

Research Paper 14

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT**

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1 INTRODUCTION

During the 1980s, the concept of "self-employment" achieved considerable political force. In the context of the rampant individualism fostered by the New Right, self-employment in many senses became a direct and unproblematic means by which individual aspirations could be achieved through hard work in an environment apparently free from the constraints of either over-bureaucratized corporations or the "nanny" state. Indeed, as Burrows and Curran argue,

'small business revivalism', and the 'enterprise culture' more generally, have been articulated through a range of political discourses as a panacea for the economic and social ills of the British economy. This is sometimes linked - often in an implied causality - with official data showing self-employment and small business ownership increasing throughout the 1980s.

(Burrows and Curran, 1989 : 527)

Clearly then, self-employment has been regarded as highly desirable by recent Conservative governments. Various statistics appear to support Burrows and Curran's claims about the incidence of self-employment. For example, between 1971 and 1989, the total number of self-employed individuals increased by 63%, from under two million to well over three million (*Employment Gazette*, April 1990). Not only is self-employment one answer to the scourge of unemployment, but it also integral to the liberation and rediscovery of individual "freedom" and "responsibility", two of the fundamental pillars of New Right philosophy (Gamble, 1989).

But what exactly is "self-employment"? Arguably, by semantic manipulation, the term has been used to imply that over three million people share homogenous employment characteristics. However even a cursory consideration of the issues reveal the fallacy of this assertion. Vast discrepancies exist in the legal, social and employment status of different self-employed people. Moreover, the implications of self-employment vary significantly. Some industrial sectors have historically been characterised by a high incidence of self-employment while in other areas, self-employment really is a phenomenon of the 1980s following fundamental technological changes. In addition, decisions regarding employment status cannot be divorced from domestic considerations. Gender must then also be key to understanding self-employment. Thirdly, while some people may choose to become self-employed, others may have few alternatives following redundancy. Quite clearly then, the concept of self-employment requires careful scrutiny in order to understand the causes and implications of it, and to assess whether in fact it can be regarded as a significant step towards liberating the individual.

The significance of self-employment is not however restricted to social and political considerations. It is also extremely important in the context of current debates within theoretical economic geography. A vast literature has recently emerged describing the emergence - or not - of the "flexible" work force, the "flexible" firm, just-in-time production and their associated geographies (Pollert, 1988; Gertler, 1988; Sayer, 1989; Scott, 1988). Whether considered explicitly or implicitly, self-employment arguably is integral to these debates. It is the supreme example of flexibility: the self-employed can enter and leave the economic arena as and when required and thus offer the economic system numerical flexibility, while the skills of the individuals concerned will invariably also offer functional flexibility (Atkinson, 1984). In assessing the validity of these debates, the coherence of the causal elements must be critically examined.

A study of self-employment is therefore extremely pertinent in social, political and theoretical terms. The associated issues are however clearly enormous. In order to gain a view on each in the context of a relatively short research project, the notion of self-employment will be examined across a spectrum of spatial scales using a range of research methodologies. After outlining the legal and social definitions of "self-employment", the incidence of self-employment will then be outlined at national, regional and local scales, focusing specifically on the county of East Sussex and the town of Lewes. The bulk of the empirical work and arguably the greatest insights are however derived from the primary research that informs the second half of this project. Using the town of Lewes as a case study, an intensive research design is employed to assess the rationale for and implications of self-employment for a sample of self-employed people from within the town. Finally, the project will attempt to draw together these contrasting insights to assess whether self-employment is indeed a panacea for employment problems as recent Governments have claimed.

2 SELF-EMPLOYMENT: PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT

Before considering the implications of self-employment, it is clearly necessary to specify exactly what is meant by the term. The self-employed have been defined officially as,

Those who in their main employment work on their own account whether or not they have any employees
(Employment Gazette, October 1992)

This apparently innocuous definition however masks considerable ambiguity which becomes apparent as soon as attempts are made to operationalise the concept.

Basic distinctions between 'employed' and 'self-employed' status are both social and legal. The sociological interpretation focuses on autonomy and the ownership of the means of production, while the legal parameters are based on distinguishing businesses as either 'incorporated' or 'unincorporated'. However this second approach is nebulous. As Leighton (1983) argues, a 'contract of service' is established in common law rather than statute and is therefore adjudged on a case by case basis. According to the 1978 Employment Protection Act, the criterion for an 'employee' is someone working under a 'service contract'. This ambiguous terminology allows room for debate as to which type of 'contract' the self-employed actually have. However as Leighton claims,

two basic factors which are taken into account are, 'supervision and control' and the 'entrepreneurial spirit'. The latter includes features such as the provision of equipment, taking financial risks, hiring helpers, and having some responsibility for investment and management
(Leighton, 1983 : 200)

Defining precisely the parameters of 'self-employment' is far from an esoteric exercise. The implications of employment status do for example assume considerable importance in cases where damages need to be claimed because of industrial injury. In addition, employment status also affects eligibility for maternity or redundancy payments.

A further important consideration when establishing the status of self-employment is its statistical interpretation through the criteria of incorporation, owning the means of production, capital investment, entrepreneurial spirit and the type of contract, and welfare rights. Data has been collected using both legal and social criteria to establish self-employment levels. These contrasting statistical starting points can lead to

considerable variations in results which itself has major implications for policy implementation and evaluation.

Government data for example, is largely based around the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and National Insurance and Tax status data. Both of these sources are problematic. The former is based on respondents' self definition which clearly could result in enormous ambiguity, while in the second case, anyone involved with a limited company is re-coded as an employee despite paying Schedule D Income Tax and Class 2 National Insurance which apply to self-employed status. Similar adjustments are made with the General Household Survey (GHS) with people working for limited companies.

Another example of conflicting classifications between legal and social definitions is the OPCS definition of 'outworkers'. These individuals are defined as "those who are contracted to work from their own home for an employer, who in the main have no control over their level or means of production nor take any financial risk" (Leighton, 1983: 200). Despite this, they are classified as self-employed. Under the social criteria, homeworkers' lack of control of either production or the enterprise, should render their status that of the employee.

The consequent problems associated even with quantifying the numbers of self-employed, and evaluating their social and political significance, are immense. As Hakim for example points out,

The 1981 Population Census results produced two counts of self-employed which differ by 11 per cent. The 100% count based on people's self-assessment of their status yielded a figure of just under 2.2 million self-employed. The 10% sample which was subjected to careful checking and editing of the replies produced a substantially lower figure of 1.9 million self-employed. People reclassified as employees were the working proprietors and managers of incorporated businesses. However, these people are in control of their own businesses and therefore constitute the type of independent entrepreneurs that are of greatest interest when the self-employment statistics are used as an indicator of the enterprise culture.

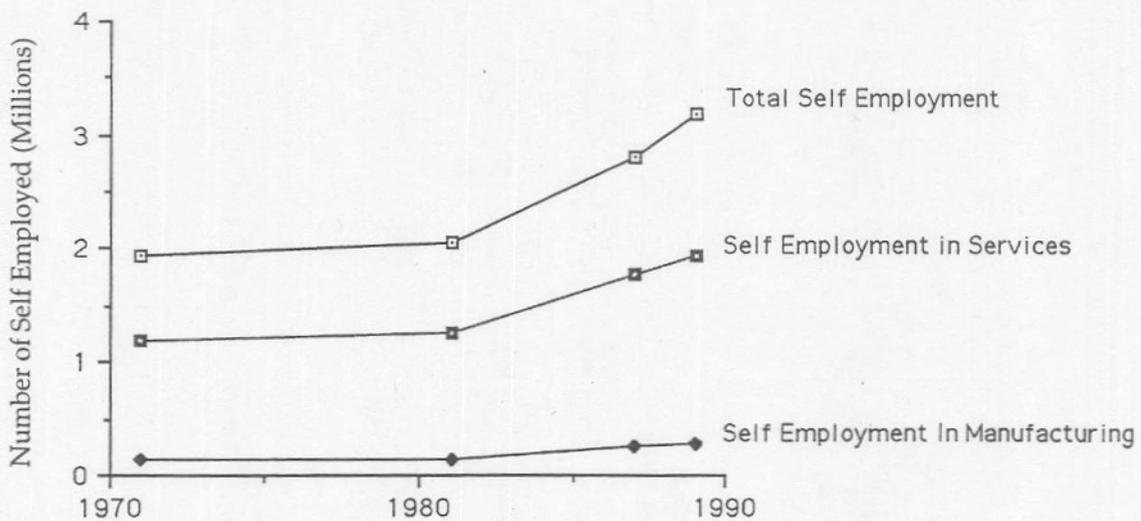
(Hakim, 1988 : 423)

Inconsistent criteria clearly make a considerable difference to overall figures, national assessments and projections. The need to rectify such ambiguities in the context of a growing sector of employment is essential to avoid ignoring, hiding or misinterpreting the significance of an increasing element of the workforce.

3 NATIONAL AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVES

Despite the manifest problems associated with meaningful measurements of the level of self-employment that were alluded to in the previous chapter, few commentators would dispute the claim that its incidence is increasing (Burrows and Curran, 1989). However remarkably few studies have examined trends over time in self-employment¹. In part this reflects the historical ambiguity of the term which has resulted in unreliable categorisations which have problematised accurate analysis. Nevertheless, the distribution of economic activity has certainly shifted in favour of small businesses and self-employment over the last twenty years.

Fig. 1: Self-Employment in Great Britain, 1971-1989



(Source: Employment Gazette, March 1988 and April 1990)

Fig. 1 indicates an increase of over one million in the level of self-employment between 1971 and 1989. By 1989 the service sector accounted for 61% of the total figure and manufacturing accounted for just 9%. This indicates that the political and economic atmosphere have been more conducive for the growth of self-employment in the service sector.

In part, this reflects structural changes that have occurred throughout developed economies since the 1960s. However, a second causal factor could arguably have been

the range of policy initiatives launched by the Conservative Government during the 1980s specifically to foster enterprise including a plethora of tax incentives and initiatives such as the Enterprise Allowance Scheme and the Loan Guarantee Scheme. It is very difficult to accurately assess the overall impact of these. However, two important points need to be remembered. Firstly, some of the organisations that should have benefited most from these initiatives have in fact been extremely critical and have pointed to major shortcomings. The Federation of Small Businesses for example claimed that:

The FSB remains concerned at the Inland Revenue's arbitrary re-classification of many self-employed for tax purposes, transferring their taxation to employee status. The situation is further confused by the differing interpretations of employment status by the revenue and social security authorities.
(FSB 1992:8)

The FSB is also critical of national economic policies underpinned by uniform bank rates which discriminate against the small 'manufacturing' business sector by increasing borrowing payments, thereby reducing opportunities for those with limited or no collateral to cover the costs of fixed assets and overheads. These particular factors would appear to be prejudiced against the fundamental neo-liberal philosophy.

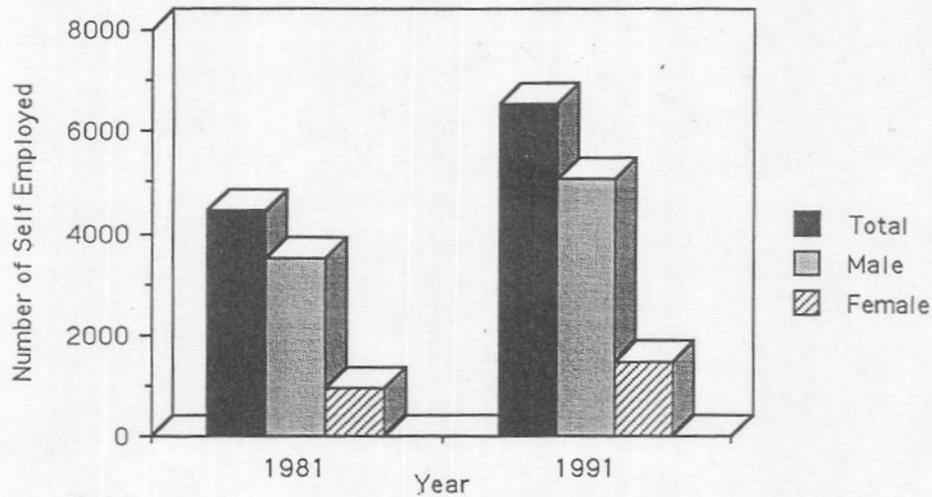
A second important factor however is that the impact of such measures has been spatially divisive. Arguably it reinforced trends that underpinned the already disproportionate concentration of self-employment in the broadly defined 'south' of England (Map 1). To this extent, regarding self-employment as a panacea to the problems of unemployment which were particularly acute in the 'north' throughout the 1980s, must be a questionable strategy.

Scaling down the analysis to the county level, statistics for East Sussex show an increase of 24% in the level of self-employment over the last decade (OPCS County Reports 1981, 1991). The relatively high level of self employment is however consistent with patterns for the south of England generally, with the highest levels being found in the south: Cornwall, East Sussex, Devon and Somerset and the lowest levels in the north being Cleveland, Tyne and Wear, Durham and Merseyside. Thus indicating that the figures in 1991 largely corroborate the regional pattern found in 1987 (Map 1).

Within the town of Lewes the level of self-employment however increased by 46% (OPCS County Reports) between 1981 and 1991 as graphically demonstrated in Fig.

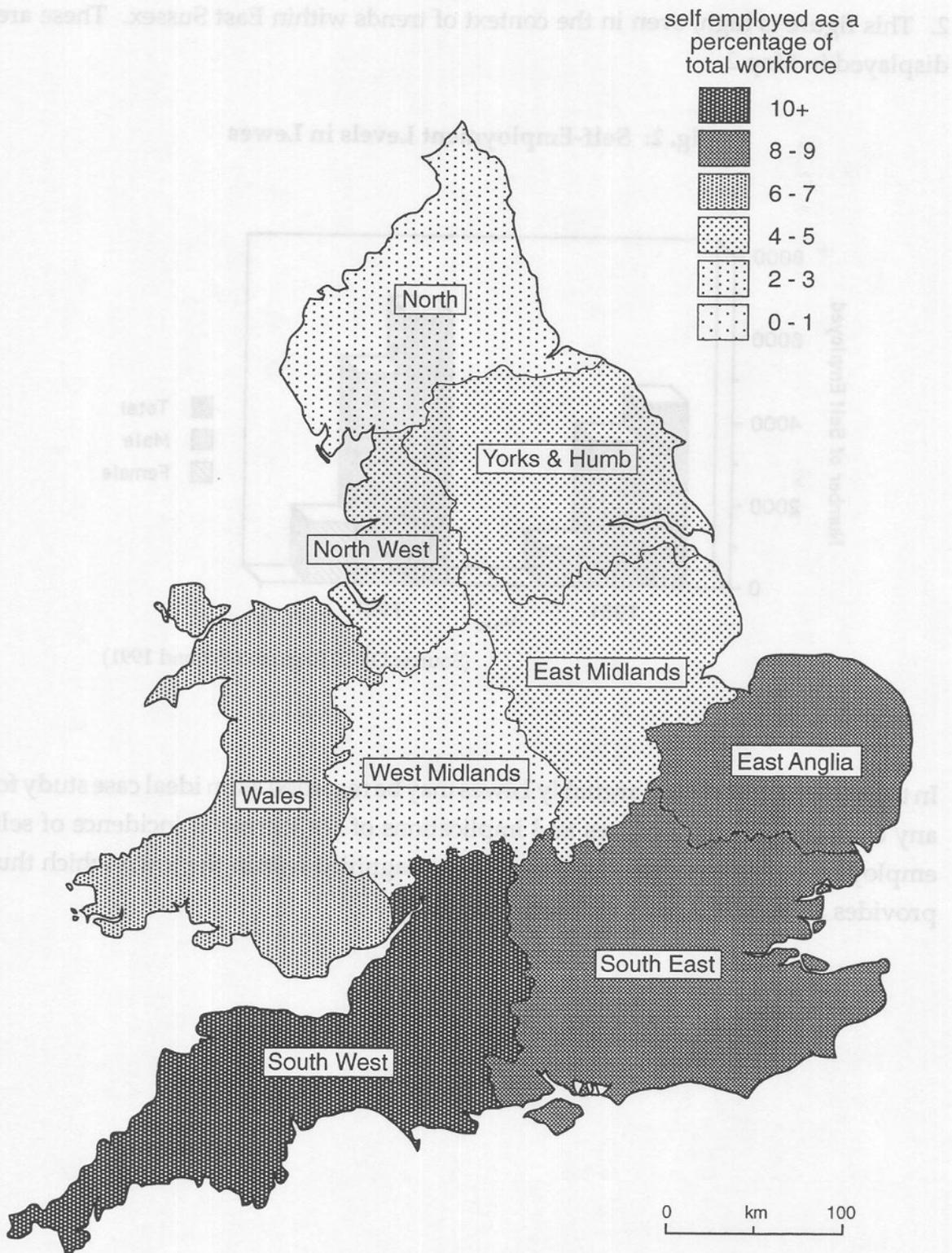
2. This figure is high, even in the context of trends within East Sussex. These are displayed in Map 2.

Fig. 2: Self-Employment Levels in Lewes



(Source: OPCS Regions 1981 and 1991)

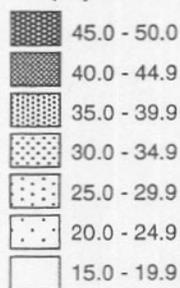
In terms of these statistics, arguably Lewes may be regarded as an ideal case study for any examination of the causes and implications of the increased incidence of self-employment. National trends appear to be magnified within the town which thus provides an excellent basis for further analysis.



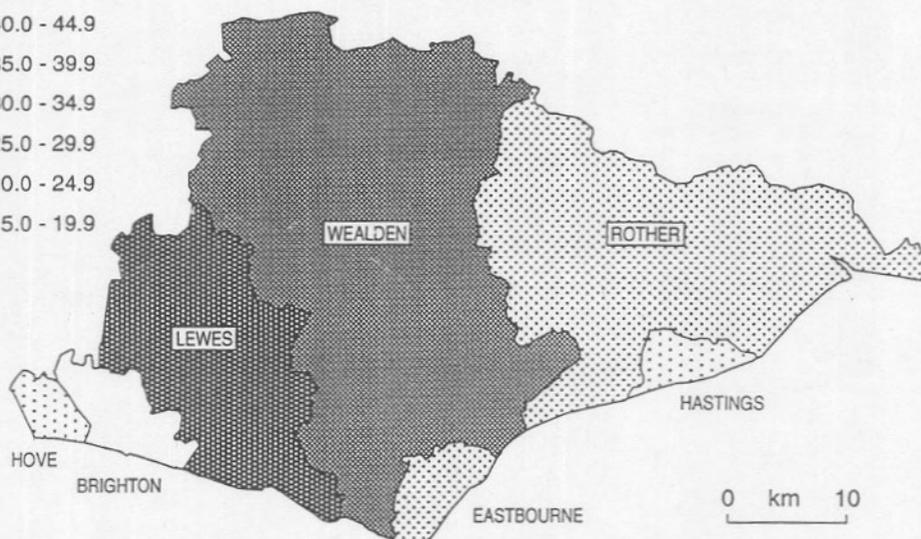
Source: IMS Report No. 205 (1991)

Map 1: Self-Employment Rates For England And Wales By Region, 1987

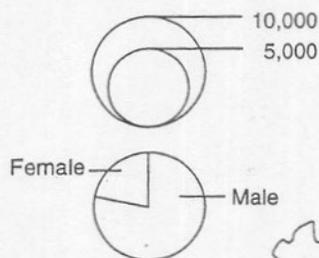
percentage change in self employed 1981 -91



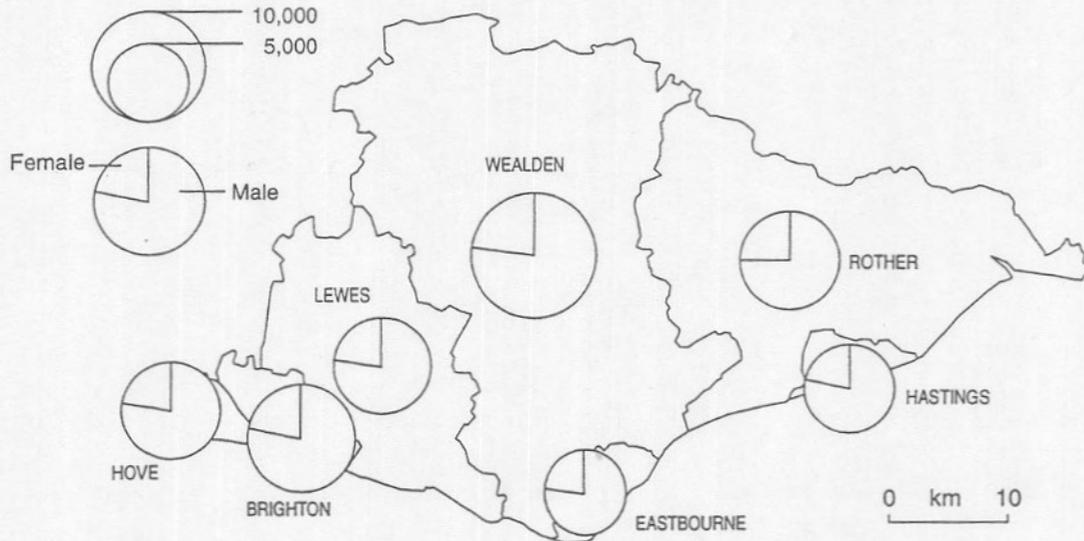
Percentage change in Self-Employed Workers in East Sussex 1981-1991 by District



Number of Self-Employed 1991



Number of Self-Employed Males / Females in East Sussex in 1991 by District



Source: OPCS Regions 1981/1991

Map 2: Changing Patterns of Self-Employment Within The Districts of East Sussex

4 LEWES CASE STUDY: METHODOLOGY

In order to elucidate the causes and implications of self-employment within the town of Lewes, an intensive research design was employed. In the context of debates about self-employment, the statistics described in Chapter Three did provide a survey of the terrain, but given the ambiguity of the concept, arguably the appropriate methodology should not be engaged in "surveying the terrain". It should instead be concerned with "mining" it and thus generating a deeper, if apparently less representative, understanding. As Sayer argues,

In intensive research the primary questions concern how some causal process works out in a particular case or in a limited number of cases.
(Sayer, 1992: 242)

In practice this intensive research design was operationalised using a network or "snowballing" approach. As Patton explains,

This is an approach for locating information-rich key informants or critical cases... By asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases
(Patton, 1990: 176)

Following this approach, contact was established with both professional and interested parties concerned with self-employment through a combination of personal contacts, referrals, telephone calls, letters and tape recorded interviews (see Appendix 1). This fieldwork therefore does not claim to be based around a "representative sample" of a given population. Instead it depended heavily on networks of contacts in order to identify some interesting instances of self-employment.

After reading widely on the subject of the self-employment using a newspaper search covering 1988 to 1992 and authors such as Hakim (1988), Casey and Creigh (1988), Dale (1991), Green (1991), Burrows and Curran (1989), Pollert (1988) and Leighton (1989), a selection of the most pertinent issues were then discussed informally with personal contacts. A pilot questionnaire was then designed with the aim of revealing any ambiguities or omissions. This was distributed to six self-employed individuals, all of whom had different personal circumstances and skills. From their responses, the questionnaire was revised in order to achieve greater clarity.

Using the network approach described above, the final questionnaire was then personally distributed to fifteen key individuals and a request for a thirty minute tape

recorded interview was made. The respondents were asked to read the questions in order to help structure the interview. The objective of the questionnaire was explained: while specific information was requested, it was also designed to provoke thought about the fundamental reasons behind an individual's particular decision to become self-employed and to ascertain whether their views had subsequently changed (see Appendix 2).

The interviews were arranged for dates which allowed plenty of time for the respondents to consider the issues. A time was chosen that would minimise the pressure from other commitments, for instance while the children were at school, in order to encourage a relaxed and positive atmosphere.

A semi-structured and interactive style of interview was chosen. While having the air of informality, this was both structured but flexible enough to allow both the respondent to influence the direction of the discussion and the interviewer to glean the most instructive information on relevant issues. This relaxed style of interview was particularly important in the context of the personal nature of the choices, decisions, influences and prospects behind an individual's employment status. It also however allowed the research objectives to be developed by investigating in greater depth the issues raised both in the questionnaires and by the respondents. As Sayer argues,

with a less formal, less standardised and more interactive kind of interview, the researcher has a much better chance of learning from the respondents what the different significances of circumstances are for them.

(Sayer, 1992: 245)

Achieving these insights was clearly integral to the success of the research project as a whole.

Given the sensitivity of many of the issues that were raised, absolute confidentiality was essential throughout. Correspondingly, all quotes taken from the interviews are notated as 'Interviewee Number (I.N.) 1..2..3..' etc. Appendix 3 gives a list of the interviewees showing their sex, age, marital status, occupation, length of time self-employed and main reason for becoming self-employed.

5 SELF-EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES IN LEWES

Within this small sample, the questionnaire and interviews revealed a surprising range of individual experiences in the context of both the reasons for becoming self-employed and the subsequent experiences of this particular form of work. These findings are summarised in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3: The Rationale for the Pursuit of Self-Employment

INTERVIEW NUMBER	NATURE OF WORK AND CONTEXT IN WHICH SELF EMPLOYMENT COMMENCED
1	Qualified female solicitor; self employed for family reasons
2	Female book-keeper; advised to become self employed by former employer
3	Female caterer; self employed for family and financial reasons
4	Female script writer; self employed for family reasons
5	Female graphic artist; self employed when firm restructured operations
6	Female health consultant; self employed for quality of life reasons
7	Female child minder; self employed for health and domestic reasons
8	Female secretary and graphic designer; self employed for domestic reasons
9	Male illustrator; self employed because of greater career opportunities
10	Male software designer; self employed due to greater career opportunities
11	Male graphic designer; self employed because employer restructured
12	Male computer programmer; self employed because of the freedom it offered
13	Male builder; self employed because he could earn more money
14	Male carpenter; self employed when his firm restructured
15	Male plumber; self employed because he could earn more money

Given the range of experiences reported in Fig. 3, it is very difficult to make any general conclusions regarding the causes and implications of self-employment. However a more detailed consideration of the evidence broadly reveals three distinct types of explanation for becoming self-employed. Firstly, several interviewees chose such a strategy because it offered them greater freedom and more opportunity to enhance their career prospects (e.g. Interviewee Numbers (I.N.) 9, 10). A second group that can be identified however consists of those who became self-employed primarily to accommodate domestic demands and family ties while retaining the opportunity to generate income (e.g. I.N. 3, 7). A third distinct group comprises individuals working in industrial sectors that have historically had a high incidence of self-employment (e.g. I.N. 13, 15).

These three categories are by no means mutually exclusive and there is a significant degree of overlap between them. Nevertheless, adopting this taxonomic framework does facilitate a far clearer analysis than could be achieved by considering the 'self-employed' as a unitary group.

CATEGORY A: Self-Employment Within Information Technology-Dependent Activities And Professional Services

All of the interviewees within this first category are male and between the ages of 38 and 42 years. Their skills are typified by those burgeoning during the 1980s service industry boom which depended on computerised information technologies. All have been self-employed for at least five years. All were self-employed before they decided to move to Lewes for environmental and 'quality of life' reasons.

Despite these broad similarities, there are nevertheless contrasts in the explanations for self-employment. For example,

I am unemployable. I find it very difficult to work with other people. That is why I have been self-employed for so long. I am aware how my circumstances have fluctuated during that period.
(I.N. 9)

I got fed up with changing job definitions. My job became deskilled to the level where a secretary could do it, which is what happened during the (*details withheld to protect identity*) strike. I was asked to take on a managerial role but what it boiled down to was being paid a lot of money for pushing bits of paper around without any power to use my experience or innovate because the business had become so internally fragmented and competitive that repetition of a workable solution represented security within a department. This ideal was misplaced because it did not recognise the speed of external competition - hence the state of the industry today and my success outside of the industry.
(I.N. 11)

The types of profession in which the Category A respondents were engaged were invariably based around sophisticated information technologies. They therefore afforded a significant degree of locational flexibility. Thus several respondents had decided to move to Lewes, often from London, because of the pleasant living environment. Individuals within this category were generally fortunate insofar as they had the means to be able to make this choice.

I am a city person really and so is my wife, but we found that we spent every weekend away from London. When we married we decided to keep a low mortgage as our priority so we could afford to do the things we wanted to. However when we decided to move for family reasons we were lucky because it was a good time to sell our London property and buy cheaply further out. I was already self-employed so it made no difference where I moved to.

(I.N. 11)

An additional characteristic of this group of self-employed people was the importance attached to "freedom", both socially and economically. However, many of the skills of individuals from within this group were essentially those that characterised the 1980s boom and they have, in accordance with more general trends, been severely affected by the current recession. In this context, "freedom" can suddenly be transformed into "insecurity", an experience that was widely reported. I.N. 9, 10 and 12 all mentioned the adverse effects of the current recession and its concomitant financial insecurity. As a response to this, within the previous year, all had advertised for work for the first time since becoming self-employed. However none had enjoyed any tangible success. This gave the reality of self-employment a different complexion:

I only work self-employed because I can earn more - because of the present situation I have just done my first mail-shot. Obviously if I do not get anywhere with these I could go and get a proper job.

(I.N. 10)

Nevertheless, an underlying feature of this Category of self-employed is the freedom and opportunity which being self-employed and effectively one's own boss has meant career-wise.

However the reality of self-employment for individuals in this category meant working effectively as a sub-contractor for a big firm. While this did generate certain advantages, several problems emerged that were common to each respondent. For example, the problems of isolation from the main functions of a firm, dealing with unknown personnel and the inadequate communication of information due to internal bureaucracy were all cited as major frustrations to efficiency which was inevitably more costly to the sub-contractor.

The problem of payment was also a major consideration for all this sector causing both considerable stress and wasted time. None of the respondents felt it was directly related to the recession but more a factor of the size and infrequency of their accounts making them vulnerable to the recipient firm's own terms of payment taking precedent over their own, or simply "overlooking" the payment. These factors were cited as threatening the existence of small businesses because they create cash-flow problems which in turn affect the forward planning of jobs leading to financial insecurity.

Because my account is small, it is constantly overlooked by firms no matter what their size. Chasing money and dealing with bureaucracy is a major drawback to being a one man band.

(I.N. 10)

Only one interviewee mentioned the value of self-employment in the context of family commitments.

Although we do not live together, the reason I chose to live in Lewes is so I can help with my child. Her mother works full-time and therefore I am needed to help out with school runs etc. This is a luxury that I can afford being self-employed and in charge of my daily routine, however work-wise it can be very disruptive also a problem if I am working on a contract on site some distance away.

(I.N. 12)

For all of the other individuals, it appeared that child care simply was not an issue. If their partners worked in any capacity at all, formal child-minding provided by a second group of self-employed individuals was simply employed.

CATEGORY B: Self-Employment As A Domestic Strategy Based Around 'Feminized' Work

The character and the types of work undertaken by the individuals in this second Category are very different to those of the first. 'Category B' essentially comprises those for whom self-employment is an employment strategy in the context of domestic demands. All the respondents within this group are female.

Essentially the rationale for self-employment reflects a need to reconcile the competing demands of caring for a family, deriving job satisfaction and earning an income. As two respondents remarked,

I am my own boss. I enjoy the work - it allows me to work around my family and the school holidays.

(I.N. 3)

Working from home has been essential because it meant I could control my lifestyle and circumstances. Therefore when my daughter was born there was no problem with continuity of work.

(I.N. 7)

The self-employed in this category are invariably engaged in fairly traditional and 'feminized' occupations such as child minding (I.N. 7) and catering (I.N. 3). The prestige of this group is generally low, as is the self perception:

No I don't consider myself to be anything like those people who work from home using computers. Anyway they are mainly men.

(I.N. 7)

Nevertheless, many of the occupations of those within this Category are more recession-proof than those in Category A. Indeed, one respondent even claimed that there was considerable scope for her to expand the size of her business. However as she remarked,

I could have expanded a long time ago but to be quite honest, when I considered the amount and complexity of the paper work it would involve on top of my physically tiring work, I just could not be bothered.

(I.N. 3)

Quite clearly then, the characteristics of those within this second Category of self-employment do differ substantially from those in the first in terms of the rationale for this form of work, the types of occupation and the gender of the participants.

CATEGORY C: Self-Employment Within Traditional Industries

The individuals creating this Category are all male, typically within skilled manual occupations.

The decision to become self-employed for I.N. 13 and 15 was in part a reflection of the high incidence of self-employment within both trades. Historically the building trade has always needed a range of skills and employment statuses to organise each contract. For both I.N. 13 and 15, self-employment was the only mechanism through which the individual could be their own boss and control their own time and contracts. All of these are essential elements for success in the building trade. Neither I.N. 13 or 15 had any particular group of builders that they tended to work with, and both acknowledged that most building trade workers tended to be self-employed. Both had only worked for a short time for building firms having completed their apprenticeships.

I.N. 13 and 15 had been similarly affected by the recession. The reduction of contracts and the increased competition from large firms encroaching on the smaller contracts were undercutting the small businesses. The restructuring of several local building firms following their acquisition had subsequently resulted in a change in employment status to self-employed for all, other than a few 'core' staff. In effect, this restructuring simply served to increase the number of self-employed builders in the Lewes area competing for fewer jobs.

Although the trades represented within this category do tend to be essential services within established market niches thereby allowing general stability without either growth or innovation, levels of 'entrepreneurship' have increased during the current recession. However, this can be regarded as nothing more than a pragmatic 'survival strategy'. One respondent for instance commented,

When I hit a bad patch I do jobs that normally I would refuse, for example, building garage forecourts in London under sub-contract. Otherwise I have always worked locally on houses.
(I.N. 13)

Both I.N. 13 and 15 had also been affected by the increase in the 'handy-man' sector particularly by those who had been made redundant and the upsurge of itinerant unemployed 'cowboys'. These elements increasingly undercut established businesses making it difficult to achieve the level of profit needed to finance future jobs. As one respondent explained,

I cannot charge for all the hours worked in order to maintain a good reputation for meeting standards and deadlines.
(I.N. 13)

Another problem already mentioned within this case study is that of actually receiving payments. Both I.N. 13 and 15 were local lads who had always worked in the area. They were therefore very aware of the changing problem of payment. The days of knowing most people were over, and with it a sort of 'code of payment'. Today they rarely knew their customers and extracting payment had become very difficult.

I do not muck around. I go straight to the small claims court. That is what it is there for. It is still a hassle but I cannot afford to not get paid.
(I.N. 15)

By contrast, I.N. 14 who previously had been a stock controller for an assurance company, became self-employed because his employer's firm was bought out and the firm moved out of the region. Staff were given the opportunity either to move or to

accept redundancy. The possibility of becoming self-employed had never been a consideration before. However personal circumstances following an inheritance, coupled with the opportunity to take advantage of the housing market, enabled him to buy his own house and to train to do carpentry while living off his redundancy pay. Consequently, I.N. 14 could be classified as a member of the new "handy-man" sector alluded to above and feared by I.N. 13 and 15.

Despite the attractiveness of the self-employment option, I.N. 14 found the reality of his new work status rather more problematic. In particular, he found isolation from others difficult and the challenge of a complete career change harder to adjust to than he had anticipated.

I originally treated the course as though I was doing a hobby, then slowly it began to dawn that this was it, I had traded so-called security for 'freedom' - I began to notice how many unemployed there are in Lewes it made me feel insecure - being solely responsible I have found far more stressful - the long hours I work to complete a job to ensure satisfaction and future recommendation causes domestic friction. You cannot charge for such things.

(I.N. 14)

This highlights the illusory nature of the notion of 'freedom'. In reality, the only freedom the self-employed have concerns how they organise their day. Ninety per cent of the respondents argued that the value of this 'freedom' was questionable when the long and anti-social hours, and the effects on their relationships, were considered. In addition, all of Category 'C's' partners were required to work full-time for financial reasons, particularly in the context of the current recession.

THREE TAXONOMIC GROUPS: Limitations

Quite clearly, the nature of self-employment and the initial reasons for it differ quite substantially between the three groups described above. This classification is certainly helpful in attempting to trace the dimensions of self-employment. However it is not exhaustive. Significantly, the Lewes case study included a number of individuals whose personal self-employment histories did not fit neatly into any of the categories above. Many aspects of these however seemed to represent interactions between two types of self-employment strategy: a domestic strategy in the context of post Fordist service skills on the one hand, and an essentially domestic strategy in the context of more traditional occupations on the other. Thus two additional sub-categories of self-employment can be identified.

SUB-CATEGORY A-B: Self-Employment As A Domestic Strategy In The Context Of Individuals Pursuing Information Technology-Dependent Activities And Professional Services

This sub-group comprises women with the types of skills that should include them within Category A, outlined above. However in every case, these people have had to become self-employed, neither because of the freedom nor the career benefits associated with it. Instead self-employment has represented a domestic coping strategy in an attempt to accommodate competing family demands.

I.N. 1 and 4 both had to move home and jobs because of their partners' work.

My husband works for local government. His job is constantly under review and although I had already decided to become self-employed, which is highly unusual in this profession, it was important for both mine and my husband's careers - in order to progress my husband had to be prepared to move location and for me it is essential to work continuously in order to remain licensed to practice - Since I became self-employed we have moved three times because of my husband's work and have had two children.

(I.N. 1)

However the implications for I.N. 1's career have been profound despite her enterprising manipulation of employment status in order to achieve continuity. Two years ago she was nominated to become a District Judge, but despite her experience and success, she was unable to agree to her name being put forward because of a technicality within the legal regulations regarding the length of time practising in a specific area. I.N. 1 felt strongly that not only were the regulations antiquated, but they were also severely prejudiced in the current social context against women in the legal profession. Therefore, she decided to put her particular situation before the Lord Chief Justice as an example of discrimination which is detrimental not only to the legal profession but also to the women within it. The result of this was positive and the Lord Chief Justice acknowledged the need for updating the regulations within the profession to ensure both sexual equality and opportunity for legal practitioners.

I.N. 5 who worked as a graphic artist for the Local Authority was initially asked to become self-employed during the period of local government cutbacks.

My boss asked me to consider becoming self-employed assuring me I would still be guaranteed work within the department while gaining the freedom to take on my own clients. Really I had no choice.

(I.N. 5)

The implications for interviewee I.N. 5 have been profound. During the period 1985

to 1988, her previous employer gave her more work than she could cope with. However while she was taking a maternity break, which made the family financially insecure because of her employment status, the department introduced computerised technology. She was not eligible for basic computer training because of her independent employment status. In addition, because she was taking unpaid maternity leave she was not in a financial position to pay for the training herself. This subsequently meant that she was unable to offer the new skills necessary. Also despite her independent status, she had remained loyal to her boss because of the continuity of work. However this can be seen ultimately to have been detrimental to her career. In this case, although the initial rationale for becoming self-employed relates to organisational restructuring, the subsequent implications of this form of employment have been heavily influenced by domestic concerns.

For both I.N. 1 and 5, the need to reconcile the demands of a family with the need for employment have certainly been detrimental to their career paths, despite the fact that both individuals were professionally qualified. I.N. 6 however did not claim that self-employment had slowed her career path, despite the fact that this form of employment was embarked upon in part for similar domestic reasons. Specifically, I.N. 6 cited a combination of family organisation and the opportunity to take advantage of the "lovely surroundings I live in, not just at the weekends when I was too tired to enjoy it" as important factors underlying her change in employment status. Career-wise, having specialised in one aspect of public health continuously for twelve years and for six of those years assuming self-employed status, I.N. 6 became aware that there was a need for diversification. This was not because of the recession but because, after three years of self-employment, it would have been a case of "out of sight out of mind", unless she kept publishing and retained a high public profile. Also because of

the good job I have done in raising public awareness by co-ordinating an ongoing national campaign which has been instrumental in changing public awareness to the extent that there is less need for that specific emphasis and there has been a subtle change in the direction of health issues.

(I.N. 6)

For the women in this sub-sector, both the rationale for becoming self-employed and the subsequent implications of it have been heavily influenced by domestic considerations despite the fact that all of these women are highly qualified professionals in their own right.

SUB-CATEGORY B-C: Self-Employment As A Domestic Strategy In The Context Of Individuals With Traditional, Low Technology Skills.

This sub-sector consists of those whose employment falls within the traditional occupational sector but is influenced by domestic concerns. Both I.N. 2 and 8 are female. I.N. 8 is a single parent who needs to be available for her family commitments, but she is also the sole income earner within the household. The choice to become self-employed in this case was definitely a 'coping strategy' rather than a 'career strategy'. Correspondingly, she was very aware of the disadvantages associated within it. The isolation from the social contact of an office was mentioned as a particular drawback.

When my family are older I hope to go back and work for a firm. I think it is important for someone in my position to work outside the home. I am lucky I can do both, but I do find the self-discipline when I am working from home difficult.

(I.N. 8)

In common with other interviewees, I.N. 2 was asked to become self-employed by her employer. However the reason put forward concerned reducing the cost not only to the customer but also the employer thereby improving the firm's viability during a difficult economic period. The experience of this for I.N. 2, although "terrifying" to begin with, has in retrospect proved to be "the best thing that has ever happened to [her]."

Originally I was terrified, but I have now built up some very good accounts of my own which I deal with from home as well as still working for my boss for 3 mornings a week.

(I.N. 2)

Her confidence for handling business independently has undoubtedly increased, but she also acknowledged (as did I.N. 8), that considerable self discipline is required. However the opportunity to earn for herself, cope with her family and still work in an office have, for I.N. 2, been extremely important.

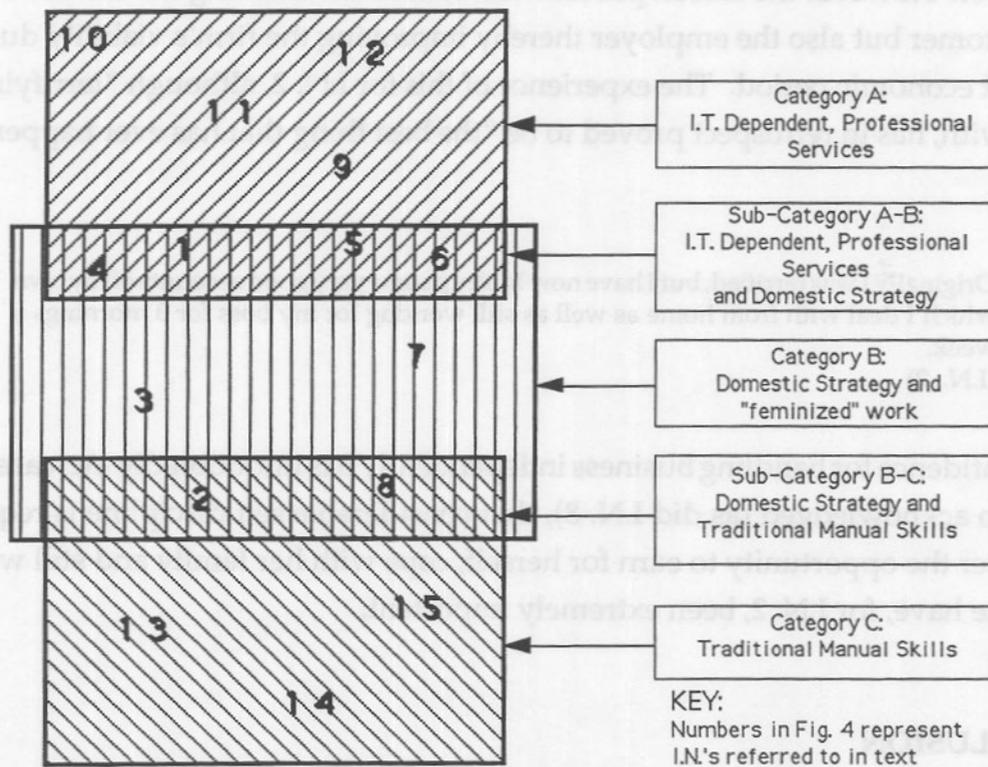
CONCLUSION

This small sample of fifteen self-employed individuals has revealed the enormous diversity of experiences that underpin the apparently innocuous label of the "self-employed". The extent of this diversity is hard to overstate. Compare for example I.N. 8, I.N. 14 and I.N. 11. The first, a single parent, had no alternative other than self-employment because it was the only way by which she could even attempt to

reconcile the constant demands made upon her to both care for her children and provide the family's only source of income. By contrast, I.N. 14 chose the self-employment option, albeit following his company's restructuring, because he had the financial means to develop new skills and enact a desired career change. I.N. 11 was also in a fortunate position insofar as self-employment was a purposive strategy to further his career path. This depended on the use of information technologies but the locational freedom this afforded allowed him to choose to live and work in Lewes.

For these three individuals, the cause, implications and wider significance of self-employment are clearly quite different. The range of experiences found within Lewes are summarised in Fig. 4.

**Fig. 4: A Taxonomy of Self-Employment Forms
From Within The Lewes Case Study**



However, identifying the existence of such contrasting self-employment histories does not in itself provide an analysis. Using the insights from the Lewes case study, the social, political and theoretical implications of self-employment will be considered in the next chapter.

6 THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RATIONALE FOR SELF-EMPLOYMENT

When the Conservative Government was elected into power in 1979, Martin explains that one of their key aims was

to revive free market competitive capitalism as the basis of economic growth and wealth regeneration.
(Martin, 1989: 101)

This was apparently going to be achieved through a series of measures that were designed to

deregulate the supply side of the economy so as to give the maximum scope to competition, efficiency and individual enterprise.
(Martin, 1989: 101)

Integral to the pursuit of "individual enterprise" arguably has been the promotion of self-employment.

The ascendancy of the New Right and the end of consensus politics accompanied, and to some extent caused, massive industrial restructuring. The rolling back of the state in order to liberate enterprise was certainly one aspect of this. In addition, the government undertook certain initiatives which were designed specifically to foster enterprise. However there were also important technological changes and major shifts in the character of international competition. Arguably it was these changes in the context of the politics of the New Right that have essentially underpinned the rapid increase in the numbers of self-employed in Lewes and more generally. In this penultimate chapter, the economic, social and political rationale for this process of industrial restructuring will be explored using insights from the Lewes case study.

Despite the political rhetoric and acclaim attached to the Government's Enterprise Initiative, the empirical research informing this study did not reveal a single case where the decision to become self-employed was a direct result of these policy measures. However in several instances, self-employment did follow organisational restructuring, whether in a commercial firm or local government (I.N. 2, 5, 11, 14). Significantly, corporate restructuring was not just the *cause* of self-employment. Very often it was those same firms that subsequently hired the self-employed on a sub-contracting basis. Most of the individuals identified in Category A in fact were used by large firms. Given the skilled nature of much of their work, it is clearly important to consider the logic of this form of industrial organisation.

A vast literature describes how a combination of self-employment and sub-contracting affords the productive system a high degree of both functional and numerical flexibility (Atkinson, 1984; Schoenberger, 1988). Such "flexibly specialised" firms therefore enjoy economies of scope and are able to respond quickly and effectively to fluctuations in market demand. A responsive firm therefore will enjoy considerable success and so this form of industrial organisation should underpin the "economic growth and wealth regeneration" that the Conservative Government sought when it was first elected in 1979.

Despite the apparent attractiveness of such a strategy of vertical disintegration (Scott, 1988), evidence from this case study however reveals at least four major limitations on the efficacy and indeed, the desirability, of such an industrial system.

Firstly, despite the fact that their skills were invariably based around the use of sophisticated information technologies, several of the respondents in Category A complained about the problems that inevitably arose from a lack of communication with the 'core' firm. In general, this did not represent a deliberate attempt to conceal information, rather it simply reflected the inevitable information lags and leakages accompanying vertically disintegrated organisational forms. The problems surrounding productive fragmentation are certainly not restricted to the self-employed in Lewes. Even in the case of Silicon Valley, supposedly the prime example of a vertically disintegrated production system, Florida and Kenney (1990: 79) remark upon the existence of "an increasingly uncompetitive brand of overspecialisation, not flexible specialisation".

A second and related factor which accompanies self-employment and which could threaten the commercial success of both the firm and the individual, concerns the issue of training. The self-employed are not trained by firms and they can rarely afford to pay for necessary training themselves. Consequently there is always the danger that their skills become obsolete as was the case with I.N. 5. The long term economic logic of such a scenario must be questionable. Compare for example the situation in Japan where life time employment is the norm, the incentive to invest in human capital is high and a complex system of "flexible rigidities" (Dore, 1986) underpins the world's most successful economy.

A third issue raised by several respondents concerned the problem of payment. By delaying payment, or forgetting it altogether, the self-employed in their capacity as sub-contractors are effectively financially cushioning the core firm against the vagaries

of the market. Thus while the core firm could benefit by externalising the costs of uncertainty (Gertler, 1988), the position of the self-employed becomes increasingly precarious. While the core firm may benefit in the short term from negative working capital cycles, the structural insecurity of the self-employed individual can only increase.

A fourth issue of questionable desirability concerns the effect of this financial and structural insecurity of the lives of the self-employed people themselves. Despite the powerful rhetoric of "freedom" and "individualism", many of the self-employed people in Lewes reported a different reality. This was equally true of those who had *chosen* self-employment and those for whom self-employment was an *involuntary* reaction to exogenous circumstances. As one newspaper reported,

Some people require their time to be organised for them by the office routine, and go to pieces if left to themselves. Some find they can't work at home because of - constant family interruptions - miss the social life - miss promotion - isolation from office politics.

(The Guardian 17. 10. 85)

Thus the reality of "freedom" can be an isolating and difficult experience.

For all of these reasons, the "success" of the industrial system that has been fostered both purposively and inadvertently by the New Right, must be doubtful from the perspective of both the individuals concerned and the productive system as a whole. The danger of vertical disintegration without the appropriate social and political infrastructures is a productive system that is "overly flexible and insufficiently specialised" (Sayer and Walker, 1992: 192) to achieve tangible commercial success.

Nevertheless, one could argue that a "sub-structure" has emerged that does, to a degree, underpin all of this. It too comprises the self-employed. Yet their position is even more structurally determined, for it is not just the structures surrounding capitalism that define their position within the economic system. This is equally determined by pervasive structures of patriarchy. To the extent that labour flexibility is achieved at all, it is invariably dependent on the various facilitating functions provided by women. This case study has revealed two pertinent, if contrasting, examples.

Firstly there was the case of I.N. 1, the qualified and well respected solicitor. She effectively gave up all prospects for promotion by becoming self-employed. However it was important that she did this as her husband was required to remain locationally flexible in his job in order to enhance his career prospects. Thus the demands of his

employer (local government) had a direct and adverse impact on his wife's career status. This demonstrates a clear and negative interaction between capitalist and patriarchal structures.

A second instance concerned I.N. 7, the child minder. One aspect of the Government's strategy of "rolling back the state" has involved the minimal provision of formal child care arrangements. Part of the neo-Conservative philosophy that underpins New Right thinking champions the existence of traditional, nuclear family structures in which one parent (usually the mother) should not participate in the formal economy but devote her energies instead in attending to the family's needs. In the event that neither parent is willing or able to care for the children on a full time basis, alternative arrangements must be found. One important source of these is the increasing number of self-employed (and usually female) child minders.

For both I.N. 1 and I.N. 7, the personal disadvantages of self-employment that were alluded to above still apply: namely problems of isolation and inherent insecurity. In addition though, the source of this weakness is imbricated within patriarchal structures of institutionalised inequality. To some extent then, this case study has demonstrated that the existence of deep-rooted patriarchal systems within society may act to negate the so-called freedom of opportunity promoted within the neo-liberal ideology for women while ensuring it for men.

This demonstrates, as Pollert (1983) argues, the existence of the dialectical process to which women are subject. On the one hand, the possibility of self-employment does provide opportunity and a means to greater self-fulfilment. I.N. 2 for instance described it as "the best thing that has ever happened to me". However on the other hand, it is arguably both the cause and consequence of intensified oppression as it creates the double burden of economic exploitation and domestic labour (Pollert, 1983). The real value of the "freedom" of self-employment enjoyed by I.N. 8, the single parent, is certainly questionable.

The political rhetoric associated with the concepts of "individualism", "popular capitalism" and "entrepreneurialism" is certainly powerful (Martin, 1989), and in this sense, self-employment should be the panacea for employment problems. The reality in terms of the desirability of the experience of self-employment is at best debatable for both the individual and the economic system as a whole. But what is more important however is that the nature of that experience is also highly variable. The image of self-employment fostered by the rhetoric is essentially that of Category A:

high tech activities based in telecottages with locational freedom, a high "quality of life" component and a very desirable lifestyle. But even within Category A, the reality is less idyllic and all those interviewed in the course of this research were aware of their current economic vulnerability. Nevertheless, this idyllic image of self-employment is what the Government would like to promote as the reward for hard work in the context of free market competition.

Of far greater numerical significance however are those for whom self-employment was an involuntary decision. Their work is not so glamorous and the images are far less appealing. Moreover, their wealth generating potential is greatly reduced. They however remain essential to the functioning of a capitalist and patriarchal system, even though their existence is largely obscured by the rhetoric.

In many respects it is difficult to understand how these different individuals can be classified as part of the same broad economic grouping. The carpenter (I.N. 14) and the computer programmer (I.N. 12) have vastly different skills and capabilities, as do the solicitor (I.N. 1) and the child minder (I.N. 7), yet within standard classifications they are all included within an apparently homogenous group labelled "the self-employed". Arguably then the very concept of "self-employment" requires critical examination. It is this theme that underpins the final chapter.

7 CONCLUSION: THE "CHAOTIC CONCEPT" OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Throughout this project, reference has continually been made to the great diversity of experiences surrounding the group of individuals from Lewes who are officially labelled "self-employed". Not only do their experiences differ, but their positions within the economic system vary enormously. This raises an important issue regarding whether the concept of self-employment can in fact be regarded as a "rational abstraction". That is to say, is "self-employment" an abstraction that "isolates a significant element of the world that has some unity and autonomous force" (Sayer, 1992: 138)? The evidence from this study would certainly appear to indicate that this is not the case. In order even to *describe* the range of experiences of fifteen self-employed people from Lewes, it was necessary to divide them into three categories and two further sub-categories.

Evidence from this study would certainly support the contention that self-employment is a bad or 'chaotic' conception that

arbitrarily divides the indivisible and/or lumps together the unrelated and the inessential, thereby 'carving up' the object of study with little or no regard for its structure or form.

(Sayer, 1992: 138)

There really is little logic behind grouping together the experiences of the carpenter and the software designer, the solicitor and the child minder, yet a significant element of neo-liberal government rhetoric has depended on precisely such an homogenising process as the self-employed are heralded as archetypal "popular capitalists".

But does this matter or is it an esoteric question of semantics? Sayer (1992: 139) argues that whether the existence of a chaotic conception is important depends "on the extent to which our actions are guided by it". Certainly it would appear that the present Government's actions have been heavily influenced by this concept as witnessed by the extraordinary weight attached to measures such as the Enterprise Initiative which the Department of Trade and Industry described as a set of policies

better described as an enterprise strategy than an industrial policy... The Enterprise Initiative will provide the most comprehensive self-help package offered to business. (DTI, 1988: 41)

In addition, in the preface to the Department of Employment's White Paper "Employment For The 1990s", Norman Fowler proclaimed,

The encouragement of enterprise and deregulation has stimulated the growth of self-

employment and the creation of several million new jobs in small firms. The industrial relations legislation has helped transform the sorry history of our labour relations to the benefit of employers and workers alike.
(Department of Employment, 1990)

In a third Government publication, it was claimed that

self-employment and part-time work are both identified as important elements of workforce flexibility which is promoted by the British Government as well as employers.
(Department of Employment, 1985: 18)

The concept of self-employment has therefore clearly been integral to Government policy. Throughout the 1980s, it has been regarded as the panacea for employment problems. But the fallacy of this proposition has been demonstrated throughout this study. Not only is self-employment truly a chaotic concept, but it is also one that obscures and marginalises an increasing proportion of the workforce which is hidden behind the rhetoric of "freedom" and "individualism". As Dale argues,

it is perhaps time to re-examine the accepted categorisation of the 'self-employed' and to look more critically at the diversity of employment situations subsumed within this label - it is significant that those moving into self-employment are not acquiring ownership of the means of production and the autonomy over the labour process associated with membership of the self-employed - but in fact, doing little more than moving into a casualised form of employment.
(Dale, 1986: 433)

But perhaps the contrast between the rhetoric and multiple realities of self-employment has served the Government well. It has certainly legitimated a pervasive form of employment restructuring that is often both highly exploitative and formulated within patriarchal structures, yet still manages to conjure up images of freedom and self-fulfilment. Self-employment is certainly a chaotic concept. Yet the power of the concept is difficult to dispute.

Appendix 1: CONTACTS

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Appendix 2: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SELF-EMPLOYMENT: THE CASE OF LEWES

1. What was your previous employment?
2. How would you describe your present occupation?
3. How long have you been self-employed?
4. Is your work continuous or intermittent?
5. Do irregular work patterns affect your lifestyle?
6. What do you see as the advantages of self-employment?
7. What do you see as the disadvantages of self-employment?
8. Do you feel that on balance self-employment is a success?
9. How do you measure that?
10. Do you have contact with other self-employed people in Lewes either for business or socially?
11. Do you think that self-employment will increase because of the present recession? Why?
12. Do you see self-employment as a seed-bed of entrepreneurial activity?
13. Was your choice to live in Lewes in part because of your present work?
14. Have you gone self-employed since moving to Lewes?
15. Do you work from home?
16. Is the space in your house adequate to facilitate your business?

17. Does your working from home create problems for the rest of the household?

18. What would be your ideal working conditions?

BUSINESS

19. What advice did you seek about setting up your own business?

20. Have you participated in any government employment/business schemes, if so which one?

21. How wide an area does your work cover?

22. Has consultancy led to diverse business opportunities?

23. What type of firm do you mainly work for?

24. Do you feel you can compete in the market place?

25. Do you advertise your services?

26. Does your area of work lend itself to the formation of co-operatives offering allied services?

27. Would you consider this as an option to increase your marketability?

28. Do you belong to any organisations which disseminate information for the self-employed?

29. Do you ever need to sub-contract part of your contracts?

30. Would you use a firm or an another self-employed person?

31. Do you think self-employment has increased or decreased over the last 10 years?

32. What other business do you think could successfully use outworkers?

33. Has your particular area of expertise changed significantly since you have become self-employed?
34. How has this change affected you?
35. What are the constraints you are aware of since becoming self-employed?
36. If you could choose one word to describe the difference between being employed and self-employed what would it be?

Appendix 3: INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

<u>Interview number :</u>	1
<u>Sex / Age:</u>	female / 38
<u>Marital status :</u>	married with 2 children
<u>Occupation :</u>	solicitor
<u>Length of time self-employed :</u>	8 years
<u>Main reason for becoming self-employed :</u>	family
<u>Word describing self-employment :</u>	convenient
.....	
<u>Interview number :</u>	2
<u>Sex / Age:</u>	female / 42
<u>Marital status :</u>	married with 2 children
<u>Occupation :</u>	book-keeper
<u>Length of time self-employed :</u>	2 years
<u>Main reason for becoming self-employed :</u>	my employer's suggestion
<u>Word describing self-employment :</u>	opportunity
.....	

Interview number : 3

Sex / Age : female / 41

Marital status : married with 3 children

Occupation : catering business

Length of time self-employed : 7 years

Main reason for becoming self-employed : financial and family committments

Word describing self-employment : opportunity

Interview number : 4

Sex / Age : female / 38

Marital status : partner with 5 children

Occupation : free-lance script writer / researcher

Length of time self-employed : 7 years

Main reason for becoming self-employed : family committments

Word describing self-employment : freedom

.....

Interview number : 5

Sex / Age : female / 36

Marital status : married with 3 children

Occupation : free-lance graphic artist

Length of time self-employed : 7 years

Main reason for becoming self-employed : employment restructuring by employer

Word describing self-employment : insecure

.....

Interview number : 6
Sex / Age : female / 40
Marital status : married with 2 children
Occupation : Public Health Consultant
Length of time self-employed : 7 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : quality of life
Word describing self-employment : schizophrenic

Interview number : 7
Sex / Age : female / 35
Marital status : married with 1 child
Occupation : child-minder
Length of time self-employed : 4 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : health
Word describing self-employment : accomodating

.....

Interview number : 8
Sex / Age : female / 40
Marital status : divorced with 1 child
Occupation : Secretary / Personal Assistant /
Graphic Designer
Length of time self-employed : 5 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : working single parent
Word describing self-employment : convenient

Interview number : 9
Sex / Age: male / 38
Marital status : married with one child
Occupation : Illustrator/Designer
Length of time self-employed : 14 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : opportunity
Word describing self-employment : Freedom

Interview number : 10
Sex / Age : male / 40
Marital status : married with 4 children
Occupation : Designs computer software, electronic hardware and data processing packages
Length of time self-employed : 8 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : opportunity
Word describing self-employment : today insecure

Interview number : 11
Sex / Age : male / 39
Marital status : married with 2 children
Occupation : Freelance graphic designer
Length of time self-employed : 5 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : changing structure of the industry
Word describing self-employment : Freedom

Interview number : 12
Sex / Age : male / 42
Marital status : single with 2 children by different partners
Occupation : computer programmer
Length of time self-employed : 5 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : independence
Word describing self-employment : freedom

.....

Interview number : 13
Sex / Age : male / 45
Marital status : married with 2 children
Occupation : builder
Length of time self-employed : 15 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : to earn more money
Word describing self-employment : control

.....

Interview number : 14
Sex / Age : male / 40
Marital status : married with 2 children
Occupation : carpenter
Length of time self-employed : 3 years
Main reason for becoming self-employed : employer taken over and firm moved
Word describing self-employment : insecure

.....

<u>Interview number :</u>	15
<u>Sex / Age :</u>	male / 39
<u>Marital status :</u>	married with 1 child
<u>Occupation :</u>	plumber
<u>Length of time self-employed :</u>	12 years
<u>Main reason for becoming self-employed :</u>	earn more money
<u>Word describing self-employment :</u>	essential

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¹ A small time-series analysis was made for male self-employment between 1966 and 1986 by Johnson, Lindley and Bourlakis (1988)

