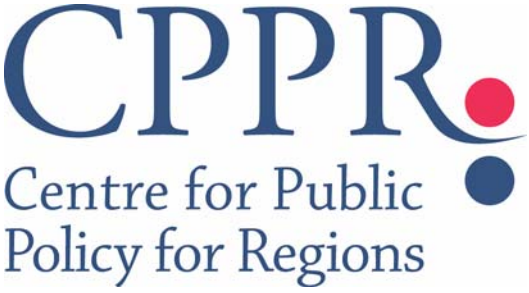

Discussion Paper No.3
May 2005

Regulating the New Urban Poor: Local Labour Market Control in an Old Industrial City

Dr Gesa Helms (corresponding author)
Department of Urban Studies
University of Glasgow
g.helms@socsci.gla.ac.uk
Tel: +44(0)141 330 4615
Fax: +44(0)141 330 4983

Andy Cumbers
Department of Geography & Geomatics
University of Glasgow
acumbers@geog.gla.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

There has been considerable debate in recent years about the new forms of labour market policy developing in advanced industrial states, and especially to the emergence of neoliberal workfare regimes in the United States and the United Kingdom. In particular, the Labour Government's employment policies, including its New Deal programme, have been viewed as part of a more generalised shift away from a passive regime of welfare rights and benefits towards a more active labour market policy to reduce welfare dependency and to motivate the unemployed back into work. Conceptually, this has been viewed as part of a new form of employment regulation, based upon compulsion and coercion within a shift towards more flexible labour markets. Whilst in the UK policy might be conceived at the national level, it is at the local scale, within particular contexts, that the new employment initiatives are played out and their impact needs to be assessed. In this paper, we draw attention to the importance of local labour control regimes, focusing upon how labour market institutions and mechanisms of regulation are developed within particular local historical contexts. We emphasise, in contrast to some accounts, the importance of local autonomy and action in the development of labour market regimes. Our arguments are illustrated through an examination of a specific set of labour market programmes established to 'deal' with the after-effects of deindustrialisation in the city of Glasgow and in particular the need to manage those displaced by the shift from a productivist economy to one increasingly geared towards services and consumption.

1. INTRODUCTION[i]

There has been an increasing amount of attention paid by policy makers and academics to the labour market in recent years as a means of influencing broader processes of economic restructuring. One of the most debated elements of labour market regulation in the Anglo-American world has been a shift away from a regime of universal welfare rights and benefits towards a more conditional form of welfare delivery in which unemployment and other social benefits are linked to steering individuals towards more active labour market participation. In the UK under New Labour this shift has been encapsulated in the 'Welfare to Work' agenda and the New Deal programme; a supply-side approach that prioritises basic skills training and job placement as a means of moving the unemployed and low-skilled into work. In effect, the move into more coercive forms of labour market policy under previous Conservative regimes has been consolidated into a much broader and more comprehensive attempt to integrate social policy and labour market policy (OECD 1999; Tonge 1999; Peck and Theodore 2000). Conceptually, these emerging labour market strategies have been situated within more fundamental changes to modes of social regulation and economic governance, associated with neoliberalism as an attempt to deal with the still unresolved crisis of Fordism as a regime of accumulation (Jessop 2002a; Peck 2001).

Whilst much of the focus on these changes has been at the national level, it is at the local scale – in particular places – where policies are implemented and played out (Peck 1998; Harvey 1982; Jonas 1996) and where the contradictions arising from the tensions between processes of capitalist production on the one hand and social reproduction on the other have to be resolved. Such contradictions or tensions are particularly acute in old industrial cities and regions that have been at the sharp end of recent processes of economic restructuring. In these areas the decline of traditional forms of work in industry and manufacturing sectors that provided regular, stable and relatively well-paid work for a blue-collar male workforce has been replaced by a more dynamic and insecure working environment characterised by casualisation, low pay and deskilled work in the new economy sectors (Allen and Henry 1997). The result is a growing residual segment of the labour market excluded from the mainstream and constituting an emerging new urban poor. The current government's

emphasis on delivering social inclusion through participation in the labour market (Levitas 1998) makes a focus upon old industrial areas even more pertinent as these localities are the site of both national as well as local labour market initiatives to establish new stable modes of social regulation.

Within the context of local labour market restructuring, our paper intends to work towards an understanding of labour market policy not as discrete, singular interventions but as part of a broader institutional context or what Jonas (1996) has referred to as a 'local labour control regime'. From this perspective, labour market policy is interpreted in the context of ongoing changes in systems of production and reproduction which, whilst driven partly by actors at higher scales, are mediated through the local labour market. The importance of Jonas' concept lies in an understanding of the labour market not as a discrete, clearly-bounded entity but, instead as constituted by both production and reproduction. He thus picks up on some traditional and long-established Marxist arguments about the mutual dependence between social relations in and outside the workplace in the local community (e.g. Thompson 1967; Melling 1992; Melling 1982). Conceptually, we argue that such an approach can also recover the sense of agency for those individuals and communities at the sharp end of labour market policies.

Following this introduction, the paper consists of five further sections. Section Two argues that local spaces of labour market regulation are central to understanding the outcome of new policy regimes. As labour markets are place-bound with the majority of the workforce only to limited degrees mobile, it is in specific localities that issues of restructuring, globalisation, flexibilisation as well as economic growth are manifested and where particular control regimes emerge (Cox 1993; Allen and Massey 1988). With such an understanding of labour market restructuring, we discuss in the third part the specificities of old-industrial labour markets where a significant, and indeed growing population live in poverty (as well as being socially excluded from the formal economy) (Fothergill 2001). The fourth part details the nature of employment restructuring in the local labour market as a prelude to the fifth section that explores empirically how different elements of a particular control regime have emerged in Glasgow, associated with a shift from older industrial work to employment and policy initiatives in a new consumption based local economy. In our

conclusion we outline a number of key issues emerging in the local labour market control regime of old-industrial cities such as Glasgow, notably the new forms of service work and the types of employment associated with them, the implications of these forms for how the labour market is being re-regulated and how new institutional practices are being developed as a result.

2. SPACES AND SCALES OF LABOUR MARKET REGULATION

There is a developing debate taking place in the Anglo-American literature about the emergence of new modes of labour market regulation accompanying a shift away from a Fordist regime of accumulation to a post-Fordist or to some neo-liberal regime (Peck and Tickell 1994; Jessop 2002b). A relatively passive regime of trans-national labour market governance with a recognition of universal rights to social welfare is giving way to a more coercive workfare agenda (Peck 2001) characterised by a much greater degree of compulsion into work. Policies and strategies 'to deal' with the unemployed and socially excluded have been transferred from North America to inform the thinking of the UK's New Labour Government since 1997, although at the same time these also represent a significant degree of continuity with the policies of the previous Conservative administration.

Whilst much of the thinking behind these approaches emerges from the discourses of government and business actors operating at national and even transnational scales – representing globally what Burawoy (1985) has referred to as a regime of hegemonic despotism – ultimately labour market policy has to be implemented locally. It is at the local scale, in particular places, where for the vast majority of people work and employment processes operate on a day-to-day basis, what Castree et al (2004, 64) refer to as the 'scale of everyday life'. This does not mean that local labour markets operate independently of economic, social and political processes at higher scales, but rather that they are important sites through which broader processes are played out. Because labour has to go home every night, it is at the local scale that capital is confronted with the issue of social reproduction, i.e. the conditions under which labour power has to be reproduced and where the contradictions arising from processes of economic restructuring become most evident as result (Peck 1996; Harvey 1982). Thus, whilst policies may be put in place at the national scale by

governments in order to reconcile the contradictions arising from the tensions between production and social reproduction – identified as particular modes of social regulation (Jessop 1994) – it is the local scale where the management of social regulation becomes critical.

An obvious point to follow from this is that there is a considerable spatial variation in the local institutional conditions that underpin the operation of local labour markets that will in turn reflect: variations in sectoral conditions and past industrial trajectories and the way these shape contemporary responses; the changing balance of power between capital and labour; and the broader context of local civil society and the mix of social actors that constitute the local economic community (e.g. Hanson and Pratt 1995; Peck 1996).

The significance placed onto the local also reconnects with elements of the 1980s locality debates, emphasising the relative autonomy of the local (Duncan and Goodwin 1988). At the same time, however, an examination into what exactly such *relative* autonomy means in terms of restrictions and limitations of the local is one of the great insights to be gained from more recent work on the locally unevenly institutionalised regulation of labour markets. This has been particularly pronounced in work emanating from the regulation school which charts the mediating effects of local labour market institutions in producing an uneven geography of labour market outcomes (e.g. Peck and Tickell 1994; Peck 1998). This work, however, is often characterised by an over-determined logic in which outcomes are shaped by local contingencies, yet are nevertheless ultimately driven and reducible to processes operating at much broader scales. Neoliberal restructuring operates to produce different outcomes in different places but ultimately the result is similar, the fragmentation and disciplining of labour. Thus, although great insights can be gained from such approaches, they offer only a partial explanation, primarily because they give analytical priority to capital and state actors and view labour rather passively in its relationship to restructuring processes (e.g. Peck and Theodore 1998).

A focus on the local scale firstly offers an understanding of labour market restructuring at the site of its implementation, management and negotiation. With much of labour market policy developed at the national scale, a large degree of

decision-making and strategic development of policies does occur beyond the local. Nonetheless, the arena for 'working with' such policies as well as the decision-making over the actual making of policy necessarily happens in local contexts. Secondly, we argue that a perspective on the local scale offers a further advantage, and one which remains too vague in much regulationist work. This second advantage lies in the ability to zoom in on the needs of social reproduction. As they are bound up with individuals and communities, such needs are seemingly strongly place-bound and 'locally dependent' (Cox and Mair 1988), as it has been often argued in relation to threats posed by globalisation[ii]. Including the needs for social reproduction then highlights the relational nature of labour market processes rather than merely examining capital and state actors.

In thinking through how the issues of production and reproduction are reconciled, the concept of a local labour control regime (Burawoy 1985; Jonas 1996) arguably offers a more sophisticated model of the way that local labour markets operate than those of both regulation theorists and policy makers focusing upon simple supply side issues linked to skills, training and inclusion. The focus upon 'getting people into jobs' provides a particularly narrow view of the labour market with little consideration of the broader problems of social reproduction (e.g. family, household, community impacts of particular forms of work). To provide an obvious example, the removal of a universal right to welfare and its coupling with paid work obligation devalues other roles in the process of social reproduction, which were already under-valued in the Fordist regime based around the notion of the male breadwinner (Jessop 1994).

The concept of a local labour control regime eschews grand meta-theories of labour market regulation (e.g. Fordism, Neoliberalism) instead focusing upon how at the local level, capital [and the bourgeois state] 'confronts the immediate imperatives of labour control' (Jonas 1996, 324). Control here refers not just to the need to exercise power over labour in the labour process (Braverman 1974) but also to securing the broader conditions for sustainable capitalist production at the local level where ultimately a spatial and temporal fix is required to realise surplus value (Harvey 1982). Such a regime does not necessarily imply a coherent set of interlocking institutions, agents and processes, but instead points towards an often precarious management of spatial and temporal fixes[iii]. Put in this broader perspective local

forms of labour regulation emerge out of the contested struggles between capital, labour and the state in the inter-related spheres of production, reproduction and consumption. Such a perspective allows us to clarify some of the tensions existing around the term of a 'labour control regime'. Such tension is visible in the difficulties of earlier regulationist work to define and determine post-fordism, and how exactly this 'post' state is qualitatively different from Fordism. It is also found within the attempts to identify urban growth coalitions (Logan and Molotch 1987; Boyle 1999) or urban regimes (Stone 1989). The meaning of regime in these approaches is determined by local elites who form strategic alliances to create or boost urban growth. As such, these regimes focus solely on the needs for capital accumulation. It is within these debates, that the "effective exclusion of the politics of welfare [as local political expression of social reproduction] from the analysis of urban politics carries with it the fundamental danger of ignoring the politics of resistance and renewal", as Cochrane (1999, 123) puts it.

Yet in recognising the problem of social reproduction, the agency of labour becomes central to our understanding of how processes of labour market regulation work out in practice. How labour responds both individually and collectively to processes of politico-economic restructuring by more powerful actors is important in considering how labour power is reproduced. The conditions through which labour 'goes home every night' and 'can be returned to work the next day', or more pertinently in the context of fragmenting and increasingly contingent labour markets 'gets by' are critical in this sense. Of course, such arguments would come as no surprise to earlier work by Marxist labour historians such as EP Thompson (1963; 1967) or Joseph Melling (1992; 1982) who have emphasised the centrality of labour as agent in holding together spheres of production and reproduction. Indeed, Thompson's (1978) argument with structural Marxists owed a lot to his desire to recover a stronger cultural and political agency to the working class by showing how they cope, resist and struggle to 'get by' despite the processes of fragmentation that arise out of capitalist production. With such a perspective, reductionist claims of labour markets being regulated merely through skills, technology and investments are left wanting. Instead, a more comprehensive understanding of labour market regulation (Jonas 1996) within the context of a local labour market control regime needs to be developed. Such understanding resonates with Herod's (2001, 46) call for "a more

serious consideration of how [working-class people] *actively produce economic spaces and scales* in particular ways (both directly and indirectly, consciously and unconsciously) as they implement in the landscape their own spatial fixes in the process of ensuring their own self-reproduction […]."

3. OLD INDUSTRIAL SPACES AND THE NEW POOR

Observers of economic and social change across the UK have argued that "[t]he economic gulf separating the north and south is widening, with the country's poor becoming poorer", (Guardian 2004a; Dorling and Thomas 2004). Rather than experiencing a convergence between rich and poor households across the country, something that would resonate with current government rhetoric on social justice, since 1978 the UK has not only seen a growth in the number of households living in relative poverty, but also a growing divide in absolute levels of income between the upper and lower quartile of earners (Nickell 2004; Hocking 2003). Nickell (2004) points out that to a large extent this is caused by the rise of 'worklessness', the growing dispersion of wages, and benefits levels that are linked to inflation rather than wages.

Furthermore, he suggests that the most profound implications of these growing income disparities are visited upon low-skilled workers, as it is here that the working poor are to be found. Labour market policies to address these issues have thus increasingly become interlinked with social welfare and social inclusion policies. In particular, the inclusion of economically inactive social groups has been seen as the key to converting social policy increasingly into welfare delivery, conditional upon a willingness to participate in the labour market. In this context a range of, often local, social inclusion initiatives have developed to re-regulate local labour markets, by raising the level of employability of individuals and channelling them into the jobs being created through processes of urban restructuring.

It is in those cities and regions that experienced the most dramatic economic decline and subsequent restructuring that these concerns about worklessness, poverty and social inclusion are most pressing. Dorling and Thomas's (2004, 194) study has found that outside London, Glasgow had the highest percentage (41%) of households living

in poverty. In as far as worklessness is responsible for poverty levels, the decline of traditional industries such as heavy-engineering and shipbuilding has severely affected old-industrial urban regions such as Glasgow. Although recorded unemployment levels in these regions are now relatively low (in comparison with 10 or 15 years ago), economic activity rates remain well below the national average. In Glasgow, for example, the inactivity rate of the working age population is over 30 % compared to a UK average of 22 % (NOMIS, Labour Force Survey March 2002-February 2003). In the wake of economic restructuring many old-industrial locations experienced a dramatic downturn in manufacturing, often barely offset by service sector employment, notably retailing, catering and most recently through call centres. Those jobs created in these industries do not necessarily require more formal qualifications than semi-skilled or unskilled manual employment, yet the skills required are often distinctly different to those of traditional manual work). Furthermore, these jobs are often characterised by casualised employment conditions and low wages, often only on National Minimum Wage levels (see below) (Allen and Henry 1997; Mooney and Johnstone 2000; Taylor and Bain 1999).

Looked at from the broader perspective of a local control regime, we need to consider how older local labour regimes operated, examining what issues of production and social reproduction were key to labour market regulation. The transition from an industrial to a service-based economy and the associated policy responses to this process are leading to the reshaping of the 'institutional architecture' of the local labour market with the replacement of one regime of social regulation with another. Crucially however we would agree with Peck (1998, 29) in his comment on the local impact of TECs when he says that:

> 'Understanding the geographies of [labour market] governance which are emerging […..] means unpacking the different ways in which national and local features are reconciled in concrete (local) institutional structures… ..national (regulatory) tendencies and local (institutional) outcomes mould one another in a dialectical fashion'.

In recent years, the Labour Government's attempts to address the continuing social exclusion of large segments of the male workforce from the labour market in areas

like Glasgow has led to a whole series of new policy initiatives as part of the 'New Deal'. As it has been noted by Sunley et al (2001) have noted, the local impact of these schemes has varied considerably, reflecting both the uneven nature of economic restructuring processes and the differential capacities of local actors to contribute to policy agendas. In such debates, the local institutional architecture usually refers to the organisational composition of local labour market regimes, reflecting the key actors and associations that dominate local economic decision-making. Whilst such 'harder' material institutions are clearly important, we also wish to draw upon a broader and 'softer' sense of 'institution' (see Cumbers et al 2003 for a fuller discussion) that reflects the influence of particular sectoral conditions in shaping labour market outcomes and the development of distinctive traditions and practices in the organisation of work.

In traditional heavy industries the embedding of workplaces within local communities led to specific institutional arrangements such as the tradition of families working in particular firms with recruitment and training into skilled work often regulated by birth and kinship. Gender and class characteristics also structured access to skilled work and in the case of the Clydeside shipyards, religion, with discrimination against Catholics commonplace (Melling 1982). Such working practices meant that labour and skills were socialised over generations, with similar patterns found across old-industrial regions and industries (Cumbers 1994). The decline of traditional industries and the growth of new sectors have resulted in new mechanisms and institutions emerging that represent a fundamental break from the past, with implications for how people are socialised and how they themselves react to this situation. In particular for many people there is a much more precarious relationship with the primary labour market and the concept of permanent skilled work. The norm for an increasing proportion of the new economy labour force is irregular and contingent work interspersed with periods of unemployment, sometimes quite long term in nature. With the accompanying rise of fixed term contracts and the increasing use by employers of temporary staffing agencies (Ward 2003; Peck and Theodore 1998), a higher turnover of staff in service sector jobs (as well as in elementary occupations such as warehousing, protective services and others) is becoming apparent.

Whilst in much of the research on emerging secondary labour markets, low-skilled workers are treated as passive victims of restructuring processes, an emphasis upon social reproduction issues provides them with a greater sense of agency. The knowledge that one's labour can be easily replaced, is largely redundant and disposable, means that employees (as well as 'Skillseekers', New Dealers and others on compulsory training programmes) learn to 'play the game' in terms of developing their own responses to welfare-to-work as well as to casualised service sector jobs. This can be measured in the drop-out rates of training courses, signing on and off the doles and a high turnover in call centres (see below). Additionally, many individuals within the lower tiers of the labour market will choose to work in the informal and grey economy alongside – or instead of – periods in formal employment, working for 'cash-in-hand' or as part of a bartering economy (Williams 2004). Thus, in the same fashion that labour process theorists emphasise worker resistance, both individually and collectively under even the most authoritarian work regimes (e.g. Warhurst and Thompson 1998) it is important to highlight the continuing agency of individuals, families and communities in securing the means to their own reproduction in the local labour market.

4. FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW: THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE GLASGOW LABOUR MARKET AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW LOCAL LABOUR CONTROL REGIME[iv]

In common with the experience of other old industrial cities (Hudson 1994), Glasgow has undergone a profound transformation in its economic base over the last two decades, and as a consequence of this, in the forms of work available in the local labour market (Bailey et al 1999). Between 1981 and 2002 (the latest data for which detailed employment data is available) there has been a marked shift from manufacturing into service-based activities; a decline in the former with the loss of almost 60,000 jobs has been accompanied by the growth of almost 90,000 jobs in the latter (see Table 1). However, unpacking this apparent net growth in employment reveals a more fragmented and uneven pattern of change in the local labour market that has further polarised employment experiences and disadvantaged some of the more vulnerable groups.

Table 1: Components of change in the Glasgow labour market 1981-2002

Sectoral change	***1981 (% of total)***	***2002 (% of total)***	***% change 1981-2002***	***Net job growth***
Manufacturing industries	23.2	7.4	-66.3	-58,219
Services	68.0	87.0	+34.5	+88,616
Gender Composition of change				
Male	54.3	47.5	-7.6	
Female	45.7	52.5	+20.2	
Male f/t	52.0	40.9	-17.3	-34,054
Male p/t	2.3	6.9	+208.8	+18,525
Female f/t	29.3	28.6	+2.4	+2,675
Female p/t	16.4	23.7	+51.9	+32,139
All f/t	81.3	69.4	-10.2	-31,379
All p/t	18.7	30.6	+71.6	+50,664
Total jobs growth			+5.1	+30,000

[Source: Annual Business Inquiry/Employee Analysis from NOMIS database; local authority boundaries]

In particular, the shift into services has brought about a profound change in gender composition with a 20 % growth in female employment and almost 8 % decline in male employment. But of greater significance in terms of income implications has been the related decline in full-time work and the rise in part-time working. The number of full-time jobs declined by over thirty thousand between 1981 and 2002 whilst the number of part-time jobs rose by over fifty thousand so that although over two thirds of work continues to be full-time, part-time working no represents a substantial minority of jobs in the local labour market. The most notable increase has

been in female part-time work, which now accounts for around one quarter of all employment. If the labour market is becoming more ‘feminised’, a concern is the slight decline over the period in the proportion of full-time jobs for women. But the most significant localised impact of the broader shift from manufacturing to services changes has been felt by male workers, and in particular by the manual workforce that would have been the bedrock of the local economy in the heavy industrial era.

An important consequence of the transition to a service-dominated economy for the traditional (and predominantly male) industrial labour force has been the disappearance of relatively stable well-paid work that also offered some prospect of advancement in activities such as shipbuilding and engineering, and its replacement with low-skilled, low-paid opportunities in contingent and part-time forms of service work or occasionally in construction. This has produced a growing polarisation in the labour market between professional and managerial workers, able to take advantage of the new economy sectors such as financial services and information technology, and those at the lower end who lack the education and skills. This is reflected in income data, where there is a significant gap between professional and skilled workers compared to those in the more ‘elementary’ occupations (see Table 2). Whilst there is a significant gap between the wages of skilled/educated workers to less skilled workers, what is particularly striking about these figures is the differentials with regard to national pay for some workers. Whilst those working in skilled or professional occupations are able to obtain jobs that keep pace with national wage levels, those in more basic employment (particularly men) are paid considerably less compared to national norms for the same type of work.

Table 2: Wage rates in Glasgow for different types of employment/occupation and differentials with Great Britain 2003

Employment category	***Average weekly wage (£)***	***Ratio to GB wages***
Male full-time	502	0.96
Female full-time	371	0.94
Male part-time	137*	0.84
Female part-time	156	1.04
For selected occupations (f-t):		
Male Professional	708	1.02
Female Professional	564	0.97
Male skilled	420	1.00
Female skilled	306	1.10
Male Elementary	294	0.91
Female Elementary	240	0.97

* based on small sample – statistically unreliable

[Source: New Earnings Survey; local authority boundaries]

The problem is compounded by the lack of opportunities for those at the lower end of the labour market to find work, which allows them to improve their employment prospects in the longer term. This in turn reflects the type of jobs available and the ability to upgrade skills or receive worthwhile training opportunities through the mechanisms of the local labour market. A snapshot of the job vacancies available for the Glasgow area in April 2004 (as reported by job centres), compared to Scottish and UK vacancies provides further evidence of these widening disparities (Table 3). What is particularly significant about these figures is the shortage of higher skilled opportunities in the more localised occupational segments of the local market, if we accept that professional and higher level managerial jobs are more likely to be

advertised regionally or nationally than in job centres, compared to figures for both Scotland and the UK. Whilst there are a disproportionately higher number of vacancies in relatively routine work available locally, there are a significantly lower number of vacancies for 'Associate Professional and Technical' work and for 'Skilled Trades'.

Table 3: Job Vacancies by Occupation, April 2004

	Glasgow (local authorities boundaries)		Scotland % of all vacancies	UK % of all vacancies
	No of vacancies	% of all vacancies		
Managers and Senior Officials	91	1.1	1.7	2.6
Professional	96	1.1	2.1	2.3
Associate Professional and Technical	322	3.8	7.2	6.7
Administrative and Secretarial	873	10.2	9.8	11.1
Skilled Trades	777	9.1	11.6	10.6
Personal Service	574	6.7	9.6	8.2
Sales and Customer Service	2,045	23.9	17.6	16.3
Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	849	9.9	9.2	11.0
Elementary	2,929	34.2	31.3	31.1
Total	8,556	100	100	100

[Source: NOMIS database, Job Centre data]

The lack of traditional manual forms of work has of course led to the exclusion of huge sections of the male workforce from the labour market altogether in older

industrial areas such as the Glasgow region. The official unemployment figures (according to the Labour Force Survey) for the year to February 2003 were recorded at 8.3 % compared to a national average of 4.6 %, but these masked appallingly low activity rates, with over 30 % of the male working age population classified as 'economically inactive' compared to a national figure of around 16 %.

Not only have the changes detailed here radically altered the make-up of the local employment structure but they have also been accompanied by dramatic institutional changes in the regulation of the local labour market; i.e. in the local labour control regime. These reflect the interaction of labour market policy and economic restructuring. Locally, policy has been driven by key agencies especially Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (SEG), which is the statutory local enterprise body charged with delivering skills training, vocational education and training schemes for the unemployed. SEG also acts as a facilitator for the private sector, e.g. by organising a number of working groups such as the Construction Employers Forum. But it is also important to highlight the changes in the soft institutional architecture that have taken place, with a marked shift in the employment practices (approaches to recruitment, training, promotion, etc) tied up in 'old economy' ways of working, associated with Glasgow's traditional shipbuilding and engineering industries compared to those of the new economy in helping to structure the emergent regime of labour control.

5. THE DIMENSIONS OF A NEW LOCAL LABOUR CONTROL REGIME

To restate our argument here in brief, the combination of economic restructuring, policy responses to it at a national level, and the local mediation of these processes is having a particularly deleterious effect upon those at the lower end of the labour market, replacing relatively stable and well-paid jobs on the old economy with an increasingly uncertain, unregulated and low-paid labour market for many in the new economy. Additionally, the absence of 'real' training opportunities to upskill means that there is a growing social polarisation between the higher and lower segments of the local labour market. In what follows, we highlight three ways in which the local institutional architecture works to create in effect a new regime of labour control for the urban poor. Firstly, the restructuring of training and skills in the 'old economy', secondly the types of jobs available to the low skilled in the new service economy with a particular focus upon the biggest growth area – call centres; and thirdly, intermediate labour market programmes aimed at managing the transition.

The Restructuring of Skills and Training in Manual Work

The shift from a productivist to a consumption based economy in Glasgow is captured in the urban fabric itself where along the riverside derelict former shipyards and engineering works have over the past two decades or so given way to new property-led forms of regeneration. In a rather inevitable fashion, the last craft-based boat repair yard upstream of the city centre was recently served with an eviction notice, its tenancy terminated to make way for a mixed housing and office complex as art of the Glasgow Harbour Project (Glasgow Harbour 2004; Scott 2004). Whilst a sobering reality of the new political drivers behind local development in cities such as Glasgow, this case also serves as a useful entry point in exploring how the training and employment opportunities for a traditional manual workforce are being recast. Indeed, construction is heralded in the city as a growth sector and as a buoyant labour market for manual workers with the Glasgow Harbour project alone expected "to create some 2,900 man-years of construction jobs" (Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2003, 46; McGregor et al 2001; Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2002)[v]. The clear implication is that it can help to fill the gap left behind by the decline in shipbuilding.

However, construction represents a more contingent and deregulated employment environment than traditional engineering and shipbuilding activities with fewer opportunities for skills training and career progression within individual firms. Over one third of construction workers are classified as self-employed – a figure over three times the average for all industries - whilst levels of unionisation are well below those of manufacturing at around 23 %, compared to 30 % for Scotland as a whole (Labour Force Survey 2002). Whilst skill levels are higher in Scotland than in the UK as a whole, the majority of workers do not possess a vocational qualification beyond level 3 (three years of training) and 12 % do not have any qualifications.

With a tightening labour market, the lack of training provision by employers in the past and growing skill shortages has recently been acknowledged by Glasgow's public sector agencies, resulting in the development of an action plan and the establishment of a number of networks such as the Construction Employers Forum. The need for training and workforce retention lies at the heart of attempts to re-regulate the industry, with local job plans now being introduced to regeneration projects such as the Glasgow Harbour development, which has an employment team to support opportunities for the local community. Although the Modern Apprenticeship (MA) scheme – introduced in 1996 – has resulted in a rising number of trainees in the construction industry (with 2,500 across Scotland) in 2001 (SQW Ltd. 2001), this is still a far cry from the levels of training undertaken (both in terms of quality and quantity) in the engineering and shipbuilding industries in the 1970s. In engineering for example, around 10 % of the workforce were craft trainees under the age of 19 in 1978 (EITB 1989). Although it represents a concerted attempt to counter the broader deskilling process at work in the local labour market and, ironically, an acute skills gap across the trades in Glasgow (Scottish Executive 2001), the MA framework seems slow in addressing shortcomings, and SEG (2002) estimates that in construction for Glasgow, apprenticeships in most trades will only expand by a further 10% by 2004, not nearly enough to fill the anticipated demand for skilled construction workers.

At the same time, construction has become one of the few roads into skilled *manual* employment for school-leavers, figuring frequently in the job aspirations of young men:

> If you ask a lot of young people here, young males, "What do you want to do?" Oh, they all want to work in construction. A few years ago it was the shipyards, they got away from that finally. Now they all want to work in construction. They're never going to work in construction, most of them will never work in construction all their lives because there are building workers unemployed at any one time. (Social Inclusion Partnership manager, Glasgow, 05/05/2001)

This manager's scepticism is mirrored in academic work, such as McDowell (2003, 24) stating that:

> […] there is the same sort of 'cultural lag' among white boys [in her study]. Young people in all these locations seemed to be relatively unaware of how the opportunities open to men and women from different classes on leaving are being reshaped. And as well as demonstrating a limited knowledge of the changing structure of the labour market, the young men to whom I talked to also had little awareness of the changing aspirations of many young women.

Notably, in both these accounts, the aspiration for young men to move into well-paid and skilled manual work is dismissed as a 'cultural lag'; the implication being that they are behind the times in adjusting to the switchover to a post-industrial future. Yet, this is to patronise traditional working class aspirations while glossing over the paucity of job opportunities for those school leavers who lack the academic qualifications or aptitude for white-collar office work. The problem is therefore with young people themselves, rather than employers who, with the decline of statutory training bodies, have - not surprisingly - cut their training budgets.[vi] The reality of the 'changing labour market structures' for many young men as we have already demonstrated and will illustrate in the following subsection is a choice between various low-end and badly paid jobs in 'elementary occupations' (either in construction, manufacturing or in low-end service sector jobs, as discussed below) and a growing polarisation in the labour market between those in professional and managerial white collar occupations and the rest.

The Service Economy and the Growth of Call Centre Work

As Tables 1 and 2 indicate, the growth in service-sector work has coincided with a growth in part-time employment and a decline in full-time employment. Whilst there clearly has been some growth in full-time employment, the shift to part-time working symbolises the declining status of jobs that are available to the low skilled in the local labour market. If we disaggregate the jobs growth in the service sector we find that some of the most significant areas of expansion have been in consumer-based activities reflecting Glasgow's burgeoning reputation as a centre for retailing, leisure and entertainment with a rise in employment in the hotel and restaurant trade. Not only are these relatively low paid sectors of the economy with casualised and insecure workforces, but they are at the same time heavily feminised and require personal and customer servicing skills that do not necessarily match up with a workforce more attuned to, and indeed socialised into, manual blue collar labour. The same can also be said of the other main area that has seen a growth in private sector employment opportunities, financial services. Whilst resulting in some more professional and career-oriented work, the sector in Glasgow has been dominated by the more routine and lower status work associated with the growth of call centres.

The Greater Glasgow region has become the second largest centre for call centre work after Tyneside with over 23,000 people employed in 109 locations (Bishop et al 2003). While call centres do provide full-time work, accounting for about 63 % of total employment, there are few opportunities for upskilling or career progression with most workplaces having very flat organisational structures in which typically around 70% of the workforce are employed as telephone agents and 20 % are on temporary contracts. Two thirds of the workforce are female although there is a growing proportion of male employees, with the same proportion again being under the age of 35 (Taylor and Bain 2000).

Although the employment offered is often of a higher quality – in terms of stability and permanency – than some of the other forms of work available locally in the 'new economy' sectors, this does not detract from the general pattern of a tightly controlled, routinised work environment. Surveys undertaken of employees reveal a dissatisfaction with the paucity of training available (typically four days for new starts), the monotonous nature of work organisation and the prospects for career

advancement (Bain and Taylor 1999). One worker summed it up as an 'assembly line in the head' (Taylor and Bain 1999). At the same time, wage levels are poor, even by the standards of the rest of the country with Glasgow being the second worst paid location (after Dundee) in the UK (Mitial 1999). Employees working as agents in centres receiving incoming calls were receiving an average salary of £8,900 in 1999 (Bain and Taylor 1999)– less than half of UK average earnings according to the Government's *New Earnings Survey*.

Overall, the impression gained from an analysis of call centre working is that, rather than providing 'decent work' that is of the quality – in terms of pay and conditions – to replace lost industrial sectors, in reality it adds up to another component of a rather coercive mode of labour market governance more concerned with shifting the unskilled and marginalized into work and off benefits. Service work in this sense can be seen as one of the institutional elements by which the 'new urban poor' are 'churned' through the labour market rather than offered meaningful training, skills acquisition and job opportunities. However, rather than being passive victims of labour control, the emerging evidence suggests a degree of resistance, reflected most obviously in high turnover rates, varying from 20 % to 80 % per annum in one survey of firms (Taylor and Bain 1999).

Local Intermediate Labour Market Programmes

In managing the shift from an industrial to service-based economy, a number of active labour market policies have been widely discussed in relation to supported, or intermediate, labour markets (ILMs). The city of Glasgow has almost ten years of experience with intermediate labour market programmes, which through the LEDC daughter company Glasgow Works are tailored to the local labour market, while drawing on national and European initiatives and funding opportunities. In addition to the national programmes such as New Deal Tailored Pathways, Employment Zones and Employment Action Teams, operating through LEDCs across the city, there are a number of local initiatives which we highlight here as illustrating some of the issues surrounding the social regulation of workfare programmes and their participants.

Established in 1994 as an integrated pathway to employment, Glasgow Works provides a local intermediate labour market programme overseeing 13 projects with

500 participants per year. While on average costing around £10,000 per participant and thus being more expensive than national programmes such as Employment Zones, the evaluations of Glasgow Works have demonstrated a higher success rate in both placing people into employment and sustaining employment over the long term (OECD 2002, 112). For example, one scheme, the Glasgow City Centre Representatives (CCR), set up in 1995, placed 83 % of its trainees into a job in the first four years (Helms 2003). Trainees provide a range of services as part of their job – acting as city wardens – including information for tourists, acting as intermediaries between city centre businesses and public agencies and taking part in environmental improvement services. Trainees are paid the national minimum wage (£ 4.85 per hour as of October 2004) and are employed for up to 26 weeks (52 weeks in the past). Trainees receive formal training in customer services skills and job-search as well as being provided with support to find full-time employment and even a personal development allowance. While initially successful, the scheme has come up against the limits that confront all ILM schemes in old industrial areas; the increasing difficulty over the longer term in recruiting suitable trainees, and meeting its 55% target for 'positive outcomes', often falling back upon the local authority for placing into employment.

There are also other drawbacks to ILMs revealed through the workings of the CCR scheme. As an ILM, the project can only employ staff for now up to 26 weeks, yet, to become professional and confident in their tasks requires a much greater degree of time and training than that provided. While this issue does not seem to be easily resolved, the impact on workforce regulation of such initiatives is expressed in the assessment given by managers and supervisors, whose task ultimately is to place people into employment rather than provide meaningful training and skill acquisition. This, as expressed in the following quote, involves a much broader understanding of training and is about preparing unemployed local people to understand the demands of a changed economy.

> The most important aspect of the job is getting people to understand that the days of […] the ship yards, the steel industry, the whisky in the street, the days where welders were getting £15, £20 an hour... we can't do that anymore. Those jobs are away. They will never come back. […] I've got friends, welders, they don't work now because they won't take a job that's less than £20

> an hour. We've got to educate to the standard... to understand that coming into a job like this may only be £3, £4 an hour and it may be seen as a training course but it's to train people in different aspects of skills. So that they can be here and hopefully get into a job that they gonna get £5 or £6 or £7 an hour. Nowadays, £5, £6 or £7 an hour... it's a reasonable wage. That's what people have... we are giving transferable skills here. We're *educating* people to the fact that they hopefully will leave here and get a job like that. As soon as people realise what this job is about and how we can help people back into work […]. That's the main aspect of this job. (Manager, City Centre Representatives, 01/04/1999)[vii]

Glasgow's ILM projects are able to provide particular services within the local (social) economy, and as such are closely linked to the local labour market, its institutions and also its problems. This often leads to a higher success rate for participants being placed into unsupported employment (as well as higher rates for people still in employment after 13 weeks) at 62% than national programmes such as Training For Work at 35% or the New Deal at 18% (Marshall et al 2002, 9). Yet as Marshall and co-workers (2002) argue, the existence of national and local programmes for ILM in one locality, with the former increasingly being compulsory elements of welfare-to-work policies, points towards a conflict between participants not being able to enter more successful localised ILMs such as Glasgow Works (and with higher drop-out rates in Employment Zones these participants are more likely to remain unemployed). The recent wave of national welfare-to-work policies, notably Working Links and Employment Zones possess an element of localised variation so as to tailor national policy to small-scale pockets of deprived neighbourhoods (for more info, see Department for Work and Pensions 2004). Nonetheless, the discussed dilemma of innovative local initiatives such as Glasgow Works clearly demonstrates the limitations of local policy initiatives.

In terms of actual numbers, ILMs have a relatively small impact on the local labour market, but they do nonetheless have important discursive value, in revealing the policy agenda at work through key labour market agencies. As such they have been the subject of much debate, reflecting their status as the most-advanced elements of training-to-work and workfare in the UK. We would argue however that in

considering how the institutional make up of the local labour market is changing, we should look beyond these 'harder' institutional initiatives and the organisations behind them, to explore more broadly how individuals' expectations, norms and values about work and employment are being recast by the forms of economic and social restructuring that they are encountering.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have drawn attention to the importance of the local scale in appreciating the interaction of processes of economic restructuring and labour market policy (Peck 1998). Because it is at the local scale where the tension between sustaining capital accumulation and social reproduction become evident, it is in local labour markets where key institutions and actors become central in the emergence of particular regimes of labour market control (Jonas 1996). The particular mix of local industrial sectors, past forms of development, balance between labour and capital and civic and political culture locally play a key role in regulating the labour market. This is particularly evident in old industrial cities and regions where there has been a marked shift in the past 25 years from labour markets dominated by heavy industry and manufacturing sectors towards new service-based local economies.

We argue that the concept of a local labour control regime is particularly useful for interpreting the transformation of the Glasgow labour market in recent years, from an economy dominated by shipbuilding and heavy engineering, with a work culture based around relatively stable male-dominated manual labour, to a new consumption based economy with more feminised and contingent forms of work in emerging service sectors. A new institutional mix is evident both in the changing policy initiatives – bound up in a workfare agenda – being imposed to attempt to deal with the consequences of industrial decline and the, as yet unsolved, problem of mass poverty and exclusion from the formal labour market, and in the employment practices associated with 'new economy' work.

The most pronounced effect of the transition from one local labour control regime to another has been the growing fragmentation of the labour market and the increasing marginalisation of whole swathes of working class men from formal employment.

Labour market policies, both at the national level, and at the local level are geared to tackling this growing social exclusion, though with a strong element of compulsion and a retreat from the principle of universal rights to benefits and a basic income. ILMs have been developed that are shaped by the local context of change, namely providing a redundant industrial workforce with a more customer friendly face, suitable for the new jobs available in service sectors. As noted however, these programmes have limited value in providing skills training as their main rationale is to deliver the unemployed into work.

In this discussion, tensions surrounding the concept of a local labour control regime have emerged both on a theoretical and empirical plane. Rather than understanding 'regime' in the sense of a (successful) coalition of local elite agents pursuing economic growth, we have refocused on the agency and needs of labour and its social reproduction. While recovering labour's agency in this process, this shift simultaneously has opened up labour market processes to questions of social reproduction in communities and outside the workplace, its agents, practices and institutions. An issue we would highlight here concerns the motivation of young men who are still aspiring to skilled manual employment. The lack of such opportunities (in construction or more notably manufacturing) places those young men alongside unemployed people on training programmes. Their lack of motivation and co-operation in turn can also be accounted for by their refusal, resistance, or at least a seeming indifference, towards increasingly punitive policies that are solely concerned with placing unemployed into jobs rather than asking about the quality and perspective of the employment created. Such workplace-based interactions, we have argued, need to be more firmly placed into the context of a changing urban fabric and its communities. Instead of treating individuals as passive victims of both economic restructuring and active labour market programmes, we have highlighted the need to take their agency in responding and developing their own strategies of social reproduction seriously. Harking back to older traditions of radical labour history and industrial sociology (Burawoy 1985; Thompson 1963) more research is needed both into (i) how these changes in the labour market are interpreted by the new urban poor and how this affects their values, perceptions and attitudes to work and, (ii) the strategies they pursue in negotiating pathways through the new local labour control regime that is emerging. Discussion here has only focussed upon the formal economy

(both primary and secondary labour markets), but of course such strategies will inevitably involve a wide range of informal activities as individuals and communities construct new ways of getting by in old industrial cities and regions.

REFERENCES

Allen, J. & Henry, N. **(**1997) "Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* at work: labour and employment in the contract services industries" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22:149-166.

Allen, J. & Massey, D. (Eds) (1988) *The Economy in Question*, Sage:London

Bailey, N., Turok, I., & Docherty, I. (1999) *Edinburgh and Glasgow: contrasts in competitiveness and cohesion*, Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.

Bain, P. & Taylor, P. (1999) *Call centres in Scotland: an overview*, Scottish Low Pay Unit, Glasgow

Bishop, P., Gripaios, P. & Bristow, G. **(**2003) "Determinants of call centre location: some evidence from the UK urban areas" *Urban Studies*, 40:2751-2768

Boyle, M. (1999) "Growth machines and progaganda projects: a review of readings of the role of civic boosterism in the politics of local economic development". In Jonas, A. and Wilson, D. (Eds) *The urban growth machine: critical perspectives two decades later*, pp55-70. State University of New York Press, Albany.

Braverman, H. (1974) *Labour and monopoly capital: the degradation of labour in the twentieth century.* Monthly Review Press: New York.

Burawoy, M. (1985) *The politics of production.* Verso, London

Castree, N., Coe, N. M., Ward, K. Samers, M. (2004) *Spaces of work: Global capitalism and geographies of labour.* Sage, London.

Cochrane, A. (1999) "Redefining urban politics for the twenty-first century". In Jonas, A. and Wilson, D. (Eds) *The urban growth machine: critical perspectives two decades later*, pp109-124. State University of New York Press, Albany.

Cox, K. **(**1993) "The local and the global in the new urban politics: a critical view", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11: 433-448.

Cox, K., Mair, A. (1988) "Locality and community in the politics of local economic development", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78: 307-325.

Cumbers, A. (1994) "New forms of work and employment in an 'old industrial region'? The offshore construction industry in the North East of England", *Work, Employment and Society* 8:531-552.

Cumbers, A., MacKinnon, D., & McMaster, R. **(**2003) "Institutions, power and space: assessing the limits to institutionalism in Economic Geography", *European Urban and Regional Studies* 10:325-342.

Department for Work and Pensions (2004) "Department of Work and Pensions Homepage", http://www.dwp.gov.uk/

Dorling, D., Thomas, B. (2004) *People and places: a 2001 Census atlas of Britain*, Policy Press:Bristol.

Duncan, S., & Goodwin, M. (1988) *The local state and uneven development: behind the local government crisis*, Polity Press: Cambridge.

EITB (1989) *Industry profile: British engineering, employment, training and education*, Engineering Industry Training Board, Watford.

Fothergill, S. **(**2001) "True scale of the regional problem in the UK" *Regional Studies* 35:241-246.

Glasgow City Council & Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (2003) *Glasgow economic monitor summer 2003*, Glasgow City Council, Fergus Cooper, Glasgow City Council, Development and Regeneration Services, 229 George St, Glasgow G1 1QU, UK.

Glasgow Harbour (2004) "Glasgow Harbour Project", http://www.glasgowharbour.com/.

Hanson, S. & Pratt, G. (1995) *Gender work and space*, Routledge: London.

Harvey, D. (1982) *The limits to capital* (Blackwell, Oxford)

Helms, G. (2003) *Towards safe city centres? Remaking the spaces of an old-industrial city*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.

Herod, A. (2001) *Labor geographies. Workers and the landscapes of capitalism*, Guilford Press: New York.

Hocking, G. (2003) "Oxfam Great Britain and sustainable livelihoods in the UK" *Community Development Journal*, 38:235-242

Hudson, R. (1994) "Institutional change, cultural transformation and economic regeneration: myths and realities from Europe's old industrial areas". In Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (Eds) *Globalisation, institutions and regional development in Europe*, pp196-216, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Jessop, B. (1994) "Post-Fordism and the state". In Amin, A. (Ed) *Post-Fordism: a reader*, pp251-279, Blackwell: Oxford.

Jessop, B. (2002a) *The future of the capitalist state*, Polity: Cambridge.

Jessop, B. (2002b) "Liberalism, Neoliberalism and urban governance: a state-theoretical perspective", *Antipode* 34:452-472.

Jonas, A. (1996) "Local labour market control regimes: Uneven development and the social regulation of production", *Regional Studies* 30:323-338.

Levitas, R. (1998) *The inclusive society? Social exclusion and New Labour*, Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Logan, J. R. & Molotch, H. (1987) *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.

Marshall, B., Boyes, L. & McCormick, J. (2002) *The full employment city*, Scottish Council Foundation, Glasgow.

McDowell, L. (2003) *Redundant masculinities? Employment change and white working class youth*, Blackwell: Oxford.

McGregor, A., Greig, M. & Lavery, A. (2001) *Scotland's construction industry. Skills needs and access to opportunity*, Communities Scotland.

Melling, J. (1982) "Scottish industrialists and the changing character of class relations in the Clyde region 1880-1981". In Dickson, T. (Ed) *Capital and Class in Scotland*. John Donald, Edinburgh, pp. 61-142.

Melling, J. (1992) "Employers, workplace culture and workers' politics: British industry and workers' welfare programmes, 1870-1920". In Melling, J. and Barry, J. (Eds) *Culture in history: Production, consumption and values in historical perspectives*, pp109-136, University of Exeter Press, Exeter.

Mitial (1999) *1999 UK and Eire call centre study*, Mitial, Mitial International, 4 St Johns Court, Vicars Lane, Chester, UK CH1 1QE; email: enquiries@mitial.com

Mooney, G., & Johnstone, C. (2000) "Scotland divided: poverty, inequality and the Scottish parliament", *Critical Social Policy* 20:155-182.

Nickell, S. (2004) "Poverty and worklessness in Britain", *Economic Journal*, 114:1-25.

OECD (1999) *The local dimension of welfare-to-work: an international survey*, OECD, Paris.

OECD (2002) *Urban Renaissance. Glasgow: Lessons for innovation and implementation*, OECD, Paris.

Peck, J. (1996) *Work-Place: the social regulation of labour markets*, Guilford: New York.

Peck, J. (1998) "Geographies of governance: TECs and the neo-liberalisation of 'local interests'". *Space and Policy* 2:5-32

Peck, J. (2001) *Workfare States*, Guilford, New York.

Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (1998) "The business of contingent work: growth and restructuring in Chicago's temporary employment industry" *Work, Employment and Society*, 12:655-674.

Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (2000) "Beyond 'employability'" *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 24:729-749.

Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (1994) "Searching for the new institutional fix: the after-Fordist crisis and global-local disorder". In Amin, A. (Ed) *Post-Fordism: a reader*, pp280-315, Blackwell, Oxford.

Scott, K. (2004) "Clyde Yard may be left high and dry" *The Guardian* 14 May.

Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (2002) *Construction skills action plan for Glasgow 2003-2008*, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, 50 Waterloo Street, Glasgow, G2 6HQ, UK.

Scottish Executive (2001) *A smart, successful Scotland: Ambitions for enterprise networks*, HMSO: Edinburgh.

SQW Ltd (2001) *Review of Modern Apprenticeships in Scotland.* HMSO: Edinburgh.

Stone, C. (1989) *Regime politics. Governing Atlanta: 1946-1988*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.

Sunley, P., & Martin, R. & Nativel, C. (2001) "Mapping the New Deal: local disparities in the performance of Welfare-to-Work" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26:484-512.

Taylor, P. & Bain, P. **(**1999) "An assembly line in the head: work and employee relations in the call centre" *Industrial Relations Journal*, 30 101-117.

Taylor, P. & Bain, P. (2000) *Call centres in Scotland in 2000*, Rowan Tree Press: Glasgow.

Thompson, E. P. (1963) *The making of the English working class*, G. R. Elton: London.

Thompson, E. P. (1967) "Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism" *Past and Present*, 38 56-97.

Thompson, E. P. (1978) *The poverty of theory, and other essays*, Merlin: London.

Thompson, P. (2004) *Skating on thin ice: The knowledge economy myth*, Big Thinking: Glasgow.

Tonge, J. (1999) "New packaging, old deal? New Labour and employment policy innovation" *Critical Social Policy* 19:217-232.

Ward, K. (2003) "UK temporary staffing: industry structure and evolutionary dynamics", *Environment and Planning A*, 35:889-907.

Warhurst, C. & Thompson, P. (1998) "Hands, hearts and minds: changing work and workers at the end of the century". In Thompson, P. and Warhurst, C. *Workplaces of the future*, pp1-24, Macmillan, London.

Williams, C. C. (2004) *Cash-in-hand work: the underground sector and the hidden economy of favours*, Palgrave: Basingstoke.

END NOTES

[ii] Earlier versions of this paper have been presented at a session of the 2004 Work, Employment and Society conference and a seminar in the Department of Geography at the University of Glasgow. We want to thank the discussants at these events as well as Ivan Turok and Nick Bailey for their thoughtful comments.

[ii] This argument also serves as a means of emphasising the importance to understand social agency, as agency becomes more discernible 'on the ground'. However, such agency does not imply a voluntarism at the expense of neglecting social structures (see for more detail, Thompson 1978; Herod 2001). Instead, this intervention is used to refocus labour relations in exactly the way that the term implies, they are *relational* between capital and labour.

[iii] Much of the earlier debates around Post-Fordism highlighted some of the difficulties of 'coherence' and cohesion of regulatory regimes. This is partly accounted for by a perspective which implicitly takes capital and state as key agents, trying to identify a uniform regime to account for capital accumulation. Yet, in the absence of such a coherent regime, people and communities still have to get by, within particular labour market arrangements and institutions, and it is such a broader sense of 'regime' we want to employ in the course of this paper.

[iv] Material for this section in part originates from a PhD thesis (Helms 2003) which also examined the restructuring of Glasgow's intermediate labour market programmes. For this, a number of officials from respective public-sector agencies were interviewed as well as staff and trainees of one ILM project. Furthermore, the article draws on documentary and secondary analysis.

[v] Overall, it is the public sector (with NHS and Glasgow Housing Association as the biggest investing agencies) that is expected to be responsible for the majority of construction investment in Glasgow between 2002-2008 (McGregor et al 2001).

[vi] McGregor *et al* (2001) identify as the single most important constraint to the training of construction workers and uptake of MAs the reluctance of businesses to provide training opportunities in an industry where most training is provided through the workplace. This provides a more detailed insight into the acknowledged 'market failure' within the industry's skills policies (Scottish Enterprise Glasgow 2002).

[vii] Such understanding of training and the acquisition of new skills is critically discussed by Thompson (2004, 30ff), who in particular emphasises the highly personalised and often generic nature of 'soft' social skills seen as increasingly important in recruitment selection over technical skills.