were stationed around the walls and gates. Magistrates, called the 'Tresviri Nocturni', were responsible for them. They were not paid anything for their services, and consequently were less than enthusiastic about fire-fighting and often took a long time to reach a fire.⁽¹⁾ In 300 B.C. they were in trouble for neglecting to go round the watchposts and because they were slow in attending a fire which had started in the Via Sacra.⁽²⁾

Caesar Augustus disbanded the slave brigade and raised a new force called the Corps of Vigiles in A.D. 6. They protected Rome from fire for the next five hundred years. They were organized into seven cohorts of a thousand men⁽³⁾ and these were divided into centuries of a hundred men, each commanded by a centurion.

The force of seven thousand men had to deal with a City of just under one million inhabitants. This seems extravagant by modern standards but the Vigiles did have other functions; they policed the City by night (the urban cohorts did this by day); they were responsible for recapturing runaway slaves; and they had special instructions to watch the clothes of bathers at the public baths to prevent stealing.⁽⁴⁾

(1) T. Paul, 'The Story of the Fire Service', London, Almark, 1975, page 5.

(2) G. V. Blackstone, 'A History of the British Fire Service', London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, page 1.

(3) Ibid, page 2.

(4) Ibid.,

At first the Vigiles were recruited from freedmen, though the officers and tribunes were freeborn citizens. The Chief Officer, the 'Praefectus Vigilum' was of equestrian rank. Recruitment was at first slow, and as an inducement, freedmen were offered full citizenship after six years' service in the Corps. The status of the Vigiles improved, and by the second century A.D. they were on an equal footing with the Imperial troops.

The first stations were requisitioned⁽¹⁾ houses but in time the Vigiles had large barracks and sub-stations or 'excubitoria'. Four of these excubitoria have been excavated and they are important sources of carved stones and inscriptions. That of the Vth cohort excavated in 1820⁽²⁾ contained two marble statue bases with the complete rolls of the cohort inscribed on them, giving the ranks of all the members.

The 'aquarius' was a water carrier and it is likely that this job involved special duties with regard to water supplies and organizing the bucket chains to keep the pumps supplied. The 'siphonarius' supervised the pump, and the 'uncinarius' was a hook man who was trained to use a fire hook for pulling off burning roofs.

The Vigiles were equipped with buckets, ladders, picks, axes, saws, ropes, pumps, wicker mats, blankets and pumps (siphos). The buckets were made of woven and tarred esparto grass. G. Blackstone has argued that the equipment that was available was as varied and extensive as that of any early nineteenth century fire brigade in Britain.

Some writers have stated that the siphos of the Vigiles were only large hand squirts but this is open to doubt.⁽³⁾ Hero, who

(1) Ibid.,

(2) Ibid.,

(3) Ibid., page 3.

lived in the third century B.C., describes a double-purchase manual pump, the invention of Ctesibus, a native of Alexandria. The pump had bronze cylinders, pistons and valves. (1)

Fire alarms were sounded by 'nocturnes' or fire-watchers who were stationed in towers around the city. They blew 'bucina', a large trumpetlike horn, to pass the alert to the nearest fire-station.

Roman law demanded that responsibility for each fire be determined and fixed. After a fire the questionarius (a highly respected official) conducted an inquiry into the causes of the fire. If the owner of the property was found to have been negligent, the Vigiles were empowered to administer the punishment. This punishment usually took the form of a beating with a rod or cat-of-nine-tails.

Despite the good work of the Vigiles, however, Rome was not entirely free of destruction caused by fire. In 64 A.D. 'In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memory or example of former ages. The monuments of Grecian art and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic Wars, the most holy temples, and the most splendid palaces were involved in one common destruction. Of the fourteen regions or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation.' (2)

The Imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude and temporary buildings erected to house them; corn was distributed at reasonable prices. 'But all the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occasion were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspicions.' (3)

(1) Ibid.,

(2) E. Gibbon, 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire', Abridged version by D. M. Low, London, Chatto and Windus, 1960, page 201.

(3) Ibid.,

The Vigiles were established in Britain during the Roman occupation. There were units at Concangium (Greta Bridge) and other Roman towns in England, and remains of their fire-fighting equipment have been found at Silchester in Hampshire.

When the Roman legions left, the Angles and Saxons moved in. They built houses of wattle and mud grouped around the big log hall of the lord. A hole in the thatched roof let out the wood smoke that burned in the centre of the floor. The houses were a considerable fire risk but were easily rebuilt.

Little historical detail on fire-fighting is available for this period. The north and eastern parts of the kingdom fell to the Danes and they, like the Anglo-Saxons, had little by way of fire-fighting organization.

With the arrival of the Normans in England in 1066, King William enforced a law directing that a bell be rung between seven and nine o'clock each night. When the bell rang all house fires had to be extinguished. A metal cover, known as 'couvre feu' (it gave its name to curfew) was placed over the fire to exclude the oxygen and was an effective means of putting it out. All lights had to be put out. Fire prevention was the plea which legitimated the rigorous application of this law, but it was likely that the Normans also saw it as a means of curbing secret night assembly and plotting. It is interesting to note that in 1100 the penalties for non-compliance with the law were abolished, and that the number of fires increased.

In 1086 the growing City of London was almost destroyed. The Chronicler writes:

'So great and lamentable a fire happened in London that, beginning at Aldgate, it burned down houses and churches all the way to Ludgate together with the Stately Fabrick of St. Paul's and the strong castle called the Palatine Tower, the stones of which castle were afterwards employed for re-edifying St. Paul's in the

place where that Old Fabrick stood. The weather was so inclement that in the unusual efforts made to warm the houses, nearly all the Chief Cities of the Kingdom were destroyed, including a great part of London and St. Paul's.⁽¹⁾

Fire incidence increased as time went on. Between the years 1080 and 1205, Gloucester, Peterborough, Rochester, Nottingham, Carlisle, Winchester, Glastonbury and York were among the cities completely destroyed by fire. Lincoln, Worcester, Bath and Winchester were gutted twice and London three times.

The first Lord Mayor of London, Henry Fitz-Alwin, issued his assize of buildings 'concerning buildings between neighbours'. The order laid down that 'no houses should be built in the City but of stone and that they be covered with slate or burnt tile'. Thatched roofs were banned.⁽²⁾ Walls sixteen feet in height and three feet in breadth were to be provided in places at the common cost which would also provide funds for 'digging pits for water'. These walls were the predecessors of modern-day fire-walls.

A notable conflagration which occurred in London in 1212 has been described by T. Paul:

'A large fire was raging in Southwark and spectators poured across London Bridge by the thousand to watch it. The wind changed direction and blew flaming embers and sparks across to the other side of the river, setting the houses on the northern side alight. London Bridge in 1212 was lined from end to end with thatched stone and wooden buildings, and these began to catch fire. Thousands of people were trapped on the bridge; many fell or were knocked from

(1) G. V. Blackstone; op. cit., page 10.

(2) Ibid., page 10.

the bridge in panic and hundreds of people were trampled to death. Altogether more than three thousand lives were lost.⁽¹⁾⁽²⁾ If this figure is correct, this disaster killed more people than any other British fire.⁽³⁾

During the fourteenth century the central fire of domestic dwellings with the smoke finding its way out through a hole in the roof, began to be replaced by a hearth against the wall, but there was still no chimney. The fireplace had an iron backplate. Chimneys made out of hollowed logs made their first appearance in the fourteenth century, but were extremely dangerous as they caught fire easily. Ordances were passed against their use.⁽⁴⁾

In 1463 York Minster was burned, and Chester in 1471. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought no advances in fire-fighting techniques. In 1566 Manchester Court Leet forbade bakers to keep stacks of gorse 'within two bays of the ovens'. In 1590 this distance was increased to 'within ten yeards of any house, barn or stable.'⁽⁵⁾

According to Blackstone the accounts of fires gradually became more detailed. The destruction of the steeple of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1561 produced a pamphlet, 'The True Report of the burnyng of the

(1) T. Paul, op. cit., page 8.

(2) S. Holloway writes, 'History books describe the great Fire of London in 1666, but long before this, 3,000 people died in a little known fire in 1212 when the Priory of St. Mary Overy was burned down and with it the wooden houses on London Bridge and many more at either end of it', S. Holloway, 'London's Noble Fire Brigades 1833-1904', London, Cassell, 1973.

(3) G. V. Blackstone, op. cit., page 11.

(4) Ibid., page 15.

(5) Ibid., page 17.

Steeple and Church of Poules in London'. 'Two of the clock of afternoon was seen a marvellous great fiery lightning and ensued a most hideous crash of thunder. Divers persons affirmed that they saw a spear pointed flame of fire run through the top of Paul's steeple and heard the rush of stones which fell. Smoke was espied to break out and in a moment the flame break forth like a garland about the broach.'⁽¹⁾

Blackstone has argued: 'The records of old boroughs show that their councils had an increasing awareness of the fire hazard during the seventeenth century and reference to the purchase, local manufacture and repair of leather buckets were frequent, though this may only indicate that the borough records were becoming more detailed and that such provision had been unrecorded in previous centuries'.⁽²⁾

The sum of £6. 13s. 4d. was voted by Hastings Corporation in 1607 for the purchase of leather buckets, grapples, hooks and ladders. In 1618 they bought eighteen more and resolved that every Jurat and Freeman should furnish himself with a bucket under penalty of a fine.

In 1615 the Court Leet of the village of Manchester, after a disastrous fire, imposed a special tax to provide twenty-four buckets, six ladders, four ropes and four hooks to be kept in convenient places about the town.⁽³⁾

The practice of carrying burning sticks or peat from a neighbour's house to relight a fire was banned in many areas. The Portmote Records of Salford for October 11th, 1615, state, 'The Jurie doe

(1) Ibid., page 18.

(2) Ibid., pages 22-24.

(3) Ibid., page 24.

order for caryage of ffyer. There shall none carry ffyer openlie uncovered nor delyver ffyer out of his house. Sub penavjd for everie tyme so offendinge.⁽¹⁾ Fires were difficult to relight and the temptation to carry fire must have been strong - even the tinder boxes of the early nineteenth century took an average of three minutes.

When James I came to the throne in 1603 he remarked that London was less safe than Rome had been in the reign of Augustus. He declared it his wish that, 'As it was said by the first Emperor of Rome that he had found the citie of bricke and left it of marble, so We whom God hath honoured to be the first King of Great Britain, ought to be able to say in some proportion that We found Our citie and suburbs of London of stickes and left them of bricke, being a material farre more durable, safe from fire, beautiful and magnificent'.⁽²⁾ Nothing came of this plan, however.

There were, however, some developments in America. In 1647 Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam (later New York City) outlawed thatched roofs and appointed wardens to carry out home fire inspections. They wore long capes and carried lanterns and were known as the 'rattlewatch'. These wardens did no fire-fighting but inspected chimneys and looked for violations of the fire regulations. In 1648 a system of fines was introduced for dirty chimneys and the funds raised by this means were set aside for the purchase of hooks, ladders and leather buckets. In addition, an eight-man fire-watch was set up and all adult men were required to attend these watches in turn. In 1658, 250 fire buckets were distributed to householders who were required to turn out for duty if an alarm

(1) Ibid., page 25.

(2) T. Paul, op. cit., page 8.

was sounded.⁽¹⁾

Fire-fighting organization remained primitive in Britain: 'When the prevailing confusion allowed, the bucket chains were organized from the water supply to the fire by two rows of persons on each side of the street; one row passed the full buckets from hand to hand up to the fire, the other in which women were mostly stationed, passed the empty buckets back to the water'.⁽²⁾

Pumps were re-introduced⁽³⁾ in the later years of the sixteenth century and it is probable that they were not as good as the original designs. Blackstone argues 'they were crude affairs drawn on sledges with none of the refinements of Ctesibus'.⁽⁴⁾

The Great Fire of London started in 1666 at the premises of Thomas Farynor, a baker in Pudding Lane.⁽⁵⁾ At 2 a.m. on Sunday, 2nd September, one of his servants woke him stating that he could smell smoke. Farynor and some of his servants immediately escaped, doing little to put out the fire. In the primary stages the fire could have been extinguished easily by the inhabitants of the building, with help from neighbours, but little action was taken. The neighbours were more concerned with saving their own possessions.

The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, who had retired for the night, was aroused, but as he thought the fire would burn itself out he went back to bed.⁽⁶⁾ He was called again after only half-an-hour having been told that the fire involved 200 houses. He attempted

(1) D. M. O'Brien, 'Fire Fighting and Fire Prevention', in the Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. II, 1974, pages 244-253.

(2) G. V. Blackstone, op. cit., page 26.

(3) The first since Roman times.

(4) Ibid.,

(5) Ibid., page 10.

(6) He commented contemptuously, 'Pish! a woman might piss it out'. Ibid., page 10.

to form a fire break, but most of the owners refused him permission to demolish their premises. The fire spread and at noon on Sunday the Privy Council instructed the Lord Mayor to make firebreaks without permission. The Lord Mayor unfortunately picked houses too near the fire, and the remains of houses which had been pulled down were not cleared away in time.

Early in the morning on the 3rd of September an Emergency Council headed by King Charles II decided that seven fire posts should be set up to prevent the further spread of the fire. The parish constables were instructed to raise a force of one hundred men to assist soldiers in the manning of the fire posts. The pulling down of buildings by hand was too slow a process as the fire engulfed them before the work was completed. Charles therefore ordered that gunpowder be used by the troops to make the necessary firebreaks. In this way effective firebreaks were eventually made.

On Wednesday the King rode round the fire twice, encouraging the workers and arranging shelter for the people. By Thursday the fire was diminishing and by Friday it was more or less out. Two hundred thousand people were homeless, 13,200 homes had been destroyed, and eighty-nine churches including St. Paul's. About five-sixths of London lay in ruins and thousands of people had to camp outside the City.

The benefits of the fire were that regulations could be laid down concerning future building: all the new houses had to be built in brick or stone; they were to be either two, three or four storeys high, according to the importance of the street, and upper storeys were no longer allowed to project over the roadway. Rules were also made about the heights and thicknesses of the walls. Much of the City was rebuilt within ten years.

The century after the Great Fire of London saw several advances

in fire-fighting techniques and organization. The insurance companies introduced their own fire brigades which were the first since Roman times. The first company called 'The Fire Office' was set up by a speculative builder, Dr. Nicholas Barbon, in 1667, for insuring houses and buildings. Business was good and he applied to the Privy Council to be granted a monopoly, claiming that he invented this type of insurance. He was unsuccessful and, having failed to get a monopoly, he tried to undercut his rivals by forming his own Fire Brigade. At the time of his death in 1698 there were three other companies in existence. By 1720 there were at least a dozen companies operating in London, the most famous being the Sun, the Union, the Hand-in-Hand, the Westminster, and the Royal Exchange. The first American insurance company to provide protection against fire was the Philadelphia Contributorship formed in 1752.

The English Companies devised the system of firemarking: so that they were able to identify their clients' houses each policy holder was provided with a plate to mark his house, and this system was also taken up by the American companies.

Many of the companies began to build up their own brigades, and by the middle of the eighteenth century there was considerable competition between them. They used their fire brigades to advertise their policies and efficiency. Firemen became living advertisements of their companies' wealth and standing. The uniform of the Sun firemen consisted of blue breeches, tunic and a silver-buttoned waistcoat, helmet, boots and white stockings. The Atlas livery was a green tunic, tan breeches and waistcoat, black boots and a wide-brimmed top hat.

There were also considerable technical improvements to fire-fighting apparatus. The first flexible hose was made in 1672 by J. Van der Heyden by sewing together the edges of strips of leather. The fire hose was placed between the pump and the metal nozzle, thus

giving the fireman much greater flexibility in his attack on the fire. Another advantage of hose was that the pump did not have to be positioned so close to the fire, and there was a lower risk of the pump being damaged by the flames.

In Boston in 1679 a fire department was set up and full-time paid firemen were appointed. The reason for this early development was that Boston had suffered serious damage from fires in 1653 and 1676. A hand-operated manual engine was ordered from England and thirteen men were appointed to man it. By 1715 Boston had six such manual pumpers. 'But the fear of fire was so great that many citizens banded together in mutual aid societies to assist the firemen night and day.'⁽¹⁾

In 1721 a London button maker, Richard Newsham, patented his design of a fire engine. 'This design, hailed as a great invention, re-introduced the long-forgotten idea of having an air chamber connected to the pump so as to equalize the pressure output from the pump. This had been the discovery of Ctesibus some 2,000 years earlier, but had been forgotten until 1721 when Newsham patented his design.'⁽²⁾ Newsham believed that the pumping equipment on the fire engines should be arranged so that as many men as possible could be set to work on the pumping operation. He therefore placed the pump handles along the sides of the machine, rather than at the ends, as earlier builders had done. Treadles were set in the centre of the machine so that additional pumpers could use their legs to help provide the necessary pumping force. His engines were a big improvement on earlier machines, and by the 1730s he had established a considerable lead over his rivals and was exporting his machines.

(1) Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. II, 1967, pages 234-235.

(2) A. Ingram and D. Bishop, 'Fire Engines in Colour', London, Blandford, page 12.

The first American volunteer fire company was founded in 1736 by Benjamin Franklin and was called the Fire Union Company. Each member agreed to provide, at his own expense, six buckets and two strong linen bags. The 'voluntary' system developed and these fire-fighters received financial rewards from the insurance companies. When the volunteers saw a firemark they knew they would be rewarded but they often had to fight off rival brigades.

In Edinburgh in 1824 the civic authorities instructed the police commissioners to collaborate with the various insurance companies to set up a municipal brigade.⁽¹⁾ The first Firemaster was James Braidwood and he brought Edinburgh's fire-fighters from being a haphazard assortment of ill-trained insurance brigades to be an efficient body of fire-fighters which was much admired elsewhere in Britain.

London followed Edinburgh's example in 1833: Mr. Charles Bell Ford⁽²⁾, Company Secretary and Manager of the Sun Fire Office proposed that ten of the largest companies combine to make one force. It was agreed that a brigade with nineteen stations, eighty men and two fire floats be formed. On 1st January, 1833, the London Fire Engine Establishment was set up with its headquarters in Watling Street, close to the area where the insurance companies had their headquarters.⁽³⁾ James Braidwood was chosen as Chief of the new Brigade and he soon proved himself to be the best man for the job. Until Braidwood became superintendent it had been customary for the firemen to stand at a distance from a burning building when using their hoses. Braidwood ordered his men to get 'stuck in' at the seat of the fire, and because hot air rises, he trained them to

(1) The decision was taken after a disastrous fire lasting four days.

(2) S. Holloway, op cit.,

(3) Ibid.,

crawl into a burning building on hands and knees where the air was cooler. In order to ensure the safety of his firemen he insisted that no fireman ever go into a burning building alone. If one fireman was overcome by heat or fumes, the other could assist. This practice exists today.

Leather hose was improved in 1819 by the patented invention of Jacob Perkins, who used rivets to join the sides of the leather strip together instead of sewing it. This was a big step forward as the sewn seams had previously been the weakest part of the hose and caused many bursts.⁽¹⁾

The first steam fire engine in Europe was constructed in 1829 by John Braithwaite⁽²⁾ (assisted by a Mr. Ericsson). Braithwaite's fourth engine 'The Comet' was built for the King of Prussia in 1832. This fifteen horse-power machine, which had two cylinders and two pumps and weighed four tons, was capable of discharging approximately 300 gallons of water per minute.⁽¹⁾ By the 1860's fairly reliable designs of steam fire pumps were beginning to appear, and from 1862 onwards the number of steam fire engines in use grew steadily. By 1866 there were ninety-one horse-drawn steamers in use in Britain and seventeen American firms were said to be producing steamers. Braidwood at first disliked the steamers because he thought they would encourage his men to revert to the 'long shot' from hoses instead of entering the building.

In 1861 Braidwood was killed in a fire in Tooley Street that destroyed eleven acres of property (valued in today's terms at thirty to forty million pounds). He had led the brigade for nearly thirty years. Under his leadership the London Fire Engine Establishment

(1) G. V. Blackstone, op. cit., page 113.

(2) A. Ingram and D. Bishop, op. cit., pages 124-125.

had become so efficient that he was known by his men and the citizens of London as the Father of the Fire Brigade. Until recent times firemen were known as 'Jim Bradies'.⁽¹⁾

After this fire, the insurance companies decided to stop providing a fire service for London. They maintained that it was unreasonable for them to finance the fire protection of the metropolis as well as pay for the damage caused by fire.

The Companies wanted the government to finance the Brigade and they threatened to disband it if the government refused. In 1862 a Parliamentary Commission was set up to investigate the problem and they proposed the formation of a Municipal Brigade. The new Force was to deal with fires over the 117 square miles which came under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works and was to cost £50,000 per year. The number of stations was raised from seventeen to forty-three.

In 1866 by Act of Parliament the Board of Works was made responsible for providing and maintaining 'an efficient force of firemen, and to furnish them with all such fire engines, horses, accoutrements, tools and implements, as may be necessary for the complete equipment of the force, or conducive to the efficient performance of their duties'.⁽²⁾

The government guaranteed up to £10,000 per year towards the cost of the new brigade. Every insurance company had to contribute £35 for every million gross which was insured; the parishes were to pay not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound from the Poor Rate, and the Board of Works, with Treasury consent, was allowed to borrow up to £40,000 a year.

Whilst the Brigade was under the control of the Board of Works,

(1) N. Martin, 'The Fire Service Today', London, Dent, 1972, page 10. Martin argues that the name 'Jim Bradies' originated from the name Braidwood. However it may also have derived from Jim Bradley, the fireman's union leader of the early 1920's.

(2) S. Holloway, op. cit., pages 44-45.

the financial restrictions imposed upon it were severe.⁽¹⁾ The Victorian firemen signed on for a twenty-four-hour day for 365 days a year and they were overworked and often physically exhausted. Fire Chief, Sir Eyre Massey Shaw, successor to Braidwood, said a fireman is either on duty, for duty, on leave, sick or suspended. Men on duty at the stations were in full uniform with the exception of their helmets; those for duty, were ready to turn out at a moment's notice and were, therefore, not allowed to leave the station. They were usually sixteen hours 'on duty' and eight hours 'for duty'. The tight financial situation meant that so few of them were employed that there were not enough men to provide adequate relief particularly after a series of fires, and this necessitated being on duty for very long periods.

Under the Local Government Act of 1888, the Board of Works was abolished and the Brigade was transferred to the control of the London County Council. The Board of Works admitted that the Brigade had been 'left in a condition of insufficiency when the necessities of London are taken into consideration'.⁽²⁾

Sir Eyre Massey Shaw⁽³⁾ submitted a plan for the expansion of the London Brigade, much of which was accepted. New fire stations were set up, particularly on the outskirts of London and hydrants were installed in the streets.

(1) T. Paul, op. cit., page 48.

(2) S. Holloway, op. cit., page 143.

(3) Shaw argued that: 'A fireman, to be successful, must enter buildings; he must get in below, above and on every side, from opposite houses, over back walls, over side walls, through loopholes, through skylights, through holes cut by himself in the gates, the walls, the roof; he must know how to reach the attic from the basement by ladders placed on half burned stairs, and the basement from the attic by rope made fast on a chimney. His whole success depends on his getting in and remaining there and he must always carry his appliances with him as without them he is of no use', in E. Massey Shaw, 'Fires and Fire Brigades', extract quoted by 'Manual of Firemanship' part 6a 'Practical Firemanship'. The manual argues that these words are as true today as they were 100 years ago.

The development of fire brigades in the provinces commenced in a similar way, using parish engines and the old manuals, squirts and buckets, commonplace in early fire-fighting. The example of Birmingham (which lagged considerably behind London in the development of its Fire Brigades) is interesting. In 1667 Dr. Barton, a private businessman, set up Birmingham's first insurance company. London insurance companies also opened local offices in Birmingham, but more than 100 years passed before they followed the London example of providing their own fire brigades.⁽¹⁾

However, by 1866 the town had five brigades with a total of twelve engines. The companies found the expense of maintaining these brigades a burden, and at a meeting in 1867 it was resolved that 'a communication be addressed to the Mayor of Birmingham intimating that the above named fire insurance companies⁽²⁾, having Brigades in the borough, are willing to hand over their engines and plant to the Corporate Authorities, provided they will undertake to establish and maintain a Fire Brigade, and that the managers of the respective offices are prepared to confer with any committee of the Corporation to whom the subject may be referred, for the purpose of considering and arranging the necessary preliminaries'.⁽³⁾

The Council Committee met and found that the cost of running a fire brigade in Birmingham would be in the region of £2,000, exclusive of the outlay of getting the Brigade in proper order, and because of this 'high cost' the Council Committee felt it was undesirable to establish and maintain a fire brigade in the borough. The companies

(1) 'Birmingham's Fire Brigades: One Hundred Years of Service' (1874-1974), Tunbridge Wells, Unisaf, 1974, page 19.

(2) The companies were the Birmingham with 8 men; the District (Alliance) with 8 men; the Royal with 35 men; and the Birmingham Alliance with 8 men; and the Norwich Union with 8 men.

(3) Ibid., page 27.

therefore decided to amalgamate their fire-fighting forces and the new brigade, the Birmingham United Fire Brigade, came into being. The Council, however, after some serious fires, agreed in 1874 to the setting up of a municipal brigade: 'There were conferences and negotiations, equipment was checked and priced, and on October 13th, 1874, the engines, plant and lease of the premises in Little Cannon Street of the United Fire Brigade were transferred to the Corporation for £500.'⁽¹⁾

The Municipal Brigade, which was placed under the supervision of the Chief Constable, consisted of two officers, two firemen, and nine auxiliaries. The nine auxiliaries consisted of supernumeraries, including four turncocks who were paid only when their services were required.

In August, 1878, a blaze occurred at a shop only a few yards from the Central Police Station, but the police were slow in getting there. The Chief Constable was away and there was no-one to deputise for him. The stairs to the upper floors were burning and there were two girls and a woman with her baby trapped upstairs. When the escape arrived it was found to be useless because the fly-ladder could not be elevated. Then the tarred ropes and sacking on the escape caught fire, putting it out of action completely. Contradictory orders were given to firemen and policemen. A reel of hose brought to the scene was driven back to the station for no apparent reason. In desperation, the woman dropped her baby from the window hoping someone would catch it, but it was fatally injured. The woman jumped and suffered the same fate as her baby. The two remaining girls were burnt to death inside the building.

In another fire at the Reference Library 49,000 books were destroyed. Public outrage was so great that the Council resolved never again to cut costs in this way.

(1) Ibid., page 24.

In 1865 New York made the fireman's job full-time⁽¹⁾ after an unsuccessful plot by southern sympathisers to burn the City. At that time it had 163 fire companies with an enrolment of 3,521 volunteers. In other cities the civic corporations gradually took over the running of the brigades but volunteer brigades continued in the towns and rural areas.⁽²⁾

Horse-drawn steamers predominated during the years 1860-1900 in both Britain and America. The first ten years of the twentieth century however were a period of experimentation, and a wide variety of fire appliances appeared, using many different combinations of power for propulsion and pumping, including petrol, petrol-electric, steam, electric, electric-steam, and petrol-steam. After 1915 the main source of power was petrol.

Effective breathing apparatus was first made in Germany in 1904 and British versions of this equipment were available soon after that date. In 1905 the first turntable ladders were introduced. These ladders did not have to be leant against a wall, but stood free, revolving on turntables, and could be used in many situations where the use of ordinary ladders was difficult or impossible.

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- (1) J. J. Floherty, 'Five Alarm', New York, Lippincott, 1949, page 39.
- (2) In October, 1871, a cow owned by a Mrs. O'Leary kicked over a kerosene lamp and started the Great Chicago Fire. There had been a fourteen-week period of drought and the fire spread quickly, especially as a fire-watcher misjudged its location and sent the companies to an area over a mile from the blaze. By the time it was burnt out 18,000 dwellings had been destroyed and 120 people killed. M. Rickards, 'The World Fights Fire', London, Longman's, 1971, page 15.

B. The Development of the Modern British Fire Service

Different types of brigades continued to co-exist alongside each other until the First World War. On the one hand there were the full-time City Brigades, well equipped and trained, but on the other hand there were many undermanned and poorly equipped country brigades.

Firemen generally worked long hours for poor pay. T. Paul has argued that the fireman's wage in 1914 was around £1. 5s. Od. per week, whereas the national average for civilian life was around £1. 12s. Od.⁽¹⁾ per week. Paul has also given examples of disputes and strike action which occurred in the second decade of the twentieth century. These disputes occurred at local level without any kind of national coordination as there was no union to work for better pay and conditions. In Penarth, Wales, the firemen threatened to strike in 1912 and insubordination amongst the firemen was prevalent; in Whaleybridge, Derbyshire, the Brigade all resigned leaving just the captain, and the urban district council later discovered that 'the wages were not very attractive' and subsequently increased the money for drills from 6d. to 1s. per hour. All the firemen in the Mangotsfield Brigade in Gloucestershire resigned because they had not been properly equipped with uniforms.

These localised strikes were rarely successful and produced only small improvements. Furthermore the leaders of these protests were often subtly disciplined and punished in some way by their senior officers⁽²⁾ and this was a strong disincentive to protest. It was not until December, 1913, that the London firemen formed an L.C.C. fireman's branch of the National Union of Corporation

(1) T. Paul, op. cit., page 50.

(2) Ibid., page 50.

Workers. They chose an outsider to represent them to avoid any possible disciplinary action that an ordinary fireman might face. The man they chose was Jim Bradley and he soon earned the respect of the firemen he represented. This was, however, still a local area union, and it was not until 1918 that 'the Fireman's Trade Union' was formed. The name was later changed to 'The Fire Brigades' Union' to prevent any confusion with the 'firemen' on steam locomotives and ships.⁽¹⁾

Led by Jim Bradley and P. W. J. Kingdom, the firemen put in a claim for one day a week off and this was accepted in January, 1920.

In 1919 the L.C.C. and the London firemen asked the government to investigate the pay and conditions of firemen throughout the whole country, excluding London which had its own negotiating body. An inquiry was duly authorized in 1919 and the work was carried out by the Middlebrook Committee in 1920. One principal issue was the question of 'police parity', or rough equality of treatment between firemen and policemen. 'The Middlebrook Committee concluded this was equitable on the basis that the continuous duty system then worked by firemen was, on the whole, as arduous as the duties of policemen at that time, a judgement reinforced by the 1923 Royal Commission on Fire Brigades; and the comparison with police pay was, in any case, inevitable, because in many town brigades "police firemen" were employed - that is, police constables were also employed on fire-service duties.'⁽²⁾ Later, however, parity with the police was abandoned as the two roles became ever more distinct and specialized.

(1) Ibid., page 51.

(2) Report of the Cunningham Inquiry into the Work of the Fire Service: Chairman Sir Charles Cunningham, London, H.M.S.O., November, 1971, page 4.

The Middlebrook Committee recommended that uniforms be issued as standard; that there be full pay when sick for at least three months; that free medical attendance be provided; that pensions similar to those of the police be given; that retirement at the age of fifty-five be made compulsory, and that disabled firemen be used for watchroom duties.⁽¹⁾

In 1923 the L.C.C., in financial difficulties, wished to cut firemen's wages by 20 per cent. This was rejected by the Union and the dispute went to arbitration. The Court rejected the cuts,⁽²⁾ and the Union benefited from this victory and by 1935 membership was over 2,500.

In 1936 the Departmental Committee on Fire Brigade Services under the Chairmanship of Lord Riverdale presented its report. 'When the Riverdale Committee reported, there was no obligation on any local authority except London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, to make any fire brigade provision' . . . 'No government department was charged with direct statutory functions or responsibilities in connection with control and organization of fire brigades; and there was no central supervision nor any recognised standard of efficiency as regards the strength, training, or equipment of brigades.'⁽³⁾

In 1938 a new Fire Brigades Act, based largely on Riverdale's recommendations, was introduced. Under this Act the local authorities had to provide Fire Brigade Services either directly or by arrangement with other fire authorities. In addition every authority had to make arrangements for mutual aid so that in the event of large scale fires and emergencies, they would be able to

(1) T. Paul, op. cit., page 51.

(2) Ibid., page 51.

(3) Report of the Departmental Committee on the Fire Service: Chairman Sir Ronald Holroyd, London, H.M.S.O., May 1970, page 24.

cope. The right to employ police constables as firemen was limited under this Act and was later abolished after the war. Local authorities were no longer able to charge owner occupiers for services rendered. Under the Act a training centre was to be established and a central advisory council for Fire Services was to be set up. The Secretary of State was to have control of standards of efficiency and uniformity of appliances. No provision however was made for direct financial assistance from the government, to help with the costs of running the Service.⁽¹⁾

The 1938 Act however never became fully operative as war loomed on the horizon. Another Act however had been passed in 1937 to increase the number of firemen available in the event of war.⁽²⁾ The new force was to be called the Auxiliary Fire Service. Recruitment for the A.F.S. started in 1938⁽³⁾ and men and women from all spheres of life volunteered for service. Schools, garages, warehouses and many other kinds of buildings were used as emergency stations. Private cars, lorries and taxi-cabs were commandeered and were used to draw trailer pumps, which were later effectively used in many difficult situations.⁽⁴⁾

The first year of the war was quiet and during the period of so-called 'phoney war' the A.F.S. firemen seemed, to outsiders, to be having too easy a time. They were regarded by some as shirkers and draft dodgers⁽⁵⁾ and were subject to ridicule; morale was low; thousands of A.F.S. firemen left.⁽⁶⁾ When it was down to half-strength

(1) Ibid., pages 24-25.

(2) N. Martin, 'The Fire Service Today', London, Dent, 1972, page 16.

(3) T. Paul, op. cit., page 55.

(4) N. Martin, op. cit., page 16.

(5) T. Paul, op. cit., page 55.

(6) N. Martin, op. cit., page 16.

the government became concerned and ordered that no more men were to be allowed to leave. Then came the blitz.

In the latter part of 1940, London, Coventry, Birmingham and Southampton, were subjected to intensive German bombing, and suffered considerable damage. On the 29th December, 1940, the City of London was almost destroyed by fire.⁽¹⁾ Fire-watchers saved St. Paul's by extinguishing the incendiaries which fell in the vicinities as soon as they landed.⁽²⁾

In 1941 to meet the needs of war the Fire Service was nationalized, the fire-service powers and duties of local authorities were suspended and these functions were transferred to the National Fire Service. The ten civil defence regions in England and the Principality of Wales were divided into thirty-three fire force areas which became the basic operational units of the National Fire Service.⁽³⁾ The National Fire Service was a war-time measure and a promise was made to return the Service to the control of the local authorities when the war was over.

It was now possible to standardise equipment so that neighbouring brigades could help each other when bombed. Some 1,440 brigades in England and Wales and some 185 Brigades in Scotland were brought together to form one centralized fire brigade. At its peak the National Fire Service employed nearly 350,000 men and women. The advantage of this in war-time was that resources

(1) The water mains lying just below the road surface were largely put out of action and the City was only saved by the return of the tide in the Thames which produced the extra water that was needed.

(2) The government noted this success and appealed for more volunteer fire-watchers. As the response was inadequate a Statutory Order was made in January, 1941, making fire-watching compulsory.

(3) Holroyd, op. cit., page 25.

could be quickly diverted to where they were needed: if one town was severely bombed reserves from the brigades in other areas could be quickly moved in to provide emergency relief and assistance to the local brigade.

After the war, in 1947, the Fire Service was returned to local authority control but only the larger authorities were allowed to run fire brigades. The village brigades which, for the most part, had been poorly equipped and badly run, were not re-introduced. The number of brigades was thereby reduced from 1,400 to about 140, and the only employing authorities were the counties and county borough councils.

Under section 1 of the Fire Services Act 1947⁽¹⁾ a duty was placed on every fire authority to make provision for fire-fighting purposes and in particular:-

- (a) to maintain a brigade of sufficient strength to meet efficiently all normal requirements;
- (b) to secure the efficient training of members of the brigade;
- (c) to provide efficient arrangements for dealing with fire calls and for summoning members of the brigade;
- (d) to obtain information required for fire-fighting purposes in respect of property in the area (this included information on the character of the buildings, the available water supplies, means of access and allied matters);
- (e) to organize salvage arrangements for the mitigation of damage resulting from fire-fighting operations;
- (f) to provide arrangements for giving advice, on request, on fire prevention and means of escape.

(1) Holroyd, op. cit., page 27.

The Fire Services Act 1947 gave considerable powers to the Secretary of State and the Home Office. These powers were at first supported by a direct grant of 25 per cent. Under later Acts⁽¹⁾ however, the Fire Service became a general grant service.⁽²⁾ These Acts gave the Secretary of State power to reduce the grant if he was satisfied that the fire authorities had failed 'to achieve or maintain reasonable standards'.

Under the Fire Services Act 1959 the Secretary of State lost the power to make regulations prescribing standards of efficiency, pay and hours of duty. From 1959 control over pay and hours of duty became matters for the individual fire authorities who generally accepted the recommendations in this field of the National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Fire Brigades. This body was made up of members of the fire authorities and the fire-service associations.

This Act did not affect the Secretary of State's powers in relation to conditions of service, standards of training and equipment, the method of appointment of Chief Officers, and authorization of reductions of manpower.

The Fire Department of the Home Office was in the charge of an Assistant Under-Secretary of State. There were four divisions,

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- (1) The Local Government Act 1958, the Local Government and Miscellaneous Financial Provisions (Scotland) Act 1958, the Local Government Act 1966, and the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1966.
- (2) Up to 1959 pay settlements 'made were embodied in statutory instruments made by the Secretary of State, and thus obtained the force of law (as is still the case with the police service). This meant that the Home Office and the Scottish Home and Health Department were directly involved with fire service pay and in a formal sense controlled it. The Fire Services Act, 1959, however, changed this: since then the Central Departments have had no formal role to play in pay negotiations, and in fact the Fire Brigades' National Joint Council does not now include any Departmental representative'. Cunningham, op. cit., page 3.

the first dealing with general fire brigade matters, the second with fire prevention, the third with any matters concerning building (not just Fire Service buildings but also police, court and probation buildings) and the fourth being concerned with public safety other than fire prevention.

The Home Office Fire Department also included the Fire Service Inspectorate. One of their most important functions was to carry out inspections of fire brigades in order to advise the Secretary of State as to their standards of efficiency. In practice, the Inspectorate provided the only regular means for coordinating the activities of the fire authorities and ensuring a measure of standardization throughout the Service.⁽¹⁾

Central Fire Brigades Advisory Councils (one for England and Wales and one for Scotland) were set up⁽²⁾ to advise the Secretaries of State on matters arising under the Acts.⁽³⁾ Their members included representatives from the Home Office,⁽⁴⁾ the local authority associations and associations representing firemen. The role of the councils was purely advisory⁽⁵⁾ but they had to be consulted before statutory orders or regulations were made.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Holroyd, op. cit., page 31.

(2) Under the provisions of the 1947 Act.

(3) Not on pay, conditions of service or discipline.

(4) In Scotland representatives of the Scottish Home and Health Department.

(5) Not binding on the Secretary of State.

(6) The Councils were supported by a number of standing and ad hoc committees. The standing committees included the Joint Pensions Committee, the Joint Training Committee, the Joint Committee on Design and Development of Appliances and Equipment, the Joint Committee on Uniform and Personal Equipment, and the Joint Fire Prevention Committee. Holroyd, op. cit., pages 201-202.

C. The British Fire Service in the Early 1970's

The main focus of this research is a City Fire Brigade in England in 1974 before the local government reorganization⁽¹⁾ of that year. Soon after the interviews and fieldwork were finished, the Brigade studied ceased to exist and was incorporated within a large brigade. In this historical review it is not proposed to go beyond 1974 as any developments since then have taken place after the fieldwork was completed. In this section, therefore, I shall describe the organization of the Fire Service at local and national level during the early 1970's.

Up to 1974 the fire authorities were the county and county borough councils.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾ In charge of each brigade was the Chief Fire Officer (or Firemaster in Scotland). His deputy was an Assistant Chief Officer, or in smaller brigades, a Divisional Officer or Assistant Divisional Officer. Next in line were the Station Officers in charge of each station.

Every authority was required to prepare a scheme setting out the number of firemen, appliances and equipment necessary to cover the whole area. Every district and area in Great Britain was surveyed and placed in a category according to the fire risks involved.⁽⁴⁾ The high risk areas were given an 'A' designation; the heavily industrialized areas of London, Birmingham and

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- (1) After reorganization there were only fifty-five fire authorities in England and Wales: fifty-three county councils, the Greater London Council and the Isles of Scilly Authority. In Scotland there were nine regional fire authorities on the mainland and three island authorities, see 'Britain 1974: Official Handbook', London, H.M.S.O., 1976.
- (2) In Scotland there were joint committees which represented the councils of the counties and large burghs - there being only eleven brigades.
- (3) Many works and factories maintained their own private brigades to deal with minor outbreaks on their own premises.
- (4) 'The Fire Service', Choice of Careers Series, No. 114, London, H.M.S.O. Central Youth Employment Executive, 1969, page 6.

Manchester were given this rating, and fire stations in these areas were manned so that a pump escape and another pumping appliance could arrive at the fire within five minutes of the fire call.⁽¹⁾ At the other end of the scale were 'D' risk zones in remote rural areas, the time limit here being twenty-three minutes for the first appliance to arrive after the call.

The Fire Service has not been, and is unlikely ever to be, a really large employer of labour. In 1971 the whole of Great Britain was protected by approximately 26,000 ^{full-time} firemen⁽²⁾ and these were split up into small working groups in well over a 1,000 stations throughout the country.⁽³⁾

The large cities and urban areas were served mostly by whole-time professional firemen, but nearly 60 per cent of the county brigades were composed of part-time retained⁽⁴⁾ firemen. These firemen, in addition to the normal work outside the Fire Service, undertook to attend for weekly training and maintenance duties and to respond to calls. For this they were paid an annual retaining fee and turn-out and attendance fees for responding to calls.⁽⁵⁾

In many brigades fire-service calls were received by an officer who 'listened in' on calls, at the control-room of the brigade's headquarters.⁽⁶⁾ His job was then to write down the message as it came in and find the relevant card in a street index

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- (1) And a third appliance within a further three minutes.
 (2) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 9.
 (3) Only the larger fire stations had more than 100 firemen and these were sub-divided into shifts.
 (4) Retained in this sense means retained for part-time duties.
 (5) The Holroyd Report, op. cit., page 26.
 (6) 'The Fire Service', Careers Pamphlet 114, op. cit., page 8.

which showed the type of appliances needed and the fire hazards involved.⁽¹⁾ The alarm was then transmitted to the duty fireman in the station watch-room. The officer in charge of the required appliance was then informed of the details, and the appliance's crew turned out of the station normally within thirty to sixty seconds of receiving the call. The control-room team then informed other organizations whose services might be required, such as the police, ambulance or electricity authorities. They also kept in touch with the appliance crew by radio.

The crew could be turned out several times per shift or not at all; the fireman's working day was then, and is now, completely unpredictable. On night shift the firemen were allowed to sleep in the dormitories, provided no calls were received.

In the City Brigade I visited, the firemen on the day shift carried out drills, played games like volleyball and badminton, listened to lectures, carried out checks on hydrants and some did watch-room duties. These activities were typical of all British Firemen. Other jobs included the maintenance of equipment and appliances. The City Firemen had recently taken up fire-prevention duties on a regular basis and had, at the same time, ceased to do the mundane sweeping and cleaning duties which were so disliked.

As soon as the alarm sounded, they stopped whatever they were doing and hurried to their required positions. If they were having a meal or were in the toilet, sleeping or drinking, or getting ready to go home, they had to stop and run to their appliance.

In the City Brigade, a chart was displayed showing which fireman was operating which machine. Every fireman therefore knew which appliance he was assigned to and the job he had to carry out.

(1) N. Martin, op. cit., page 47.

The first appliance to go out was usually the pump escape and this machine carried enough water to be able to cope with many of the fires.

The firemen told me stories of the old-fashioned open appliances and of how men used to get thrown off them going round corners. All the modern appliances however have enclosed accommodation for the crew.⁽¹⁾ Large amounts of equipment (hoses, branches, nozzles, stirrup-pumps, buckets and cutting equipment) are also stored in the bodywork.

The most important appliances in use nationally at the time were pumps and pump escapes, turntable ladders and snorkels,⁽²⁾ (otherwise known as hydraulic platforms). The City Brigade had all these, and an emergency salvage tender and many other smaller appliances. The types of appliances in use have not changed very much since 1974 and the basic types are still in service today.

A pump escape is a basic pumping appliance fitted with an extending ladder. The ladder (in three sections) is extended by steel cables from drums and winch handles, and is mounted on a sliding carriage which enables the elevation to be altered as required. Large wheels are fitted at the base for ease of manoeuvre.

The development of the turntable ladder dates back to the early years of the twentieth century when the increasing height of buildings made it necessary for firemen to reach levels above the maximum for the wheeled-escape.

On a turntable ladder, the ladder itself is mounted at the rear of the appliance just above the back axle and can be extended up to 100 feet, and used at any angle between seventy-five degrees

(1) N. Martin, *ibid.*, page 21.

(2) Pump water tenders were used in areas where there was no supply of water near the fire.

and horizontal; if the angle of elevation is reduced, the permissible length of the ladder is shortened. Automatic devices prevent over-extension when the maximum limit is reached.

All movements are controlled by an operator at the foot of the ladder. A rotation lever is used to swing the bed of the ladder into line, an elevation control lever controls the tilt, and another lever adjusts the elevation.

High-level jets of water can be delivered from a monitor at the top of the ladder. The machine is also used as a staircase for the rescue of people trapped in the upper storeys of burning buildings.

Towards the end of the 1950's the snorkel or hydraulic platform made its appearance as a fire-fighting appliance. The popularity of this type of machine increased rapidly and by the 1970's they were in general use in Great Britain. A hinged boom in two or three sections is arranged on a rotating base with an operating platform (capable of carrying six people) at the upper end. Up to five persons can be rescued at one time and a powerful water jet can be delivered from the platform. This water is conveyed to the platform by jointed pipes running alongside, or within, the boom arms. Snorkels have a shorter range than turntable ladders but have the advantage of being able to 'bend-in' over fires.

Another important appliance in general use is the salvage tender. This machine carries equipment which can be used to minimise water damage, including canvas sheets, ropes, brooms, brushes, buckets and shovels. The emergency salvage tender at the City Brigade also carries breathing apparatus, metal-cutting equipment, generators, resuscitation equipment, and lifting jacks.

No two fire brigades are exactly alike, and I would not like to pretend that the City Brigade was in any way typical of other brigades, especially as there were such wide differences between country, town, and City brigades. I shall therefore briefly describe the different types of brigades and how they were organized at station as well as at brigade level.

Before carrying out the main part of the research project, I visited⁽¹⁾ one industrial town station and three small-town/suburban stations in Worcestershire and Leicestershire. Table 1.1 shows the basic differences between the stations.

Stations A and B worked a fifty-six hour week (75 per cent of firemen nationally in 1971 worked this system) which required three shifts or watches with a nine-hour day shift and a fifteen-hour night shift.

These two stations differed slightly in the way the shifts were organized. Station A worked three days, three nights, and three days off. This worked over a nine-week cycle and at the end of the cycle the firemen started again. Station B worked two days, two nights, and two days off. This was a six-week cycle. This meant that the firemen did not usually have their week-ends free as the cycle was continuous and included Saturdays and Sundays. It was only when their 'time off' period, of two or three days, coincided with Saturday and Sunday, that they had a free week-end at home.

The firemen slept at home when they worked days. They slept at the stations during the fifteen-hour night shift. Most stand-down time (or stand-by as it is sometimes called) occurred on night shift ^{from 7pm to 11pm} before they went to bed at around 11.00 p.m. During this period they were free of all but operational duties. There

(1) In 1972.

TABLE 1.1 FOUR FIRE STATIONS COMPARED

STATION	A	B	C	D
LOCATION	SUBURB OF CITY	INDUSTRIAL TOWN	EDGE OF INDUSTRIAL CONURBATION	MARKET TOWN*
DUTY SYSTEM	3 days 3 nights <u>3 off</u> 3,3,3	2 days 2 nights <u>2 off</u> 2,2,2	Day-Manning	Day-Manning
NUMBER OF FIREMEN	20	30	10	10
NUMBER OF FIRES PER YEAR	400	530	290	290
ACCOMMODATION	5 fire service houses only - all houses well away from station.	Only 2 or 3 mentioned Fire Service house - all houses well away from station.	All men lived in houses around station.	Men lived in flats adjacent to station.

* Also serving rural area.

were also long periods of stand-down at the week-ends.

Stations C and D worked the Day-Manning System. This system was used mainly in country and small-town areas with relatively few calls. The firemen spent between thirty-five and forty-two day-time hours at the station or elsewhere on duty, and the balance of the fifty-six hour week at home on call. They were also obliged to perform retained duties⁽¹⁾ for up to a further fifty-six hours a week and they were paid a retaining fee for this extra time worked; they were also paid turn-out and attendance fees.

There were differences between the two Day-Manning stations with regard to housing the men and their families.⁽²⁾ In Station C the houses were of the maisonette type but in Station D there were flats. In both cases the accommodation was adjacent to the station.

There was a clear separation of work and leisure in the Shift Stations⁽³⁾ and most of the firemen were able to work an extra job unconnected with the Fire Service (see Table 1.2). Under the Day-Manning System there was a much greater intrusion of work into leisure hours; whereas stand-by on the shift stations was taken on the station, the Day-Manning firemen often took it at home. 'Until recently all firemen on Day-Manning were called by electric

(1) See page 41.

The retained duties were required as there was only one shift of firemen. The firemen were therefore retained over and above their normal working hours and the Cunningham Inquiry has argued that periods over 100 hours per week are not unknown. 'It is argued that hours of this length, even if they represent availability only and the men are not often called out, are not acceptable today; certainly it is not possible for a fireman to move very far from his home if he is on call.' Page 15.

(2) One objection to the Day-Manning System was that the firemen lost their houses when they left the service.

(3) Only four of the shift workers did additional retained duties.

TABLE 1.2

EXTRA JOBS UNCONNECTED WITH FIRE SERVICE

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS PER FIREMAN
SPENT EACH WEEK ON WORK OUTSIDE
THE FIRE SERVICE

STATION: A	B	C	D
n = 12	n = 13	n = 8	n = 7
8 hrs.	10 hrs.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.

bells in their homes, which disturbed all the family, a disturbance particularly resented at night.⁽¹⁾ However in the stations I visited the bells had been replaced by pocket alerters. The Day-Manning firemen also were confined for long periods to the 'environs' of their homes to be able to make quick turn-outs in the event of fire. Dinners were also more often taken at home.

(1) Shift Stations:

'The longer you go without a fire the more moping and moaning there is. I would be happy if we went out more often as it can get monotonous here.'

'It can get very boring here as this is a Rural Station. I like the calls; it's what you get paid for.'

'The job is more interesting than the leisure' (he meant leisure at the station during the periods of no fires).

'Not enough fires.'

'We don't get so many fires. I feel better when I have been out.'⁽²⁾

(2) Day-Manning Stations:

The firemen in these stations also liked fires. There was less mention of boredom when they were not attending fires and they seemed to like both the indoor and outdoor aspects of their jobs. There were still some slack periods however and a fire helped to boost the men's morale. The Day-Manning men were asked what changes they would like to see in their jobs. The Shift firemen would have wanted more fires, but among the Day-Manning firemen more fires was only one of a number of suggested improvements. One

(1) Cunningham, op. cit., page 15.

(2) However, this view was not completely unanimous. A man who had been a fireman for twenty-five years said 'I'm quite happy to stay in or go out to a fire'. Another said 'I don't like the fires as much as I used to - I don't crave for them now. I did when I was younger but not now.'

man from Station C said, 'I would not like a busy station; it shortens your life'. The emphasis was on a happy medium: 'You need two fires a day to keep the men happy'.

Firemen from all the stations commented on the improved atmosphere in the station after a fire. They realised that the fire spelt misfortune for somebody, but they still enjoyed going to them. The fires were legitimised with the comment 'that's what we are here for'.

The fires generally were found to be varied and interesting and improved the men's morale. The extent to which they were valued varied, however: in the Shift Stations the men were somewhat more dependent on them to sustain their morale. It must be realised that in the Shift Stations, although there are more calls overall, there were fewer calls per man because there were three different shifts.

How did the Shiftworkers feel about having to organize their leisure activities during periods when most other people are at work?

Here are some of the respondents' replies from Station A:

'Shiftwork does not interfere because I am able to arrange my social life around the shifts.'

'This type of shiftwork is better than working days because if you want to go and see somebody or want to get something from the shops you can do it - with this system.'

These opinions were general. However, the loss of week-end leisure was mentioned as being a disadvantage by some of the single men.

Eight of the firemen from Station B definitely preferred shifts: 'Nine to five working would become boring; this system breaks your days up', and another said, 'No, I would not like to do it. To be able to do things when everyone else is at work is

great'. Seven others qualified their answers along the following lines: 'It would have to be operational work as I have turned down many ordinary routine jobs'.

When I visited these firemen I was concerned with the organization at Station level; it is also relevant to look at the way whole Brigades are organized.

The London Fire Brigade

As the Brigade covered a wide, densely populated area, it was, in 1974, split into three commands, at Wembley, Stratford and Croydon⁽¹⁾ with the overall headquarters near Waterloo Station. Each command had three or four divisions and each division had between ten and thirteen stations. In the whole Brigade there were 114 stations, two river stations, three mobilizing controls and eleven divisional stations.

In 1974 the Brigade had 6,713⁽²⁾ operational uniformed staff, 181 control staff and 930 non-uniformed staff. It was called to answer 87,307 calls, 47 per cent of which were for ordinary fires, 17 per cent for special services, 16 per cent for malicious false alarms, and 14 per cent for 'good intent' false alarms.

The Brigade had over 500 vehicles and appliances, 22 per cent being pump escapes, 20 per cent pumps, 32 per cent vans and lorries and 13 per cent training and reserve appliances. Other appliances included turntable ladders, emergency tenders, hose layers, foam tenders, fire-boats and breathing-apparatus control vans.

(1) G. A. Perry, 'Fire and the Fire Service', Blandford, London, 1972, page 52.

(2) G. Honeycombe, 'Red Watch', London, Hutchinson, 1976 - Appendix.

The Norfolk Fire Service

This Brigade, in the year 1968-69, was manned predominantly by part-time retained firemen. Only two of the stations, King's Lynn and Acle, were whole-time.⁽¹⁾ The retained firemen did a normal job during the day but turned-out at the station when 'bleeped' on their pocket radio alerters. The headquarters was based at Hethersett, a village a few miles south-west of Norwich.⁽²⁾ There were three divisions with a small number of full-time fire officers who looked after the general running of the stations and took charge at any large outbreaks of fire in the division's area. In 1968-69 the Brigade had 2,539 calls compared to London's 75,468.

The Holroyd Report argued that the availability of retained firemen for fire-fighting purposes and special services in areas of low and medium risk is a vital element in providing fire cover for the country as a whole. The Holroyd Committee were greatly impressed by the enthusiasm and capability of many of these firemen, and they argued that the use of retained firemen should be maintained and extended.

Retained men make themselves available for an average of two hours training and maintenance duties a week, and are available for call-out if required. They are paid an annual retaining fee, and turn-out or attendance fees when they respond to calls.⁽³⁾

Taking into account the fact that some of the retained firemen were available for only part of the required twenty-four hour cover, the total effective number of part-time retained firemen employed was 13,993⁽⁴⁾ in 1968. This represents approximately 34 per cent of the total fire-fighting force; 63 per cent being

(1) G. Perry, op. cit., page 54.

(2) Ibid.,

(3) Holroyd, op. cit., page 139.

(4) England, Wales, and Scotland.

full-time professional and 3 per cent volunteer.

North-Eastern Fire Brigade, Scotland

This Brigade covered Aberdeen City, and the counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine, Banff and the joint counties of Moray and Nairn. There were forty fire stations in the area, two were full-time, one used the Day-Manning System, thirty-five used retained firemen, and there were two volunteer stations. The Brigade answered about 2,500 calls a year, and had over sixty appliances ready for use.⁽¹⁾

The use of volunteer firemen (as distinct from retained firemen) is not unique to Scotland, but is far more common there. In 1968 there were over 1,000 volunteer firemen in England, Wales, and Scotland: 71 per cent of these were in Scotland (63 per cent in the sparsely populated Western and Northern areas) and only 29 per cent in England and Wales.

Holroyd has stated that 'volunteer units comprising part-time volunteer firemen are maintained in relatively isolated parts of the country in which the maintenance of retained men and retained stations could not be justified . . . Part-time volunteers receive no payment for their services, either for training or for call-out. They are entitled to compensation for loss of earnings, but this is limited to the actual loss or the pay for the period of a whole-time fireman of equivalent rank on appointment, whichever is the less.'⁽²⁾

(1) G. Perry, op. cit., page 55.

(2) Holroyd, op. cit., page 139.

D. Fire Brigades Around the World:

The United States

There are two main types of fire brigade in the United States. There are approximately 1,000 fire departments manned by fully-paid professional firemen, and 15,000 other departments with part-paid or voluntary personnel. There are 80,000 professional firemen and 800,000 volunteers.

The volunteer brigades are extremely important though they have been superseded by municipal authorities in the bigger cities. Even today volunteer fire departments are still found in the majority of small townships.

J. J. Floherty wrote in 1949: 'Today a million men are enlisted in our invisible army of volunteer fire-fighters. They serve without pay, their only reward the satisfaction they get out of the arduous work of saving lives and property. Coming from every social stratum they present an outstanding example of democracy at its best.'⁽¹⁾

The volunteer departments raise their own funds by public subscription. Very often the municipalities that are served by them also contribute funds. These departments function as centres for community, social and political activity.

In large cities there are fully-paid municipal fire departments which are headed by fire chiefs, who have come up through the ranks, or by commissioners appointed by the city government.

In the cities the basic fire-fighting unit is the fire company which is based on one particular machine. American firemen generally work only one type of appliance and the company consists of the one appliance and the firemen assigned to that machine.

(1) J. J. Floherty, 'Five Alarm', op. cit., page 19.

The fireman receives a specialized training in the use of this appliance and is not normally transferred to other machines. This contrasts with the British Brigade system whereby the firemen are given a general training in the use of varied appliances and are rotated to gain experience with different types of equipment.

Even in the largest cities the basic unit remains the company, though they are often grouped into a battalion under a fire chief. Sometimes the companies are housed together but are often housed separately.

The New York Fire Department

In 1972-73 the New York Fire Department covered an area of 320 square miles and provided protection for at least eight million people. There were over 14,000 firemen, and equipment included 500 pumps, aerial ladders and special appliances.⁽¹⁾

Dennis Smith has described the situation of Engine Company Eighty-two in New York. 'I'm part of Engine Company 82. The firehouse I work out of is on Intervale Avenue and 169th Street in a ghetto called the South Bronx . . . Around the corner from the firehouse⁽²⁾ is the Forty-first Precinct House. It is the busiest police station in the city. There are more homicides per square mile in this precinct than anywhere in the United States, more drug traffic, more prostitution . . . There are four companies working out of the firehouse on Intervale Avenue. Engine 82 and Engine 85 do the hose work in the district. Ladder Company 31 and Tactical Control Unit 712 do the rescue work, the ladder work and the axe work . . . Two years ago we responded a record number of times. Engine 85 went out 8,386 times in a twelve-month period. Ladder Company 31 went to 8,597 alarms, and my company, Engine 82

(1) Details given in 'Fire' Magazine, Vol. 66, No. 820, October, 1973, page 260.

(2) The American equivalent of a fire station.

went to 9,111 . . . It is safe to say that ours is the busiest firehouse in the city, and probably the world.⁽¹⁾

In a recent year the New York Fire Department had over 172,000 calls. Most of the calls come in from street-corner fire alarms which are fastened to lamp-posts, but some are also received by telephone.⁽²⁾

The Los Angeles County Brigade

Normally in the U.S.A. it is only the rural fire departments which protect areas outside the city limits, and it is rare to find an authority which covers both city and country areas. This does happen in Los Angeles however. An area of about 2,000 square miles around the city is the responsibility of the Los Angeles County Brigade. The area includes mountain ranges, forest and brush areas without roads. For dealing with fires in isolated areas the Brigade has several helicopters which drop water from tanks they carry.

The Brigade has a large number of appliances for dealing with the more unusual types of fire. A special marine fire-station has been set up to provide cover for a huge marina on the Pacific coast with mooring capacity for 7,000 craft. The station is equipped with land-based appliances and fire-boats.⁽³⁾

In other areas of the United States comprehensive mutual aid plans have been organized whereby the authorities, instead of amalgamating, agree to help each other when one area is hard pressed by a major emergency.

(1) D. Smith, 'Report from Engine Company 82', London, Millington, 1982, page 11.

(2) G. A. Perry, op. cit., page 90.

(3) Ibid., page 21.

The U.S.S.R.

Only a few days after the Russian Revolution of 1917 a decree was issued by the Soviet Government on the subject of 'Organizing state fire-fighting services' which laid the foundation of the Soviet fire-fighting service.⁽¹⁾

Today the Soviet fire services are run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but there are, in addition, specialized divisions for civil aviation, the railways, marine transport and forestry.⁽²⁾

Fire prevention is given a high priority and many members of the general public are encouraged to participate in fire prevention activities; millions join voluntary fire-safety societies and they help to explain fire prevention techniques at factories, schools, offices and in residential areas. They also help organize Young Fire-Fighter groups at schools which are provided with appliances, uniforms and adult drivers.

The basic, medium-sized fire engines hold up to 3,000 litres of water and can take a load of up to five tons. Engines carrying 4,000 litres are used where water supply is difficult. Other appliances are specially designed for use in very hot or very cold climates. Mobile pumps and fire hose appliances are used alongside the basic fire engines. Hydraulic platforms operating to forty-five metres are also used, as are special tool-carrying appliances, mobile smoke pumps and water pumps.⁽³⁾

Jet engines are now used to extinguish oil and gas well blazes. Other special mass-produced appliances are used to cut open aircraft

(1) Igor Tverskoi, 'Fire Fighting in the U.S.S.R.', in Fire: The Journal of the Fire Protection Profession, Vol. 69, No. 882, April, 1977, page 558.

(2) Ibid.,

(3) Ibid.,

fuselages and to evacuate passengers. 'Ural' petrol-driven saws are capable of cutting through window-frames, metal aircraft bodies, cars, concrete pillars, and railway carriages.⁽¹⁾

Soviet fire crews wear canvas suits impregnated with a water-repellent compound. In the colder climates the firemen are issued with short fur coats and jackets, warm trousers and felt boots.⁽²⁾

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is the largest of the fifteen republics occupying an area of seventeen million square miles and containing over half the population. Here there are seventy-two administrative regions, each with a council controlling a fire department which includes both professional and volunteer brigades. The professionals are organized into a semi-military brigade with a general and military ranks.⁽³⁾ The volunteer brigades make use of at least four million civilians who are well paid for their services. In addition, there is a union-organized industrial fire force covering high risk industrial plant.

Ordinary people are far more involved with fire prevention work than is the case in Europe and America. In Leningrad it is estimated that fifty per cent of fires are extinguished by the general public and/or by the voluntary brigades. One person in sixteen in Leningrad has a good knowledge of fire prevention techniques.⁽⁴⁾ In Moscow the Voluntary Society of Fire-Fighters has 300,000 members.

It is considered good citizenship to protect communal property

(1) Ibid.,

(2) Ibid.,

(3) G. Eastham, 'A Look at the Fire Service in the Russian Federated Republic', article in 'Fire', op. cit., Vol. 67, No. 828, June 1974, page 16.

(4) G. Eastham, 'Involvement and People', article in 'Fire', ibid., Vol. 66, No. 824, February 1974, page 468.

and participation in fire-fighting activities is encouraged by the authorities. Fire prevention literature is widely distributed. State fire inspectors visit voluntary brigades to give help and advice with fire prevention. Professional firemen spend considerable time teaching the public fire prevention techniques. Television, radio, newspapers, films and meetings are used to get this advice to as many people as possible. One result of these provisions is that the number of fires in the U.S.S.R. per 1,000 population is a small fraction of that of Europe and the United States.

West Germany

West Germany has sixty-three professional brigades (with 15,500 personnel) which provide cover for the cities of over 100,000 population. Fire protection in the smaller towns, villages and communities is provided by 22,000 volunteer fire brigades. There are 780,000 volunteer firemen who give their services free. This saves the authorities considerable amounts of money.

The professional firemen also act as ambulancemen. Actual fires and fire-fighting occupy only five per cent of all operations. K. W. Seidel has argued that German brigades are used in all situations which are out of control. 'As many decades ago, fire had been considered simply to be "the disaster" for which one had to keep a specially equipped and trained force. Increasing mechanization of life enlarges that which is considered to be an emergency. Therefore fire brigades nowadays are exponents of their original destination only to a very small extent. They rather have become a general guiding force which is employed in all situations that have become out of control.'⁽¹⁾

(1) K. W. Seidel, 'German Fire Brigades', article in 'Fire', Vol. 65, No. 811, January 1973.

The local authorities or 'lander' bear the cost of the fire authorities. Each 'lander' is an autonomous body and has a predominant say in the way each brigade is trained and organized. Fire research in Germany is under-developed because the 'lander' cannot agree amongst themselves who shall bear the cost.

Holland

In Holland local authorities are responsible for providing fire cover; every city, town and village has its own fire service. Volunteer brigades rather than professionals are responsible for the small towns and villages but in the larger towns the volunteers work hand-in-hand with professional firemen. Cities, like Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Groningen and Amsterdam, are covered solely by full-time professionals.

The Amsterdam Fire Service: Amsterdam itself is an industrial centre and has an important port which is used by several thousand ships each year. It is built on islands (about ninety of them in all) and has more than fifty miles of canals.

The Amsterdam Fire Service looks after an area of seventy square miles with a population of nearly one million. In 1972 the brigade had twelve fire stations and was equipped with twelve pump appliances, six turntable ladders and a number of other vehicles.⁽¹⁾ The port area had two large fire-boats and a smaller one was used for fires along the canals. Personnel numbered 600 men. All the calls went to a central control and the nearest fire station was then called out.⁽²⁾

(1) G. A. Perry, op. cit., page 94.

(2) Ibid.,

Ethiopia

In many countries the organization of the fighting services is in its infancy, and Ethiopia falls into this category. Fire services do not cover the country as a whole but are based solely in the capital Addis Ababa. There are plans, however, for the formation of a Metropolitan Fire Service covering all of Shoa province (with a population of four million), followed ultimately by the formation of a national fire service.⁽¹⁾

The Addis Ababa Fire Brigade was formed in 1935, a year before the Italian occupation. After the invasion, the brigade operated under the control of the Italian forces using Italian equipment. After liberation in 1941, senior officers were appointed from the police force and these men led the brigade from that time on.

From 1942-1972 little formal training was carried out; only basic drills such as hose-running were attempted. In 1972 more formal training by N.C.O's and officers was instituted. New equipment was ordered from overseas. In 1972 the force had one colonel, one major, four lieutenants, and 236 N.C.O's and firemen. There were three fire stations with sixteen fire appliances and three ambulances. Fire calls averaged 1,500 a year.

It can be seen therefore that the extent to which full-time professional firemen are used in preference to paid or unpaid volunteers varies greatly throughout the world. The U.S.A. has ten times as many volunteers as professionals and West Germany has thirty-five times as many. In Britain, however, there are nearly twice as many professionals. Despite these contrasts, it is difficult to assess which balance is most effective in relation to cost. The vital factor may well be the degree of public interest and involvement; certainly fire incidence in the U.S.S.R. is much lower than anywhere else.

(1) T. Hanlon, article in 'Fire', op. cit., Vol. 67, No. 835, January 1975, page 401.

CHAPTER II

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS AND METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

With 140 Brigades⁽¹⁾ and 26,000 employees, the task of surveying the whole of the British Fire Service is beyond the scope of one sociologist. I opted therefore to carry out an in-depth survey of just one Brigade: *the City Brigade.*

My idea was to concentrate on the numerically most representative category of firemen, i.e. married firemen in the lower ranks. The Fire Service was 'bottom heavy' in that most of the men were in the lower two ranks: seventy-five per cent were Ordinary or Leading Firemen.⁽²⁾ Also married firemen were far more numerous than single firemen: eighty-four per cent of the junior ranks were married.⁽³⁾ Over half were both in these lowest ranks and married. The sample chosen therefore consisted of forty-two married Ordinary and Leading Firemen working in the two stations which made up the City Brigade.⁽⁴⁾

The questions I asked them are set out in appendix A. The interview schedule was divided into four parts, the first three of which were taped and the last being a form completed by the firemen after the interviews.

I decided to study one brigade in depth rather than a more widely based survey. Glaser and Strauss⁽⁵⁾ have argued that the

- (1) This figure was reduced after the reorganization in 1974. The fieldwork took place before the reduction in the number of Brigades.
- (2) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 9.
- (3) M. Thomas, op. cit., page 36.
- (4) These being the two lowest ranks.
- (5) B. G. Glaser and A. L. Strauss, 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory', London, Widenfield and Nicolson, 1968, pages 176-183.

task of the sociologist should be to generate theory rather than carrying out large scale surveys. They suggest that government departments are better equipped to supply this data as they have the necessary resources at hand. They advise sociologists to make use of government data available in libraries to complement their own fieldwork, rather than their undertaking grand surveys which they are ill-equipped to carry out.

Before I undertook the research, two government reports were already in existence covering many aspects of fire service life in a variety of brigades in Britain. The first of these, the M. Thomas Survey⁽¹⁾ carried out between October, 1967, and January, 1968, took a sample from thirty-five selected brigades in England, Wales and Scotland. Both senior and junior ranks were included, and interviews were obtained with eighty-eight per cent of the 1,958 firemen selected. I have used much of the data in this survey to complement my own.

The other survey was carried out by the Office of Manpower Economics and was published by the Cunningham Inquiry. This covered whole-time male recruits and voluntary leavers during the year 1970 in nineteen brigades⁽²⁾: 'These brigades were chosen after a preliminary analysis of wastage statistics for the years 1966-70 had enabled us to identify a list of brigades

(1) M. Thomas, 'The Fire Service and its Personnel', London, H.M.S.O., page 1.

(2) These brigades were:

Birkenhead	Nottingham
Birmingham	Nottinghamshire
Buckinghamshire	Oldham
Cheshire	St. Helens
Coventry	Southend
Glasgow	Stockport
Halifax	Warrington
Hampshire	Western Area
Hertfordshire	(Scotland)
London	Wolverhampton

having either a voluntary wastage rate considerably higher than the average or a strength deficiency of more than 10% against establishment, or both. The selection also includes two brigades with average wastage, and London, from which brigade one-fifth of all voluntary leavers resign.⁽¹⁾ This survey provided plenty of useful data on pay, attitudes to work, and other matters, which I have drawn on.

As seventy-five⁽²⁾ per cent of the national force of firemen were Ordinary or Leading Firemen, I decided not to interview personnel of more senior rank. By selecting married⁽³⁾ Ordinary and Leading Firemen for interview, I was, in effect, focussing my attention on the category of firemen who were numerically most significant. Officers were excluded because there were not enough of them in the City Brigade to form a large enough sample.

There were two main reasons why I opted for the interview method in preference to participant observation:

- (a) Participant observation would necessitate training as a fireman, the cost of which was prohibitive⁽⁴⁾
- (b) I was not allowed to travel on the appliances because of the difficulties of insurance cover.

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 102.

(2) Based on 1971 figures in the Cunningham Report.

(3) In a national survey of British Firemen it was found that 84 per cent of the junior ranks were married: in M. Thomas, 'The Fire Service and its Personnel, London, Home Office, H.M.S.O., 1969.

(4) The cost at this time was £1,000.

B. Making Contact with the Fire Brigade and Setting Up
the Interviews

I made contact with the Chief Officer of the City Brigade. He gave me written authority to visit and ask for interviews on the premises. The interviews were to be voluntary, and had to take place in the evening, during the firemen's stand-down time.

The first ten interviews began fairly formally and I treated them as a test sample. They were not included in the final analysis. During this time I modified and improved the questionnaire in the light of the findings.⁽¹⁾

In many ways I was making quite high demands on the firemen's good nature. The interviews were carried out in the evening during stand-down time when they were free to watch television or play badminton on the station. I, a virtual stranger, wanted to ask them a good many personal questions about their work, family and leisure activities.

Many readily agreed to be interviewed, but others, perhaps not surprisingly, were a little diffident. I was helped in my task by the good feeling and jovial atmosphere on the station; by the 'characters' who cracked jokes about Watergate (a reference to my tape recorder) and who created a friendly spirit.

After an interview, the fireman would often ask a mate of his to come along. Those already interviewed cajoled their friends into volunteering. This phase could be called the pre-interview interaction, and was very important, especially as I needed the firemen's complete cooperation but had little power to demand it.

(1) I interviewed 52 firemen altogether, 42 of whom were included in the sample.

C. The Interviews

All the interviews took place, as I have stated, in the evening, this being the firemen's stand-down period during which time they were free from all but operational duties.

The length of the interviews was somewhat variable. The average was over an hour, and about fifty hours of taped interviews were completed. They were carried out in the two stations in rooms kindly provided by the Brigade for the purpose. In the larger station I interviewed twenty-eight Ordinary Firemen⁽¹⁾ and four Leading Firemen, all of whom were married.⁽²⁾ In the smaller station I interviewed nine Ordinary Firemen and one Leading Fireman, all of whom were married.⁽³⁾

The interviewing took several months to complete as I was confined to evening interviews; because of the limited time available I found the tape recorder a very useful aid. The presence of a tape recorder did not seem to offend the respondents but seemed to encourage them to relate their experiences in more detail than would have otherwise been possible.

In some early pilot interviews carried out without a tape recorder at some country fire stations⁽⁴⁾ I noticed that what the respondents said, and in particular, how much they said, was highly correlated with the speed at which I wrote down their replies. The tape recorder had a beneficial effect: it meant that more detailed information could be obtained in a relaxed atmosphere.

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- (1) These twenty-eight did not include the ten preliminary 'test' interviews.
 - (2) This was out of a total of sixty married and unmarried firemen in these ranks who worked from this station.
 - (3) Out of a total of eighteen married firemen in these two ranks.
 - (4) See Chapter I.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information not available from government reports. I did not ask firemen how much they earned as this information was already available. I concentrated on gaining data about the firemen's lifestyle, their attitudes to work, and information which would enable me to assess their orientation to work.

D. After the Interviewing

One of the most time-consuming tasks was writing down on schedules the fifty hours of taped interviews. The benefit of doing this was that I could record exactly what had been said rather than having a hastily written note, made at the time of the interviews, indicating the gist of what was meant by the respondent.

CHAPTER IIIREWARDS FROM WORK; JOB SATISFACTION AND INCOME

Job satisfaction may be described as one of the old chestnuts of industrial sociology; the term is frequently used but little progress has been made in measuring it precisely. The difficulty is that so many dimensions are aggregated together that the final assessment of job satisfaction often represents a haphazard average of all the factors involved.

These factors include 'creating something', 'using skills', 'working wholeheartedly', 'using initiative and having responsibility', and 'mixing with people who know their job'.⁽¹⁾ Not many occupations offer high levels of all these rewards and frequently a high score in one sphere is accompanied by a low score in another area, and it is therefore difficult to arrive at an operational definition of the concept which adequately encompasses the many facets and features involved.

Nevertheless generalizations such as 'high job satisfaction' and 'low job satisfaction' do have some value if linked to a thorough discussion of how these assessments are arrived at. In this chapter I shall endeavour to prove that the City Firemen obtained moderate levels of job satisfaction.

Another important aspect to be considered is income which is apparently more tangible and measurable than job satisfaction. For instance £20 per week is definitely more than £19 a week. However this does not solve the problem of deciding whether a worker is well or badly paid in relation to other occupational categories.

Firemen, as will be shown, were poorly paid on an hourly basis but moderately well remunerated on a weekly basis as they worked

(1) S. Parker, 'The Future of Work and Leisure', Paladin, 1972, Chapter 4.

longer hours than many other workers. I argue therefore that firemen are moderately well paid. My conclusion is that firemen obtain both moderate levels of job satisfaction and moderate income from their work.

A. Job Satisfaction

In this section I shall aim to give a balanced picture of both the positive and negative aspects of the City Firemen's work. My argument is that these factors when combined tend to cancel each other out, producing a moderate overall level of job satisfaction.

Firemen do not dislike fire-fighting itself but find much of their non-operational duties rather boring.⁽¹⁾ This is corroborated by the M. Thomas Survey which asked the question:

'Thinking of everything you do in your job, both on the station and at "turnouts", is there anything you feel is a waste of time?'

Nearly two-thirds of the sample said 'Yes'. Of these, seventy per cent (or forty-five per cent of all junior ranks in the survey) mentioned cleaning and station duties as irksome and unnecessary. They thought, on the other hand, that the professional aspects of their work for which they had been trained were most worthwhile. Table 3.1 taken from the M. Thomas Survey gives a breakdown of the data on their replies. (See also Appendix I).

I asked the firemen, 'What are the things about the job that you most like?' The results are presented in Table 3.2. The fact that they were doing a worthwhile job and saving life was the most important source of satisfaction.

The M. Thomas Survey⁽²⁾ obtained a similar result; fifty-three per cent felt that fire-fighting was the task most worth doing. Helping people and saving life and property were also considered

(1) Non-operational duties include cleaning, polishing, repairing, drilling, and attending lectures.

(2) M. Thomas, op. cit., page 26.

TABLE 3.1ACTIVITIES WHICH JUNIOR RANKS THOUGHT A WASTE OF TIME*

	%
CLEANING/STATION DUTIES	70
DRILLS	24
EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE	12
OFFICE/PAPER WORK	7
PARADE	6
LECTURES/STUDY PERIODS	4
CONTROL/WATCH-ROOM DUTY	2
FIRE PREVENTION DUTY	2
COOKING/KITCHEN DUTY	1
OTHER	4
TOTAL	132**

** Adds to more than 100% as some respondents mentioned more than one activity.

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 24.

TABLE 3.2SOURCES OF SATISFACTION MENTIONED BY THE CITY FIREMEN*

N = 36

	%
WORTHWHILE JOB/SAVING LIFE	32
COMPANIONSHIP	20
VARIEITY/INTEREST/UNPREDICTABILITY	15
THE EXCITEMENT/THE FIRES	15
LIKE THE FORCES/UNIFORMED JOB	6
SECURITY/MONEY/PENSION	8
OTHER	4
TOTAL	100

* Some firemen mentioned more than one source of satisfaction; 8 mentioned 2 reasons, 2 mentioned 3 reasons, 1 mentioned 4 reasons.

important tasks. (See Appendix G).

Fire-fighting improves the morale of firemen generally; this was something I noticed early when I was carrying out the pilot pre-research study of country and small-town fire stations. This was also true of the City Firemen, one of whom said:

'Relationships tend to stray when there are few fires. You get a big fire and it fetches them all together and they seem friendly. In the quiet spells there is nothing to talk about.'

These firemen thought they were under-utilised rather than over-utilised. They spoke of the big improvement in the atmosphere in the station after they came back from a fire situation in which they had been effective (when they had achieved a 'good stop').

Unfortunately for firemen the part of their job which they found most enjoyable occupied only a very small percentage of their total working time. The Cunningham Inquiry has indicated that operational duties as such, occupy an average of three per cent of total working time. (See Table Appendix H).

Having found that fires improved morale, I tried to ascertain the City Firemen's attitudes to different kinds of fires. Appendix D shows that fifty per cent of the calls⁽¹⁾ were to rubbish and refuse fires, twenty-four per cent were to derelict buildings and nine-and-a-half per cent were to private houses. Factory fires accounted for only two per cent of the calls, but many of the City Firemen preferred the big factory blazes. Appendix E shows that over a nine-month period over 3,000 calls⁽²⁾ were attended, thus making a yearly average of over 4,000 calls.

'I like to stand outside slobbering it in.'⁽³⁾

'I like going to a large fire provided there's no life at stake.'

(1) Excluding false alarms.

(2) Including false alarms and malicious calls.

(3) H.J. Deakin, 'Firemen on the Job', article in *New Society* 1st Dec 1977, page 465.

'I like it simple, where there's no life involved. When there's people involved it upsets you, especially the children.'

'In a factory fire you've got more time to think. If you're on the end of a jet you can soak somebody and they can soak you. But if someone is involved there'd be nothing. All your concentration is on getting hold of that somebody and you don't think of anything else. But on a factory fire you can do anything. You play games involving water. It's not always like that, but as you put out the fire and test your capabilities you've got a certain sort of humour which you don't get in a "persons reported". You can come back to the station after the job is finished and then you start larking about, but on a house fire . . .'

(1)

'If people are not involved you can enjoy a good fire. If people are involved it's not a very pleasant thing.'

Unfortunately for the firemen, factory fires were relatively uncommon. Many of them appeared to be a little fed up with the more numerous refuse fires and calls to derelict houses. Ten per cent specifically voiced their dissatisfaction: 'I like factory fires but I don't like refuse or derelicts; in nine out of ten cases the demolition men set fire to it - it is needless.'

(2)

Only twelve per cent of the respondents said they liked fires in which people were involved (known as 'persons reporteds') and most of these mentioned that they only liked this type of fire when they were successful in rescuing someone:

'I like house fires where you are called in and do an efficient job.'

'I like the ones you can put out quickly. If you can save a life you can get more out of that than anything, but I dislike it when people are trapped.'

(3)

Liking 'persons reporteds' was a difficult thing for the City

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- (1) *ibid.*, pages 465 - 466.
 (2) *ibid.*, page 466
 (3) *ibid.*

Firemen to admit; it was the victim's life that was, in most cases, at stake and they did not like to be thought of as gambling with other people's lives for their own satisfaction. If they were successful, however, the rewards, in terms of job satisfaction, were high. To be able to rescue someone was considered to be the best thing that could happen to a fireman. By asking them what they liked and disliked, I was presenting them with a moral dilemma. Were they able to justify enjoying 'persons reporteds' when the risk to life was so great? Instead of rescuing someone they could merely find 'stiffs'. For this reason only, a small proportion of the firemen said they liked 'persons reporteds'. (1)

Factory fires were more generally accepted as 'likable' because they offered relatively meaningful work with less risk⁽²⁾ to human life. 'Persons reporteds' were more problematic and the firemen mentioned some of the difficulties they faced in these situations: 'When there's people involved people get confused. They wonder whether they are doing the right thing or whether they could be doing it better. When there's nobody involved you can go about the job with a clear mind.'

'The atmosphere on the station when they've had children! Ooh! You could cut it.' (3)

'Children, they could be mind^e. I'd rather have a rubbish fire than a fire with three kids anyday.'

'These questions, you know, obviously make firemen sound a little like pyromaniacs. A fireman hates to go to a fire where people lose their home because this is so irreplaceable to an individual. People's personalities, books and photographs - very, very personal.' . . . 'Nobody likes fires, but if you have a fire and it's going to be a good one, there's a tendency to prefer them in industry.' (4)

(1) Ibid.,

(2) Many of the factory fires occurred when the premises were empty.

(3) Ibid.,

(4) Ibid.,

The City Firemen were much troubled by hoax calls. One joker called every week at exactly the same time.⁽¹⁾ Every time he called a fire engine had to be sent out. I am sure the reader can guess what the firemen said about the people who played such malicious pranks.

They were obliged to maintain an emergency orientation to all calls, serious or trivial. They could not afford to ignore a 'piffling' chip-pan fire as this type of incident could so easily develop into a 'towering inferno'. As one officer⁽²⁾ (not in the sample) said: 'Fire situations change very rapidly. Another officer coming on later will find a completely different set of conditions. You've got to be cool headed.' The problematic nature of the outcome meant that all emergencies were treated as being of consequence; even the most seemingly insignificant incident had to be investigated.

Although the fires improved morale, the firemen were often 'cagey' about admitting they liked them. I asked them whether they ever waited for fires: 'You don't hang about waiting for a job.'

'Fires to me are just dangerous and take years off your life.'

'When you are a recruit you wait for them, but after a while it wears off.'

There were those who justified their 'waiting' for fires in terms relating to the boredom of the rest of their work:

'There are times when you get a lot of monotonous work and you would rather go out to a fire.'

'When you are doing a boring job, sometimes you feel like it and sometimes not. You are hoping for a job then just to break your days up.'

And there were firemen who quite unashamedly admitted to waiting for fires:

'I wait all the time. That's what we are here for.'

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) One Assistant Divisional Officer was interviewed, but as there was only one, he was not included in the sample.

'You get a feeling something is going to happen.'

'Fires attract each other -- they come in threes and fours -- when you start you get busy.'

'We are due for a big one. It's a long time since one happened. The big one always comes.'

'Yes, we're due for a fatal -- the law of averages.'

'Up to tonight we've had quite a lull on our watch.'

'You look forward to going out. Don't get me wrong, I'm not a sadist, but it's what I joined for.'

Overall the fires improved integration amongst the City Firemen, but they were not keen to admit this aspect of their dependence on fires. The reasons for this dependence were complex: on the one hand the fires were the most meaningful part of their work; on the other hand they had the effect of severely limiting the range of tasks that could be performed the rest of the time. The firemen were restricted by the fact that they always had to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice.

An important question therefore was whether the fires effectively compensated up for the long periods of boring, non-operational, routine duties. Two different views have been put forward: ⁽¹⁾ the first was mentioned by L. F. Hobley, who has argued that the boredom of non-operational duties is compensated for by the excitement of fire-fighting. ⁽²⁾ A fireman 'may have to spend weeks just watching and waiting. The cleaning of equipment day after day seems endless; it is boring and hardly seems worthwhile. But then the day comes when it is needed, when the care with which it has been tended means first-class efficiency at a fire. The boredom of waiting is forgotten with difficult and dangerous work.'

The second view was that the time spent on routine tasks lowered

(1) H.J. Deakin, op. cit.

(2) L. F. Hobley, 'The Fire Service', Allan and Sons, 1970, pages 24-25.

the overall level of job satisfaction. The Cunningham Inquiry argued that firemen found considerable satisfaction in dealing with emergencies but also that the emergencies were relatively infrequent, especially in the quiet country stations. When not fire-fighting, much of their work was boring and unskilled. On the one hand there were emergency situations in which their skills and initiative were fully used, and in these situations they were able to regard themselves as skilled workers doing a public service; on the other hand there was much unskilled work well below their true level of skill and ability.⁽¹⁾ The emphasis in the Cunningham Inquiry is therefore on the long periods of routine spoiling the job rather than focussing on the fact that the excitement of fire-fighting might compensate for any boredom experienced.⁽²⁾

Another factor relevant to job satisfaction was the immediacy and unpredictability of the calls. It was true that seventy per cent of the calls in the City Brigade occurred between the hours of 2.00 p.m. and 11.00 p.m.⁽³⁾ but apart from this, they had little idea of what to expect. Once the 'bells went down' they had to begin immediate action; they could not sit down for a tea break nor could they finish their lunch. To be of use, they had to act speedily. The fires were thus both 'unpredictable' and 'urgent' in their character. I shall consider each of these features in turn as they were both instrumental in 'subordinating' the firemen to the emergencies.

The unpredictability of the emergencies meant that the City Firemen could not plan any activities ahead without risk of disruption. Was this a situation they liked? Would they have liked to plan activities in advance or did this not matter? In order to answer these questions, I asked them: 'Would you prefer it, do you think, if you knew where each fire was to be and when it was to happen?'

(1) Cunningham, op. cit., page 22.

(2) H.J. Deakin, op. cit., page 466

(3) See Table Appendix E.

This was, necessarily, a somewhat hypothetical question and drew mildly hostile responses, mainly because the respondents could not conceive of a situation in which turning out would be predictable.

The idea was to find out whether the firemen resented their lack of control over the temporal and locational aspects of their job. The answers suggested that lack of prior knowledge over when and where a fire was going to be, was the situation most of the men preferred. Here are some of the ways they described it:

'Predictability actually would spoil part of the fun, because, let's face it, say you're having a good wash, you know, I know we moan about it, but afterwards it's a good laugh really because you think, "Well, the lousy so and so, caught us at it again." I think it would spoil it but, by the same rule, you can get jobs where, alright, they've been nasty and you need a break and a clean up, but basically, you've just not got the men, as well as it would spoil the fun, you know.'

Another City Fireman said: 'From an operational point of view if you knew the place you'd be able to pre-plan, but from a personal point of view, I would not like it.'

Generally the men valued the temporal and locational unpredictability of their job but acknowledged that SOMETIMES considerations of 'job satisfaction' and 'efficiency' did in fact conflict.

Predictable fires⁽¹⁾ would have been less satisfying because they would not have pushed the City Firemen to the limits of their capabilities. Predictability was therefore not seen as a means of developing the skill of the firemen in the Brigade. Generally the City Firemen valued the temporal and locational unpredictability of their job but acknowledged that SOMETIMES considerations of job satisfaction and rescue efficiency did in fact conflict.

(1) If, hypothetically, they existed.

Predictability would be useful to enable them to carry out difficult rescue tasks; if they knew in advance that a dangerous fire would occur then they could take preventive action. Unpredictability was useful because it developed the firemen's abilities as fire-fighters.

Many of them reacted somewhat defensively by reaffirming that the question was hypothetical. They did not like to have to choose between the two considerations and, therefore, they 'attacked' the question as being unnecessary. Other firemen acknowledged the conflict and explained that predictability and unpredictability both would have their uses.

With regard to my question about knowing in advance when and where a fire would happen, one fireman said: 'It would vary on the type of fire. If, say, for instance, it meant a life being saved, definitely.' (In other words this fireman was in favour of predictable fires in a specific rescue context). 'But' he continued 'when I first joined the job that (the unpredictability) was all part of the excitement; granted, most of that has worn off now but I don't think it would be a very good thing for the service as a whole if you knew the exact time, where it was going to be, and what was going to be involved. You would not be getting, seeing, the actual worth of your fire brigade, you follow me? So the unexpected does stretch the capabilities of the chaps concerned.' Generally, unpredictability was considered to be a major part of the intrinsic appeal of fire-fighting:

'If someone's life was in danger, if you knew the type of fire - you could - it would be useful to know. But from a personal point of view I would not like to know.'

'From the job point of view "yes"; you'd know what you have to do. But "no" from the "adventure" side. I'd never get this adventure anywhere else.'

Other firemen simply did not like the idea of knowing 'when' or 'where' a fire was to be:

'It would not be the fire service then - half of it is in the unexpected. It would take everything out of the job.' And another said: 'If you could plan the day ahead, yes OK, but that's an impossibility. No fire is the same. If you think fires are the same you'd make a right mess. It's an impossibility - never the same situation. You can have a fire in two houses that are exactly the same, but because one fire has children in and the other has old people in, they go entirely different. If it was old people we'd be more concerned with keeping smoke out of the room than actually putting out the fire which was under control. '; and 'It's better turning out seeing what it was. If you see a fire you start going from there - you're looking at everything that could happen. You'd be going round waiting all the time (if you knew when and where the fires were going to take place). It's better as it is.'

There were a few who liked the thought of predictability however:

'Lovely. You'd have some idea of the dangers to watch out for and what appliances were needed.'

Another said: 'I'd like a fixed routine. Then I could plan any activities.'

Most of the respondents, however, valued both aspects of unpredictability in their work - some emphasizing one, and the rest emphasizing the other. Both aspects appeared to be of roughly equal importance to the firemen overall. Just because the firemen liked unpredictability it did not mean, however, that there were not times when it worked to their disadvantage. I asked the respondents the question:

'Are there ever times when you dislike going to a fire?'

'If it's something I'm doing in my own time, like watching TV, I don't want to go to fires, but if it's work routine or drills, then I like fires.'

'When there's a good programme on - you always "turn out" at the crucial point.'

'After you've come back they don't say to you, right, you've got half-an-hour free of obligation.'

'It's not a question of disliking turning out. It's a question of being uncomfortable. You might be on the toilet or asleep - the weather could be bad.'

'You can be turned out any time normally whilst you're walking about. But at night (you never get a deep sleep, it's always shallow unless you are an unusual individual, and obviously we've got a few who can sleep on clothes lines. You go to bed and lie down and you can be out of bed and dressed and actually moving away on the fire engine in 20 seconds. You can't tell me anybody who can hear a door bell ring in bed and be down to that bell in half a minute. It sounds a terrible thing to say but firemen can go to an address, they arrive at the address and then you can go to the driver and say: how did you come here? Often he will not be able to tell you which way he came. He does not even know where he is for a few seconds. This is because he's never been fully conscious of what he's been doing.'

Another fireman said: 'In the middle of the night, 3.00 a.m. to 5.00 a.m., this is the worst time. In the first part of the night you are in a light sleep but later this becomes a heavy one.'

The City Firemen did not resent the hold that the emergencies had over their lives. They saw the unpredictability of the emergencies as a source of interest, variety, and adventure, rather than as a constraint which limited their freedom. Most of them would not have liked to have known about fires in advance, even if this had been possible.

'It would take everything out of the job.' 'I'd never get this adventure anywhere else.'

Another characteristic of the turn-outs was that they had to take place immediately; no fireman had the option of waiting half-an-hour and then turning out to see how the situation looked. Urgent action was a part of the role prescription. I asked them:

'What effect does having to get up suddenly and go to a fire have on the other activities you are doing?'

The Margaret Thomas survey has indicated that the firemen did not enjoy cleaning duties very much, but I wanted to find out whether there were any station activities which were potentially enjoyable and which the firemen did not like to 'break off' or cease in an emergency. The replies were: 'Station work is just filling in time.'⁽¹⁾

'I don't get too involved in anything. If I'm watching television I take it as it comes, otherwise you can end up with sour grapes if you miss the end of something. You must not lose sight of what you are here for.'

'When you come back from a fire you carry on where you left off - there's nothing essential to be done.'

'It's very exasperating if you are having a meal or on the toilet, or enjoying a game, but normally it does not make much difference.'

The firemen recognized that immediate action was essential and they did not appear to disapprove. They did not resent the fact that

(1) Filling in time is equivalent to killing time. Goffman has argued that 'killed moments are inconsequential. They are bounded and insulated. They do not spill over into the rest of life and have an effect there. Differently put, the individual's life course is not subject to his killed moments; his life is organized in such a way as to be impervious to them. Activities for killing time are selected in advance as ones that cannot tie up or entangle the individual.' In 'Where the Action Is', London, Allen Lane, 1969, page 118.

they had to drop everything and spring into action. Why were they so willing?

One reason was the externality and impersonality of the emergencies. If ordinary firemen were subordinated to the emergency, then so were all the officers. The fire officers and chiefs could not tell the ordinary firemen to attend a fire at a pre-arranged time; the emergencies were, in this respect, laws unto themselves. Whereas a hypothetical 'profit-hungry' employer may 'ruthlessly' drive his workers to increase production and make more of product x in a given time, the fire chiefs had no motive for increasing the number of fires. They were more concerned to see that the number of fires was reduced and for this reason fire prevention work was undertaken. There was thus no pressure on the ordinary fireman to attend an increasing number of fires. The activities that were disliked were those which were more under the direct control of the officers - cleaning duties for instance.

The City Firemen liked the urgency of the calls to action and also the unpredictability of their occurrence; the two characteristics (urgency and unpredictability) were combined to make the act of turning out to a fire an unpredictable time-constrained activity. The City Firemen organized their working lives around the possibility that they could be asked to turn-out at any time; the most meaningful part of their work was concentrated in the short periods while the emergencies lasted.

They sacrificed long periods (which could otherwise have been used for more interesting and varied work) in order to be free to deal with the short-lived emergencies, and they subordinated themselves to these emergencies by doing little of comparable interest in the non-operational periods.

The City Firemen did not blame the emergencies for making the

rest of their work time relatively boring; this was something that was willingly accepted. On a subjective level, the emergencies were seen by the firemen in a positive light, but it can also be argued that, in objective terms, the unpredictability and urgency of the emergencies functioned to reduce the possibility of finding alternative meaningful work when not fire-fighting. In objective terms⁽¹⁾, however, the incompatibility of the emergencies with many other planned-in-advance, organized activities, was a negative factor to be balanced against the excitement of fire-fighting itself. This fact was not considered important by the City Firemen I spoke to, who were, for the most part, ever ready to make the sacrifices which fire-fighting demanded.

In other occupations, one advantage of predictable activities (as contrasted with the unpredictable turn-outs) is that other events can be planned in relation to them; for example, interesting activities can be planned to compensate for predictable and boring tasks. The unpredictability of the turn-outs, as experienced by the City Firemen, rendered this kind of planning impossible to achieve.⁽²⁾

(1) From an outsider's viewpoint.

(2) Unpredictable time-constrained activities can be contrasted with predictable time-constrained activities. A good example of a time-constrained activity is the act of sitting an examination. This act is time-constrained in so far as the examination has to be taken at a particular time. The actions would be meaningless if they did not take place at the correct time, for instance, in just the same way as it would be no use a fireman 'turning out' to a house after it has burnt down, so it is no use a student turning up to an examination a day after everyone else has taken it. The content of the student's preparatory revision and other activities can be planned more rationally and other meaningful activities can be planned 'around' the eventual examination. Students do not usually act irrationally by concentrating their revision at the beginning of the year because they know the examination takes place at the end. They do not revise when the previous set of examinations have just been finished - it would be considered a joke to start revising immediately for next year's exams. The City Firemen had no such ability to organize their preparation for fires compared to the way students can plan their revision in relation to a predictably-timed examination.

If the firemen had decided to do any other task at a fixed time and had then assigned to it a high priority, it would inevitably have interfered with their ability to turn-out.

Up to a point the good atmosphere generated by the emergencies sustained their morale when they were less active. Games and pranks could help to fill in the duller moments: 'If anyone came in the dining room some nights they'd think everyone was potty. Grown men sat there with roulette, roll-a-penny (with a little roller - five goes per person) and one of the blokes with a scraper saying: "And it's a goin' and it's a missin'." He'd scrape the money up: "Next please, roll up, let's have your money".' (1)

Games such as these could be played during 'stand down' times in the evenings. On 'stand down' the men were free to move around the station. During the days the men were assigned jobs, did drills or lectures. 'Provided the jobs are done, nobody grumbles' was how one fireman described it. (2)

Boredom quickly set in, however, when the games went on too long. One respondent said: 'Firemen - if they don't take an interest in cards, or active sports, you often see them wondering around aimless. They seem to get bored or fed up if they are not on a fire.'

They were sensitive to the fact that only a small percentage of their time was actually spent fire-fighting. They were crucially aware of the unusual nature of their work-cycle and were aware of the 'stigma' attached to playing games whilst at work: 'A lot of outsiders, workers in factories, they look down upon it. "What happens if my house is on fire when you are having a pint - do you sit back and finish your pint?"'

'The public think we sit all day playing snooker, till a fire comes, then we dash out and squirt some water regardless of any damage we might do.' (3)

(1) H. J. Deakin, op. cit., page 466.
(2) Ibid.,
(3) Ibid.,

They resented the public's image of them as 'snooker-playing idiots' - in fact, most of the firemen's views of the public's image of the Fire Service referred to their relative rolelessness when not actually fighting fires. Having little to do undermined their morale and self respect. The only activities which were really compatible with fire-fighting were those which could be dropped at a moment's notice. The firemen also needed activities which were meaningful and interesting. Cleaning duties were compatible with fire-fighting as they could be easily stopped and resumed after the fire, but cleaning was boring and uninteresting. Something else was therefore needed.

One way out of the difficulty was the use of Ordinary Firemen for fire prevention work. The Cunningham Inquiry recommended that the Ordinary Firemen be given the opportunity to enrich their work-role by the addition of fire prevention work. The report argued that firemen were unhappy about doing boring cleaning duties when not attending fires and that they needed something more interesting and worthwhile. Also there was a need for a growing emphasis on fire prevention work, and the cost of making good the damage caused by fires was steadily rising. The Inquiry argued: 'One area where there will undoubtedly be an increased need for skilled manpower is in fire prevention. The duties which the service is required to carry out here are continually being expanded, the latest addition being the Fire Precautions Act, 1971.'

'The estimate of increased manpower need that was attached to the Bill quoted a figure of 400 men, but in practice much depends on whether additional specialists alone are used or whether the simpler work under both this and existing legislation is done by operational firemen. We consider that there are good reasons, on grounds of efficiency and job satisfaction, why the latter practice should be

generally followed. We are aware that there is a body of opinion in the service which is at present opposed to this, but our enquiries have led us to the conclusion that it is perfectly practicable, provided that the procedural, training and other implications are faced.⁽¹⁾

'The enforcement of the various statutes concerned with fire prevention, combined with the giving of general advice, is by common consent the fastest growing task of the fire service. We asked the authorities the number of visits they had been able to carry out in the last five years and the number of premises that they now have registered under the various Acts.'

'The figures show a gradual rise in the level of work completed each year. Most authorities also state, however, that they are aiming at a regular cycle of re-visits if possible, and certainly few authorities intend to leave factories and the larger offices unvisited for longer than 2 years, and the smaller offices longer than 4 year.'⁽²⁾

The decision to meet this need by training Ordinary Firemen to do the job, however, was not an easy one. Fire prevention work had remained a specialized activity for so long, but there were three factors to be taken into account:

1. The increasing cost of fire damage.
2. The psychological costs of firemen doing relatively unimportant work when not fire-fighting.
3. The desire of the Fire Brigade Union to upgrade the image of the fire-fighter. The Union was aware that the removal of cleaning duties of the job would enhance the status of the fireman, and was, therefore, in favour of the introduction of fire prevention work in the time that was made available by bringing in outside staff to do cleaning duties.

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 62.

(2) Ibid., page 17.

The Union's view is well stated in their journal 'The Fire-fighter'. In September, 1973, 'The Fire-fighter' reported⁽¹⁾:

'It's time for Action on F.P. Act.'

'The two tragic fires in Britain's holiday resorts in the summer months must have at last brought home to the public at large the huge gap between the official legal theory and the practical reality of fire prevention in the United Kingdom.'

Now it is clear to everybody that the 1971 Fire Precautions Act has been virtually ignored in large parts of the country and there are big loopholes in the regulations governing the use of new materials in building and construction work.

Following the fire at the Esplanade Hotel in Oban, the Scottish Daily Record conducted a survey into the 1971 Act and its enforcement. The results were none the less horrifying for being predictable.

Of more than 6,000 hotels and boarding houses in Scotland which had applied for a certificate of fire-worthiness from the local authority only 1,139 had been inspected and NO certificates had actually been issued.

In England and Wales the proportion inspected is even lower. The latest figures show that only 2,973 hotels have been inspected out of the 43,469 which are registered.

The Act demands that before a certificate can be issued a hotel must have simple fire precautions like adequate alarm systems, emergency lighting, escape systems, fireproof doors, enclosed stairs and regular fire drills for the staff.

Obviously these steps would cost money to hoteliers and boarding house keepers and many would prefer to spend it elsewhere. But the fault does not lie entirely with them. In many cases structural alterations are required for which planning permission must be

(1) 'The Fire-fighter' Journal of Fire Brigades Union, September, 1973.

obtained and this is often subject to lengthy delays.

What is more, the Record reports, in some areas no certificates are available even if all the regulations were met.

But certainly one of the biggest reasons why the Act is so loosely enforced is that there are just not enough men involved in Fire Prevention work and this is why the FBU has so constantly advocated the greater use of operational firemen in FP work.'

One of the difficulties of introducing fire prevention work was the feeling that it was not really compatible with fire-fighting and a large body of opinion in the Fire Service was against its introduction for this reason:

At the time of the interviews the City Firemen had just started fire prevention duties; a significant proportion of them seemed to think fire prevention work was not a good thing. Some argued that it would slow down the turn-out times and reduce efficiency. 'If we go over the road we could be on the top floor. The driver stays by the radio downstairs. The bell has got to come over the radio to him and he has got to write this call out. Then he's got to get on the air to the lads on top. If they can't hear him he's got to put his klaxons on. We've got to come from the top floor downwards and away we go. But time is essence in this job and half a minute can make all the difference between life and death.'

'I think it's good, but I think they are going to expect too much of us. Last year we had 4,000 calls at this station alone, so it's not going to give us much time for FP work. There will be a delay - say they go to a four storey mill and they are making the routine check. Well, there would be two minutes' lost', getting down to the engine.

The time lost that these firemen mentioned illustrates a basic difficulty: fire prevention work was a meaningful, a useful and a work-like activity but unfortunately it was not always conducive to

quick turn-outs. In contrast, volley ball, which they often practiced in their spare moments, although not a meaningful work activity, was nevertheless easily stopped and was therefore ideal for quick turn-outs.

Other City Firemen did not like the 'collar and tie image' associated with fire prevention work; they saw themselves only as operational firemen or as 'ladder men':

'I don't like FP work, I'd rather be out fighting fires. We've been asked to inspect premises like factories and workshops etc. OK, they constitute a risk but the number of fires we get while people are on the premises is very, very few. We'd be far better employed doing house-to-house prevention. Taking a machine round house-to-house is far better than going to factories, because it can result in a slight delay in turn-out, for a start, whereas at a house you put the bells on and you are there.'

He continued: 'Eighteen out of twenty don't want to do fire prevention.⁽¹⁾ Nowadays, you've got to do more fire prevention work, you've got to be a "brief-case" man, a "collar and tie" man. If twenty men were to come in here and give you an honest answer, eighteen would say they don't want it. You've got to do it to prove you're worth the extra money. You take the casualty officer on duty at the hospital: he's on night duty. If nobody goes in, they don't say to him "Get in that back room and start clearing it up". But the people who pay us have said, "It's not good enough firemen just going to fires, they've got to do something else".' He went on: 'The boffins, the clever people, can't get it into their heads that our prime purpose is to fight fires. In a few years they'll have us doing the street lighting. There's enough work to do in your own field basically. I

(1) Strictly speaking this was not true as the majority of the City Firemen were in favour of the introduction of fire prevention work.

want to look at stuff that involves me as an operational fireman. When you get blokes leaving who have been here 18 to 20 years there's something wrong.'

This man rejected the 'other role' that was being thrust upon him. He objected to the change of status: 'It's like asking a man who works with a shovel to get his collar and tie on'.

Another fireman mentioned a different kind of incompatibility. Fire prevention work required them to look clean, smart, and official and for them to liaise with smart professional managers. Fighting fires however was often dirty work which did not fit in with the 'clean' fire prevention role: 'We did some fire prevention work at a factory. The manager was very good. He showed us all round. We had to dash out because we had a fire call. We went to a derelict and got all dirtied up and then had to come back here and get cleaned up, then had to go back. But of course, he'd gone into a meeting with the directors so he could not come back and see us. Therefore we had to wait a quarter of an hour until they had sorted someone else out to show us round. This is happening all the time. Really, FP work is a good idea but unfortunately I don't think it is working out'.

Other firemen thought they were doing the wrong kind of fire prevention work. Most fatal fires occurred in houses and so they wanted to do 'house-to-house' fire prevention rather than elsewhere.

'Actual fire prevention with factories and schools I'm not too keen on really. Now if you said, "Go to some householders and give them some advice", that I would like.'

A larger number of City Firemen were in favour of the change mainly because it added interest to their work. They did not consider that efficiency in fire-fighting would be badly affected. They argued: 'It's good. It acquaints you with the jobs that you will be going to. You get an awareness of the problems of meeting

all the various acts. Before a fireman would say, "Did you see the state of that -- why haven't the Fire Prevention got on to him?" But now that you've been round and been through the whole rigmarole yourself, what with the non-availability of building materials, you appreciate what everybody is up against.'

And: 'I enjoyed looking at a factory we went to the other day. They had made loads of alterations to the building. They (the fire officers) give you one of those planned drawings of a building and they say - "Right, I want you to go and check these fire-resisting doors and check the fire exits and make sure that they still do the same jobs in the shed - see if they are still airing rooms." On the last one we went to they had 4,000 gallons of fuel stores underground that was not on the plans. They had built two new sheds, they'd got a paintshop with an old asbestos roof on it. None of this was on the plans and you're thinking, "This place will go like a bomb." It is interesting because you are the fireman and you are going in there, and you are thinking of a fire situation. You are trying to weigh the place up to see what it would be like in a fire.'

And again: 'I like it - it has made the job more interesting. I mean, before we did this, it was a case of just cleaning the machines, day in and day out, which sometimes got boring, especially if we had not been out during the day. With fire prevention work you go out with the machine and you can go round factories, nursing homes, children's homes and you find out what you are going to. With FP work it helps you to know what type of place it is, factories especially.'

And again: 'The days are more interesting now. When I first joined ten years ago, every turn-out, if the appliance was wet, you had to swill it off and leather it off. All the brass had to be sparkling. Every day was the same, just polishing brass. That's slowly been phased out. The days are more interesting.'

The majority of the City Firemen, especially the younger ones, were in favour of fire prevention work; the old timers, however, were more likely to be against it. Changing technology was partly responsible for the change of attitudes: before the introduction of radio communication, it would have been impossible to organize firemen to do both fire-fighting and fire prevention work. Improvements in radio communication meant that it was no longer essential for the firemen to be confined to their station, waiting for emergencies. However even with the improvements in communication (walkie-talkies, etc.) some difficulties remained; consideration of job interest had to be balanced against those of turn-out efficiency. The final outcome of this has not yet been finally resolved.

In order to gain some information on jobsatisfaction which could be directly compared to data relating to other occupations, I asked the City Firemen a series of questions previously used by S. Parker⁽¹⁾ in his study of bankers, youth-employment officers, and child-care workers. The first question was, 'Out of all the abilities you possess, how many do you use in your present job?' Table 3.3 shows that fifty-three per cent of the City Firemen thought they used most of their abilities. This compares with twenty-one per cent of the bankers, sixty-two per cent of the youth-employment officers, and sixty-two per cent of the child-care workers. The fact that a majority of the City Firemen thought they used most of their abilities is a 'plus factor' as regards job satisfaction, even though they are in a middling position in relation to the more middle-class occupations.

Another question related to whether they used these abilities in a superficial, general, or an intensive way. Seventy-five per cent used their abilities in a general way compared to sixty-seven per cent of bankers, forty-seven per cent of youth-employment officers,

(1) S. Parker, 'Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations', Sociological Review, Vol. 13, No. 1, page 65.

TABLE 3.3

FACTORS IN THE FIREMAN'S WORK EXPERIENCE AND VALUES

	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of City Firemen</u>
A. NUMBER OF ABILITIES FELT TO BE USED IN PRESENT JOB		
MOST	53	23
SOME	35	15
ONLY A FEW	12	5
	<u>100</u>	
B. EXTENT TO WHICH ABILITIES FELT TO BE USED IN PRESENT JOB		
IN A SUPERFICIAL WAY	7	3
IN A GENERAL WAY	75	33
IN QUITE AN INTENSIVE WAY	18	8
	<u>100</u>	
C. PERCEIVED METHOD OF DEALING WITH CHANGES OR DIFFICULT PROBLEMS		
1. SUPERIOR WOULD DECIDE WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH STAFF	58	25
2. SUPERIOR WOULD DECIDE AFTER CONSULTATION WITH STAFF	18	8
3. DECISION TAKEN AT MEETING OF ALL INVOLVED	14	6
4. OWN DECISION	5	2
5. SUPERIOR DECIDES WITHOUT CONSULTATION AND OWN DECISION *	5	2
	<u>100</u>	
D. WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE THOUGHT TO GET AHEAD IN THIS KIND OF WORK		
1. WORKING AND STUDYING HARD	52	23
2. BEING APPROVED OF BY THE RIGHT PEOPLE	34	15
3. SENIORITY	2	1
4. OTHER ANSWERS	0	0
5. WORKING AND STUDYING HARD BEING APPROVED OF BY THE RIGHT PEOPLE	12	5
	<u>100</u>	
E. JOB CHOICE REGARDLESS OF MONEY		
SAME	81	37
SIMILAR	7	3
DIFFERENT	9	4
	<u>100</u>	

* Some City Firemen felt that on some occasions their superior would decide without consulting them but that on other occasions they were also able to make their own decisions.

and twenty-seven per cent of child-care workers. The last two occupational categories tended to use their abilities in an intensive way. The City Firemen were, in this respect, similar to the bankers.

A further question was asked about who made the decisions at work when changes had to be made. Fifty-eight per cent of the City Firemen stated that their superior officer would decide without consultation with the other staff. Only thirty-two per cent of the bankers, eight per cent of the youth-employment officers, and three per cent of the child-care workers gave that reply.

In these other occupations the superiors would most usually decide after consultations with their staff. This suggests that the City Firemen had a generally lower level of autonomy at work than the more middle-class occupations.⁽¹⁾

Fifty-two per cent of the City Firemen thought that the best way to get ahead was by working and studying hard; this was also true for forty per cent of the youth-employment officers, and forty-two per cent of the child-care workers; the bankers in Parker's sample tended to think that being approved of by the right people was more important.

Eight-one per cent of the City Firemen said they would choose

(1) The questions used to provide the data in Table 3.3 were:

1. Out of all the abilities you possess how many do you use in your present job?
2. To what extent do you normally use the above abilities in your job?
3. When changes have to be made or difficult problems solved which (of the following) would apply in your job?
4. By what means do you think people get ahead in your kind of work?
5. If you could choose any occupation regardless of money, would you . . . ?

the same job again regardless of money and this was a far higher figure than any given by Parker for the other occupations.

Thus, though occupying a lower position in the social structure⁽¹⁾ the City Firemen appeared to be more content than the others.

Summary: The main factors against high levels of job satisfaction were: the high proportion of time spent on routine tasks; the less meaningful fires and emergencies were more common than the really interesting fires, and the relatively low level of autonomy of the City Firemen in relation to many other occupations.

The plus factors were: the unpredictability and urgency of all the emergencies; the unknown and exciting character of fires; the recent introduction of fire prevention duties to replace some of the more boring tasks, and the firemen's subjective satisfaction with their work.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the positive and negative factors balanced each other out and produced an overall moderate level of job satisfaction amongst the City Firemen.

(1) I asked the firemen the questions:

'Does class exist today? What class do you belong to?'

Most of the firemen said they were working class.

B. Earnings

The Cunningham Inquiry argued that for the period 1951 to 1970 the wages of an Ordinary Fireman on his maximum after six years were broadly comparable to the average for manual workers in all industries.

Ordinary Firemen earned less per hour than manual workers (average) but because they worked longer hours, they earned more per week. Cunningham has presented the following figures for total gross pay:

	<u>October 1966</u>	<u>October 1970</u>	<u>April 1971</u>
FIREMEN (BASIC RANK)	£17.91	-	£30.88
ALL MANUAL WORKERS	£20.30	£28.05	£29.34

In 1971 manual workers worked an average of 45 hours per week; firemen averaged 56 hours per week. Their longer hours meant that their overall income per week was just above the average for manual workers in spite of their lower pay per hour. (1)

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry argued:

'Since, as we have explained, the firemen were particularly unfortunate to have had an impending pay settlement in 1966 deferred until the following year the 1966 figure for their earnings may have been depressed to a limited extent by comparison with manual workers generally at that time. Furthermore April, 1971 was the month in which new pay rates in the fire service came into effect. Some allowance must be made for these points when comparisons are made.

Nevertheless it can be seen that over $4\frac{1}{2}$ years Firemen's earnings have increased by 72% whilst those of manual workers generally have increased by just 45%. It is true that most Firemen now work 56 hours compared with 48-hours in October, 1966, and that a fairer comparison, therefore, might be the earnings of Firemen on the 48-hour duty system. We have no figures for the rank of Fireman separately in 1966 for individual duty systems, but there was normally no difference in payment whether 48 or 56 hours were worked - indeed this was one of the main grievances at the time. If we compare Firemen's average earnings on all duty systems in 1966 (£17.96) with those of 48-hour duty system Firemen in 1971 (£28.11) the increase, at 56.5%, is still higher than that of manual workers generally.

Even allowing for the possible "depression" in fire service pay in 1966, therefore, it seems clear that since that time fire service pay and earnings for the bottom three ranks have at least kept pace with those of manual workers.' op. cit., page 35.

The Cunningham Inquiry has argued that recruits to the fire service earned less than in their previous jobs. In the Office of Manpower Economics Survey, the recruits to the fire service were asked the amount they were earning immediately before leaving their previous employment and upon initially joining the Fire Service. The replies indicated that the pre-service pay was, more often than not, higher than the initial Fire Service pay.⁽¹⁾ Most of the leavers from the Fire Service increased their pay when they took up other work.

According to data presented in the Cunningham Inquiry, firemen in 1971 earned an average of 56.14p an hour when the average for manual workers was 64p an hour.⁽²⁾ The firemen's weekly earnings

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- (1) Those who were less well paid outside were fewer than those whose income dropped when they joined; in fact whereas 34% had been paid over £28 per week in their previous job only 25% were paid more than £24 per week when they first joined. The leavers were asked their earnings immediately before leaving the fire service and on first taking up new employment. Although a small number took a drop in pay when they left, often associated with a fairly brief initial training period, 33% of leavers received more than £30 per week on leaving compared with only 13% who were receiving that amount at the end of their fire service. These results must, however, be treated with particular caution since they depended to an extent on subjective recollection of the relevant details.

The broad picture of the new entrant to the fire service is of an individual not exclusively motivated by money in the short term but anxious to obtain varied and interesting work, security, a steady income, and to some extent career opportunities.' In the Cunningham Inquiry; op. cit., page 59.

- (2) Those earning less per hour in 1970 included: cashiers, railway porters, watchmen, caretakers, kitchen-hands, cleaners, farm workers, bus conductors, coach and lorry drivers, radio and television repairers, unskilled building and engineering workers, butchers, semi-skilled storekeepers, packers, bottlers labourers. Those earning more per hour in 1970 included office and sales supervisors, technicians, postmen, police sergeants, railway guards and signalmen, dockers, painters and decorators, steel erectors, electricians, production and toolroom fitters, semi-skilled and skilled assemblers, tool setters, machine operators, riveters, welders, underground coal-miners and crane operators. Those earning similar amounts per hour included van salesmen, chefs, carpenters and joiners, plumbers and pipe-fitters, plasterers, heating and ventilating engineers, semi-skilled textile and footwear workers, skilled storemen and storekeepers, and ambulancemen. These figures are from the New Earnings Survey, D. of E., H.M.S.O., 1970, page 87.

were, however, nearly £3 per week higher than the average for manual workers but were also £8 per week lower than the average for non-manual workers, despite the longer hours they worked.⁽¹⁾ Table 3.4 gives a detailed breakdown of these figures.

The fireman's average earnings in 1971 were considerably above their basic rates of pay, the difference being made up by overtime payments and allowances of various kinds.⁽²⁾ The basic pay per annum for a new recruit in 1971 was £1,281,⁽³⁾ and £1,599 for a fireman on his maximum. However, the average wage for all Ordinary Firemen was £1,606⁽⁴⁾ and this figure was above the average for manual workers.

In April 1973 the median gross earnings per week of firemen was £39.6⁽⁵⁾; the median figure for all manual workers £36.6 and for non-manual workers £42.8 (the all-occupation figure being £38.4). Firemen's earnings were slightly above the all-occupation figure (see Table 3.5: Appendix F gives new rates for December, 1973).

Their position worsens if their wages are considered on an hourly basis. The firemen's median hourly earnings for the same year were 72.5p whilst the median figure for all manual workers was

- (1) The Ordinary Fireman's average wage in 1971 was £30.88 and that of the non-manual worker was £38.9.
- (2) These included overtime payments, extra duty allowance, acting-up allowance, attendance and turn-out fees (for those on the Day-Manning system) undermanning allowances, special duty allowances, travelling expenses and other payments.
- (3) Cunningham, op. cit., page 28.
- (4) Average weekly wage £30.88, Cunningham, page 93. This has been multiplied by 52 to give a yearly figure.
- (5) New Earnings Survey, 1973, Table 86, page 133. This figure includes some firemen in works and private brigades.

TABLE 3.4

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS: FIREMEN AND OTHER WORKERS, 1971

	HOURLY EARNINGS		AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK	WEEKLY EARNINGS		YEARLY EARNINGS		
	BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE		BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE	BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE	
1) <u>Data Source: Cunningham Inquiry Wages Survey April 1971</u>								
ORDINARY FIREM N								
1st Year	(5) 40.3p			£	£	(7) 1281		
2nd Year		<u>Average</u>			<u>Average</u>	1323	<u>Average</u>	
3rd Year	Average (4)		(4)	(4)	(4)(6)	1371		
4th Year	Basic 44.4p	56.14p	55.0	24.44	30.88	1410		
5th Year	All Years					1479	1606(8)	
6th Year						1533		
Maximum				(4)	(4)	1599		
LEADING FIREM N	48.78p(5)			26.83	33.95	1674	1765(8)	
2) <u>Data Source: New Earnings Survey 1971</u>		<u>Median</u>	<u>Average</u>		<u>Median</u>	<u>Average</u>	(13) <u>Median</u>	<u>Average</u>
FIREMEN	No figures available	(9) 54.7	No figures	No figures available	(9) 30.5	No figures available	(9) 1586	No figures
ALL MANUAL		61.2			28.1		1461	
ALL NON-MANUAL		87.8			34.4		1789	
ALL FULL-TIME MEN		66.8			29.8		1550	

Continued ...

TABLE 3.4 (CONTINUED)

	HOURLY EARNINGS		AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK	WEEKLY EARNINGS		YEARLY EARNINGS	
	BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE		BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE	BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE
3) <u>Data Source: British Labour Statistics 1971</u>					£		£
MANUAL WORKERS	No figures available	<u>Median</u> 64.0p (10) 99.2p (12)	45.0 38.7	No figures available	<u>Median</u> 28.8 (10) 38.9 (12)	No figures available	<u>Median</u> 1498 (11) 2023 (13)
NON-MANUAL WORKERS							

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., 30th April, 1971

(2) New Earnings Survey, -1971.

(3) British Labour Statistics, 1971.

(4) Cunningham Inquiry, page 93.

(5) Derived from figures, page 1, Cunningham.

(6) £30.88 is average for all duty systems which, together, averaged 55 hours per week. The average for the 56 hour duty system was £31.07.

(7) April, 1971.

(8) Weekly average x 52.

(9) New Earnings Survey, 1971, Table 15, pages 112-114.

(10) British Labour Statistics, 1971, Table 33, page 94.

(11) Weekly average x 52.

(12) British Labour Statistics, 1971, Table 34, page 96.

(13) Weekly median x 52.

TABLE 3.5

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS: FIREMEN AND OTHER WORKERS, 1973

TYPE OF WORKER	HOURLY EARNINGS		HOURS WORKED	WEEKLY EARNINGS		YEARLY EARNINGS	
	TOTAL BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE	PER WEEK	TOTAL BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE	TOTAL BASIC	MEDIAN/AVERAGE
1) <u>Data Source: 'The Fire-fighter', 1973</u>				£	£	£	£
ORDINARY FIREMAN	(1)			(4)		(1)	
Starting Rate	61.5p			34.43		1790	
6 Months - 2 Years	65.1p	No		36.46	No	1895	No
3rd Year	68.9p	figures	(3)	38.63	figures	2009	figures
4th Year	73.3p	available	56	41.65	available	2166	available
Qualified Rate	81.5p			45.62		2372	
Long Service Fireman	85.8p			48.05		2498	
LEADING FIREMAN	88.5p			49.58		2578	
2) <u>Data Source: New Earnings Survey, 1973</u>		<u>Median</u>			<u>Median</u>		<u>Median</u>
		(6)		(9)	(6)		(6)(8)
FIREMEN(5)	No	72.5p		56	39.6	40.2	2059
MANUAL WORKERS	figures	78.6p		46.9	36.6	37.0(7)	1903
NON-MANUAL WORKERS	available	109.0p		38.8	42.8	47.8	2226
ALL WORKERS		85.7p		43.8	38.4	40.9	1997
							2127

(1) 'The Firefighter', December, 1973, page 8. The basic hourly figures given above are based on basic weekly rate divided by 56. The yearly figures are based on the weekly rate x 52.

(2) New Earnings Survey, 1973, H.M.S.O.

Continued...

TABLE 3.5 (CONTINUED)

- (3) 'The Firefighter', *ibid.*,
- (4) *Ibid.*,
- (5) New Earnings Survey, 1973. The figures for firemen include private and works' firemen.
- (6) *Ibid.*, Table 86, page 134.
- (7) The figures for manual, non-manual and all workers are taken from a summary of the 'New Earnings Survey', in British Labour Statistics, 1973, Table 9, page 36.
- (8) Weekly average as per sources⁽⁶⁾ and ⁽¹⁰⁾ x 52.
- (9) New Earnings Survey, 1973, Table 29, page 39.
- (10) Information supplied by Department of Employment in response to request. The yearly figure is the weekly average x 52.

78.6p (the non-manual figure was 109p and the all-occupation figure 85.7p). The firemen therefore were paid lower wages per hour than these other workers. One hundred and fifty-four⁽¹⁾ categories of workers out of one hundred and eighty-eight earned more per hour than firemen, but only eight⁴₁ earned more per week.

Summary: There were thus many occupations with lower earnings per week but more per hour than firemen. Overall, firemen ~~can~~^{could} be considered as being in the middle of the income range, moderately well paid per week for working long hours at relatively low rates per hour. They also obtained moderate levels of job satisfaction from their work.

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- (1) Weekly and hourly figures were given for 110 occupations with higher earnings than firemen. In addition weekly figures only were given for a further forty-four professional and other highly paid occupations. As they earned more per week and worked fewer hours than firemen, it can be deduced that they also earned more per hour than firemen. The evidence backs up this assessment. Table 3.4 shows that the average number of hours worked for non-manual workers is 38.7 hours per week whereas that for firemen is 56 hours per week. Therefore as they all earned more per week and worked fewer hours, I have added these 44 to the 110 making a total of 154 occupations with higher average hourly earnings than firemen.

CHAPTER IVINFORMAL ORGANIZATION AND EMERGENCY ORIENTATION

The research was carried out just before the local government reorganization in 1974. The City Fire Brigade was to become part of a much larger metropolitan brigade. Prior to the reorganization, the City Brigade was small, relatively unbureaucratized, and informal in its organization. The rules which hindered efficient fire-fighting were not rigidly adhered to and were, in certain instances, disregarded altogether.

The ordinary City Firemen were allowed by their officers, and by the local police, to 'crash' the traffic lights; lights were seen as an obstruction which could make the difference between life and death. As one City Fireman said: 'A few years ago the Union ordered us to stop going through the lights on red but I still go through because it's my responsibility to get the machine there; you can be waiting at a set of lights for three minutes and that's a long time!.

In addition, the speed of their appliances was not governed. They were allowed to travel at high speeds and to break the 30 m.p.h. restrictions applicable to normal road users. The rules of the road were adapted so that time was saved. They argued 'time is essence in fire-fighting' and that life could be saved by quick turn-outs. Speeding was therefore considered to be justifiable if life was thought to be at risk.

These adaptations were accepted by the officers: firemen who crashed the lights or speeded were not punished. Neither did the local police prosecute firemen who broke these normally accepted regulations. These flexible arrangements also applied to the fire-ground itself; the firemen were allowed discretion and some autonomy on the fireground so that they could 'get stuck in' and get to the

heart of the fire before it spread. They were allowed to use their own initiative independently, in part at least, of their officers. This appeared to benefit both sides:⁽¹⁾ the firemen themselves were in the privileged position of being able to break these rules, and the emergencies conferred on them powers not available to other road-users; the officers were pleased because the outbreaks of serious fires were contained by ignoring the rules. However, the rule-breaking involved the risk of accidents to firemen and members of the public. For this reason, the Fire Brigades Union was strongly opposed to any rule-breaking and expressed its views on the matter very strongly in the Union paper 'The Firefighter': 'The FBU has again rejected proposals (this time in a very concrete form) to amend the Road Traffic Laws in order to give special dispensation to fire service and other emergency vehicle drivers with regard to their observance of traffic lights at red'.

(1) Not only firemen break the rules. Other workers do. A. Gouldner has described how the 'no smoking' rule at a gypsum plant was flouted by workers and management alike who combined against an insurance company to make the rule a dead letter. One of the workers at the plant said:

'We can smoke as much as we want. When the inspector comes round everybody is warned earlier . . . The Company does not mind.'

Gouldner has argued that the joint violation of the non-smoking rule, and their co-operative effort to outwit the 'outsider' (the insurance company) strengthened the solidarity between workers and management. One of the reasons for the rejection of the no-smoking rule was that it was initiated by an outside group. In A. Gouldner 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy', New York, Free Press, 1964, page 183. He argued that this represented an 'indulgency pattern' which he defined as 'a connected set of concrete judgements and underlying sentiments disposing workers to react to the plant favourably and to trust their supervisors. It is an important though not the only source of job satisfaction experienced by the workers, motivating them to fill the roles for which they were employed, expressing a commitment to a set of beliefs as to how the plant should be run, generating loyalties to the plant and to the company, and expressing preferences for certain types of social relationships rather than others'. Ibid., page 56.

'Going through a red light? Then watch it, the onus is entirely on the driver, says Judge.'

'The judges are at it again! Two years after the FBU had to fork out £7,000 in fighting a losing legal battle over fire engine drivers passing through red traffic lights, the High Court has now ordered the GLC to pay £4,100 to a lorry driver hit by a fire engine appliance going through a red light.'⁽¹⁾

The firemen I spoke to felt that their freedom to break the rules would be undermined by the impending reorganization. They argued that the new Metropolitan Brigade would be similar to the County Brigade which (before reorganization) 'surrounded' them. They thought the County Brigade was an inferior organization because it offered the firemen little scope to 'get stuck in' or to fight fires independently of officers. The City Firemen valued their freedoms and were appreciative of the fact that their Brigade was apparently less bureaucratized than the neighbouring County Brigade. They resented the impending threat to their autonomy and they also believed that their system was the most efficient way of fighting fires. For them, freedom and efficiency went together.

They prided themselves on their ability to turn out to any part of the city within four minutes. They argued that, because they controlled the turn-out from start to finish, they were able to provide a better service to the public. Their control over events enabled them to break some of the normally accepted rules and this rule-breaking was justified in terms of the increased efficiency and service to the public which they were able to provide. For instance, crashing the lights was justified because it enabled them to get to the fire more quickly than they would otherwise have been able to; they argued that they did not abuse their privileges (for example, though they crashed the lights when going to an incident, they

(1) 'The Firefighter', April, 1973.

rarely did so when returning). The rule-breaking only took place in the context of the emergency situation and the brushing aside of the normal rules was justified by contending that the turn-outs would have been slower had the rules been adhered to.

The City Firemen constantly mentioned the merits of their small, soon-to-be-disbanded City Brigade, with their ideas on the de-merits of larger brigades. Most of them believed that the large brigades suffered from too much red tape. There were three distinct areas of dissatisfaction: a loss of job autonomy, a loss of reputation and status, and a lower level of service to the public.

They felt that reorganization would reduce their ability to get stuck in. As one of them said: 'Now we're just beginning to realise how lucky we have been in the past. We were a very efficient fire brigade. In our City, in all the years I have been here, to get a five-pump fire was a big event. In other words, we've had plenty of turn-outs and yet because the lads do their job and get stuck in right at the start, it's a rare event. We get in right to the seat of the fire - and it's only because the lads get in there quickly before it reaches large proportions. But their (the County Brigade) fire-fighting methods are entirely different from our own. If the others turn-out to a job the lads from the County Brigade stand around and wait. We did not have to wait to be told. By the time the officer had come round to tell you, you've already started the necessary action. But in the County Brigade that's taboo. I'm afraid it will affect us. The majority of the officer set-up consists of the old County Brigade Officers'.

Another said: 'In the County they have a situation where you are not allowed to do anything until you've been detailed to do it. Many a time we've been in a fire in their area and they just stood there until the Officer-in-charge said "O.K. you do this". But it will take a lot to push our system out because most of our lads here

have had ten to twelve years on our system of fire-fighting'.

The City Firemen told me that firemen should know what to do without being told by an officer. Their argument was that the more formal structure of the larger brigades had two detrimental effects: it slowed down fire-fighting and increased the division between the officers and the ordinary firemen.

The City Firemen also believed that they would lose the considerable reputation as fire-fighters that they had achieved. They told me that the City Brigade had a reputation that was second to none and that they would lose this when reorganized. They regarded themselves as the best kind of firemen. As one of them said: 'I don't think I'd like to be put on the same level as them, because, honestly, they really are poor. It's an affront to a professional fireman. We've got a good name for fire-fighting which will go. As far as efficiency is concerned, it is not going to be very good. Their general attitudes are different. Take a house fire, well everybody here, if you took the Sub-Officer off the machine and put five firemen on and we rolled up EVERYBODY would know what to do. Officers are obsolete really'.

They believed that after the reorganization they would become 'just a number' - a small cog in a large machine. They thought this would have a notable effect on the way firemen were promoted: the Fire Chief would not know the man personally and so if he passed the examination, he would get the promotion, regardless of his other attributes. Certain firemen (a minority) however, were in favour of the reorganization because they thought it would put an end to favouritism in promotion.

They also thought that their City Brigade offered the best possible service to the public because red tape and communications problems were kept to a minimum. They told me that the 'public will

suffer' when the reorganization came because the turn-outs would be slower. In the City Brigade they could turn-out quickly because the calls were received direct from the public; in effect they 'turned themselves out' and dealt with the incident themselves. The officers in the City Brigade decided themselves how many appliances would be needed, whereas remote headquarters would make the decisions in the new Brigade.

The City Firemen believed that the County turn-out system wasted valuable time because the amount of telephoning and radio communication was increased. The larger City Station had an index card system with the name of every street in the City and the type of appliance that would be required. In the new Metropolitan Brigade, however, control over the turn-outs was taken out of the hands of the individual stations. 'Headquarters' notified every station of the calls it was required to attend and the type of equipment that was required.

They said that the control room at headquarters of the new Brigade would not know 'their patch' and would be much slower in deciding on the type of equipment that would be required. As one fireman said: 'It'll make it more difficult, mobilising-wise, as you're taking longer, not fighting fires, but to get your messages through to control and let them know what's happening. It will take quite a long time for us to get into the routine'.

Tiem was lost because several messages were required before a turn-out could take place, firstly the fire would be reported to control, secondly control would notify the station. Two messages rather than one direct call were necessary. This procedure wasted time and service to the public would suffer accordingly.

In addition, the Metropolitan Brigade would face a greater number of constraints which would mean that little room would be left for flexibility of action. They said that a larger brigade

would have to be more careful about safety in getting to the fire. Whereas minor accidents could be forgotten in the small City Brigade, in a large brigade they could not be, because all accident statistics would be collected and recorded. In addition, it would be more difficult to ignore the Union's policy on traffic regulations which forbade risk-taking on the roads. In the new Metropolitan Brigade they would have to be more careful and safety conscious and the turn-outs would be necessarily slower.

They foresaw the eventual demise of their own system of fire-fighting. The City Fire Stations would only form a very small part of the reorganized Brigade. Officers from other parts of the new brigade would be moved in, particularly from the old ex-County Brigade, and these officers would bring in their own stem of fire-fighting organization.

A. Introduction

In Chapter III I argued that the City Firemen gained moderate levels of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards from their work, and that they did not obtain high levels of these rewards in either sphere.

In this Chapter I hope to relate their moderate level of rewards to their position in the social structure. I shall focus on two areas: first, I shall attempt to explain the way that their position in social structure played a part in limiting the level of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards available to them; secondly, I describe how they adapted to this limitation with particular reference to the way that their orientation to work developed in this context.

I shall argue that occupations offering high rewards in both spheres are normally reserved for persons of good education and, in particular, non-manual and professional workers. However, persons of poor education and lower social position nevertheless still have choices available to them in the context of the limited rewards available: they can either achieve moderate (as opposed to high) levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards,⁽¹⁾ like the City

(1) Fox has defined the meaning of intrinsic and extrinsic (in this context) in the following terms: when work is given a purely extrinsic meaning it 'yields no value in and through itself, but is seen solely in terms of its instrumental character, as a means to an end. But other philosophies invest work with intrinsic meaning. Value is sought in and through the activities of work themselves, which are seen, not as a burden to be borne for the sake of their instrumental usefulness, but as enriching experiences through which men can meet challenges and overcome obstacles, develop their aptitudes and abilities, and enjoy the satisfactions of achievement. In the course of these experiences men undergo psychological growth, realise themselves, and reach due stature as full, mature and autonomous moral agents.'
In A. Fox, 'The Sociology of Industry', London, Collier-Macmillan, 1971, page 4.

Firemen, or they can maximise on one dimension and sacrifice the other reward to a very high degree. The choice, however, does not allow them to achieve high levels of rewards in both spheres.

Examples will be presented of working class occupations which offer relatively high rewards in only one sphere and low rewards in the other. This choice between rewards in one or other sphere can be made even though the overall level of rewards that can be obtained from their work is limited by their relatively poor bargaining position. Car workers often choose high income and forego job satisfaction; lorry drivers usually maximise on discretion and autonomy but are not very well paid; the firemen, however, despite a similar bargaining position, opted for a middle course in which they made limited sacrifices in both spheres and were thus able to achieve moderate (but not high) levels of economic and intrinsic rewards. They were not prepared to make large sacrifices in either sphere.

It will be shown that the City Firemen were previously in work which was intrinsically interesting and that for this reason they did not wish to forego job satisfaction altogether. However, neither did they wish to stay in their previous jobs as these had been incompatible, not necessarily for economic reasons, with their new-found family responsibilities. In addition, they could not afford poorly paid work and therefore had to make a compromise between their need for income and their desire for interesting work. As they were not in a position to achieve high levels of both types of rewards, they opted for a job in the Fire Service which offered them moderate levels of rewards in both spheres.

But first I shall consider the distribution of rewards in work in general terms. The evidence which is available seems to suggest that non-manual workers are in a much better position to obtain high

levels of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. They do not have to sacrifice so completely the rewards of one or other sphere.

Wedderburn and Craig,⁽¹⁾ in their 1969 study of employment conditions in British Industry, have pointed out some of the long-term advantage which white-collar workers enjoy: in 43 per cent of the establishments investigated there was no sick-pay scheme for manual workers, although 90 per cent of the clerical and managerial workers were covered by such schemes; twenty-five per cent of the firms had no pension schemes for manual workers, whereas almost all these firms had them for white-collar personnel; non-manual workers also had longer holidays than the manual workers in 60 per cent of the establishments. White-collar workers also tended to have better career and promotion opportunities, greater long-term economic security, and a cleaner, more congenial, and less dangerous work environment. They argued therefore that the big divide still comes between manual workers on the one hand and non-manual workers on the other.

Fox⁽²⁾ has put a similar argument in the following terms:

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- (1) D. Wedderburn and C. Craig, 'Relative Deprivation in Work', Paper presented to British Association for the Advancement of Science, Exeter, 1969.
- (2) A. Fox, op. cit., page 71. He also argued, 'The higher the individual's position in the occupational hierarchy, the greater the evidence, on the whole, of concern with intrinsic values in work. As with manual workers, job-structure itself is of major importance in structuring aspirations - as one moves up the hierarchy one finds that middle-class occupations offer far greater intrinsic rewards in terms of job interest, judgement, discretion, challenge, responsibility, and control. Thus a different set of aspirations is created and duly passed on from generation to generation. Those of middle-class origin therefore often learn to aspire to intrinsic as well as extrinsic rewards. To the extent that they come under the influence of values like these they are more likely to take a considered view of their education, their training, their job and the quality of experience that it offers relating them to a concept of self-development that can realistically be included in their active aspirations for the reason that it seems within reach of achievement.' Op. cit., page 23.

'Generally speaking, opportunities for pursuing substantive and procedural aspirations tend to diminish as we move from the top to the bottom of the structure. Whether we are concerned with extrinsics such as financial rewards, fringe benefits, status and security, or intrinsics such as job interest and opportunities for challenge, achievement, responsibility, decision-making and other contributions to self-fulfilment, the scope tends to narrow as we descend the hierarchy from top management to unskilled labourer.'

Parkin⁽¹⁾ has also argued in a similar vein: 'There is no Western industrial society which allocates greater benefits to unskilled than to skilled occupational categories, or higher benefits to semi-professional than to professional categories. In other words, marketable expertise is the most important single determinant of occupational reward, and therefore one of the key elements in the system of class inequality.'

Table 5.1 provides comparative figures on income distribution in various European countries and the United States. From these tables it can be seen that the average earnings of the higher administrative and professional staff are generally two to four times the earnings of unskilled manual workers. In 1960 in the U.K. there was nevertheless some overlap between non-manual and manual workers in terms of earnings; clerks for instance earned less than skilled manual workers. It can also be seen, however, that the overlap is not large and does not strongly counteract the overall tendency for non-manual workers to earn much more than manual workers.

The levels of job satisfaction (as opposed to extrinsic reward) in manual and non-manual grades are more difficult to measure. The evidence does indicate however that professional and non-manual

(1) F. Parkin, 'Class, Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Countries', London, MacGibbon and Kee, 1971, page 21.

TABLE 5.1

AVERAGE EARNINGS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN SELECTED WESTERN COUNTRIES*

(Expressed as multiples of average earnings of male unskilled labourers)

	<u>UNITED KINGDOM</u>			<u>SWEDEN</u>			<u>FRANCE</u>			<u>WEST GERMANY</u>		
	<u>1935</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>
UNSKILLED MANUAL	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
SKILLED MANUAL	1.51	1.43	1.49	-	-	-	1.38	1.42	1.46	1.26	1.24	1.25
CLERKS	1.50	1.20	1.30	1.30	1.30	1.30	1.40	1.60	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00
LOWER ADMIN. AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF	2.40	1.40	1.60	1.50	1.70	1.80	2.40	2.70	2.80	1.50	1.50	1.40
HIGHER ADMIN. AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF	3.80	3.40	3.50	2.00	2.90	3.10	4.90	5.40	5.50	2.10	2.00	1.80

	<u>UNITED STATES</u>			<u>NORWAY</u>			<u>DENMARK</u>
	<u>1939</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>
UNSKILLED MANUAL	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
SKILLED MANUAL	1.50	1.48	1.57	1.14	1.14	1.15	1.24
CLERKS	2.10	1.60	1.80	1.00	1.10	1.00	1.30
LOWER ADMIN. AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF	-	-	-	1.20	1.30	1.30	2.10
HIGHER ADMIN. AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF	3.20	2.30	2.40	2.20	2.40	2.40	4.30

* United Nations, 'Economic Survey of Europe in 1965', Part 2, Table 5.16.

workers obtain higher levels of job satisfaction from their work than do many manual workers.

Blauner has argued that there is a very close correlation between job satisfaction and occupational prestige⁽¹⁾ and he has set out his argument as follows: 'Professionals and business executives have the highest prestige in our society; they also consistently report the highest degree of work satisfaction Among non-professional or managerial employees, white-collar workers are generally more satisfied with their jobs than manual workers. Again status considerations play an important role. Even when white-collar work does not outrank manual jobs in income or skill, office workers are accorded higher social prestige than blue-collar personnel'. He found the highest percentage of those who would choose the same work again, if they had the chance to start their working life anew, was among mathematicians and physicists.

He noted that for six different professions (see Table 5.2) the proportion of satisfied persons ranges from 82 per cent to 91 per cent, whereas for seven manual occupations, it varies from 16 per cent (unskilled automobile workers) to 52 per cent for skilled printers.

(1) Blauner has observed, 'Occupational prestige is the one best explanatory factor in the sense that if all occupations (for which sufficient data are available) were ranked in order of extent of typical job satisfaction, and these ranks were compared with the rank-order in which they partake of public esteem, the rank-order correlation would be higher than those resulting from any other factor. This is because the prestige of any occupation depends on the level of skill the job entails, the degree of education or training necessary, the amount of control and responsibility involved in the performance of the work, the income which is typically received - to mention the most readily apparent factors In addition jobs that have high prestige will tend to be valued for their status rewards even when "objective" aspects of the work are undesirable; similarly low-status jobs will tend to be under-valued and disliked'. R. Blauner 'Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society', in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (Eds.) 'Class Status and Power', London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1967, page 477.

TABLE 5.2

PROPORTION IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS WHO WOULD CHOOSE
SAME KIND OF WORK AGAIN IF BEGINNING CAREER AGAIN*

<u>Professional occupations</u>		<u>Working Class occupations</u>	
	%		%
Mathematicians	91	Skilled printers	52
Physicists	89	Paper workers	52
Biologists	89	Skilled automobile workers	41
Chemists	86	Skilled steelworkers	41
Lawyers	83	Textile workers	31
Journalists	82	Unskilled steelworkers	21
		Unskilled automobile workers	16

* R. Blauner, *ibid.*, page 47.

Herzberg likewise has argued⁽¹⁾ that surveys generally show that job satisfaction declines as one descends the occupational status scale. Fox has argued that evidence from the Soviet Union is similar to that from America: 'Professionals and business administrators overwhelmingly report job satisfaction; the per cent satisfied decreases as we descend the occupational hierarchy'.⁽²⁾

M. Young and P. Willmott, in their 1973 study of work and leisure in the London Region, found that 19 per cent of professionals and managers sometimes felt bored at work compared to 42 per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled workers.⁽³⁾ They argued that 'for working-class men the job was less often, in Dubin's phrase, their central life interest. The main reason seemed to be that they had less control over what happened to them at work. Manual workers less often had before them a career with advancement depending to some extent upon their own efforts. They less often had a say in the day-to-day organization of their working lives. They were more often paced by the machines they served. In all these respects middle-class people had generally more autonomy'. In this study it was also found that 92 per cent of professional and managerial people had 'a lot of say' in the way they used their time at work as against 37 per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Only 2 per cent of the professional and managerial workers said they had 'no say' as against 32 per cent of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers.⁽⁴⁾ The evidence does indicate therefore that professional/managerial workers do get more job satisfaction than manual workers.

(1) F. Herzberg, B. Mansner, R. Peterson, D. Capwell, 'Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion', Psychological Service of Pittsburgh, 1957.

(2) A. Fox, op. cit., page 71.

(3) M. Young and P. Willmott, 'The Symmetrical Family', Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1975, page 154.

(4) Ibid., page 160.

There are some exceptions however. Even as there are cases where some manual workers earn more than some non-manual workers, so there are some manual workers who get more job satisfaction than some non-manual workers. On average, however, non-manual workers do better in both these spheres than manual workers. When the overall package of rewards is considered (i.e. intrinsic and economic rewards) non-manual workers usually obtain better overall rewards even in the cases where there may be some overlap⁽¹⁾ on one or other dimension. If, for example, a manual worker earns more than a non-manual worker then it is likely that the other rewards available to the non-manual worker will more than compensate.

There is ample evidence that manual workers are sometimes able to do very well on one or other dimension of the reward structure. Goldthorpe and Lockwood, for instance, found that their sample of 'Affluent Workers'⁽²⁾ had given up poorly paid but interesting work for work in Luton offering them high economic rewards and little job satisfaction.

Ingham has provided an interesting discussion of 'the size effect' amongst Bradford engineering firms.⁽³⁾ He found that the

- (1) There is some evidence for overlap. D. Weir collected a number of articles about different occupations and organized them into categories under different headings. Lorry drivers, pig farmers and other manual workers were included under a section called 'The Pursuit of Autonomy', whereas prison officers, journalists and public school masters were described as 'Slaves to the Machine', see D. Weir (ed.) 'Men and Work in Modern Britain', London, Fontana, 1973.
- (2) J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer and J. Platt, Volume I of the Affluent Worker Series: 'The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour', Cambridge University Press, 1968, Chapter 2. See also Volume III, 'The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure', Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- (3) He argued: 'It was found that the small firms paid much lower wages than the large plants. Thus we have a situation in which the small firms offer a high level of non-economic rewards and a relatively low level of earnings: whereas, the large plants offer lower levels of non-economic rewards and high wages'. In G. K. Ingham, 'Size of Industrial Organization and Worker Behaviour', Cambridge University Press, 1970, page 49.

smaller firms were associated with a higher level of job satisfaction and a lower level of wages than the larger firms. The larger firms offered higher wages than the smaller firms but the workers obtained a lower level of job satisfaction from their work.

Gouldner has provided a vivid description of the way job satisfaction acted as a palliative for low wages in a gypsum mine in the U.S.A. He wrote: 'Prior to the time that the new machinery was being installed, and even before the men began to strive actively for higher wages, many workers had felt that the plant's wages were too low. At the time, however, they had not made an issue of this because they felt they were being well treated'.

'As one worker expressed it then: "I like it here. They don't push you around. A man's got his work to do and they leave him alone. You know, that's one of the reasons they pay so low around here. The Company knows that if they started getting tough around here, they would have to pay higher wages. The men would resent it and start asking for higher pay. The pay is like a balance for working conditions. It sort of balances things".⁽¹⁾

These workers all shared the characteristic that they scored high in one sphere and low in another. Even though their rewards from work differed, they shared a common position in so far as none of them were able to obtain high levels of both intrinsic and economic rewards from their work, but all of them were able to obtain high rewards in one or other sphere.

In the same way, firemen were limited in the level of rewards that they could obtain from their work; they were not able to obtain the high rewards in both spheres that the professional and managerial categories were often able to achieve.

(1) A. W. Gouldner: 'Wildcat Strike: A Study in Worker-Management Relationships', New York, Harper and Row, 1965, page 32.

It will be argued that one reason why the firemen were not able to obtain these high rewards was their relatively low level of education. This is a characteristic that firemen share with many other working class occupations; as a general rule the working classes do not receive the extended education required for professional or managerial status. As a result these manual categories are not able to bargain for the high rewards which the 'higher' occupations offer. Lack of education places many relatively poorly educated categories in a fairly common bargaining position but this is not to say that the orientation to work of these 'constrained' categories is always similar, as some variation is possible within the constrained reward framework; they can bargain for high rewards in one or other sphere or, alternatively, they can seek moderate levels of rewards from both spheres. The instrumental 'Affluent Workers' fit into the former category and I shall argue that the City Firemen fit into the latter category.

Even, ^{though} the overall levels of rewards is fixed (within limits) - variation in orientation to work is possible. The City Firemen's orientation to work, it will be argued, was distinctive because they did not make major decisions about total sacrifice of either one or other of the rewards open to them. They did not place 'all their eggs in one basket' but kept a 'finger in both pies' by making only relatively moderate sacrifices in both areas leaving them with moderate rewards in both spheres.

Below, I have portrayed the ideal type⁽¹⁾ argument in mathematical terms. I would stress, however, that the mathematical symbols

(1) M. Weber defined the ideal type as follows: 'An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct', in E. A. Shils and H. A. Finch, 'Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences', Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, page 90.

are only used to illustrate the argument and are not meant to be taken as accurate equivalents.

High job satisfaction:	Score 1
High income:	Score 1
Moderate job satisfaction:	Score $\frac{1}{2}$
Moderate income:	Score $\frac{1}{2}$
Little or no job satisfaction:	Score 0
Little ⁽¹⁾ or no wages:	Score 0

The 'Affluent Workers' therefore scored 1 for high income and 0 for low job satisfaction; total score 1. The City Firemen, however, scored $\frac{1}{2}$ for moderate job satisfaction and $\frac{1}{2}$ for moderate income; total score 1. Professional and managerial workers however score 2; 1 for high job satisfaction and 1 for high income.⁽²⁾

According to the model, the City Firemen, the 'Affluent Workers', Ingham's engineering workers, and Gouldner's gypsum workers, all scored 1 as regards overall rewards in both spheres. The orientations of these workers were not similar however as this reward score was divided between intrinsic and economic rewards in different ways.

But before discussing the orientation to work of the City Firemen in detail, I should like to discuss the role that education had in limiting the level of rewards available to them.

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- (1) One problem with the model is that even low wages are worth something (perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$) but a 0 score has been given to keep the argument symmetrical and simple, in order to illustrate the fundamental argument.
- (2) It should be stressed that in real life the value of the rewards in each sphere will not necessarily be as 'neat and tidy' as this.

B. Education

Education is a key factor affecting bargaining power for occupational rewards. There is plenty of evidence which indicates that uneducated persons do not generally get the best jobs. In the U.S.A. for instance Edmund S. Brunner and Sloane Wayland have argued: 'For an increasing number of occupations initial entry is limited to those who have attained a given level of education. The days when a high-school graduate could 'read' law or medicine with a successful practitioner of these professions and eventually qualify as a lawyer or doctor are over. In five of the thirteen major occupational groupings derived from the 1950 Census classification above average educational status is either required or preferred'.⁽¹⁾

These writers cited data from the 1950 Census in the U.S.A.: 'It was also found that nine-tenths of College graduates worked in white-collar and professional occupations. At the other extreme, for those with less than five years of education, approximately nine out of ten were in the non-farm manual and farm occupations'.⁽²⁾

American figures show a correlation between length of education and eventual income. K. B. Mayer⁽³⁾ has presented data for 1949:

TABLE 5.3

AVERAGE INCOME OF U.S. MALES AGES 22-74 IN 1949

Education

No school years completed	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 1359
1 - 4 years elementary	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 1625
5 - 7 years elementary	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 2135
8 years elementary	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 2685
1 - 3 years high school	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 3013
4 years high school	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 3156
1 - 3 years college	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 3878
4 years college or more	..	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 5727

(1) E. S. Brunner and S. Wayland, 'Occupation and Attainment', in A. H. Halsey, J. Floud, and C. Arnold Anderson (eds.) 'Education, Economy and Society', London, Collier-Macmillan, 1965.

(2) Ibid.,

(3) K. B. Mayer, 'Class and Society', Random House, 1955.

This basic pattern remained true in 1960⁽¹⁾ when the Census returns revealed the following differences in annual income among white American males aged forty-five to fifty-four:

TABLE 5.4

AVERAGE INCOME OF U.S. MALES AGES 45-54 IN 1960

Education

0 - 7 years of education	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 3872
8 years of education	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 4722
1 - 3 years of high school	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 5335
4 years of high school	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 5829
1 - 3 years of college	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 6765
4 years college or more	..	..	..	..	..	\$ 9233

F. Parkin has argued that 'In Britain and in most other Western European countries, the education of the young is governed by principles of selectivity. Generally speaking, a minority are selected for intensive educational treatment in high quality schools (public or grammar schools, lycees, gymnasia) while the majority are instructed in certain practical skills and elementary knowledge in less prestigious institutions (the secondary modern school and its continental equivalents). These two types of school prepare the young for entry to very different labour markets, the former leading to favourable white-collar positions or to university, and the latter to routine occupations usually of a manual kind.'⁽²⁾

Douglas found that fewer working-class boys were admitted to grammar schools than middle-class boys in the same groups of measured ability.⁽³⁾ Working-class persons were less able therefore to gain the qualifications necessary for entry into the well rewarded professional and white-collar occupations.

(1) 'U.S. Census of Population, 1960: Occupation by Earnings and Education', Washington, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Table 1, page 3. The figures shown are all median figures.

(2) F. Parkin, op. cit., pages 62-63.

(3) J. W. B. Douglas, 'The Home and the School', London, MacGibbon and Kee, 1964.

In the U.K. the effects of lack of education on working-class workers has been documented by Goldthorpe and Lockwood who asked their sample of 'Affluent Workers' why they thought they would not gain promotion to supervisory grades. Lack of education was one of the main barriers.

They wrote: 'In the case of those manual workers who rated their chances of promotion as "not too good" or "hopeless" we also asked: "What, then, do you think would stop you becoming a foreman?" . . . As might be expected the reasons are quite varied: some imply that the perceived barriers to promotion might not be permanent; others that the respondent is perhaps unfairly discriminated against.'⁽¹⁾ One main reason, however, was lack of education.

As one worker said: 'What would stop me becoming a foreman? Lack of education. You need knowledge and schooling these days - for example, in subjects like maths. There's more opportunity for this now than there was in my time.'⁽²⁾

Firemen in Great Britain were in a similar position to the 'Affluent Workers' with regard to education. Thirty-four per cent of the junior ranking firemen in the M. Thomas Survey mentioned lack of education as the reason for not having a fair chance of gaining the rank they hoped for.⁽³⁾

Table 5.5 shows that 63 per cent of these junior ranking firemen attended an elementary or secondary modern school; of those who attended a state grammar school, only 44 per cent obtained GCE 'O' levels, General School Certificate or Matriculation.

(1) J. H. Goldthorpe, et al., Vol. I, op. cit., page 128.

(2) Ibid.,

(3) M. Thomas, op. cit., page 45. Other reasons were limited vacancies 32 per cent, too old 17 per cent, face does not fit/lack of influence 13 per cent, not prepared to move 4 per cent, other 13 per cent.

The Office of Manpower Economics (O.M.E.) Survey⁽¹⁾ commissioned by the Cunningham Inquiry, found that 109 of the 190 recruits in the survey had no formal qualifications at all (57 per cent).

TABLE 5.5 (2)
TYPE OF SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED

	Junior Ranks	Senior Ranks
	%	%
Elementary/Secondary Modern	63	47
State Grammar/County High	12	24
Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade/ Technical	9	12
Junior Secondary	5	5
Senior Secondary	6	6
Other	5	4
Not ascertained	-	2
Total	100	100
% Base	1,470	493

The firemen and the 'Affluent Workers' were both poorly educated and low achievers in the academic world. Their lack of formal qualifications prevented them from entering the well rewarded, white-collar and professional occupations. Nor were they in a strong position to bargain for a high level of rewards from work in the occupations that they did actually enter. As a consequence the firemen were not able to achieve high levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards from their work. However, a choice was still available to them. The way that certain working-class categories offer high rewards in one sphere and low rewards in the other sphere has already been described. I shall now argue that for firemen, intrinsic and economic rewards are both of major importance. I do

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 113.

(2) M. Thomas, op. cit., page 14.

not have to rely solely on my own evidence to substantiate this claim as surveys carried out under the auspices of government bodies provide evidence that this is the case.

C. National Data on the Fire Service

The Cunningham Inquiry commissioned the Office of Manpower Economics (O.M.E.) to carry out a general survey of recruits and leavers in the Fire Service. It reported that recruits in the O.M.E. survey had previously worked in a wide range of industries: 'As one would expect, the range of industries and job titles therein covered by recruits just before they joined the fire service was quite extensive. The building and construction industry attracted the largest group, whilst the next three most popular industries were engineering, the Services (mainly Merchant and Royal Navy) and local and central government. Several cases occurred also in each of the following industries - food and farming, banking and insurance, police, motor, printing, nationalised (gas, electricity, coal and Post Office), transport and textiles. As regards occupations, the main groups were drivers, clerks, labourers, plumbers, seamen, bus conductors, storekeepers, apprentices and some policemen. At the other end of the scale the variety consisted of 3 lifeguards, a cow-boy (from Australia), a prison officer (from Australia), a dustman, a fireman (overseas), a teacher, a butcher, a scaffolder, a piano repairer and a waiter.'⁽¹⁾

The recruits in this survey were asked their main reasons for leaving their previous jobs. For the purpose of this research I have reorganized the data into 'instrumental' and 'expressive' categories of reasons for leaving. Before presenting data on this question, I should like to define what is meant by 'instrumental' and 'expressive' orientations.

(1) The Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., pages 103-104.

Goldthorpe et al have given definitions along the following lines⁽¹⁾: Instrumental Orientation. Workers with an instrumental orientation see their work as a means to an end, or ends, external to the work situation; that is work is regarded as a means of acquiring the income necessary to support a valued way of life of which work is not a part. The workers' involvement in the organization is primarily calculative. Work is not a central life interest and the workers' lives are sharply dichotomized between work and non-work. Expressive (Solidaristic Orientation). In this case, while work, as always, has an economic meaning, it is experienced not simply as a means to an end, but as a group activity; the group being either the immediate work group or 'shop', or in a small firm, the entire enterprise. Involvement with the work organization is of a moral kind, and the social relationships and shared activities of work are found emotionally rewarding. It is also likely that work experiences, and relationships will help to form the basis of workers' out-plant existence and that there will be some distinctive occupational culture and occupational community.

It is incorrect to define instrumentalism as being simply a desire to maximize income. It can also have a wider meaning even though it is often underpinned by a strongly economically motivated orientation to work. When work is a means to an end, that end may not be realized simply by obtaining a good wage. Other factors may be involved.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾ Persons with an instrumental orientation have a

(1) J. Goldthorpe, et al., Vol. I, op. cit., pages 37-39.

(2) Fox has written: 'In the new ethic of instrumentality, work is seen largely as a means to a steadily-rising material standard of life and the pursuit of leisure activities of a wide variety of kinds outside work - as a means, in short, of expanding consumption generally. Along with this view goes a repudiation of the contention that work ought to be a central, integrating principle crucial to the development of the individual's personality and social frame of reference. The same purposes can be served, it is said, by activities outside work', op. cit., page 8.

need not only to earn money but to be able to spend it in a desired way. Therefore a man who accepts a lower income so as to be near, or in a close relation to, his 'end' may be just as instrumental as, for example, a man who decides to work on his own in Saudi Arabia for ten years in order to get the highest possible level of remuneration.

Tables 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 present data showing the relative importance of expressive and instrumental factors in three main areas:

1. Reasons for leaving previous work.
2. Reasons for joining the Fire Service.
3. Reasons for leaving the Fire Service.

The data in Table 5.6 shows the reasons given by the recruits questioned in the O.M.E. survey for leaving their previous employment. It can be seen that 37 per cent of the recruits left for expressive reasons and 33 per cent for instrumental reasons. From this evidence it can be understood that the recruits had quite high needs for interesting work⁽¹⁾ as well as for adequate remuneration.

Footnote (3) from previous page: Strauss has argued 'Many people find a full measure of challenge, creativity, and autonomy in raising a family, pursuing a hobby, or taking part in community affairs', in G. Strauss, 'Some Notes on Power-Equalization', in H. Leavitt (ed.), 'The Social Science of Organizations', Englewood Cliffs (N.J.), Prentice-Hall, 1963, pages 47-52.

(1) Cunningham argued: 'Most firemen are highly committed to the work of the fire service and consequently look for a high level of involvement in their jobs. Various factors account for this. It is partly a consequence of sources of recruitment to the service; many men originally joined because they were looking for a job which was more worthwhile and offered a greater sense of achievement and fulfilment than their previous jobs. They saw the fire service as an occupation which provided interest and variety and which was at the same time doing important and necessary work.' Op. cit., page 24.

TABLE 5.6

MAIN REASONS FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT*

MAIN REASONS FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS JOB	London		English and Welsh Counties		English and Welsh County Boroughs		Scotland		All Areas	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>										
BOREDOM/DISLIKE OF THE WORK/FELT LIKE A CHANGE	13	29	15	29	25	36	4	17	57	30
POOR WORKING CONDITIONS	4	9	-	-	6	8	2	8	12	7
TOTAL MORE EXPRESSIVE	17	38	15	29	31	44	6	25	69	37
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>										
WANTED MORE MONEY	3	7	5	10	2	3	1	4	11	6
IRREGULAR HOURS	-	-	1	2	3	4	1	4	5	2
DOMESTIC REASONS	2	4	1	2	4	6	4	17	11	6
REDUNDANCY	1	2	3	6	3	4	2	8	9	4
POOR PROSPECTS	9	20	10	20	4	6	4	17	27	15
TOTAL MORE INSTRUMENTAL	15	33	20	40	16	23	12	50	63	33
<u>UNCLASSIFIABLE:</u>										
OTHER (NUMEROUS)	11	25	16	31	18	26	6	25	51	27
NOT APPLICABLE	2	4	-	-	5	7	-	-	7	3
TOTAL UNCLASSIFIABLE	13	29	16	31	23	33	6	25	58	30
	45	100	51	100	70	100	24	100	190	100

* Cunningham Inquiry, *ibid.*, page 113.

The recruits were also asked their main reasons for joining the Fire Service. The data from this question is set out in Table 5.7; 53 per cent joined for expressive reasons and 40 per cent mentioned instrumental reasons for joining. Thus both categories may be considered important as motivating forces; 37 per cent joined for interesting and varied work, and 31 per cent wanted a secure job with a steady income.⁽¹⁾

Table 5.8 gives similar data from the M. Thomas Survey. The firemen were asked the question: 'What was it about the Fire Service that made you decide to join it?' 61 per cent gave instrumental main reasons for joining and 46 per cent gave expressive main reasons. When reasons, as opposed to main reasons, are considered the gap narrows considerably. It can be seen from Table 5.8 that the total percentage of expressive reasons nearly equals that of instrumental reasons.

Table 5.9 presents data from the O.M.E. Survey relating to a sample of leavers who resigned from the Fire Service. Only 26 per cent left for expressive reasons and 56 per cent for instrumental reasons.⁽²⁾ Instrumental factors are therefore much more important as reasons for leaving.

- (1) Cunningham argued, 'Few people joined the Service for more pay immediately; "secure job with steady income" and "interesting and varied work" were reasons more commonly given. On the other hand, 40% of those leaving gave "more pay" as the main reason but "attitude of officers" was more important to 14%; 8% gave dislike of job content, and "poor promotion prospects" and "dislike of hours of duty" accounted for a further 5% each. For this kind of employment, a figure of 40% giving pay as the main reason for leaving may be considered normal, even possibly low'. In Cunningham, *ibid.*, page 56.
- (2) Similar results were obtained from the M. Thomas data; 46% had considered resigning and of these, 65% had done so for instrumental reasons and 45% for expressive reasons. Their reasons for deciding to stay on were overwhelmingly instrumental; 60% stayed for instrumental reasons and only 28% stayed on for more expressive reasons. See Appendix L.

TABLE 5.7

REASONS FOR JOINING THE FIRE BRIGADE*

MAIN REASON FOR JOINING	London		English and Welsh Counties		English and Welsh County Boroughs		Scotland		All Areas	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>										
INTERESTING & VARIOUS WORK	25	56	11	21	22	31	13	54	71	37
COMRADESHIP	2	4	6	6	3	4	-	-	8	4
DISCIPLINE	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	2	1
ATTRACTION TO UNIFORM	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	1
SERVICE TO SOCIETY	3	7	3	6	7	10	-	-	13	7
FAMILY TRADITION	-	-	4	8	1	2	1	4	6	3
TOTAL MORE EXPRESSIVE	32	67	26	45	36	50	14	58	102	53
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>										
FOR BETTER PAY	2	4	4	8	-	-	1	4	7	4
SECURE JOB WITH STEADY INCOME	10	23	19	37	26	37	5	20	60	31
PROMOTION PROSPECTS	1	2	2	4	4	6	2	9	9	5
TOTAL MORE INSTRUMENTAL	13	29	25	49	30	43	7	33	76	40
<u>UNCLASSIFIABLE:</u>										
DISLIKE OF REGULAR HOURS	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	1
OTHER	2	4	2	4	5	7	2	9	11	6
TOTAL UNCLASSIFIABLE	2	4	3	6	5	7	2	9	12	7
	45	100	51	100	70	100	24	100	190	100

* Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 115.

TABLE 5.8

WHAT IT WAS ABOUT THE FIRE SERVICE THAT MADE RESPONDENTS
IN THE JUNIOR RANKS DECIDE TO JOIN IT*

	MAIN REASONS FOR JOINING FIRE SERVICE	REASONS FOR JOINING FIRE SERVICE
<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>	%	%
GLAMOUR, EXCITEMENT, VARIETY, ACTIVITY	16	37
SIMILARITY TO LIFE IN THE FORCES	9	18
OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC	4	15
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE DURING WAR	4	11
FAMILY CONNECTIONS WITH FIRE SERVICE	2	8
FRIENDS IN THE FIRE SERVICE RECOMMENDED (other than by family/friends)	2	8
OUTDOOR JOB	1	4
LIFE LONG AMBITION	2	5
UNIFORMED, DISCIPLINED SERVICE	1	4
COMRADESHIP	1	2
STATUS OF THE FIRE SERVICE	**	2
INVOLVED STAYING IN ONE PLACE/ LIVING AT HOME	2	3
TOTAL EXPRESSIVE	46	122
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>		
REASONS ASSOCIATED WITH SECURITY		
1. REGULAR, EMPLOYMENT, PAY	31	45
2. PENSION SCHEME	8	22
3. GOOD PAY, SICK PAY, SICK BENEFITS	9	20
4. SECURITY (unspecified)	3	4
GOOD PROMOTION PROSPECTS	5	15
HOURS	1	4
HOUSING ACCOMMODATION	2	4
NEEDED A TRADE/SKILL	1	3
EARLY RETIREMENT	1	3
TOTAL INSTRUMENTAL	61	120
<u>OTHERS:</u>		
DON'T KNOW	1	3
OTHER	1	4
TOTAL OTHERS	2	7
GRAND TOTAL	109****	149***

* Adapted from Table in M. Thomas, op. cit., page 19.

** Less than 0.5 per cent.

*** Adds to more than 100 per cent as many respondents gave more than one reason.

**** Adds to more than 100 per cent because although respondents were asked to give one main reason, some still gave more than one answer.

TABLE 5.9
REASONS FOR LEAVING THE FIRE SERVICE*

<u>MAIN REASONS FOR LEAVING</u>	London		English and Welsh Counties		English and Welsh County Boroughs		Scotland		All Areas	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>										
DISLIKE OF JOB CONTENT	4	13	1	6	3	7	1	11	9	9
DISLIKE OF DISCIPLINE	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	2	2
ATTITUDE OF OFFICERS	6	19	3	18	5	11	-	-	14	14
ATTITUDE OF COLLEAGUES	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1
TOTAL MORE EXPRESSIVE	10	32	4	24	11	25	1	11	26	26
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>										
FOR BETTER PAY	7	22	6	35	21	48	6	67	40	39
POOR PROMOTION PROSPECTS	1	3	1	6	3	7	-	-	5	5
DISLIKE OF HOURS OF DUTY	2	6	1	6	1	2	1	11	5	5
WIFE'S DISLIKE OF FIRE SERVICE	2	6	1	6	1	2	-	-	4	4
OTHER DOMESTIC REASONS	1	3	-	-	2	5	-	-	3	3
TOTAL MORE INSTRUMENTAL	13	40	9	53	28	64	7	78	57	56
<u>UNCLASSIFIABLE:</u>										
OTHER	9	28	4	23	5	11	1	11	19	18
	32	100	17	100	44	100	9	100	102	100

* Cunningham Inquiry, op. cit., page 121.

TABLE 5.10

WAYS IN WHICH THE FIRE SERVICE HAD NOT COME UP TO EXPECTATIONS*

<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>	%
LACK OF EXCITEMENT/INTEREST/ACTIVITY	31
STATION CLEANING/MAINTENANCE	24
COMRADESHIP/SOCIAL LIFE	10
LOW DISCIPLINE	4
LOW STANDARD OF EQUIPMENT	3
LOW STANDARD OF RECRUITS	3
CONDITIONS IN GENERAL	3
TOO MANY OFFICERS + PETTINESS	16
TOTAL EXPRESSIVE	94
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>	
PAY	30
HOURS	12
PROMOTION PROSPECTS	9
TOTAL INSTRUMENTAL	51
<u>UNCLASSIFIABLE:</u>	
STATUS/PUBLIC IMAGE OF FIRE SERVICE	6
OTHER	13
TOTAL UNCLASSIFIABLE	19
TOTAL	164**
% BASE (thought life in the Fire Service was worse than expected)	414

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 81. I have classified M. Thomas' data into 'instrumental' and 'expressive' categories.

** Adds to more than 100% as some respondents mentioned more than one way in which the Fire Service had not come up to expectations.

Table 5.10 shows that there was nevertheless quite a high level of 'expressive' discontent. Therefore, although some firemen were dissatisfied with the intrinsic content of their work, it was not the main reason for their leaving. The firemen who left did so for mainly instrumental reasons.

Summary: The data shows that expressive and instrumental factors were both of major importance as reasons for the firemen leaving their previous work. These factors were also of approximately equal importance as reasons for joining the Fire Service. However, instrumental reasons were more important for leaving the Fire Service. Overall the results of these surveys indicate the importance of both instrumental and expressive factors in the make-up of the fireman's orientation to work.

D. The City Firemen

I shall now describe the orientation to work of my own sample in the City Fire Brigade. Table 5.11 gives a clear indication of the importance of both instrumental and expressive factors amongst the City Firemen:⁽¹⁾

TABLE 5.11

FACTORS MOST IMPORTANT IN WORK (WHOLE SAMPLE OF CITY FIREMEN N = 39)

	<u>Total Score</u>	<u>Average</u>
SECURITY	222	5.7
PAY	210	5.4
INTEREST AND VARIETY	211	5.4
WORKMATES	172	4.4
WORKING CONDITIONS	136	3.5
SUPERIORS	99	2.5
UNIONS	81	2.1

(1) I asked them, 'Here are some things which are thought important about a job. Which are the most important for you in the Fire Brigade?' I gave each fireman a list showing pay, security, interest and variety, workmates, superiors, working conditions, and trade unions (not in that order) and each fireman was asked to list the factors in order of importance. The replies (Cont'd)...

The Table shows that pay and security obtained the highest scores, but that interest and variety were nearly as important. Given these priorities and the moderate level of rewards available to them, there had to be limited sacrifices of both instrumental and intrinsic rewards. The purpose of the rest of this chapter is to show the context in which these sacrifices were made and to show that sacrifices were indeed made in both spheres.

The limited sacrifice of intrinsic rewards consisted of giving up their old intrinsically interesting jobs when they started families. The Fire Service in many cases offered a lower level of intrinsic attractions than these occupations but had other advantages which will be later explained.

Seventeen of the forty-two married firemen had been in the Services; Service life is typically portrayed as being tough, exciting and adventurous. The other occupations were also, for the most part, of an interesting nature; two ex-lorry drivers (high autonomy), four ex-engineers (high skill levels), two ex-caterers (a demanding but nevertheless interesting occupation), two postmen (outdoor life), a sign-maker (creativity and autonomy), three from the building trade (skill and outdoor life), two laboratory assistants, two from retail trade, a coal-miner, a painter, a plumber, a salesman and others. Overall, these are not boring jobs, and few could be described as repetitive factory occupations; in fact there was a marked absence of ex-factory workers in the sample. The overwhelming reasons for leaving these jobs were not expressive dissatisfaction but the instrumental incompatibilities of work and family life. In the sample as a whole, seventeen mentioned instrumental

Footnote (1) continued from previous page:

were scored in the following way: the first choice of each fireman scored seven points, the second choice six points and so on, the last choice getting a score of one. Many respondents listed some items as being of equal importance and this tended to make the overall scores higher than they would otherwise have been.

reasons for leaving their old jobs.

E. The City Firemen: Instrumental Factors

The purpose of this section will be to show some of the reasons the City Firemen gave up their earlier jobs. It will be seen that most of these jobs were intrinsically interesting and often adventurous and outgoing occupations but that they were also incompatible with stable family relationships. There were large numbers of Servicemen⁽¹⁾ who gave up their work as soon as they assumed family responsibilities. Other Servicemen gave up the Forces at a later stage when they had experienced these incompatibilities. Other occupations included oil-men, tile layers and many other jobs which involved travelling and being away from home for long periods. Most of the firemen felt that these jobs were fine for single young men but that they were unsuitable when they were married. They therefore joined the Fire Service which they felt was more compatible with their family lives. In effect they were being instrumental in their orientation in so far as they were giving up what, in many cases, was interesting work for purely non-work and family reasons. This instrumentalism was not, for the most part, economic in character, but it was a kind of familial instrumentalism. It was nevertheless instrumentalism because it involved the sacrifice of the work they were doing for non-work ends.

A high percentage of the ex-Services recruits left the Armed Services just before they planned to get married or after marrying. The main reason was the incompatibility of low-rank military life with their family life. Family life proved difficult in the Armed

(1) In my sample, seventeen of the forty-two married firemen had been in one of the Armed Services. This represents 40 per cent of the sample and is slightly higher than the proportion of firemen from the Services in the M. Thomas Survey. See Appendices J and K.

Services for several reasons: the high cost of maintaining accommodation abroad for their families; the disruption of family life caused by moving between bases; the difficulties of educating their children abroad, and, if their families remained at home, there were difficulties caused by long periods of separation. The City Firemen who left the Services because of these incompatibilities described their reasons for leaving in the following ways: 'I was in the Army for six years. I was posted to Germany and after I got married, I had a flat costing a whole week's wages.'

'I was an apprentice shipwright for one-and-a-half years. I was at sea six years. I left because I got married.'

'I got married and I did not think it was fair to be away.'

'The R.A.F. life is not family life.'

'I was in the Navy nine years. I got fed up with the sight of the sea and wanted to settle down.'

'I left the Army because I got married.'

'I'd have liked to have stayed on but I met a girl, you know.'

'I left when I got married and we were expecting children. She did not like me parachuting.'

These men did not for the most part leave for economic instrumental reasons but for instrumental reasons of a family kind. They were family oriented and wanted work which was compatible with the needs of their families.

Twelve of the seventeen who mentioned instrumental reasons for leaving mentioned non-economic instrumental reasons of this kind.

Military institutions are total institutions and therefore are incompatible in many ways with family life. According to Goffman, 'A total institution may be defined as a place of residence where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed

formally administered round of life.'⁽¹⁾ V. Aubert and O. Arner have written, 'The most obvious difference between the ship and the industrial plant is that the seaman lives at his place of work, amongst his colleagues and superiors, and spends most of his leisure time in the same place.'⁽²⁾ ⁽³⁾

In Chapter VI it will be shown that life in the Fire Service was not total in character and there was a clear separation of work and leisure. The Fire Service therefore enabled these recruits to lead normal undisrupted family lives. Nearly half the ex-Servicemen mentioned family incompatibility as a reason for leaving the Services.

This kind of incompatibility was not confined to those from the Services. Many other respondents had worked in jobs which, although very interesting and special, were incompatible with marriage in some way. These respondents described their old jobs in the following ways: 'I was in the building trade. I started as an apprentice tiler in the Italian marble trade. I left when I was twenty-one and came here. I travelled all over the country on that job. Where the jobs are you go. This was alright for a single bloke but when we got married, it was certainly not the thing because I would be away for six weeks. I stuck it to get a trade first.' (ex tile-layer).

'I did "O" levels at the Tech. I took a job in oil for two years. The prospects weren't good and I was planning to get married. I therefore needed the security and the money.' (ex oil-worker).

'Being a chef involved peculiar hours and was not good for the marriage. I worked on a market and then joined the Fire Service.

(1) E. Goffman, 'Asylums', op. cit., page 11.

(2) V. Aubert and O. Arner, 'On the Social Structure of the Ship', Acta Sociologica, Vol. 3, 1959.

(3) Janowitz has argued: 'The military profession is more than an occupation: it is a complete style of life. The officer is a member of a community whose claims over his daily existence extend well beyond his official duties'. In 'The Professional Soldier', Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1960, page 115.

It was very interesting work being a chef but I lacked qualifications.' (ex-chef).

In all these cases the change of occupation was closely related to getting married and the needs of their families. In these circumstances family needs, not the requirements of work, were given the top priority. Work was treated, in part, as a means to an end, the family being the end. This orientation may be described as family instrumentalism.

A smaller proportion of the sample mentioned another kind of incompatibility - economic incompatibility. Their jobs had been, for the most part, intrinsically interesting but poorly paid and unfortunately for the respondents, they had to give these jobs up because their families could not live on job satisfaction alone. In the event of conflict between economic and intrinsic considerations, the former was usually given priority. As one fireman said: 'I'm keen on animals. I applied for a job at a zoo but the money was no good.'

A certain minimum level of remuneration had to be reached before a job was considered to be viable, and in many cases, interesting jobs had to be given up because they did not pay well enough.

One fireman who had previously been a postman said he liked the outdoor life. When I asked him why he had left, he replied: 'The pay was bad. I was a postman up to age eighteen when I got married and as a postman I was bringing home £7 a week then, and this job was £14 a week, so it was double. Before I went to the Post Office I did apply to the Police and I took my exam. and had to wait three months before the physical - you know, the medical exam. Then I had to wait three months to take the written exam. and in that three months I got a job at the Post Office, and of course, if you get settled in a job, you don't want to change. I stayed in that job till I got married and found out the different types of pay. I

found the Fire Service was better for pay so I joined them. That was because of the pay. I don't like indoor jobs so I joined up.'

This example shows the way economic considerations influenced job choice. An increase in wages was required, not for specifically individual ends, but for family objectives: the family thus constrained this fireman's job choice and directed him to choose a job which offered a reasonable level of remuneration, sufficient for family needs. Nevertheless it must be noted that expressive considerations were not altogether sacrificed; the expressive element was demonstrated by the ex-postman's desire for an active, outdoor working life.

Four other City Firemen also mentioned economic reasons for leaving their old jobs. One of these said: 'I was an apprentice plumber for five years. My cousin joined the Fire Brigade. I realised there was no security in plumbing. This made me want something like the Fire Brigade.'

Another said: 'I did painting and decorating. It was seasonal. No security.'

'I was in a plastics factory. There is more money and security in the Fire Brigade.'

Thus, only a relatively small percentage of the sample were motivated solely by economic considerations. Instrumentalism amongst the City Firemen was mainly family oriented rather than being exclusively economic in character. The main 'expressive' sacrifice the sample made was in giving up intrinsically interesting work for Fire Brigade work, which, as has been shown, was overall only moderately interesting, in order to be better 'family men'.

F. The City Firemen: Expressive Factors

The sacrifice of intrinsic rewards was by no means total, however. They did not throw their job satisfaction to the wind completely for the sake of their family lives.

One demonstration of this was the way they refused to do factory work. In a factory they could have certainly earned more money. Few of them had worked in factories,⁽¹⁾⁽²⁾ and none of them liked the idea:

'In a factory you are repeating yourself over and over again. On the station you have freedom of movement to a certain extent.'

'In a factory you are indoors all the time with no time for socializing with your mates.'

'Factory work is against all my principles. I like change but in a factory you can't use your initiative.'

As the City Firemen were previously in occupations which were adventurous and offered high levels of job satisfaction, only six of them mentioned boredom as a reason for joining up:

'The Army changed me. I could not settle into my previous job as a textile engineer. The routine of sitting in an office with a particular machine I could not get back into it. My brother

-
- (1) A few of the ex-engineers had worked in factories for short periods but could not 'stick it'. Those with Army backgrounds mentioned the difficulties they had faced when they had tried to get used to factory work. They found the job too boring and because of this they chose the Fire Service because they thought it would offer some of the rewards of Service life.
- (2) The Cunningham Inquiry has commented on the lack of movement of firemen to and from manufacturing industries: 'On the evidence of this survey, newly recruited firemen are part of the same labour pool as drivers, semi-skilled workers in the construction and engineering industries, services personnel, and some lower level clerical workers. There was little evidence of much movement to and from manufacturing industry except as fire specialists'. In Cunningham, op. cit., page 56.

suggested that the Fire Service was similar to life in the Army and so I decided to give it a try.'

'I was at school till I was seventeen. I stayed on for GCE and did one year at art school. I moved to Smithfield Market on potatoes. I joined the Civil Service but did not like it. It was boring. It seemed a good job but it was a bore in the Social Security - just masses of paper work.' (ex grammar-school boy).⁽¹⁾

These two examples show the way that people who are used to interesting environments are often unable to adapt to more mundane existences. The respondent used to the stimulation of Services life could not settle in the textile industry; the ex grammar-school boy who went off to Smithfield Market was not happy with a low-ranking job in the Civil Service. It thus appears that the need to do something different and interesting was strongly felt by those who had been socialized in an interesting or active environment. However, despite these examples, the main reasons for leaving previous work were not intrinsic in character but were more concerned mainly with family (i.e. instrumental) needs.

Because most of the recruits had been used to interesting work few of them mentioned the intrinsic appeal of the Fire Service as a reason for joining. The four City Firemen who did mention this expressed it in the following way:

(1) The other four examples were:

'I was in engineering but you could predict what you would do.'

'I had two years in neon signs and one year in Colgate-Palmolive. I left because I was bored. There were a lot of women bosses and, forblokes, it's not good for your ego to be bossed around.'

'I was a motor mechanic for ten years. It was repetition servicing. This job is different.'

'I went to Secondary Modern school. I left and went into engineering at Metropolitan Vickers. I was an apprentice for seven months but did not like it.'

'I was selling carpets wholesale. I saw a fire engine coming down the street and wondered what it involved. There was no real discontent with my old job, and although I got a big increase in pay, it was not the main reason I came in. It was the thrill and challenge.'

'I was a National Serviceman and then I joined the Army. I fancied being a fireman.'

'I was a bricklayer but I always wanted to be a fireman.'

'There was the attraction of fire engines. Now I'm proud to be a fireman.'

However, the fact that few of them mentioned the intrinsic attraction of the Fire Service did not mean that they were not interested in obtaining these rewards from their work. The recruits from the Services wanted to continue a life-style which they had found enjoyable. Few would dispute the fact that Forces' life is outgoing, tough, adventurous and exciting. Therefore, the fact that the respondents decided to become firemen is of some significance in so far as it represents a desire, in certain respects, for more of the same kind of work. There is the similarity of having a uniform, the para-military organization, and the feeling of performing official duties.⁽¹⁾

They explained their need for a similar kind of work in the following terms:

'I wanted a job with a uniform and similar companionship.'

'I got married and tried docking, driving, plastering and building. This is the first job I settled into.'

'I was in the building before the Army. I could not settle in building again. I wanted a uniformed job.'

(1) 30 per cent of the junior ranks in the M. Thomas survey said they were attracted to the Fire Service primarily because of its similarity to life in the Forces; op. cit., page 21.

I have already mentioned that there were certain aspects of their military life-style that they wanted to change: they wanted most of all to make their occupation more compatible with their families' needs. They did not leave because they were disappointed with the intrinsic content of military life, but rather because they disliked the way their work and family lives conflicted.

Rather than stressing the appeal of the Fire Service in itself they tended to argue that they joined because of its connection with, and similarity to, the Forces' style of work. They wanted a Services life-style without the incompatibility of work with family life.

G. The Compromise Orientation to Work

In this Chapter I have tried to demonstrate the way in which the overall level of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards at work is very closely related to other aspects of social structure. Education is a key factor. Persons of poor education in the working classes have to choose, very often, between income and job satisfaction, as they cannot have a high level of both: they can maximize in one sphere as did the 'Affluent Workers', the workers in the Bradford engineering firms, and Gouldner's Gypsum workers; alternatively, workers in this category can seek a moderate level of rewards in both spheres.

The City Firemen, as I have shown, pursued this latter course. Because they were not in a position to achieve a high level of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, they compromised and made limited sacrifices in both spheres, rather than maximizing in one sphere and sacrificing totally in the other. They displayed family instrumentalism to the extent that they sacrificed their previously interesting jobs for a life which was more compatible with family needs. They sacrificed the intrinsic satisfaction of their old jobs for the instrumental compatibility of the fireman's role. This sacrifice was not total and was a partial one, and this was demonstrated by their refusal to take up the well paid but boring factory tasks which they so despised.

~~These~~ These firemen therefore had a distinctive orientation to work. They were neither totally instrumental or totally expressive. They had, what I call, a compromise orientation to work which enabled them to obtain moderate levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.

The following paragraphs describe the results of the study and the implications for firemen's work satisfaction. The study was conducted in a fire department in a large city. The firemen were interviewed and their responses were analyzed. The results showed that firemen had a compromise orientation to work, which enabled them to obtain moderate levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen are not simply motivated by extrinsic rewards, but also by intrinsic rewards. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees.

The study also found that firemen had a moderate level of job satisfaction. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen are not dissatisfied with their work. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees. The study also found that firemen had a moderate level of organizational commitment. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen are committed to their organization. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees.

The study also found that firemen had a moderate level of job involvement. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen are involved in their work. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees. The study also found that firemen had a moderate level of job autonomy. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen have a degree of control over their work. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees.

The study also found that firemen had a moderate level of job security. This finding is important because it suggests that firemen feel secure in their jobs. This is a significant finding because it suggests that firemen are more than just paid to do a job; they are also motivated by the work itself. This finding has implications for fire department management, as it suggests that fire departments should focus on providing both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards to their employees.

CHAPTER VITHE CITY FIREMEN: PATTERNS OF SOCIABILITY AND LEISURE

It has been said that the firemen of old formed a closed and tightly-knit community. T. Paul has written: 'The pressures of the full-time fireman's life were such that he became very insular. He lived on the station or in nearby brigade property, and his few hours off a week were not sufficient to give him a chance to get away from the life. A typical fireman would join the brigade in his early twenties. He would often court and marry a fellow fireman's daughter and their sons would, by virtue of the restrictive life, enter the Fire Service. This made the brigades almost self-perpetuating.'⁽¹⁾

I shall argue that this is no longer true today. In the first part of this Chapter, a description will be given of the City Firemen's patterns of sociability. It will be shown that they had many friends outside the Fire Service and that their lives were not totally bound up with it. In the second part of the Chapter, I shall analyse work - leisure relationships. It will be argued that, for the most part, work did not extend into leisure time so as to totally embrace and enmesh the fireman in fire brigade life.

A. Social Life and Companionship

What proportion of the firemen's leisure time was spent in the company of work-mates? It will be shown that in this area the City Firemen fell in a position somewhere between policemen with high levels of sociability with mates after work, and the 'Affluent Worker' sample with very low levels of sociability with mates from work. The City Firemen were, therefore, in an intermediate position, and

(1) T. Paul, op. cit., page 50. He was writing of firemen at the beginning of the twentieth century.

formed an occupational community⁽¹⁾ of only intermediate strength.

It is true that some of the City Firemen lived 'on the square' at the back of the station and I will compare this sample of firemen with the others who lived outside in their own accommodation well away from the environs of the stations. For the firemen 'on the square' work did constantly encroach on leisure life, but for the majority, there was a fairly clear cut dissociation of work and leisure activities.

Friends and relatives outside the City Brigade played a central part in most of the City Firemen's lives. Their relatives were the most important source of non-work companionship and they spent much of their leisure time in the company of their families. With regard to assessing the importance of relatives in the respondents' lives I asked the questions: 'Could I ask about the relatives you have?' and 'Where do they live?' and 'How far do you keep in touch with them?'

Relatives were, for the most part, near at hand. In 75 per cent of the cases most relatives lived in and around the City. The majority of firemen remained close to their family of origin. The main sample of forty-two married firemen can be divided into two categories: those with Service connections (N = 17) and those without (N = 25). Seventy-three per cent of the Service sample lived in the same region as one set of the couple's parents and 53 per cent lived near both sets of parents. Of the non-Service sample (i.e. 25) 85 per cent

(1) What are the central defining characteristics of an occupational community? G. Salaman has discussed the concept of community in detail. He argues firstly that members of occupational communities see themselves in terms of their occupational roles. Secondly members of occupational communities share a reference group composed of members of the occupational community. Thirdly members of occupational communities associate with other members of their occupation in preference to outsiders. In G. Salaman, 'Community and Occupation', Cambridge Papers in Sociology 4, Cambridge University Press, page 21.

lived near one set of parents and 66 per cent lived near both sets of parents.

The non-Service sample had a higher percentage of 'locals',⁽¹⁾ but the Service percentage itself is quite high in view of the fact that the men had spent some years away from the region while in the Services.

Table 6.1 shows the importance of kin in the respondents' home lives. Thirty-three per cent said kin were the people with whom spare time was most often spent. Kin were also the dominant source of companionship for the firemen's wives. Kin were more likely to be entertained or 'had round' in the evening than other friends, but social occasions of this kind were not particularly frequent, taking place in the main, somewhat less than once a month.

Table 6.2 shows that the position was not radically changed by physical distance; even when the locations of the majority of the couple's kin were outside the City, they remained the most significant source of regular spare time companionship. Thirty-five per cent of those with the majority of their relatives inside the City mentioned kin as against 28 per cent of those with most of their relatives outside the City. Kin were a dominant source of companionship even for those with most relatives outside the City.

Likewise the significance of work-mates was unaffected by distance. Work-mates remained a significant⁽²⁾, though not pre-dominant, source of companionship in leisure time. This is borne out by different data presented in Table 6.12. Other friends, including school friends, friends from previous jobs, club friends and casual friends were of greater overall importance.

(1) Firemen who were born and brought up in the area.

(2) The City Firemen associated with their work-mates far more regularly than did the 'Affluent Worker' sample - see Table 6.8.

TABLE 6.1

LEISURE TIME SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CITY FIREMEN

N = 42

	KIN	NEIGHBOURS	WORKMATES	FIREMEN'S WIVES	OTHERS	TOTAL MENTIONED	AVERAGE PER RESPONDENT	
	Percentage							
PEOPLE WITH WHOM SPARE TIME IS MOST OFTEN SPENT	33	22	22	0	23	100	57	1.3
PEOPLE WITH WHOM FIREMEN SAY THEIR WIVES SPEND MOST TIME	33	21	9	16	21	100	55	1.3
COUPLES ENTERTAINED AT HOME (N = 38)	31	4	WIVES WORKMATES 6	FIREMEN 16	19	76*	37	.97 (N = 38)

* 24% said they did not entertain couples for a meal or for the evening.

TABLE 6.2

SOURCES OF REGULAR SPARE TIME COMPANIONS BY LOCATION OF MAJORITY OF COUPLE'S KIN

LOCATION OF MAJORITY OF COUPLE'S KIN	KIN	NEIGHBOURS	WORKMATES	WIVES WORKMATES	OTHER	TOTAL MENTIONED
	Percentage					
IN OR NEAR CITY N = 27*	35	15	20	5	25	100
OUTSIDE CITY N = 9*	28	20	20	8	28	100

* 6 were unclassifiable.

The City Firemen seemed to have more friends in the local community than the more geographically mobile 'Affluent Workers'. The average number of leisure-time associates (not members of the household) was 4.6 per fireman compared to 2.38 per 'Affluent Worker'. Fifty per cent of the 'Affluent Worker' sample had no more than two regular spare time companions; only 17 per cent of the City Firemen were in this position, the majority having more than this number of regular companions.

Nevertheless, on certain dimensions, the City Firemen showed a similar degree of privatization to the 'Affluent Worker' sample. They both entertained in the home to the same extent; they both participated in the care of young children to a relatively high degree; and the City Firemen, like the 'Affluent Workers', had a low level of participation in formal associations. A relatively high proportion (62 per cent) said that they did not attend any clubs outside and unconnected with the Fire Service. Of those who did belong to outside clubs, 25 per cent belonged to one club and 13 per cent attended two clubs. These figures are even lower than those for the 'Affluent Workers'.⁽¹⁾

Many of them explained this as a consequence of the shift-system and the difficulties it created with regard to attending clubs on a regular basis. Some of them said they would have liked to have attended night-school or joined a fishing or golf club but that shift-work prevented them from doing so. As a result, rather than become 'fully paid up' members of clubs and societies, they preferred to go to occasional meetings because they knew that their job prevented them from becoming regular attenders at these club meetings.

(1) Fifty-two per cent of the 'Affluent Workers' did not belong to clubs or associations but this higher level of participation amongst 'Affluent Workers' can be explained in part by the fact that some of the craftsmen in the sample did not work shifts.

One indication of the fact that the City Fire Brigade was not a total organization was the number of firemen who did extra jobs completely unconnected with the formal organizational goals of the Fire Brigade.

Many firemen, especially those whose children had grown up, and whose wives worked during the day, felt a need to get out of the house and do something active. They were therefore ^{somewhat} more likely to work a 'fiddle' ⁽¹⁾ than the younger firemen whose wives stayed at home looking after the children.

The sample can be divided into four categories according to whether or not they worked a 'fiddle' and whether or not their wives worked. The results of this break-down are given in Table 6.3.

Category

1. Firemen with an extra job whose wives worked full or part-time.
2. Firemen with an extra job whose wives were not working full or part-time.
3. Firemen who did not have an extra job and whose wives worked either full or part-time.
4. Firemen who did not have an extra job and whose wives did not work either full or part-time.

It can be seen that the families with working wives tended to have older children; (in category 1 the mean age of the children was ten; in category 3 it was nine as against four in category 2, and five in category 4). It can also be seen that in categories 1 and 2 (where the firemen worked a 'fiddle' in both cases), the mean age varied considerably. As the children became older, the wives were less tied to the home and were more able to take a part-time

(1) The City Firemen called any extra jobs they worked a 'fiddle'. There is no suggestion of dishonesty in their usage of this term.

TABLE 6.3

TABLE TO REPRESENT THE IMPORTANCE OF AGE AND WHETHER OR NOT WIVES WORK
AS FACTORS OF RELEVANCE FOR FIREMEN WORKING EXTRA JOBS

	1	2	3	4
TOTAL IN GROUP	15	9*	12	6
TOTAL IN GROUP WITH CHILDREN	13	7	7	6
MEAN AGE OF MEN WITH CHILDREN	36	31	33	33
RANGE OF AGE OF MEN WITH CHILDREN	27-46	22-37	26-53	26-46
MEAN AGE OF CHILDREN	10	4	9	5
RANGE OF AGE OF CHILDREN	1½-21	2-6	2-25	2-14

* One respondent in this group of 9 would not reveal his age.

job. The constraint of having young children did not prevent the firemen doing a 'fiddle' however; this is what one would expect in terms of the dominant prescribed sex roles of the husband as 'provider' or 'breadwinner' and the wife as mother of the family.

Working a 'fiddle' was, for the most part, 'filling in time'. The shift system meant that the City Firemen were off duty for the greater part of a working day on at least four occasions a week. This was time when most other people were at work, thus limiting possibilities for social interaction.⁽¹⁾ Doing an extra job was therefore one way of avoiding social isolation, or being confined to the home environment.

The 'fiddle' was not otherwise very important to the men; they stressed that they did not like to be tied down by it. They chose work in which they could be free and autonomous; the work was operated on an informal and often irregular basis. The 'fiddles' were not especially well paid and were only worked when they fitted in with the firemen's other social arrangements. Other family activities usually took precedence. The following evidence is relevant in this regard. The respondents were asked: 'We have been talking about your friends and your spare time activities. How about having other couples round, say, for a meal or just for the evening; how often would you do this on average?' Fifty-two per cent of those who worked extra jobs entertained in this way once a month or more, 55 per cent of those who did not work an extra job entertained once a month or more. The difference does not seem to be very great and it is suggested that the extra jobs do not greatly affect this kind of sociability. This reinforces the conclusion that the extra jobs were, in a sense, peripheral.

Nevertheless, the fact that they did do another job shows that work in the Fire Brigade was not total or all-embracing in character.

(1) Of a non-work and social kind.

Another indication of this was demonstrated by the respondents' attitudes to overtime. I asked them whether they would like to work regular overtime as firemen. Most of the men said that they did not mind doing an extra tour of duty every so often but would not like to do it continuously. In fact, regular overtime of this kind was not available and what overtime was available was worked out on a rota basis. But the men did not like the thought of regular overtime even if it had been available.⁽¹⁾ The snag for them would be that once they had opted for it they would feel that they had to do it. This contrasted with the extra jobs which gave the firemen the freedom that they liked.

About 25 per cent of the sample lived 'on the square' in houses situated around the drill area at the back of the station. These houses were owned by the Brigade. In all there were thirty terraced houses and these were used by both officers and ordinary firemen. For the firemen who lived in these houses there was an unavoidable encroachment of work on leisure life. The main advantages were that rents were low, and there were no travelling expenses getting to work.

But there were serious disadvantages as well. Firstly there was the feeling that one could not get away from work. One man said: 'You could walk out on the square in the morning and you see the lads on drill. It's all work, you see it all the time - I mean I like the job, but I am not that fond of it that I want to be on it twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. People live "on the square" for convenience. They get used to rolling out of the front door and into work. The wives get used to knocking on one another's doors and having coffee parties on the square. It's a very close-knit community.'

(1) It can be argued that if the City Firemen had been members of a strong occupational community then they would not have disliked the thought of working regular overtime.

Secondly, there was a feeling of lack of privacy 'on the square': 'When you live here everybody sees you coming in and out, and they see what you are doing twenty-four hours a day. To me, it's the Fire Brigade twenty-four hours a day, even though a lot of them say when they close the front door it's like staying in their own home.' They were never completely away from the world of work, 'our back-garden is the square' they said.

Some firemen 'on the square' felt that the job spilled over into leisure: 'Some people come by and say, "A piece of equipment is missing. Can you tell me where it is?". If you live away it's marvellous. Perhaps you've got your own little garden and a postman and a milkman living on either side.'

For these firemen the work extended into leisure to a greater degree than was the case for the firemen who lived in their own homes away from the station: 'Everyone can see what everyone else is doing' was a common enough statement. Even in their own homes the firemen could hear what was happening 'on the square'.

Many firemen expressed the view that the houses were believed to be good for young couples setting up a home, since they were then in an ideal position to save up for a house and move out later if they wanted to. Some of the firemen moved from the square when they had children. One respondent told me: 'It's mainly the children they fall out about. There's not much for the children to do. They can't play in the square because the cars are there. They have arguments about whose been scratching the cars and all the rest of it. But it soon all goes by the board and you're one big happy family.'

One man who recently moved said: 'It's a good place for saving up. We'd been saving up and we'd decided to buy this house, but since I've moved off I've found I've not been getting fed up with myself. I've not been getting moody, whereas before I'd come off

work and go across to the house and you'd see your front door and there'd be a fire engine. You'd have friends coming and the bells would be going and things like that. It's not like that where I am now, where I go home and take my uniform off and that's me, finished till the next morning.'

One consequence of living 'on the square' was that the wives came to know more about the job than those wives living away. They also formed friendship groups of two or three. As one fireman put it: 'They knock about in groups of two or three, but if there's a party, you'll get them all in one house.' Baby-sitting was no problem for people 'on the square', and the couples had greater freedom to go out at night than those who lived away.

There was no feeling, however, that the men 'on the square' were closer to each other than the rest of the City Firemen. As one respondent put it: 'If you don't make friends with people while you're working with them for fifty-six hours a week, you're not going to make friends when you're living with them as well. I'd say it's the job that gives you the opportunity to make friends and it's no disadvantage to move from the square.' Another said: 'It's not very nice - it's a closed community; I'd sooner be away.' Others emphasized the help that was available from friends on the square: 'It's a little community on its own - if you come unstuck, they'll help you.'

Others seemed to think it was the same as living elsewhere: 'People don't go in and out of each other's houses now. They used to in the old days. Now it's the same as living elsewhere. At the moment we can't afford to move.'

For those living 'on the square' the Fire Service must have seemed more total and pervasive in nature. In general this pervasiveness was not liked and did not encourage a feeling of a working community; a large number of the firemen I spoke to had moved away

from the square and bought their own houses as soon as they could afford it.

Living 'on the square' had only moderate influence on choice of friends. The firemen were asked whether they had most of their friends inside or outside the Fire Service or whether it was half and half. They were also asked how many of their closest friends were in the Fire Service. The question of friendship was thus approached from two different angles which, when put together, provided interesting data.

Table 6.4 shows that of those living 'on the square', 23 per cent had most of their friends in the Fire Service and (at the same time) also had four to six of their closest friends in the Fire Service. Only 11 per cent of those 'on the square' had most of their friends outside the Fire Service and (at the same time) none of their closest friends in the Fire Service.⁽¹⁾ However, the Table does indicate that most of the firemen 'on the square' had most of their friends outside the Fire Service.⁽²⁾

Table 6.5 gives data for the sample who were not living on the square. Of these 20 per cent had most of their friends in the Fire Service and (at the same time) also had four to six of their closest friends in the Service. This figure is broadly comparable to that

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- (1) Fifty per cent of those who lived 'on the square' manifested an above average level of sociability with their work-mates when compared to the sample as a whole. This did not mean, however, that most of their friends were in the Fire Service.
- (2) The M. Thomas Survey noted that 'a higher proportion of those living in a Fire Service flat or house than other types of accommodation, said that most of their friends were in the Fire Service (40 per cent compared with 30 per cent for the junior ranks, and 40 per cent compared with 34 per cent for the senior ranks), op. cit., page 39.

TABLE 6.4

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS OF CITY FIREMEN IN FIRE SERVICEACCOMMODATION - 'ON THE SQUARE'

(N = 10)

	MOST IN FIRE SERVICE %	MOST OUTSIDE FIRE SERVICE %	HALF AND HALF %	TOTAL %
4 - 6 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	23	0	0	23
1 - 3 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	22	44	0	66
NONE OF CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	0	11	0	11
TOTAL	45	55	0	100

TABLE 6.5

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS OF CITY FIREMEN IN NON FIRE SERVICEACCOMMODATION

(N = 32)

	MOST IN FIRE SERVICE %	MOST OUTSIDE FIRE SERVICE %	HALF AND HALF %	TOTAL %
4 - 6 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	20	0	6.5	26.5
1 - 3 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	13	7	6.5	26.5
NONE OF CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	10	27	10	46
TOTAL	43	34	23	100

for the 'on the square' sample. However, 27 per cent had most of their friends outside the Fire Service and (at the same time) none of their closest friends in the Fire Service. This is a much higher figure than the 11 per cent for those 'on the square'. It is fair to conclude that the leisure-time of those 'on the square' was more occupationally oriented than that of the 'non-square' sample.

Table 6.6. gives the data for the sample as a whole. The largest category (of the nine possible combinations) comprised those who had most of their friends outside the Fire Service and none of their closest friends in the Fire Service. However, this figure was only 23 per cent and it is significant that slightly more of the sample said they had most of their friends in the Fire Service than those who said they had most of their friends outside the Service. Overall the result is fairly well balanced with inside and outside friendships being of approximately equal importance for the sample as a whole.

TABLE 6.6
FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS OF THE CITY FIREMEN*

	MOST IN FIRE SERVICE %	MOST OUTSIDE FIRE SERVICE %	HALF AND HALF %	TOTAL %
4 - 6 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN THE FIRE SERVICE	20	0	5	25
1 - 3 CLOSEST FRIENDS IN THE FIRE SERVICE	15	15	5	35
NONE OF CLOSEST FRIENDS IN FIRE SERVICE	8	23	8	40
TOTAL	43	39	18	100

* The M. Thomas Survey, *ibid.*, page 39, states that 40 per cent of the junior ranks had most of their friends outside the Fire Service. Thirty-five per cent had most of their friends in the Fire Service, and 24 per cent half and half.

It is interesting to compare this result with that of the M. Thomas national sample of firemen. Just over a third of these firemen said they had most of their friends in the Fire Service (compared to 43 per cent for the City Firemen) and about two-fifths had most of their friends outside the Fire Service⁽¹⁾ compared to 39 per cent of the City sample as a whole. The City Firemen were therefore more of an 'occupational community' in this respect, than other Fire Brigades. This can be explained partly by reference to the large size of one of the City stations; a large station can be expected to offer a greater variety of comradeship than that available in brigades with small stations. As the M. Thomas Survey included all kinds of brigades, this perhaps accounts for the slight difference.

The distance that the City Firemen lived away from the station, though important, did not determine the pattern of afterwork sociability. Very often the firemen that saw their mates after work lived further away from the station than those who did not.

A relatively high percentage of the sample (36 per cent) saw friends from other fire stations after work however: firemen who had moved in from other stations liked to keep in contact with the friends they had made. Firemen who were active in sporting, social, or union activities tended to see more of firemen from other stations.

The City Firemen spent about the same length of time in work-based clubs after work as the 'Affluent Workers'. Twenty per cent of them attended clubs and societies regularly and 25 per cent occasionally.⁽²⁾ The figures for the 'Affluent Workers' were 25 per

(1) M. Thomas, *ibid.*, page 39.

(2) Many respondents mentioned the fact that they expected clubs and societies to be more significant in their lives after the reorganization. The men at the smaller of the two stations I visited were restricted in what they could do because there was six men on their shift. They also mentioned that participation would be easier in a large organization where it would be possible to obtain adequate numbers for teams to be formed.

cent and 29 per cent respectively.⁽¹⁾

Only a small proportion⁽²⁾ of those with most of their friends in the Fire Service saw them more than once a week during non-work time. Table 6.7 shows that 15 per cent of those with close friends in the Fire Service never saw them at all after work.⁽³⁾ This is further evidence that work itself provided enough opportunity to make close friends and that interaction at work was sufficient to sustain the friendship.⁽⁴⁾ Some firemen told me that if they could not make friends with their companions in the fifty-six hours they worked with them, then they were not likely to do it after work.

- (1) All the respondents were members of the Fire Brigades Union. The firemen were sometimes able to attend union meetings during stand-by time while at work. Forty-five per cent of the respondents attended union meetings regularly, and 28 per cent occasionally. These figures are much higher than those of the 'Affluent Worker' sample. Only 4 per cent of the Assemblers in the 'Affluent Worker' sample attended union meetings regularly and only 10 per cent attended occasionally. For the 'Affluent Worker' sample as a whole the figures are 7 per cent and 14 per cent respectively.

This relatively high level of union participation was accompanied by what the firemen call an 'apathetic attitude' to the Union. Typical comments were: 'I have never been a strong trade unionist' and 'The Trade Union in this job is weak. You've got no ultimate deterrent like striking. Most of the men won't strike anyway', and 'If there is something of interest I'll go; otherwise I don't attend; I'm not a strong union bloke'.

The explanation for this state of affairs (high participation but low involvement) was that it was easy for the firemen to attend the meetings. The larger station was a trade union branch and the firemen could attend if their shift coincided with a Union meeting.

- (2) Twenty-five per cent.
- (3) Of those who had none of their closest friends in the Fire Service and (at the same time) most of their friends in the Fire Service, 78 per cent did not see work-mates after work and 22 per cent saw them only occasionally.
- (4) See also page 149.

TABLE 6.7

LEVEL OF ASSOCIATION WITH FRIENDS AFTER WORK (IN THE CASE OF FIREMEN) AND WITH WORK-MATES REGARDED AS CLOSE FRIENDS. (IN THE CASE OF THE 'AFFLUENT WORKERS').*

TYPE OF ASSOCIATION	FIREMEN %	ASSEMBLERS* %	ALL 'AFFLUENT' WORKERS' %
VISITING AT HOME	22	19	16
ARRANGED OUTINGS	3	5	11
SEMI-CASUAL MEETINGS - PUBS, ETC.	30	14	11
PURELY CASUAL	5	26	17
NO CLOSE FRIENDS AND NO MEETING	25	36	45
NO MEETING WITH CLOSE FRIENDS	15	0	0

* J. Goldthorpe, et al., Vol. I, op. cit., page 57.

The City Firemen had fewer friends in the Brigade than did a sample of policemen studied by M. Banton. Table 6.8 below shows that 66 per cent of the City Policemen had more than three friends within the force. Only 25 per cent of the City Firemen had four to six of their closest friends in the Fire Service and only 43 per cent had most of their friends in the Service.⁽¹⁾ (See Table 6.6).

TABLE 6.8

POLICEMEN: FRIENDSHIPS WITHIN THE FORCE*

	NONE %	FEW %	MORE THAN THREE %
CITY	16	18	66
BURGH	30	13	57
COUNTY	37	13	50

* M. Banton, 'The Policeman in the Community', London, Tavistock, 1964, page 248.

Table 6.7 indicates that the City Firemen associated with one another far more frequently than did the 'Affluent Workers'. Twenty-two per cent of the City Firemen visited work-mates at home as against 16 per cent of the 'Affluent Workers'. Thirty per cent of the City Firemen met in pubs and clubs on a semi-casual basis as against only 11 per cent of the 'Affluent Worker' sample. And, as I have mentioned,

(1) There were other indications that the City Firemen were not such a strong occupational community as Banton's policemen. Unlike the policemen who, in a sense, never go off duty, the City Firemen showed a strong desire to be 'off duty' at the end of the day. All of them said that when work was finished, they wanted to 'get off' home. Work was ideally seen as being completely different from leisure. Table 6.10 shows that for 74 per cent of the City Firemen their families were their central life interest and they rarely wore their uniforms at home. This was thought to be entirely unnecessary and jokes were made about it.

they had close friends at work whom they did not necessarily see after work, whereas the technology of work prevented the 'Affluent Workers' from becoming close friends. In the City Brigade the technology required team cooperation which united the working group rather than preventing them from meeting.

Table 6.9 shows that the City Firemen were far more likely to be upset at the thought of moving away from their work-mates, than were the 'Affluent Worker' sample. I asked them the question: 'How would you feel if you were moved away from the men who work near you? Would you feel, very upset, fairly upset, not much bothered, or not bothered at all?' Twelve per cent of the City Firemen said they would be 'very upset' as against only 4 per cent of the 'Affluent Workers' and only 12 per cent of the City Firemen said they would be 'not bothered' compared to 36 per cent of the 'Affluent Worker' sample.

TABLE 6.9

FEELINGS ABOUT BEING MOVED AWAY FROM PRESENT WORK-MATES

Firemen and Goldthorpe et al's Assemblers and
'Affluent Workers'.

	% FIREMEN	% ASSEMBLERS*	% 'AFFLUENT WORKERS'*
Very upset	12	5	4
Fairly upset	42	27	23
Not much bothered	34	35	32
Not bothered at all	12	33	36
Other, D.K., O.N.A.	0	1	5
Totals	100	100	100

* J. Goldthorpe, et al., Vol. I, op. cit., page 51.

B. The Separation of Work and Leisure

One feature of the relatively 'untotal' nature of Fire Brigade life was the clear-cut separation of work and leisure spheres. In this section the City Firemen's work-leisure relationships will be compared with those of bankers, youth-employment officers and child-care workers which have previously been studied by Parker.⁽¹⁾ In order to ensure comparability, a questionnaire based on Parker's original questions was used. This questionnaire was filled in by the City Firemen after the interviews.

The data presented in Table 6.10 is about the relative importance of work and leisure and the relationship between the two spheres in the City Firemen's lives.⁽²⁾ Most of them stated (78 per cent) that their leisure was completely different from their work and 58 per cent enjoyed their leisure for this reason. Seventy-four per cent said that their family was their central life interest.

(1) S. Parker, 'Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations', op. cit., page 65.

(2) The questions which provided the data were:-

1. Do you enjoy leisure because . . . ?
 - (a) It satisfies interests you would like to satisfy in work.
 - (b) It is satisfying in a different way to work.
 - (c) It is completely different to work.
2. How different is your leisure from your work?
 - (a) Completely different.
 - (b) A lot of leisure time taken up by things connected with work.
 - (c) A little free time is taken up by things connected with work.
3. The most important things I do are connected with . . . ?
 - (a) Work.
 - (b) Leisure.
 - (c) The family.

TABLE 6.10

FACTORS REFLECTING WORK VERSUS LEISURE VALUES

	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>
ENJOY LEISURE BECAUSE		
1. SATISFIES INTERESTS THAT WOULD LIKE TO SATISFY IN WORK	0	0
2. IS SATISFYING IN A DIFFERENT WAY FROM WORK	42	18
3. BECAUSE IT IS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM WORK	58	25
	<u>100</u>	
HOW DIFFERENT LEISURE IS FROM WORK		
1. COMPLETELY DIFFERENT	78	34
2. A LOT OF FREE TIME TAKEN UP BY THINGS CONNECTED WITH WORK	4	2
3. A LITTLE FREE TIME TAKEN UP BY THINGS CONNECTED WITH WORK	18	8
	<u>100</u>	
CENTRAL LIFE INTEREST		
WORK	10	4
FAMILY	74	29
LEISURE	16	6
	<u>100</u>	

It was explained in an earlier Chapter that the difference between work and leisure and the separation of leisure from work also meant that work and family life were compatible with one another. Many of the recruits had left the Armed Forces because the overriding pervasiveness of military life left little room for the development of the kind of family relationships that they wanted. The separation of the two spheres was something that appealed to the firemen, but this did not mean that they were inflexible or rigid in their attitudes. They argued that when an emergency came they were always ready to stay on, if required, in the event of a major emergency.⁽¹⁾ Under normal conditions this was not necessary, however.

In the next few pages I shall present examples of the way different firemen spent their leisure hours. This data shows that while there is nothing extraordinary or highly unusual about the firemen's leisure lives, there is a fairly clear division between work and leisure areas. The examples have been selected not for their unusual or exciting content but for their typicality.

C. Use of Leisure Time - Four Examples

FIREMAN A

This fireman was forty-six; his family had lived in the City for many years; he had a child aged fourteen; he had worked in the Fire Service for sixteen years; his wife normally worked but was off work at the time of the interview because she was ill. He told me that he had stopped doing an 'extra job' six years ago as he did not enjoy doing it: he just needed the money. His mother lived

(1) Some firemen rejected the idea of an open-ended commitment and disliked the 'silly tasks' that members of the public asked them to perform. As one fireman said, 'The last thing a fireman is is a servant. Some people don't realise that a cat wants to climb up a tree because it is a natural thing to do. They want a twelve-stone fireman to go where a three-pound cat goes.'

in the City and he saw her every week, but his other relatives he saw less frequently. He helped his wife with the washing up, the shopping (his main responsibility) and the children. The people he saw most often outside the family were neighbours and relatives.

First Day Off:

After taking his car to the garage to have a puncture mended, he went shopping with his wife. He then called on his mother and had a cup of tea while watching television. Later, his wife's cousin came over for tea, and in the evening the two of them went to the pub.

Second Day Off:

He took his wife to the washeteria, and helped her to do the washing. Having worked for a time on his car, and done some gardening, he took a leisurely walk and did some window-shopping.

This fireman mentioned that he did much the same kind of activities during the day before coming on 'nights'. 'The first day on nights never bothers me. On the second day I usually have an hour on the couch depending on what kind of night it is.'

FIREMAN B

This fireman was forty-one; his closest relative (apart from his wife and children) was his father, whom he saw once a month; he had several children with an average age of thirteen; he had worked in the Fire Service for seventeen years; his wife worked part-time and he worked an extra job - 'undertaking' for a few hours each week. He said: 'It's a good thing to have the extra money'.

Many of his own relatives were either dead or dispersed and therefore he saw more of his wife's relations. He visited his wife's father two to three times a week. 'If we have tea together the girls wash up with the wife. If the wife takes them to school, I wash up. I wash up my own things if I've been on days.' On Thursdays and Saturdays he took the wife shopping in the van, but normally his

wife went out shopping every day. He helped with the children, but 'they prefer the mother to put them to bed'. The people he saw most often were 'outsiders' - he met many of them in the pub; they lived locally.

First Day Off - a Friday:

First of all he 'did two funerals' and picked up bodies from two different houses. This was followed by a pint at the local. He had tea in the evening and watched television until bedtime.

Second Day Off - a Saturday:

He took his wife to the shopping centre. In the evening both of them went to a social club to meet his friends. His wife did not drink.

This respondent mentioned that he did not do 'funerals' on the days when he worked nights. He spent his time doing odd jobs around the house, and if his wife was at work while he was 'off' he got the tea ready.

FIREMAN C

This thirty-eight year old fireman had two children aged eleven and thirteen. He had worked in the Fire Service for seventeen years; his wife worked part-time; he did an extra job but he said this had no effect on family life because 'the kids are at school and I can please myself when I go in'. His father lived with the family and his grandparents lived in the City; he saw his brother once a week, but he did not see so much of his wife's family, though they lived locally. He did not wash up as his wife and father did that, and his wife did the main shopping, but he helped with the children. Although his relations lived locally, the people he saw most were his neighbours as his main hobby was gardening.

First Day Off:

He did some gardening, then he went out to the public baths.

He then played with the children, watched television and went to bed.

Second Day Off:

He went into the town, did some shopping and spent the rest of the day gardening.

He mentioned that on the days before coming on nights he would not do anything which would interfere with the night duty, e.g. heavy work. He spent his time having breakfast, working in the greenhouse and in preparation for coming to work.

FIREMAN D

This respondent, aged thirty-eight, had worked nine-and-a-half years in the Fire Service. He had two children, aged eight and thirteen. His wife worked part-time and he did the same on an ad hoc basis. He said: 'If anybody comes up with a job, well, it's a few bob extra. It helps out a lot. If someone wants a van taking here or some lifting done, I say "O.K." and I'll spend a couple of days with them, but normally I don't because I can find quite a bit to do at home these days, you know. I do it for the money to help out.'

His relatives lived mostly in the City, and he saw his father twice a week. His wife's relatives were spread out, 'I see her brothers and sisters around the City. The ones in Leeds usually come to see us when they visit her mother. I see them five to six times a year. We spend Christmas as a family'. He helped with the washing up, the main shopping and with the children. The people he saw most often outside his own family were his father, his sister-in-law, his brother-in-law and father-in-law.

First Day Off:

It was market day and he went shopping, and did his mother-in-law's as well. He spent the evening at home watching television.

Second Day Off:

He worked in the house, and invited his father down and spent the evening in. On the other days he sometimes did nothing, or saw a mate or took a walk in the park.

During the day before coming on nights this respondent helped his wife clean up round the house. In the afternoons he started to get things ready for work: he pressed his own trousers, cleaned his own shoes and cap, etc. Sometimes on days off he went for walks in the park. On other occasions he would 'pop round' and see a mate 'if he's off duty'.

The most 'popular' activities amongst the sample in general on the two days 'off' appeared to be: gardening, shopping, working on the house, visiting relatives, working on the extra job.

Here are some other examples:

'I spent three hours on an old dear's garden up to dinner - the time when the wife finishes. I went home and got dinner ready. I got the car out and went shopping in the afternoon. Next day I was cleaning windows and shopping in the afternoon.'

And, 'First day I was working. Second day went to the Town Hall - to the income tax place to see about a rebate. Then I went out with one of the lads on B watch for a few pints, and had a wash and a shave'.

Another said: 'I go shopping and to the local parks'.

Others said: 'I go to play-school, get changed, have breakfast, and play with my son. I go to play-school and collect my daughter, and we go down to the meadow or park. I go out again and visit the wife's mother and go shopping, then watch television'.

'I went to the Bank. Then I pottered about in the garden. I picked up the wife from work and then took her back. I went to the dog show - it's my hobby; I gave the dog a groom. I picked up

the wife again. The second day I was building a patio in the back garden, I put up some shelves in the garage. I checked the car batteries and took the dog for a walk.'

And, 'Gardening, just gardening. I came out here for a dance on Saturday night'.

These activities, gardening, working extra jobs, shopping, looking after the 'kids', were essentially unlike work itself.⁽¹⁾ There was little evidence of the firemen trying to find 'exciting' or 'dangerous' leisure activities. Presumably these needs were satisfied in work.

D. The Neutrality Work-Leisure Relationship

Parker has argued that there are three basic work, non-work relationships: 'The extension pattern consists of having leisure activities which are often similar in content to one's working activities and of making no sharp distinction between what is considered as work and what is considered as leisure. With the opposition pattern, leisure activities are deliberately unlike work and there is a sharp distinction between what is considered work and what is leisure. Finally, the neutrality pattern consists of having leisure activities which are generally different from work but not deliberately so, and of appreciating the difference between work and leisure without always defining the one as the absence of the other'.⁽²⁾

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- (1) M. Young and P. Willmott have shown that links between work and leisure are more common for professionals and managers than for semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Thirty-nine per cent of the professionals and managers reported some kind of link between work and leisure whereas only eight per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled workers reported a link. In M. Young and P. Willmott, op. cit., page 220.
- (2) S. Parker, 'The Future of Work and Leisure', op. cit., pages 101-102.

In a study of three occupational groups⁽¹⁾ he has argued that youth-employment officers and child-care workers tended to have a way of relating work and leisure conforming to the extension pattern. Their leisure activities were often similar in content to their working activities and they made no sharp demarcation between work and leisure. They were work-involved and the main function of leisure for them was to develop their personalities.

Miners and fishermen, Parker argued⁽²⁾ have been shown to have an opposition pattern: their way of spending their leisure contrasted with the way they worked; they sharply distinguished work and leisure and their work was performed chiefly to earn a living. Leisure functioned for them as compensation for dangerous and damaging work.

In contrast he found that a neutral work-leisure relationship existed amongst bank employees who were neither so engrossed in their work that they wanted to carry it over into their spare time, nor so damaged by it that they became hostile or developed a love-hate relationship to it.⁽³⁾

The City Firemen also appeared to show a fairly neutral work-leisure relationship. Parker argued: 'People with the neutrality pattern are likely to find their central life-interest outside the work sphere'.

(1) S. Parker, 'Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations', op. cit., page 65.

(2) J. Tunstall, 'The Fishermen: The Sociology of an Extreme Occupation', London, MacGibbon and Kee, 1969.

(3) Parker argued: 'The crucial difference between extension and opposition on the one hand and neutrality on the other is that the former denote respectively a positive and negative attitude to work, while the latter denotes a detachment from work that is, in Berger's phrase, neither fulfilment nor oppression'. In 'The Future of Work and Leisure', op. cit., page 105.

This was certainly true of firemen; the long periods of non-operational duties and 'filling in time' meant that work was not overall a really satisfying experience.

Table 6.11 shows how time was spent by the City Firemen in four leisure categories: (1) with the family; (2) with work colleagues; (3) with other friends; (4) by oneself. The Table shows that most of the City Firemen's leisure time was spent with their families. Indeed they had more time with their families than the child-care workers, the youth-employment officers and the bankers. The City Firemen also had more time to themselves than any of those in Parker's sample. This was probably a consequence of the shift system.

The City Firemen spent only a very small proportion of their leisure time with workmates, the married men spending an average of only three hours per week and the unmarried one hour. The figures given by Parker for the other occupations are broadly similar.

The married firemen were with other friends (outside the Fire Service) for an average of six hours per week, double the figure for work-mates. This figure is well above that given for the other occupations.

A more detailed breakdown of these figures in respect of the City Firemen is given in Table 6.12. On average they spent more than ten times as much time with their families than with their work colleagues. This Table also shows that there were vast differences in the standard deviation from the mean with regard to the different leisure categories.

In the case of the 'family leisure' the time allocations mentioned by the firemen were much longer than for any of the other categories. Overall, the City Firemen can, from these figures, be portrayed as family men. Married City Firemen spent thirty-one hours per week on average in the company of their family. This

TABLE 6.11

LEISURE HOURS PER WEEK SPENT

	<u>BANKING*</u>		<u>YOUTH EMPLOYMENT*</u>		<u>CHILD CARE*</u>		<u>FIREMEN</u>	
	SINGLE	MARRIED	SINGLE	MARRIED	SINGLE	MARRIED	SINGLE	MARRIED
WITH FAMILY	20	34	12	26	10	23	28	31
WITH WORK COLLEAGUES	3	2	1	1	3	3	1	3
WITH OTHER FRIENDS	15	3	11	3	12	4	17	6
BY ONESELF	5	2	10	3	10	4	4	11
TOTAL	43	41	34	33	35	34	50	51
N	58	44	48	64	44	36	7	34

* S. Parker, *ibid.*, page 69.

TABLE 6.12

TABLE TO SHOW WITH WHOM LEISURE TIME IS SPENT PER WEEK

	<u>WITH FAMILY</u> (N = 34)	<u>WORK COLLEAGUES</u> (N = 30)	<u>OTHER FRIENDS</u> (N = 27)	<u>BY ONESELF</u> (N = 30)
AVERAGE TIME SPENT (ARITHMETICAL MEAN)	31	3	6	11
RANGE OF VARIATION	15-90	0-20	0-10	0-40
STANDARD DEVIATION FROM THE MEAN	20	3.9	2.5	9.3

period of time is similar to the thirty-four hours spent by the bankers whose work-leisure relationship corresponds to the neutrality pattern. The comparatively long hours spent with the family suggest a fairly strong separation of work and leisure spheres and is evidence for a neutrality work-leisure relationship existing.

The neutrality work-leisure relationship can also be explained by the technology of work itself: firemen are workers who are not able to carry over work into leisure because the technological apparatus of work is absent from the leisure sphere. The firemen did not have the same facility as Parker's social workers to extend work into leisure.⁽¹⁾ Despite the fact that the City Firemen liked fire-fighting itself there were few opportunities for them to continue this activity outside work, at least, not on a regular basis.

In some other occupations the technology of work and leisure may be more compatible; a professor for instance can write lectures at home or in his non-work time; a policeman may decide to use his own car or telephone when off duty and he may be able to deal with a situation which arises in his own time. Firemen, however, work in teams and these teams only exist during working hours. A combination of the specialized technology and the highly complex group organization make it difficult for them to carry on with their work during their leisure time. Perhaps this was one reason why the City Firemen associated with one another less frequently than did Banton's sample of City Policemen; there was a lack of a strong work reason for such an extension of work into leisure taking place. Association after work amongst the City Firemen was therefore 'leisurable' in character and consisted mostly of meeting in pubs and clubs.

It can also be pointed out that the extension of work into leisure which did take place 'on the square' was not viewed with

(1) It is true that they could have studied for Fire Service examinations but most of them did not appear to be highly educationally motivated.

favour by the respondents. These firemen had little choice about the similarity of their work and non-work environments. The extension which did take place was forced, to some extent at least, by economic constraints.

It is also possible to cite examples of a very formal kind of extension pattern taking place. By formal extension I mean that the activities appear, at first sight, to be formally similar, but that they may be very different in terms of spiritual content. For instance, although badminton at work is called badminton and therefore formally similar to badminton played in a home context, there is no reason to suppose that the firemen attributed them with similar subjective meanings and values.

The City Firemen generally defined sporting and other kinds of leisable activities in work as 'filling in time' whilst waiting for the emergencies. These games were thus in a very subordinate relationship to the emergencies and were given a very low priority by the firemen. Family and leisure life was highly valued, however, and it is likely that a sporting game undertaken in the family context would have an entirely different meaning for them.

For the most part there was a fairly clear-cut separation of work and leisure and the work-leisure relationship could be defined as being neutral in character. A genuine extension pattern did not exist except 'on the square' where it was forced to some extent by economic factors. Neither was there an opposition pattern; the firemen were willing to do overtime if needed in an emergency and there was no strong resentment or urge to escape work. Leisure activities were different from work but not deliberately so. Even if the firemen had wanted to carry on working, they lacked the means to do so.

Summary: One purpose of this Chapter has been to examine the extent to which the City Firemen were members of an occupational community. It has been shown that the family was the predominant source of companionship, and that only a relatively small proportion of their leisure time was spent in the company of friends from work. The majority did not participate in formal associations and work-based clubs, and most were fairly apathetic as regards union activities. They worked extra jobs or 'fiddles' but did not like working regular overtime at the station. They saw each other after work in pubs and clubs to a greater extent than the 'Affluent Workers' but unlike Banton's sample of policemen, many of the City Firemen's friends were outside the Brigade.

As far as friendships were concerned, the City Firemen fell in an intermediate position between Banton's policemen (a strong occupational community) and the 'Affluent Workers' (a weak, almost non-existent occupational community). The conclusion is therefore that the City Firemen were members of an occupational community of intermediate strength.

It has been shown that the City Firemen unlike the firemen of sixty or seventy years ago, had many ties with the community outside their own occupation. Indeed, among the City Firemen, friendships inside and outside the Fire Service were fairly evenly balanced. For most of the City Firemen, work did not intrude considerably into leisure time: the firemen lacked the facilities, both technological and social, to extend their work into their leisure; most of them preferred to live in their own accommodation, well away from the vicinity of the station; the three shift-system meant that hours of duty were restricted to well defined periods and only on rare occasions were they called upon to do overtime; the shift-system also meant that they had days off during the week when they could

do work entirely unconnected with the Fire Service, and leisure itself, in the form of shopping, looking after the 'kids' and gardening, was fairly conventional in character. Leisure was not characterized by a desire to get away from the world of work, and the work-leisure relationship corresponded to the neutrality pattern. For those who lived 'on the square' there was an unwelcome extension of work into leisure life, but for the majority there was a clear-cut separation of work and leisure time.

CHAPTER VIICONCLUSION

It has been stated that firemen in 1974 were moderately well paid. Firemen were poorly rewarded on an hourly basis but as they worked long hours their average weekly earnings were slightly above the average for all occupations. Overall, the firemen were moderately well paid per week for working long hours at relatively low rates per hour.

Furthermore they obtained moderate levels of job satisfaction from their work. The following objective factors tended to lower the overall level of job satisfaction: the large proportion of time spent on routine tasks; the fact that the less meaningful fires were more numerous than the really interesting fires, and the firemen had relatively low levels of autonomy in relation to other occupational categories. This last factor is related to the hierarchical and para-military style of organization. On a more subjective level, however, the firemen seemed to enjoy their jobs, with a high proportion of them saying that they would choose to do the same kind of work again. Other plus factors were the unpredictability and urgency of all the emergencies; the excitement of fire-fighting and the recent introduction of fire prevention duties to replace repetitive station cleaning chores. A tentative assessment therefore indicated moderate overall levels of job satisfaction.

In a later Chapter the links between these moderate levels of rewards and the firemen's educational rewards were emphasized. Most firemen were not educated to a very high standard and were therefore unable to gain the qualifications necessary for entry to jobs offering high levels of both remuneration and job satisfaction. Their relative lack of education meant that their bargaining power

for rewards at work was limited and this limitation was something they shared with many other occupational categories.

The City Firemen did differ, however, from many of these other workers with regard to orientation to work. The 'Affluent Workers' for instance opted for maximizing income rather than job satisfaction. It has been shown that the City Firemen had a compromise orientation to work and that they were unwilling, in the context of the level of rewards available to them, to sacrifice totally either job satisfaction or income but rather they wished for reasonable levels of both types of reward.

Orientation to work involves a degree of choice but that does not necessarily imply that they would not have preferred high rewards in both spheres. What is meant by 'choice', in this particular context, is that the firemen could have chosen to maximize their income at the cost of sacrificing their job satisfaction. The fact that they did not do so shows that their orientation is distinctive from that of many other workers who were prepared to sacrifice job satisfaction for a high level of income.

The question of 'choice' is more problematic in relation to income because it is impossible, or at least very difficult to forego income entirely; it is impossible to live on job satisfaction alone. Workers are forced to be more instrumental as they assume family responsibilities. The question of whether this instrumentalism is chosen or not is difficult to answer. It is questionable whether it is sociologically realistic to view having a family (and the expenses entailed) as a completely free choice.

If the Services sample of firemen had stayed in the Armed Forces and sacrificed their family life for their jobs, then it could have been said that they had a highly expressive orientation. But such a sacrificial orientation is only rarely found on a large scale; most workers do get married and have families of their own.

If one, therefore, takes the view that family life is a normal and 'inevitably chosen' way of life for most workers then it is possible to argue that the firemen did not 'freely choose' to become 'more instrumental' when they got married but that they were forced to be more instrumental. Family needs dictated that they should choose an occupation which was compatible with the family way of life. If the view is taken that the firemen had to adapt in this way, then it can be claimed that they had a purely expressive orientation to work and that their instrumentalism was forced on them by their family circumstances.

Alternatively, it can be argued that having a family is a choice, and that the City Firemen were therefore instrumental because they gave up work which was incompatible, for work that was compatible with family life.

However, an explanation in terms of a compromise orientation takes account of the fact that though they chose work compatible with family life (family instrumentalism), they did not seek to maximize their income at the same time. Their instrumentalism was of a 'social' family kind rather than an 'economic' family kind. Their prior orientation to work, their enjoyment of the active outdoor life, and their refusal of better paid but boring factory employment, remained significant factors in their decision to become firemen.

APPENDIX A: THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE⁽¹⁾

Section 1: Work History

1. How old are you?
2. How long have you worked in this station?
3. How long have you worked in the Fire Service?
4. Would you tell me about your career?

Occupation	Employer	Place of Employment	Dates	Reasons for Leaving
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-
5. If you had the opportunity, would you change the type of work you do?
 6. Do you expect to continue being a fireman for the rest of your life?

Section 2: The Fireman and his Job

1. Which kinds of fires do you like attending most?
2. Which kinds of fires do you like attending least?
3. What are the things about the job that you most like?
4. What are the things about the job that you most dislike?
5. Do you regard the job of fire-fighting as:
 - (a) difficult? Why?
 - (b) responsible? Why?
 - (c) skilled? Why?
 - (d) dangerous? Why?
6. What do you think people in general think about firemen and their job?
7. What do you like about working in this station?

(1) Sections 1, 2 and 3 were taped. Section 4 on Leisure is a questionnaire and the answers were written by the firemen onto the schedules after the main part of the interview.

8. What do you dislike about working in this station?
9. Do you think the pay is high enough for a job like yours?
10. If you were offered more pay to go and work in a factory, would you go and work in one?
11. Would you enjoy it if you went out to fires, one after the other, continuously?
12. What effect does having to suddenly get up and go to a fire have on the other activities you are doing?
13. Would you prefer it, do you think, if you knew where each fire was to be, and when it was to happen?
14. Do you ever find yourself waiting for a fire?
15. Are there ever times when you dislike going to a fire?
16. When you get home do you like to talk about the fires or do you try to forget about fires and do something different?
17. At the end of the shift do you usually wish to get off home, or do you feel a wish to wait for another fire?
18. What jobs are comparable in status to being a fireman do you think?
19. Do you have much contact with firemen from other stations? Where do you meet them?
20. Do you see 'mates' from the fire station regularly after work? How often? Where?
21. When you see 'mates' from the station after work, does your wife usually come along?
22. Would you say that most of your friends now are in the Fire Service?

Most in Fire Service

Most outside Fire Service

About half and half

Other

23. How would you feel if you were moved to another station more or less like this one, but away from the men who work near you. Would you feel:

Very upset

Fairly upset

Not much bothered

Not bothered at all

24. Here are some of the things often thought important about a job: which one would you look for first in a job? And which next?

7. Does your wife like you being in the Fire Service?
- Yes
- No
- Mixed feelings/never known anything else
- Don't know
8. (If likes Fire Service) What does your wife like about your being in the Fire Service?
- (If does not like Fire Service) What does she dislike about your being in the Fire Service?
9. Has your wife said she wished you could get a different job outside the Fire Service?
- Yes
- No
- Don't know
10. (If Yes) Do you think she (ever) meant it seriously at the time?
11. What effect do you think being a fireman has on your family life?
12. What tasks do you prefer to do in the 'off' duty days?
13. Does your wife ever say whether she prefers you to stay at home in the 'off' period, or get a job.
(If Yes) Which does she prefer?
- (a) prefers him to stay at home
- (b) prefers him to get extra job
14. (If does extra job) What effect do you think doing an extra job has on family life?
- (If does not get an extra job) Why do you not do an extra job?
15. Do you belong to any political or religious group, or to a Trade Union?
16. Do you think that firemen ought to be married or single?
17. I know it's difficult but could you try to think back and tell me what were the main things you did on your last two days 'off'? (get people, etc.) (is he a fireman, friend or relative).
18. What were the main things you did on the two days before you came on night shift?
19. If not typical, what else do you do? What does your wife do when you are doing these activities?
20. How about your neighbours - how much do you see of them (ask about either side of the house).

21. Do you know what they do? (i.e. their occupation).
22. Who would you say are the two or three people that you spend your spare time with (make clear apart from spouse and children):
- (a) Name and relationship
 - (b) How did you get to know him/her?
 - (c) How long have you known him/her?
 - (d) Where does he/she live?
 - (e) What kind of work does he/she and spouse do?
23. Do you have any good friends you see less often, for some reason or another? (school friends, men in the services).
24. (If Yes) When do you see them?
 Where do they live?
 What sort of work do they do?
 How did you get to know them?
25. Who would you say are the two or three people that your wife spends most of her spare time with? (apart from you and the children)
- (a) Name and relationship
 - (b) How did she get to know him/her?
 - (c) How long have you known him/her?
 - (d) Where does he/she live?
 - (e) What kind of work does he/she do?
26. Does she have any friends she sees less often for some reason or other?
27. (If Yes) When does she see them?
 Where do they live?
 What sort of work do they do?
 How did you get to know them?
28. We've been talking about your friends and your spare time activities - how about having other couples round, say for a meal or just for the evening: how often would you do this on average?
- 4 days out of 6
 twice a week
 once a week
 every fortnight
 once a month
 occasionally

29. (If ever) When did you last do this?
30. Who is it you have round - are they friends, or relatives or who? (list by name, and get occupations).
31. Now here's one about just you and your wife: how often would you say you have an evening out together on average?
- 4 days out of 6
twice a week
once a week
every fortnight
once a month
occasionally
32. (If ever) What sort of things do you usually do?
33. How about family outings with the children: about how often would you say you have one on average?
34. Do you belong to any clubs or organisations or anything like that? Here's a list to show what kind of thing I mean: these are only examples.
35. (Where relevant) About how often do you go to it?
36. Do you hold an official position in any other body?
37. Are there any clubs or societies that you have ever wanted to join but did not?

Section 4: The Leisure Questionnaire⁽¹⁾

1. Out of all the abilities you possess, how many do you use in your present job?
- Most Please tick
Some appropriate
Only a few answer
2. To what extent do you normally use the above abilities in your job?
- I use them in a superficial way Please tick
I use them in a general way appropriate
I use them in quite an intensive way answer

(1) After the interview the firemen were asked to write the replies to the questionnaire (Section 4) themselves. Therefore this section was not taped.

- 3. When changes have to be made or difficult problems solved which of the following would apply in your job?

Superior decides without consultation with men

Superior decides after consultation with men

Decisions taken at a meeting of all involved

You make your own decisions

Please tick appropriate answer

- 4. By what means do you think people get ahead in your kind of work?

Working and studying hard?

Being approved of by right people?

Seniority?

Other reasons?

Please tick appropriate answer

- 5. If you could choose any occupations regardless of money, what would you choose?

(a) Same job

(b) Similar job

(c) Different job

Please tick appropriate answer

If you have ticked (b) or (c), please state what job you would choose.

The occupation I would choose is

.....

- 6. How many hours of leisure do you normally have per week?

1 - 10

10 - 20

20 - 30

30 - 40

Please tick appropriate answer

- 7. During the last week, how many hours of leisure have you spent with your family, work colleagues, other friends and by yourself?

With family

With work colleagues

With other friends

By yourself

Please write number of hours for each

* * * * *

APPENDIX BSCORES OF INSTRUMENTALISM

Goldthorpe and Lockwood devised scores of instrumentalism for their sample of 'Affluent Workers'. I have assessed the strength of the City Firemen's orientation to work in a similar manner. I used the following criteria -

1. Nature of attachment to present employment.
2. Degree of involvement with work-mates.
3. Extent of Organizational Participation.

Although it is not strictly legitimate to derive scores using criteria developed in another work situation, I have nevertheless done so to give an approximate indication of the strength of the City Firemen's instrumentalism; as can be seen the City Firemen had much lower instrumentalism scores than the 'Affluent Workers'.

SCORES OF INSTRUMENTALISM OF FIREMEN AND'AFFLUENT WORKERS'*

Score	Firemen ^{**} (N = 42)	'Affluent Workers' (N = 229)
	%	%
6	0	5
5	3	31
4	19	28
3	33	25
2	28	9
1	17	2
TOTALS	100	100

* Goldthorpe, et al., op. cit., Vol. 1, page 161.

** The scores of instrumentalism given for the City Firemen should be treated as 'rough guides' only.

APPENDIX C

FACTORS MOST IMPORTANT IN WORK
FOR FIREMEN UNDER 30 YEARS OF AGE

(N = 20)

	TOTAL SCORE	AVERAGE
SECURITY	115	5.7
PAY	105	5.2
INTEREST AND VARIETY	108	5.4
WORK-MATES	99	4.9
WORKING CONDITIONS	60	3.0
SUPERIORS	52	2.6
UNIONS	41	2.5

FACTORS MOST IMPORTANT IN WORK
FOR FIREMEN OVER 30 YEARS OF AGE

(N = 19)

	TOTAL SCORE	AVERAGE
SECURITY	107	5.6
PAY	105	5.5
INTEREST AND VARIETY	103	5.4
WORK-MATES	73	3.8
WORKING CONDITIONS	76	4.0
SUPERIORS	47	2.4
UNIONS	34	1.8

APPENDIX D

TYPES OF PREMISES DEALT WITH BY THE CITY FIRE BRIGADE*

	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	TOTALS	%
Private Houses	28	33	21	14	17	13	29	28	24	207	9.5
Multi Storey Flats	2	0	1	4	5	3	2	8	3	28	1.0
Factories	6	10	6	5	5	5	3	3	2	45	2.0
Shops	6	4	5	2	1	6	2	1	1	28	1.0
Garages	3	0	4	1	3	0	2	1	3	17	1.0
Open Roadway	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
Hospitals	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	6	0
Clubs	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	5	0
Enclosed Ground (Roadway)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
Motor Vehicles	4	5	6	3	5	9	5	3	7	47	2.0
Open Ground	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0
Post Boxes	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	0	17	1.0
Warehouses	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Schools	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	8	0
Licenced Victuallers	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	4	0
	58	57	46	37	42	41	52	47	44	C/F 424	17.5

* This data applies to the City Brigade I visited, and is calculated over a nine month period (April 1973 - Dec. 1973).

APPENDIX D (Continued...)

	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	TOTALS	%
Brought Forward	58	57	46	37	42	41	52	47	44 B/F	424	17.5
Docks	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
Huts	7	3	0	0	2	0	2	1	3	18	1.0
Caravans	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Nurses Homes	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ships	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
University	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
Derelict Buildings	85	77	78	71	64	53	40	38	23	529	24.0
Grassland	37	11	13	6	3	4	0	2	0	76	4.0
Fences and Hoardings	3	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	11	1.0
Refuse and Rubbish	137	106	115	67	133	119	237	123	60	1097	50.0
R. Furniture	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0
Launderettes	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Railway Wagons	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	1	6	0
Electrical Sub Stations	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Bingo Halls	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Lamp Standards	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	333	263	255	186	246	221	332	212	132	2180*	97.5

(Total of all calls)

* This figure does not include false alarms.

APPENDIX E: THE INCIDENCE OF CALLS DEALT WITH BY THE CITY FIRE BRIGADE*

TIME	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	TOTALS	%
Mid - 01	8	4	11	10	9	2	7	4	9	64	2.0
01 - 02	3	6	4	2	6	2	4	4	4	35	1.0
02 - 03	2	6	5	1	7	4	1	4	1	31	1.0
03 - 04	7	4	1	6	3	2	2	2	2	29	1.0
04 - 05	2	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	10	0
05 - 06	2	2	0	2	1	0	3	3	1	14	0
06 - 07	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	1	2	11	0
07 - 08	4	1	1	1	2	2	7	4	1	23	1.0
08 - 09	6	4	5	3	1	4	6	2	2	33	1.0
09 - 10	7	10	3	9	7	9	8	5	5	63	2.0
10 - 11	16	12	12	5	15	10	7	5	4	86	3.0
11 - 12	14	7	12	13	19	6	7	6	6	90	3.0
12 - 13	15	20	16	13	8	9	24	11	14	130	4.0
13 - 14	21	20	19	13	19	11	23	26	11	163	5.0
14 - 15	35	22	23	29	31	19	15	22	23	219	7.0
15 - 16	23	30	21	21	21	16	26	27	25	210	7.0
16 - 17	26	24	19	20	25	18	31	23	26	212	7.0
17 - 18	28	12	20	19	24	31	32	33	22	221	7.0
18 - 19	44	34	22	16	35	21	48	31	23	274	9.0
19 - 20	38	50	32	22	31	44	66	25	16	324	10.0
20 - 21	37	32	32	23	27	34	48	22	16	271	9.0
21 - 22	28	32	40	16	45	27	32	22	10	252	8.0
22 - 23	28	29	26	7	22	29	28	14	12	195	6.0
23 - 24	16	13	25	11	16	11	10	20	7	129	4.0
TOTALS	412	376	352	265	377	313	435	316	243	3089 (Total of all calls)	98.0

* This data applies to the City Fire Brigade I visited, and is calculated over a nine month period (April 1973 - Dec. 1973).

APPENDIX F

'THAT'S MORE LIKE IT!'*

FIREMAN	<u>56 HOURS</u>			<u>48 HOURS</u>			Casual Overtime Rate
	Basic Salary	Unsocial Hours	Total Weekly Pay	Basic Salary	Unsocial Hours	Total Weekly Pay	
Starting Rate	£ 31.11	£ 3.32	£ 34.43	£ 26.11	£ 2.84	£ 28.95	Pence 76
6 months - 2 years	32.95	3.51	36.46	27.60	3.01	30.61	80½
3rd year	34.91	3.72	38.63	29.29	3.19	32.40	85½
4th year	37.09	3.96	41.05	30.88	3.39	34.27	91
Qualified Rate	41.23	4.39	45.62	34.10	3.76	37.86	101
Long Service Fireman	43.42	4.63	48.05	35.88	3.96	39.84	106
Leading Fireman	44.80	4.78	49.58	36.98	4.09	41.07	109½
Sub-Officer (1)	46.18	4.92	51.10	38.13	4.22	42.35	113
Sub-Officer (2)	48.25	5.15	53.40	39.85	4.41	44.26	118

* The Firefighter - December, 1973.

APPENDIX GACTIVITIES WHICH THE JUNIOR RANKS THOUGHT MOST WORTH DOING*

	%
FIRE-FIGHTING	53
HELPING PEOPLE	22
SAVING LIFE AND PROPERTY	20
TRAINING/DRILL	19
LECTURES/STUDYING	11
MACHINE/EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE	9
TURN-OUTS	8
VISITS TO FACTORIES/HIGH RISK AREAS	6
SAVING/PROTECTING PROPERTY	5
FIRE PREVENTION WORK	5
HELPING/INSTRUCTING THE MEN	4
TOPOGRAPHY	2
OTHER	12
TOTAL	176 **
% BASE (ALL JUNIOR RANKS)	1,470

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 26.

** Adds to more than 100% as some respondents mentioned more than one activity.

APPENDIX H

TIME SPENT ON EMERGENCY CALLS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TIME*

Station	Calls as per cent of total available man hours	Calls & maintenance time as per cent of total available man hours
	%	%
48-hour shift		
1 City	6.8	16.5
2 City	4.1	7.7
3 City	4.7	12.2
4 City	4.7	10.7
56-hour shift		
5 County	0.8	2.3
6 County	1.9	5.4
7 County	1.0	2.2
8 County	3.2	10.7
9 County	5.4	13.3
10 County	1.1	2.3
Average	3.3	8.3
Day-manning		
11 County	4.0	10.9
12 County	2.9	5.2
13 County	1.0	2.4
14 County	-	-
15 County	1.3	3.6
Average	3.1	7.6
Range	0.8-6.8	2.2-16.5

Note: Day-manning figures have been expressed as calls received and attended during normal duty hours.

* Cunningham, op. cit., page 21.

APPENDIX I

WAYS IN WHICH THE RUNNING OF THE STATION COULD BE IMPROVED*

	Junior Ranks
	%
LESS TIME SPENT ON CLEANING/STATION DUTIES	36
MORE/BETTER TRAINING; DRILL; LECTURES	29
IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OFFICERS AND MEN	28
MORE FIRE PREVENTION/VISITS TO FIRE RISKS	16
PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENTS TO THE STATION	9
IMPROVE SYSTEM OF WATCHES/DUTY SYSTEM	7
BETTER ORGANISATION OF WORK ROUTINE	7
SHOULD BE FEWER OFFICERS	6
EMPLOY MORE/DIFFERENT TYPE OF PERSONNEL	5
OTHER	32
TOTAL	175 **
% BASE (THOUGHT RUNNING OF STATION COULD BE IMPROVED)	993

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 64.

** Adds to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one way in which the running of the Station could be improved.

APPENDIX J

INDUSTRY OF JOBS PRIOR TO JOINING THE FIRE SERVICE **

	Junior Ranks	Senior Ranks	General Population*
	%	%	%
Public Administration and Defence (includes military service).	23	27	6
Distributive Trades	14)	15)	12)
Construction	12)	7)	7)
Transport and Communication	9) ⁴¹	10) ³⁸	7) ³⁶
Engineering & Electrical Goods	6)	6)	10)
Other	36	35	58
Total	100	100	100
% Base (up to four most recent jobs for junior and senior ranks)	4,036	1,365	22,828 thousand

* Source: Estimated number of employees in Great Britain mid-1967 'Ministry of Labour Gazette, March 1968'.

** M. Thomas, op. cit., page 16.

APPENDIX K

DETAILS OF MILITARY SERVICE

	Junior Ranks	Senior Ranks
	%	%
Kind of service:		
War Service	38	58
National Service	34	28
Regular Service	33	18
	**	**
Which service:		
Army	54	49
Navy	23	27
R.A.F.	23	24
Total	100	100
Rank on leaving:		
Other ranks	56	37
Non-Commissioned officers	43	61
Commissioned officers	1	2
Total	100	100
% Base (has done military service)	878	231
(Proportion having done military service)	(60)	(68)

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 17.

** Adds to more than 100 per cent as some respondents did more than one kind of service.

APPENDIX LREASONS FOR CONSIDERING RESIGNING *

	<u>JUNIOR RANKS</u>
<u>MORE EXPRESSIVE:</u>	%
OFFICERS' ATTITUDE/BEHAVIOUR	16
GENERAL DISCONTENT/DISILLUSIONMENT	8
BOREDOM/MONOTONOUS WORK	5
WANTED TO DO SOMETHING ELSE	4
TOO MUCH CLEANING/KITCHEN DUTIES	3
HOURS/WORKING AT NIGHT	10
TOTAL EXPRESSIVE	46
<u>MORE INSTRUMENTAL:</u>	
PAY	38
POOR PROMOTION PROSPECTS	8
DOMESTIC REASONS	7
HOUSING	3
OFFER OF ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT	9
TOTAL INSTRUMENTAL	65
<u>UNCLASSIFIABLE:</u>	
OTHER	9
WANTED TO EMIGRATE	4
TOTAL UNCLASSIFIABLE	13
TOTAL	124 **
% Base (last occasion considered resigning)	646

* M. Thomas, op. cit., page 82. I have classified M. Thomas' data into 'instrumental' and 'expressive' categories.

** Adds to more than 100 per cent as some respondents gave more than one reason.

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SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

This research is a study of firemen working in an English city. Broadly the aim of the study is to investigate the attitudes of these firemen towards their work. The contributions of industrial sociologists to the analysis of work situations are evaluated. The patterns of recruitment into the Brigade, in relation to the impact of the previous work experience are discussed. It is shown that previous work experience is often an important determinant of orientation to existing work. The work tasks of the firemen are described and so are their attitudes to these tasks. It is demonstrated that the city firemen had a 'crisis orientation' to their work. The question is asked: "Why do emergencies give meaning?" The patterns of sociability and leisure of the firemen are also analysed and the findings presented in the general context of the impact of work upon non-work life.

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