

others all felt they would work for a few years until they had acquired enough money to start their own businesses or travel. Several said that they would like to start their own dressmaking firm, boutique and so on, where they would still be their own boss. One woman said she would like to start her own spiritualist society (being a spiritualist herself) and another girl said she would like to continue her education and maybe go to university. All of them, in describing what they would like to do as alternative employment, stressed the point that they liked working with people, whether in charge of their own firm or simply working in a pub.

One girl felt she had "prostituted" herself in the jobs she had done before. Cathy Nossa says: "Entering into 'the life' was a culmination of a gradual awareness of, and resentment toward, the prostituting of myself in more legally and socially acceptable ways, in the course of my search for a means of support that was flexible enough to leave me with the time and energy to do the things that were important to me . . . I have actually had more freedom in being myself than I initially thought I would . . . for most prostitutes it's a choice between sucking cock and kissing ass."

Only one woman said she actually enjoyed her work, as against it being a way of earning a living. She said this was only because she seemed to meet nicer men than she would outside. One girl said she gained some sexual satisfaction from her work. The rest seemed to be able to maintain themselves in a state of frigidity while working, but could, if they met somebody they liked socially, resume normal sexual relations and get a great amount of pleasure, either within or outside the bounds of romantic love.

I asked them what their central life interest was—that is, what was most important to them: work, home and/or family, or leisure? One said work; eight said home and/or family; and one said leisure. The girl who gave work as most important to her she said she worked very long hours, and living on the premises (which is unusual) didn't give her much time to see her family. She was 18. The woman who opted for leisure said she had many friends and tended to keep away from Soho when not working, but having a good time. Her leisure seemed to me to have a certain recuperative aspect to it. All the others (the single girls especially) tended to live at home, or at least spend a lot of time with their parents. All said they had good relationships with the rest of their family, and visiting relations seemed to be the main leisure activity in most cases.

There was a definite tendency for all ten women not to have a particularly extravagant or hectic social life, and they tended to stay in, read, watch television and so on. In fact, two girls said they never drank and very rarely frequented public houses. The leisure activities of these girls, seem to fit into Parker's category of neutrality. The story these girls usually told their parents was that they were secretaries or something similar. Many women said they read a great deal and one girl was in fact pursuing a part-time Open University course in psychology. Interestingly, the single women had many girlfriends but few men that they knew socially.

The average working day for a prostitute (based on my research) is about ten to twelve hours. Usually they would start off about midday and work through until late evening, or alternatively start early evening and work until about 3 am. I was told that many prostitutes had a day job in a bank, office and so on, and when they finished about 5 pm, they

started work in Soho. Many said their leisure time could well be affected by the amount of time they allocated to work, but usually they didn't let it. If they wanted to leave, they could at any time.

Recently, Edward Glover, in delineating two types of prostitute, said: "The first consists mostly of street-walkers of the 'drab' type, who in most cases practise prostitution as a lifelong profession. They are apathetic and 'hopeless' in attitude, some mentally disordered, others mentally backward; others, again, prone to form associations with criminals. They incline also to excessive use of alcohol . . . In marked contrast . . . comes the 'young' prostitute—unstable adolescents, often of borderline intelligence, attracted by a gay life; irresponsible, rebellious and defiant, or on occasion indolent and indifferent." The typical prostitute that comes out of my research doesn't fit into either category.

All the women said they thought their work had hardly any social status attached to it as far as the outside world was concerned. One girl said she thought it was recognised as a rotten business. However, all ten women felt they were helping people in some way by providing a service. They all said they looked on their work as a way of giving paid consultations. All the women said they often had clients visit them who came just to talk and no sexual act ever took place. I was told it was important to be a very good listener in their line of work. Often they had to just listen for hours to people pouring out their problems to them. One young girl said that she often looked upon herself as a kind of "psychological doctor." They maintained that all prostitutes did a lot of good which the majority of people never seemed to realise. Not only were prostitutes acting as a social outlet, they said, but men could come and talk to them about things their wives wouldn't be interested in.

On the actual physical side, they all felt—traditionally—that if it wasn't for the easy availability of prostitutes, sex crimes and assaults on young girls would increase. They felt that if there was any trouble with a man, they were experienced enough to cope with it—whereas the average woman outside was not. Although none of the prostitutes I saw was in any way muscular looking, there were, it seemed, always people around to help out if the need arose. Police, I was told, were always near at hand if trouble started and were definitely on the prostitutes' side. Every woman admitted, in fact, that she had police visit her as clients from time to time.

Men would also visit these prostitutes—traditionally—in order to gain "specialist services" (whipping, domination, bondage and so on) which could cause a lot of undue harm and friction if they asked their wives to assist. One prostitute mentioned a married client she had who liked to be beaten up for half an hour, often until he bled, because his wife refused to do it. He then went home to his spouse and lived a very happy life. They were, they said, giving men many pleasures they might not get without causing trouble elsewhere. Types of client they listed were fairly general, but students (surprisingly) came up all the time and so did pop singers. One woman said: "It helps people to get out of themselves; if there weren't people like us things could be worse." Another woman said: "It helps society, might be more rapes without it" A third one said: "It does help, cuts down on sex crimes." All their remarks were very consistent.

From replies to other questions I asked, I found that the religious beliefs of the women were fairly mixed; and that five were working class and five middle class. Four had low work satisfaction and

six had no satisfaction (no one had high work satisfaction). With Parker's study in mind, I asked them whether they considered their occupation was nearer to that of a doctor, clerk or miner/fisherman. They all said a doctor. Eight women felt any husband would be opposed to the type of work they did. The other two agreed that, if they married, their husbands would have to be "very supportive."

In conclusion, it would seem the general opinion about prostitutes is not quite true (though, as I have

said, one cannot generalise from my own sample, either). My ideas have certainly been changed. I was basically expected to see a hard-drinking, somewhat feeble-minded, crude and unattractive woman. Gone are both the gin bottle and the inch of make-up that once existed. In its place are some very attractive, rational-thinking women, who in general were neither impolite nor obtuse. I was not once propositioned or had the services they offered forced on me. To me they seemed—and were—normal women.

# Daytime television

Steve Bradshaw

Watching daytime television is an increasingly popular pastime. What goes out then, and who is it watches what?

Daytime television is the new national pastime. Every other housewife watches sometime during the day. Nearly a third (and many men, too) watch what the agencies call a "substantial amount." The habit is catching on so fast that breakfast-time television is expected to be with us by autumn.

It's hard to realise how quickly the puritan barricades are falling. Sixteen years ago, television was considered so lethal that it was banned entirely between 6 pm and 7 pm, so that mothers could get children to bed—the "toddlers' truce." There was a 90 minute break on Sundays, too, because no one wanted to compete with the church. Even when these curbs were lifted, the main one remained—transmissions were limited to 50 hours a week per channel. This strict rule could only be broken if the offending programmes were religious or educational.

A year ago this January, this final restriction was also abolished. The independent companies had not pressed for change because they felt it would not be economically viable, but now they were starting to think again, mainly because of cheap rentals, colour and a feeling that ITV was starting to lose its margin of "light" viewers. So they complained that the 50 hour limit was unfair to ITV, because the BBC (its two channels, to them, counting as one) was averaging over 80 hours a week.

Though the ITV companies won (as part of a subtle ministerial move to defer decision on a fourth TV channel), they were slow to act—through, they say, natural caution. A more likely reason, however, is that autumn is a better time than spring to get people interested in an indoor pastime. The success of bank holiday transmissions, the only real precedent, was hardly a reason for gloom. And so the ITV companies spent last summer working out a joint policy. They would start off with an extra four to four and a half hours a day; they would concentrate on housewives, but not at the expense of other groups like children, the sick, the elderly and shiftworkers; and they would keep advertisement rates low, down to what one agency called "give-away" prices. At the same time the BBC, which was also given the go-ahead but had no way of increasing its revenue, decided it would hardly be able to afford any new daytime programmes at all.

When the experiment finally started, six months ago, it was immediately successful: hardly anyone guessed so many people would start watching earlier. Already advertisers can count on reaching 30 per cent to 40 per cent of all housewives by buying schedules in the afternoon; another 10 per cent to

20 per cent watch at least some television before teatime. As early as the end of October, there were probably two million people viewing by 3 pm.

This is an astonishing rise, but it does not mean television has discovered a new public, or even made new friends. The figures suggest those who watch little television have not been tempted to watch in the daytime: heavy viewers are simply indulging their addiction more. The typical viewer is probably the young mother who doesn't go out to work, has enough energy to get through her housework quickly, already watches several hours of television a day, and now watches half an hour a day more.

There is evidence that the total television audience is not really going up. The average daily audience for ITV (an average of samples taken every 15 minutes between 7.30 pm and 10.30 pm, excluding small children) was 12,029,000 in February 1971. A year later it had fallen to 10,346,000. This year's figures show that only a fraction of that loss has been recovered—the current figure is just 10,532,000. In fact, January's figures were the worst since 1969. Given that the only new audience in daytime is likely to be shiftworkers, there is certainly no big increase in the number of people watching television (and the BBC hasn't escaped the trend).

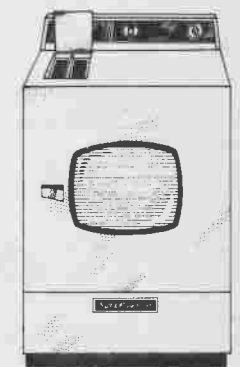
But the total amount of television viewed is certainly going up. On average, every home with a television had it switched to ITV in 1971 for 2.8 hours; in 1972, 2.6 hours; so far this year, it is 3.2 hours. For all channels, the average is 5.2 hours (1971); 4.8 hours (1972); and 5.6 hours (1973). Most of the increase of over half an hour a day has gone to ITV. These figures are not likely to be over-cautious, because they are issued by the British Bureau of Television Advertisers: but figures from the public broadcasting side of the fence (see table) tell a similar story. The BBC says it feels daytime audiences for ITV have increased "visibly" (but not "substantially"), resulting in ITV increasing its share of the total audience by about five per cent.

If most of this increase is due to housewives and

**Average number of hours watched by adults and children over five a week**

	BBC 1 & 2	ITV
March 1972	8.21	7.46
August 1972	7.56	6.23
September 1972	9.23	6.60
October 1972	8.31	6.47
March 1973	8.56	8.53

NB: afternoon schedules started September-October 1972



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others watching television during the day—and there is no other feasible explanation—the impetus is certainly coming from the heavy-viewing end of the spectrum. In November 1971, 4 per cent of housewives watched no ITV at all. A year later, when daytime programmes had settled in, that figure had gone up—to 7 per cent. But, then, so had the percentage of housewives who were watching over 25 hours of ITV each week—from 16 to 22 per cent.

What kind of housewives spend so much time watching television? There's not much to go on, but there is a clue in the strange way BBC radio audiences have been behaving since the autumn. Since TV de-restriction, I understand (there are no official figures), Radio One has been gaining listeners in the morning but losing them in the afternoon—the total loss, over a year, is near to a million. Some of these have gone to Radio Two (up from 1.25 million to 1.75 million over the same period and now 250,000 short of Radio One). That leaves a total shortfall of half a million, and the BBC is ready to agree that represents a loss to afternoon television (the figure just about squares with peak television figures of 2.5 million). The point here is that Radio One, which is standing most of the loss, is traditionally the young housewife's station, whereas Radio Two has a more elderly, middle-aged audience. Agency reports back this up: J. Walter Thompson says that many more housewives than usual in the daytime television group are in the under-45 age bracket.

Of course, it's not as simple as that. For a start, about 50 per cent of all housewives do not watch television before the early evening. So remote are they to all advances that many agencies believe they are not there at all—in other words, more housewives than people think go out to work. Even the existing audience remains "mysterious" and "elusive." The J. Walter Thompson survey, for example, also revealed that 37 per cent of the daytime audience are men—not just old age pensioners, but men of all ages. No one knows how many of them are shiftworkers and how many are unemployed.

The main audience, though, is undoubtedly the young mother and child—which is one of several reasons for daytime television's popularity with advertisers. The most intensive campaigns have been for confectionery, cosmetics and kitchenware, followed by things like headache pills and disposable nappies. There are other advantages: cheaper rates give more scope to regional advertisers; and, flanking daytime TV, transmissions late at night, when viewers are supposedly at their most receptive, have attracted a new wave of financial and industrial advertisers.

But the biggest benefit is efficiency. Daytime broadcasting gives greater flexibility to "cumulative coverage" campaigns, and it reduces cost per unit. A campaign that in 1970 would have cost £10,000 would now work out at £17,500—but daytime television could bring that figure down to £15,000 without losing any coverage. The discount has been attractive enough to help offset a 5.3 per cent rate increase and help inspire a big upswing in advertisement revenue—£10,485,721 this February, against £8,416,747 in the same month last year.

The programmers' attentions, not surprisingly, are also aimed at housewives. Top favourite programmes—the addictive kick in the drug, as the programmers see it—are the afternoon soap operas, like *Crown Court*, *Harriet's Back in Town* (the trauma of an attractive divorcee) and the two most popular, *General Hospital* and *Emmaldale Farm* (the Yorkshire *Archers*). These last two have up to 2.5 million viewers. There's also a women's magazine, *Good Afternoon*. Children run a good second,

with lunchtime programmes and *Rainbow*, which, for better or worse, is Britain's answer to *Sesame Street*; and third favourites are repeats of popular evening programmes for shiftworkers (mostly male-oriented soap operas like *Public Eye*), and the odd local travelogue programme.

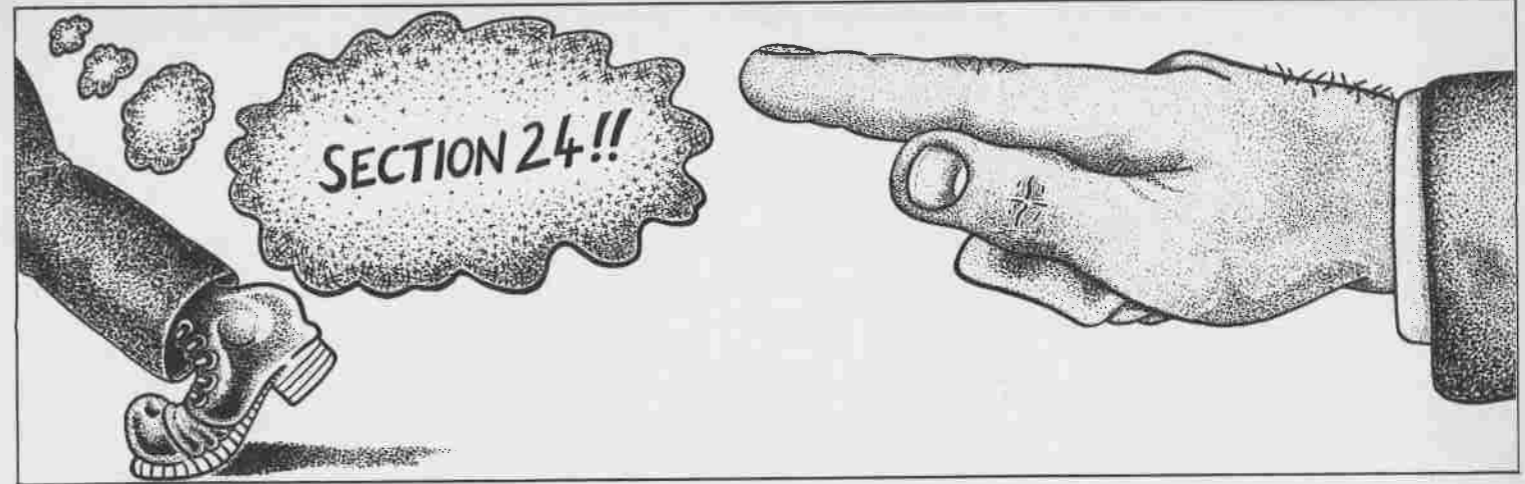
All that puts each channel's output up to an average 100 hours a week. Somehow the BBC has managed to keep pace—total transmission time has nearly doubled since 1971 (BBC1 from 53 hours a week to 97 hours; BBC2 from 32 hours to 62 hours). The increase includes gaps filled in the BBC2 schedules (there are still a few left), a few late night programmes, repeats, and the networking of regional documentaries. There are just a few new programmes—including *Pebble Mill at One*.

Together with London Weekend's *Weekend World*, BBC's *Pebble Mill* is probably the cream of daytime television (the rest is more akin to soapy water than to milk). The BBC programme is a live, daily, informal news magazine networked from Birmingham at minimal cost, and rating up to two million viewers. *Weekend World* is a tighter, more heavy-weight programme, aimed at breaking viewers into the habit of Sunday morning viewing. It now rates five million, twice its autumn rating.

There's no chance of the BBC expanding its daytime programming, but the high ratings enjoyed by the news programmes will probably prompt the companies to divert more funds to ITN. There's already one successful news bulletin at 12.40 pm which starts the afternoon run of programmes (and might cynically be seen, like *Weekend World*, as one way of making people feel good about turning the set on at that time of day). This may well lead to more. There's also the expectation of having breakfast-time television, again with a news bias. Thames Television is said to be particularly keen on the idea of a television equivalent to BBC radio's *Today* programme, and hopes to introduce an experimental programme sometime during the autumn (perhaps carrying paid-up supermarket and shopping guides in the advertisement slots). All this, incidentally, is in a fine tradition—the model programme for such news magazines was BBC's *Today*, the experimental show which first filled the 6 pm to 7 pm slot.

There's little chance of expansion elsewhere. The independents simply want to consolidate their victory. There may be some extension late at night, but it will probably be in the provinces. Thames Television says it has found that Londoners and commuters go to bed earlier than everyone else because they have to get up earlier to get to work on time. The only other available slot is 9.30 am to noon, but that is taken up by schools broadcasts which are unlikely to be disturbed. Anyway, the audience seems delighted with what it's got. The Mothers' Union, for example, says its television-watching groups have brought back tributes from around the country.

But the critics, those who want more adventurous and experimental programming, are far from satisfied. Strangely enough, their best allies may be the advertisers themselves. Since it is mainly the addict, not the casual viewer, who is watching during the day, mass market advertisers, who want to reach all of their customers, have no way of using extended hours to distribute their budgets more evenly. Their main concern is that television should attract new viewers, like the 50 per cent of housewives who won't switch on during the afternoon, and at the very least check what some agencies see as a continued drift of viewers away from the medium as a whole. And the best way to do that could be to put on more experimental programmes.



David Davies

Society at work

## Sacked unfairly

Kevin Williams

To those who have never been sacked, the Industrial Relations Act's safeguards against unfair dismissal may have seemed a mere sop to the unions. Nevertheless, there clearly was a need for some statutory protection over and above that provided by the common law. In common law, so long as an employer gives due notice of dismissal or pays wages in lieu, the legality of his action is assured. It is irrelevant that the employer has no good reason for giving notice. Nor can he be compelled to disclose his reason. Yet, as the Donovan commission pointed out in 1968, "people build much of their lives around their jobs. Their incomes and prospects for the future are inevitably founded on the prospect that their jobs will continue." In 1971, the Consultative Document on the bill tersely explained that "both on grounds of principle and as a means of removing a significant cause of industrial disputes, the government proposes to include provisions to give statutory safeguards against unfair dismissal." Those safeguards have been in operation since 28 February 1972. How effective have they proved to be?

Of the 4,700 complaints reported during the first seven months, 720 were settled voluntarily with the help of a conciliation officer. Complaints not settled or withdrawn are heard by an industrial tribunal, which must first be satisfied that the complainant employee has been dismissed and has not merely resigned. After some initial hesitation the majority of tribunals now treat as dismissal any employer misconduct which forces an employee to quit his job. In the case of *Robertson v Securicor* in 1972, a tribunal refused to accept that an employee

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could properly be regarded as having resigned where his employer made it plain that the alternative was instant dismissal without a reference or wages in lieu of notice.

Although there is no closed list of fair or unfair dismissal cases, initially the employer must show that he acted for one of six permitted reasons. Few employers fail to do this. The reasons are wide-ranging and elastic. They are: qualifications or capability; conduct; redundancy; that the employee is a risk to national security; and that he "could not [lawfully] continue to work in the position which he held." This last was thought to legitimise the sacking of, for example, a representative who is temporarily banned from driving. That has proved not to be so unless his contract prohibits him employing a chauffeur as a substitute driver.

The sixth possibility is something of a catch-all. It is "some other substantial reason of a kind such as to justify the dismissal." This has been held, in one case, to include fear of the mere possibility of an accounts clerk disclosing confidential information to her husband who had, some months before, begun trading in the same line as the employer. Once the employer has established his reason, it is for the employee under section 24 (6) to show that the employer acted unreasonably in treating it as a "sufficient reason" for dismissing him and that is to be judged "in accordance with equity and the substantial merits of the case." This is the critical test. In each situation the question must be whether it is fair to use *this* reason in the particular circumstances. There can be no reason which is fair in every case.

But the reverse is not true. There are three types of dismissal which are always unfair. Firstly, where the reason for the dismissal was the employee's actual or potential exercise of the rights conferred on him by section five of the act. This is the controversial section which entitles a worker, as against his employer, to have the right to be a member of a registered trade union or not to be a member of any trade union registered or unregistered.

Secondly, it is equally unfair to pick out an employee to be made redundant, contrary to a customary or agreed procedure, such as "last in—first out," or to select him because he had exercised or had indicated his intention to exercise his section five rights.

Thirdly, section 26 makes it unfair to sack only some strikers, or if all are sacked not to re-engage all after the strike is over, because the strikers exercised the rights given them by section five. Since the great majority of trade unionists belong to unregistered unions, they have no protection under *this* provision where they strike.

It has still to be decided whether the victimisation of strikers is *per se* unfair. Registered or not, strikers cannot claim the benefit of section 26 if all are sacked and not re-engaged, as happened during a dispute at a Shrewsbury firm recently. Perhaps the most curious point is that the legality of the strike is ignored, in judging fairness. Even where due notice of intention to strike has been given, section 147 (4) preserves an employer's right to sack strikers. It may be, however, that section 26 is not exhaustive, so that to dismiss strikers may be unfair if the strike was provoked by the employer's unreasonable or unlawful conduct.

"Conduct" appears to be the most frequent and diverse answer given by employers to allegations of unfairness. Swearing at the foreman, refusing to go on a training course, bad time-keeping, throwing rocks at the canteen, and organising a lunch-time meeting to recruit employees into union membership, are recent examples. The act does not specify *misconduct*, although that is how the tribunals have interpreted it. Nor is there any requirement that it shall have occurred at work. No doubt a bank clerk might be fairly dismissed if he was found with his fingers in the tennis club till. Rugby Portland Cement sacked a manual operative after learning that he had been put on probation for a sexual offence. The tribunal was indignantly told that the company would never employ anyone guilty of "moral turpitude." Nevertheless the dismissal was held to be unfair, apparently on the basis that in the particular circumstances it was wrong for the man to be punished twice for the same offence.

The tribunals in formulating a common-sense view of good industrial discipline, have relied heavily upon Robert Carr's *Code of Practice*, which by section four is to be "taken into account" by any tribunal. Employers, for example, are directed in paragraph 130 to ensure "that fair and effective arrangements exist for dealing with disci-