

## **Report of the Committee on Night Baking.**

### **Contributors**

Great Britain. Ministry of Labour and National Service. Committee on Night Baking.

### **Publication/Creation**

London : H.M.S.O., 1951.

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# Report of the Committee on Night Baking



*Presented by the Minister of Labour to Parliament  
by Command of His Majesty  
October 1951*

LONDON

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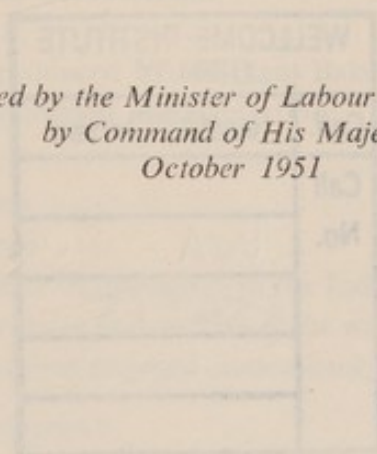
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# Report of the Committee on Night Baking

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# APPOINTMENT AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF COMMITTEE

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE hereby appoints:—

SIR FREDERICK REES,

MISS MARY SUTHERLAND, C.B.E., J.P.,

MR. H. L. BULLOCK,

SIR JOHN FALCONER, and

MR. GEOFFREY MARCHAND, C.B.E.

to be a Committee to consider the desirability of abolishing or limiting the practice of night baking now prevalent in the Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery Industry, to report on the economic and social consequences and to make recommendations. .

THE MINISTER further appoints SIR FREDERICK REES to be Chairman, and MR. H. W. EVANS, of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, to be Secretary of the said Committee.

Given under the official seal of the Minister of Labour and National Service this 18th day of September, 1950.

(Signed) GODFREY H. INCE,  
Secretary,  
Ministry of Labour and  
National Service.

# REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NIGHT BAKING

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE,

Sir,

We have the honour to present the following report:—

1. We have held 17 meetings, including one at Edinburgh at which we heard evidence on behalf of certain Scottish interests. We have examined 61 witnesses, including representatives of

The Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers of Great Britain and Ireland,

The Scottish Union of Bakers, Confectioners, Biscuit Bakers and Bakery Workers,

The National Association of Master Bakers, Confectioners and Caterers,

The Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

The Employers' side of the National Joint Committee for the Scottish Baking Industry representing

The Scottish Association of Master Bakers,

The Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers (Scottish area),

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Master Bakers' Association,

The Co-operative Union Ltd. (including the Scottish Section),

The London Master Bakers' and Confectioners' Federation,

The Caterers' Association of Great Britain,

The British Hotels and Restaurants Association,

The British Cake and Biscuit Association,

The British Electricity Authority,

The Gas Council.

2. In addition we have received written statements from the following bodies:—

The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers,

The Transport and General Workers' Union,

The Scottish Transport and General Workers' Union,

The United Road Transport Workers' Association of England,

The Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association,

The London Jewish Bakers' Union,

The London Jewish Master Bakers' Protection Society,

The British Travel and Holidays Association,

The Scottish Tourist Board,

The Cunard Steamship Company Ltd.,

The London Transport Executive.



The National Board for Bakery Education,

The City & Guilds of London Institute,

The Royal Technical College, Glasgow,

The Technical College, Cardiff,

The Commonwealth Relations Office,

The Ministry of Education,

The Ministry of Food,

and information and statistics have been made available to us by many branches of your Ministry, including the Senior Medical Inspector of Factories. We have received in addition a few written submissions from private persons.

3. We have also visited at various hours of the day and night ten bakeries in London or Scotland ranging from the very large to the very small. Four of these visits took place between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. We would like to express our thanks to the following bakers for their courtesy in allowing us to visit their premises:—

City Bakeries Ltd., Glasgow.

Messrs. R. Douglas Ltd., Galashiels.

Messrs. W. Glover & Sons Ltd., 28, High Street, Barnes, London, S.W.13.

Hamilton Central Co-operative Bakery.

Messrs. A. B. Hemmings' Ltd. Bakery at 82, Fulham Road, London, S.W.3.

Mr. F. Kaye, 56, Wilcox Road, London, S.W.8.

Messrs. J. Lyons & Co., Cadby Hall, London, W.14.

Peebles Co-operative Bakery.

Messrs. Slater and Bodega Ltd., London, W.C.1.

United Co-operative Baking Society, Glasgow.

In addition to these visits, we have attended one of the weekly National Bread Surveys at the Bakery Division of the Ministry of Food, Stanmore, conducted by Mr. W. E. Spencer, M.B.E., an independent expert who acts as Chief Bakery Production Officer to that Ministry. Mr. Spencer also gave oral evidence before us.

4. We present our report in six Parts. Part I (Paragraphs 5 to 26) describes briefly the history of the night baking question from 1848 to the time of our appointment. Part II (Paragraphs 27 to 51) is an analysis of the Baking Industry at the present time and a description of the background against which the problem must be judged. Part III (Paragraphs 52 to 60) is an assessment of the public tastes in the buying and eating of bread. Part IV (Paragraphs 61 to 109) is an analysis of the arguments put forward in support of the abolition of night baking. Part V (Paragraphs 110 to 179) is an examination of the difficulties to which abolition or limitation of night baking might give rise. Part VI (Paragraphs 180 to 215) contains our Conclusions and Recommendations.



## **PART I: THE HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM**

### **EVENTS UP TO 1914**

5. It is no new problem into which we have been asked to inquire. We are the third committee to be set up since the end of the First World War to examine the question of night baking and the problem is very much older than the date of the first of these committees, which was 1919. Indeed, in the course of our inquiries we heard it said that the sufferings of the bakers go back to the days of Pharaoh, for when Pharaoh was wrathful against his chief butler and his chief baker, he eventually restored the butler to his butlership, but he hanged the chief baker. So far as our inquiry is concerned, we have thought it unnecessary to pursue the problem further back than 1848 when a Bill to prohibit night baking was introduced in the House of Commons. It seems fair to infer from this that the practice was then prevalent, at least in some parts of the country. But in general, so long as bakeries were small and bread was manufactured by hand, night baking was probably carried on to a limited extent only. In the later years of the last century and the early ones of this, however, with the growing use of machinery in bakeries, night work was gradually becoming more prevalent and Bills to abolish it were introduced repeatedly between 1898 and 1911 but failed to pass through Parliament. By the outbreak of war in 1914, night baking was fairly general in England and Wales, but not in Scotland, where it remained rare up to 1922. Night work is confined to men as night employment of women and young persons is prohibited by the Factories Acts.

### **THE BREAD ORDER, 1917**

6. During the First World War there was a development of some importance to which from time to time references were made by the witnesses appearing before us. This was the Bread Order made in 1917 under Defence of the Realm Regulations. The Order provided among other things that "no bread which has not been made at least 12 hours shall be sold or offered or exposed for sale". The object of the Order was to limit the consumption of bread in view of the apprehended scarcity of flour, but an indirect result was greatly to modify night baking throughout the United Kingdom. The 12-hour limit being imposed on the sale of bread, it was generally found that bread could be sold fresher if it were baked during the day. Some night baking still went on but in many bakeries where, before the Order, the ovens were used for the baking of bread by night and of confectionery by day, during the continuance of the Order the process was reversed and confectionery was baked by night and bread by day.

### **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL, 1918**

7. In September, 1918, there was set up what proved to be a short-lived Joint Industrial Council for the Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery Industry, embracing England, Wales and Scotland. The question of the abolition of night baking was one of the first matters to receive its attention but no general agreement proved possible and the Council soon broke down as far as England and Wales were concerned, although in Scotland it continued to function until 1922. With a threat of a serious dispute in the Industry over the question of night baking the Government set up a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir William Mackenzie "to inquire into the practice of night work in the Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery Trade and to report whether it is desirable in the interests of those engaged in the Trade and of the community that the practice should be abolished or modified".



8. The Mackenzie Committee reported in July, 1919. Though finding no actual evidence that night work had been unduly detrimental to the health of the bakers, the Committee considered it less conducive to good health than day work, and they also considered it objectionable on account of its interference with normal social and family life. The Committee, while appreciating that abolition would give rise to considerable difficulties, came to the conclusion that these could be overcome without serious hardship and they recommended that, subject to certain important exemptions, employment in night work between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. should be abolished after two years.

9. The permanent exemptions recommended by the Committee included:—

- (a) dough makers and oven firemen ;
- (b) emergencies due to breakdown of plant or other unforeseeable circumstances, or sudden and unexpected demand ;
- (c) one night per week to meet requirements of week-end trade ;
- (d) not more than ten nights in any year to provide supplies for public holidays and feast days ;
- (e) not more than 17 weeks in any year to meet seasonal trade at seaside and holiday resorts. This exemption was to be used only by local agreement between masters and men or by the decision of an arbitrator.

In addition, there was to be power to alter the prohibited period by local agreement to any six consecutive hours between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.

10. The Committee further recommended that the responsible Minister should be empowered to extend the prohibition of night baking to bakers working on their own account in any district upon representations of unfair competition from the local association of employers or employed or both. The Committee recognised that, without this extension, prohibition might tend to favour the small baker at the expense of the larger bakeries, where the working conditions were better, but they also considered that such interference with the personal liberty of a master baker would be justified only if it could be shown that serious prejudicial effects would otherwise arise to a considerable number of those engaged in the trade.

11. The Committee were of opinion that, apart from some initial capital expenditure, their recommendations should not add generally to the cost of manufacture, and should not prevent the public from receiving bread reasonably fresh and at reasonable times.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ACTION FOLLOWING THE MACKENZIE REPORT

12. The Bread Order was formally revoked in August, 1919. A Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Mackenzie Committee was introduced by the Home Secretary in May, 1920, but it was found impossible to proceed with it. The proposals of the 1920 Bill were put forward in subsequent years in several Private Members' Bills and in the Government Factories Bill of 1924 ; but none of these Bills made any progress. Night baking was soon generally resumed in England and Wales and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in Scotland.

\* Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Night Work in the Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery Trade, 1919. Cmd. 246.



#### THE PEAT COMMITTEE, 1925

13. In 1925, in connection with the Convention adopted by the International Labour Organisation prohibiting night work in bakeries, the Government asked the Royal Commission on Food Prices, which was then sitting, to report specially on the question whether compulsory discontinuance of night baking would be likely to result either permanently or temporarily in an increase in the price of bread. The Royal Commission referred this question to a Committee of three of which Sir W. H. Peat, K.B.E., was the Chairman. This Committee reported that "if new bread is to be supplied in the same condition of newness to the same points and in the same quantities and at the same time in the morning as it is now, the cost of the loaf will be increased and it is impossible to say that this increase will be purely temporary". The report was adopted by the Royal Commission.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF MECHANISATION IN THE BAKING INDUSTRY DURING THE INTER-WAR YEARS

14. Meanwhile a great increase of mechanisation was taking place in bakeries. Automatic plant for the division of the dough and subsequent processes up to its entry into the oven, and the use of travelling ovens which can be used for either bread or confectionery were known before 1914, but it was not until after the 1914-18 War that they began to be used on a large scale. It is estimated that between 1919 and 1937 the amount of automatic plant increased tenfold, and by 1937 in most of the large wholesale bakeries mechanisation of bread making was complete from the automatic weighing and mixing of raw materials to the wrapping of the finished product.

#### APPOINTMENT OF THE ALNESS COMMITTEE, 1937

15. In 1937, the question of night baking was raised again in Parliament in connection with a new Government Factories Bill. The Government decided that a further inquiry into the matter was necessary and in February, 1937, the Home Secretary appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Alness "to inquire into the effects likely to ensue (1) to those engaged in the Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery Industry and (2) to the public in the event of the abolition by legislation of the practice of night baking now prevalent in the Industry; and to consider and report whether or not such legislation would be desirable".

#### THE ALNESS REPORT, 1937\*

16. The Alness Committee reported in the summer of 1937. The majority report was against statutory prohibition of night baking, but recommended the establishment of a body on which representatives of both sides of the Trade would meet together and devise means of ameliorating the conditions of the operatives as regards night work and also as regards the long hours which were worked in some cases. The main points in the Report were as follows :—

##### (i) *Effects upon the public of legislation abolishing night baking*

The Committee saw no reason to think that the abolition of night baking would lead to any general increase in the price of bread or have any other material effect upon the public.

##### (ii) *Effects upon the operatives*

The Committee considered that no case had been made out to show that night baking was injurious to the health of operatives. They recognised that night work involved serious social disadvantages for the operatives, but thought that there would still be serious disadvantages if

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\* Report of the Departmental Committee on Night Baking, 1937. Cmd. 5525.



it were abolished. They considered that about half of the operatives then engaged in all-night work would be called upon to start work at the uncomfortable hour of 5 a.m. and that the other half would be required to work in the afternoon and evening (including Sundays), thus having even less opportunity for social and family life in the evening and at the weekend than were available to them under the existing system.

(iii) *Effects upon employers*

The Committee were of the opinion that the abolition of night baking would work inequitably among employers, and would have two particularly serious effects ;

(a) Many of the large and medium-sized bakeries would be forced to bake in the afternoon and evening for delivery on the following morning and would thereby be placed at a disadvantage in competing with the small baker who would bake from 5 a.m. onwards on the morning of delivery.

(b) The majority of the large and medium-sized bakeries would be faced with serious dislocation of their business and, if an attempt were made to maintain existing output, considerable capital expenditure, probably uneconomic, and increased working expenditure would be necessary.

(iv) *Legislation*

The Committee thought that legislation to prohibit baking between specified hours at night would fall far short of removing the disadvantages from which the night baker was suffering. Such legislation would work inequitably among employers and would cause hardship in many cases. It would also be very difficult to apply and enforce. The Committee concluded that, in the circumstances of the time, legislation to abolish night baking was not desirable.

17. The Committee nevertheless expressed the hope that the master bakers and operatives would meet together to thrash out their difficulties and that some means would be provided of enforcing any decisions reached. They suggested that the opportunity might be taken of seeking and finding ways of ameliorating the conditions of night work. The Committee thought that the question of arranging some scheme of alternation in the larger bakeries was well worthy of further examination, and that differential minimum rates of pay might be considered as a means of securing that men were not put on night work without good cause and of discouraging unduly long hours.

18. A minority report by Mr. F. Marshall, M.P., emphasised the disadvantages of night work, questioned the extent to which afternoon baking would have to be adopted if it were abolished and expressed the view that operatives would in any case prefer such an afternoon shift as it would enable them to have their rest at night. He considered that within a period of two years the large plant bakeries could adapt themselves to the change and concluded that the recommendations of the Mackenzie Committee should be adopted with some modification.

#### DEVELOPMENTS FOLLOWING THE ALNESS REPORT

19. The Ministry of Labour opened discussions in September, 1937, with the two sides of the Industry about the recommendations of the Alness Committee. Joint Committees, one for England and Wales and one for Scotland, were set up to examine the recommendations. The discussions centred mainly on the possibility of applying the machinery of the Trade Boards Act to the Baking Industry and good progress was made. By May,



1938, the Minister of Labour was able to make an Order\* applying the Trade Boards Act to the Baking Trade. While this was happening, however, there were Parliamentary developments of some importance. In October, 1937, a Private Member's Bill was introduced in the House of Commons to prohibit work in bakehouses between the hours of 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. The Bill was given a second reading in February, 1938, and although considerably amended in Committee, passed through Parliament and received the Royal Assent in July, 1938.

#### THE BAKING INDUSTRY (HOURS OF WORK) ACT, 1938

20. The new Act limited rather than abolished night baking. It provided that employment in any factory in the manufacture of bread or flour confectionery between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. was to take place only to the extent and subject to the conditions authorised under one of three systems as follows:

(a) Under the first system, employment throughout the night was permissible, but no individual could be employed on more than five nights in the week.

(b) Under the second system, the workpeople could be employed between 11 p.m. on Friday night and 5 a.m. on Saturday morning, and after 4 a.m. (instead of 5 a.m.) on other mornings.

(c) Under the third system, individuals could be employed at night on alternating shifts so arranged that no individual worked between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. for more than half his time.

The Act thus allowed a considerable measure of night work, and it contained a further very important feature regarding the date of its coming into operation. It provided that it was to come into operation on 1st January, 1940, unless before that date the Home Secretary had laid before Parliament a Certificate that he was satisfied that a Trade Board had been established in the Baking Trade. In fact an Order setting up a Trade Board for England and Wales was made in June, 1938.† In Scotland, progress in discussions had been slower because there was considerable argument as to the need for a Trade Board at all in view of the considerable degree of joint organisation in that country. An Order similar to that for England and Wales was however eventually made in February, 1939.‡ The Home Secretary was thus able to issue a Certificate in July, 1939, that he was satisfied that Trade Boards had been established and the Act has consequently never come into force. The Trade Boards, which have now become Wages Councils, regulate wages and conditions of employment in the Industry but they have no power to prescribe the hours during which baking may or may not take place.

#### WARTIME EVENTS

21. At an early stage of the 1939-45 War, consideration was given by the Ministry of Food to the introduction of emergency legislation on the lines of the Bread Order, 1917. It was decided however not to proceed with such legislation, in part because of the difficulty of enforcement, and in part because it was thought that it might lead to the provision of excessively stale bread in some areas, particularly country districts, with consequent waste. No doubt because of this decision there was no general abandonment of night baking as happened in the First World War after the introduction of the Bread Order. Nevertheless, we have heard some evidence which suggests that in one or two large towns, e.g., Birmingham, there was at least a partial

\* S.R. & O. No. 519 of 1938.

† S.R. & O. No. 627 of 1938.

‡ S.R. & O. No.  $\frac{109}{S.9}$  of 1939.



abandonment of night baking, the practice among a majority of bakers in the town being to bake one day for the next, so that bread production would not be held up because of interruptions due to night bombing. We consider this evidence in greater detail in paragraphs 78-79 below.

22. Several attempts were made during the war by the Unions representing the bakery operatives to bring about abolition of night baking, but without success. A deputation was received on the matter by the then Minister of Labour and National Service in 1941, while the subject was raised more than once during the war at the T.U.C. or Scottish T.U.C. In 1942, a dispute on the issue of the abolition of night baking between members of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers of Great Britain and Ireland and employers in Wolverhampton was referred to the National Arbitration Tribunal which found against the Union (Award No. 271). Again in January, 1945, a dispute between the Union and Birmingham employers over a general resumption of night baking in the Birmingham area was referred to the National Arbitration Tribunal which again found against the Union (Award No. 684). Mention should also be made of a strike which occurred in Dundee in May, 1944, which in part centred around the night baking question although there were also other issues involved. It is perhaps of interest that the independent arbitrator appointed to inquire into the causes and circumstances of this dispute, referred in his report to the fact that the men felt "profoundly" about the night work issue and to their firm conviction that it ought in the main to be unnecessary.

#### THE SCOTTISH AGREEMENTS

23. The major development in the Baking Industry during the war, however, was the negotiation in Scotland in 1944 of a National Agreement between the representatives of the Scottish Master Bakers and the Scottish Union of Bakers, Confectioners, Biscuit Bakers and Bakery Workers. There were already in existence a number of local agreements throughout Scotland which provided more favourable wages and conditions than those prescribed by the Scottish Baking Trade Board. With the signing of the National Agreement in November, 1944, there was created a National Joint Committee for the Scottish Baking Industry "to give consideration to all matters appertaining to the organisation and development of the Bread, Cake and Flour Confectionery Industry in Scotland as may be of common interest to the parties or may be referred to it by any of them". This Agreement was followed by the signing of a National Working Agreement in May, 1945. The latter was a detailed Agreement covering many aspects of wages and working conditions. It was revised in 1948 to provide in particular for the abolition of continuous night work in Scotland. In the words of the relevant clause of the present National Working Agreement:—

"The regulations laid down in this clause have the object of abolishing any system of continuous working in the evenings or at night for any individual and are designed to ensure that each worker shall be employed during the day for at least one half of the number of weeks worked by him in any calendar year."

The Agreement contains detailed arrangements regarding the timing and periodicity of shift working. We consider these and make a general assessment of the Scottish scheme later in our report (see Paras. 168 to 179). Suffice it for the moment to point out that this most important advance was achieved by voluntary agreement and that it has eliminated one of the more objectionable features of night baking—continuous night work. At the same time, to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be made clear that the Scottish Union does not regard this Agreement as a solution to the night baking problem and is fully associated with its English and Welsh colleagues in their demand for total abolition.



## POST-WAR NEGOTIATIONS

24. With the end of the war, discussions on the question of abolishing night baking were begun on a national level between the two sides of the Industry. A Joint Committee was set up early in 1946, with sub-committees covering England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, for the purpose of considering the question of abolition. The Committee was composed of representatives of bakery employers' Associations and of the bakery operatives' Unions in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The basis of the demand put forward by the Unions in these post-war negotiations was that there should be a complete prohibition of night work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. with an allowance for an earlier start for preparatory workers of not more than two hours. As a temporary measure, for a period of not more than two years, the Unions were prepared to permit bakeries now working on a three-shift system to continue work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. in order to enable the reorganisation necessary for total abolition to be carried out.

25. Progress on the Joint Committee was extremely slow and it is unnecessary to follow in detail the course of the negotiations. After prolonged discussions, the employers put forward the following offer at a meeting on 16th November, 1948:—

(1) They were willing to agree to a Statutory Order for England and Wales under which no bakery worker should be required to work for more than 25 weeks in the year either

(a) between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., or alternatively

(b) between the hours of 6 p.m. and 5 a.m., either arrangement to be available to the employer.

(2) Notwithstanding the foregoing there should be provision for special arrangements on Friday nights and at holiday times.

It will be seen that this offer was in principle similar to the arrangement made under the Scottish Working Agreement, but it differed in that the Scottish arrangement was put into operation by voluntary agreement, whereas the English employers contemplated a Statutory Order. The Unions were not satisfied with this proposal and maintained that there should be a complete prohibition of night work. Little progress was in fact made after November 1948. Deputations from both sides of the Industry were received by the then Minister of Labour and National Service, and the matters in dispute were also discussed by officials of your Department at separate and joint meetings with the employers and the trade unions. It proved impossible to reach any agreement. Both sides, however, were found to be agreeable to the appointment of an independent committee to inquire into the matter. We might mention here that at the Annual Conference of the English Union in May 1949, a resolution was adopted agreeing to the appointment of a court of inquiry; failing satisfaction, the Conference resolved that "members should be instructed to report for day work after 30th November, 1949".

26. Further discussions took place between the Ministry and the two sides and on 20th July, 1950, the then Minister of Labour and National Service announced in the House of Commons the decision to set up the present Committee. We were formally appointed on 18th September, 1950.



## PART II : THE BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE BAKING INDUSTRY

#### NUMBER OF BAKERIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

27. It is hard to determine with complete precision the exact number of bakeries in Great Britain. In January, 1951, the total number of licences for the production of bread issued by the Ministry of Food was 25,143, while the total number of Flour Confectionery Production licences at the same date was 37,205. There was an overlap between the holders of Bread and Flour Confectionery licences, the extent of which is not easy to assess. The Ministry of Food suggested to us that in round terms the licences were operated as follows:—

Bread alone ... ..	4,000
Bread and Flour Confectionery ... ..	21,000
Flour Confectionery alone ... ..	16,000

This gives a possible total of 41,000 production points. A considerable proportion of this total will consist of small one-man businesses, and the total number of bakehouses at which operatives are employed is likely to be far less than 41,000. In 1937, the Alness Committee estimated that there were some 24,400 bakehouses in Great Britain, excluding those where the proprietor worked on his own account and there were no persons employed on the productive side of the business. The evidence available to us suggests that there has been some decline in this figure since 1937. The total number of establishments on the Wages Councils lists at the end of April, 1951, was 23,112 and we think that this is as comprehensive a figure as it is possible to obtain. We would therefore place our estimate of the total number of baking establishments in Great Britain *at which operatives are employed* at about 23,100.

#### TYPES OF BAKERIES

28. It was suggested to us that these establishments might be divided roughly into three main groups:—

- (a) Small Retail,
- (b) Large Retail and Medium Wholesale, and
- (c) Plant Bakeries.

In group (a) would be included the bakery where the owner with up to four workers would be engaged on producing bread and flour confectionery which would be sold either over the counter of the shop attached to the bakery or delivered by retail direct to the consumer. This type of bakery would in most cases have installed either a dough mixing machine or both dough mixer and cake mixing machine.

In group (b) would be included the type of establishment employing five or more workers which would be equipped with both dough and cake mixing machines and other mechanical aids, according to the amount of its production; it would, however, not have fully automatic plant. A large proportion of these bakeries would be producing both bread and flour confectionery. The output would probably be sold over the counters of one or more shops owned by the business, by retail delivery direct to the customer and in many cases would include a certain amount delivered by wholesale to other food shops for resale, and also supplies to catering establishments, hospitals and the like.



In group (c) are those establishments which have a fully automatic plant for all the main processes involved in the production of bread. The minimum output of such an establishment would be about 200 sacks\* of flour per week converted into bread or a comparable quantity of flour confectionery. Many of these plant bakeries dispose of the whole of their output by wholesale, although some sell their products direct to the consumer, either through a chain of shops or by retail delivery.

29. We would emphasise that the Baking Industry is still an Industry of small establishments and that the vast majority of the bakeries in Great Britain would fall into categories (a) or (b) above. In 1950, out of a total of 15,305 claimants for the Ministry of Food bread subsidy in Great Britain, nearly 13,000 were producing only 25 sacks or less of subsidised national bread per week and of these nearly 6,000 produced only six sacks or less a week. An analysis of bakeries by the numbers of employees similarly confirms that the majority of bakeries are small establishments. On the basis of inspections over the past ten years of establishments falling within the scope of the Baking Wages Councils, we estimate that about 75 per cent. of all such establishments employ less than five workers, about 15 per cent. between five and 10 and only about 1 per cent. employ over 50 persons. The number of plant bakeries in relation to the total number of establishments employing operatives is therefore very low.

#### PROPORTION OF BREAD PRODUCED BY THE PLANT BAKERIES

30. The proportion of bread production attributable to the plant bakeries is, however, very different. Approximately one-third of the country's trade in bread is attributable to the plant bakeries, and in Scotland the proportion is probably higher still. This means therefore that a considerable part of the country's bread production is concentrated in a relatively small number of bakeries. This is no new trend. The Alness Committee in 1937 drew attention to the growth of plant bakeries, and the evidence before us suggests that this tendency towards concentration is continuing. The statistics of the number of claimants of bread subsidy in recent years are significant. The figures below relate only to the actual number of claimants, not to bakeries: each individual claimant may own more than one bakery.

TABLE I

*Average number of bakers claiming bread subsidy  
in Great Britain, 1942-50*

1942	...	20,272
1943	...	19,632
1944	...	18,822
1945	...	18,222
1946	...	17,723
1947	...	17,073
1948	...	16,813
1949	...	16,375
1950	...	15,305

It should be emphasised that the figures relate only to subsidised bread: the decline in the annual totals does not necessarily mean a reduction in the total number of bakeries since some bakers may simply have given up making subsidised bread but continued to make rolls and flour confectionery. It is significant that the decline in the total does not coincide with a decline

\* A sack of flour is the equivalent of about 216 loaves of 1½ lb. each.



in bread production or consumption. Although there has been some reduction in bread consumption of late, the figure of sacks of flour used in the production of bread in 1950 was still some 16 per cent. above the estimated total for 1939.

31. The decline in the number of claimants for the bread subsidy is in great measure attributable to concentration of production in the large plant bakeries. The reason for this is no doubt the additional economic efficiency to be derived from the highly mechanised plant, which is sufficient to offset the additional distribution costs of concentrating production in a small number of large bakeries. It has been represented to us that the advantages deriving from mechanisation are for the most part savings of manpower rather than of time, and that the effect of mechanisation is not primarily to speed up the time taken to make a loaf of bread. This is a factor of relevance to the problem of abolishing night work, and from our own observations in inspections of bakeries we are inclined to think that the submission is in general correct, although undoubtedly certain types of machine such as high-speed mechanised dough mixers do help to accelerate the various processes of bread making. In the main, however, the effect of mechanisation is that fewer operatives are employed for the number of sacks used. This assertion is borne out by costs of production figures which the employers gave us and which show that the larger the bakery the less relatively are the labour costs.

#### A CONSEQUENCE OF INCREASED MECHANISATION: THE DECLINE IN CRAFTSMANSHIP

32. We have laid some emphasis on this question of mechanisation and the trend towards centralisation because certain consequences flow from it which have a bearing on our inquiry. We are not concerned to say whether the trend towards the centralised mechanised plant bakery is good or bad, but we think it relevant to point out that it is having a detrimental effect on craftsmanship. Nearly all witnesses were agreed on this point and there is no doubt that the tendency to reduce bread and cake production to a simple mechanised process means that operatives are becoming more and more mere ordinary workers in a bakery and that the number of all-round skilled craftsmen in the Industry is on the decrease. While the workers concerned do not appear to object to this trend, the point we want to make is that the more it continues the more difficult it becomes to find operatives who can be freely interchanged between the making of bread and the making of flour confectionery. A growing number of operatives is capable of producing only bread or only flour confectionery. As a result, in a considerable number of bakeries where bread is at present baked by night and flour confectionery by day, it is not possible to effect a shift system whereby the men make bread by night half the time and confectionery by day the other half. There is not the degree of craftsmanship which enables this interchangeability between men to be brought about. Moreover many of the workers employed in flour confectionery are women, who cannot be employed by night. The difficulty about interchangeability does not arise in Scotland where the operation of a five-year apprenticeship scheme ensures that the operatives are all-round skilled craftsmen. Nor does it arise in the very large plant bakeries where the production of bread alone goes on for all or most of the 24 hours and in which a shift system can be and usually is arranged for the operatives, all of whom are engaged on the one kind of process. We will return to this problem later. For the moment we wish simply to present it as a major factor in any assessment of the structure and possibilities of the Baking Industry in England and Wales.



## THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

### THE FIELD TO BE COVERED

33. In the preceding paragraphs we have made some estimates of the number of bakeries in Great Britain. We must now try to assess the number of bakery operatives employed in the Industry and if possible decide how many of these work at night and how many of them are employed continuously at night, i.e. are not employed on some kind of alternating shift system.

34. It has been exceedingly hard to arrive at accurate estimates of these figures for there exist no statistics covering the precise field with which we have to deal. For the purpose of the inquiry we regard this as comprising the operatives covered by the regulations of the two Baking Wages Councils. The figures for the Bread and Flour Confectionery group published in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette" embrace a much wider field, and the total of 190,800 for that group (March, 1951) includes clerks, drivers and other ancillary workers in addition to those actually working in the bakehouse. It is not possible to subdivide this total into its constituent groups.

35. The Alness Committee in 1937 was faced with the same difficulty and eventually solved it by undertaking through the medium of the Factory Inspectorate a survey of nearly 10,000 bakeries. On the basis of this, estimates were made of the total number of bakery operatives in the Industry. These figures are given on pages 16-17 of the Alness report and it may be useful to set out the salient features in the following table.

TABLE II

*Alness Committee's estimate of the numbers of bakehouses and operatives in Britain—1937*

No. of bakehouses ...	...	24,400 approx.
Total No. of operatives employed	...	93,100
Total No. of operatives working by night	...	28,900

The Committee made no estimate of the total employed continuously at night, although the implications of their report seem to be that almost all of the 28,900 night operatives were continuously on night work, for the Committee thought that alternating shifts were rarely used in the Industry.

36. After careful consideration of the problem, we decided that we must seek some independent method of obtaining the necessary statistics. We decided on this occasion to approach the Industry direct and thanks to the ready co-operation of the Ministry of Food, to whom we would like to express our warm thanks, a questionnaire was sent to the recipients of the Ministry's Bread Subsidy who were invited to give details in respect of each establishment they owned about the number and hours of operatives employed by them. In all, returns were received covering 16,754 establishments. We wish to express our appreciation of the co-operation given by the Industry in response to this questionnaire. The replies to the questionnaire are summarised in Table III.



TABLE III

*Numbers of Operatives employed in Bakehouses showing Extent to which they work by Night*

The following is an analysis of information supplied in November/December, 1950, by 16,754 baking establishments in Great Britain, of which 1,048 were in Scotland:—

## 1. UNDERTAKINGS WHO STATE THAT NIGHT WORK IS CARRIED ON: TOTAL 5,582

	Number of Establishments	Total Number of Bakery Operatives employed by these establishments in the Bakehouse	(A) Preliminary Workers engaged on dough making and/or firing ovens		(B) Operatives engaged on processes <i>not</i> included in (A)	(C) Number of Operatives engaged on both (A) and (B) ( <i>Not</i> included in figures for (A) and (B))		(A), (B) and (C) TOTAL OPERATIVES	
			Starting between:—			Starting between:—			
			9 p.m. and 2 a.m.	2 a.m. and 5 a.m.		9 p.m. and 2 a.m.	2 a.m. and 5 a.m.		
(i) UNDERTAKINGS WHERE NIGHT WORK IS CARRIED ON ALL THROUGH THE WEEK									
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,578	50,827	3,122	1,745	7,284	4,266	1,966	14,672	5,016
SCOTLAND ...	664	11,788	451	993	1,113	401	902	1,965	2,644
TOTAL ...	5,242	62,615	3,573	2,738	8,397	4,667	2,868	16,637	7,660



(ii) UNDERTAKINGS WHERE NIGHT WORK IS CARRIED ON ONLY TO MEET THE WEEK-END DEMAND

ENGLAND AND WALES	328	1,513	155	140	51	47	232	192	438	379
SCOTLAND	(*)	—	86	43	132	94	95	12	313	149
...	...	64	15	22	—	—	3	15	18	37
...	(*)	—	20	10	18	9	15	26	53	45
TOTAL	...	1,577	276	215	201	150	345	245	822	610
ENGLAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND:	340	1,577	276	215	201	150	345	245	822	610
TOTAL OF SECTIONS (i) AND (ii)	...	5,582	3,849	2,953	8,598	2,204	5,012	3,113	17,459	8,270

Note: \* In these establishments, the total of which is already incorporated in Section (i) and is therefore excluded from the total figures in Section (ii) some additional night workers are employed at the week-ends only.

2. UNDERTAKINGS WHO STATE THAT NO NIGHT WORK IS CARRIED ON: TOTAL 11,172

ENGLAND & WALES: NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS ... .. 10,800(a)

SCOTLAND: NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS ... .. 372(b)

(a) Of this total of 10,800 establishments, 3,475 did not say how many operatives they employed. The remaining 7,325 undertakings said they employed a total of 24,454 bakery operatives.

(b) Of this total of 372 establishments, 105 did not say how many operatives they employed. The remaining 267 undertakings said they employed a total of 1,300 bakery operatives.



# ESTIMATE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF OPERATIVES IN THE INDUSTRY

37. Of the 16,754 establishments in Great Britain covered by replies to the questionnaire, 13,174 were stated to employ a total number of 89,946 bakery operatives. If this sample were fully representative of the different sizes of establishment in the Industry, these figures would suggest that a total of 23,100 establishments would employ nearly 160,000 operatives. However, we think we are justified in assuming that most, if not all, of the establishments owned by persons who do not claim the bread subsidy and to whom the inquiry was not addressed are extremely small. It is further probable that most of the establishments which did not reply to the questionnaire were undertakings working only by day and the figures in Table III show that they are in general smaller than those in which night work is carried on. We think it therefore reasonable to assume that the balance of about 10,000 establishments employ on average only 2-3 operatives each. We thus arrive at an estimate of 110,000-120,000 bakery operatives in the Industry, a total which is admittedly liable to some margin of error either way. It is, however, of interest that the Wages Councils Inspectorate has made a rough estimate of 110,000 operatives within the scope of the Wages Councils and this appears to confirm that our estimate is of the right order of magnitude.

## TOTAL NUMBER OF OPERATIVES ENGAGED ON NIGHT WORK

38. The Alness Committee put the total number of night workers at 28,900. Our returns shown that in 16,754 establishments (at only 5,582 of which there is night work of any kind) there are 25,729 night workers, of whom 1,432 work by night prior to the week-end only. Taking into account the 6,500 or so establishments of which we know nothing, and the fairly high proportion of establishments at which according to the return no night work goes on we think the total number of bakery operatives working by night continuously or otherwise in Great Britain is approximately between 27,500 and 28,500.

## TOTAL NUMBER OF OPERATIVES ENGAGED CONTINUOUSLY ON NIGHT WORK

39. It is very difficult to arrive at any estimate of the number of operatives who are continuously on night work. There are practically none in Scotland as a result of the National Working Agreement, but we think that the proportion is fairly high in England and Wales. After allowing for Scottish workers and for those operatives in England and Wales who work at nights prior to the week-end only (about 6 per cent. of all night operatives in England and Wales), we estimate the total of continuous night workers in England and Wales at not less than 14,000 and probably not more than 17,000. The full extent of our problem may therefore be summed up in the following Table which may be compared with Table II.

TABLE IV

*Estimates of establishments and operatives in the Baking Industry in Great Britain*

Total number of establishments at which operatives are employed	...	...	...	...	23,100 approx.
Total number of bakery operatives	...	...	...	...	110,000-120,000
Total number of operatives working by night	...	...	...	...	27,500-28,500
Total number of operatives engaged on continuous night work...	...	...	...	...	14,000-17,000

The figures are all broad estimates, but on the information available we have not thought it wise to make more precise estimates which might give a misleading impression of close accuracy.



## ORGANISATION IN THE INDUSTRY

### SCOTLAND

40. We have set out above our estimates of the number of bakeries and workers involved in the problem. We must now consider to what extent these employers and workers are organised. In this respect the position differs sharply in Scotland from that in England and Wales. It is fair to say that in Scotland we are dealing with a highly organised industry. Almost every master baker in Scotland is represented in one or other of the Associations which sit on the employers' side of the National Joint Committee for the Scottish Baking Industry. On the workers' side, the Scottish Union of Bakers, Confectioners, Biscuit Bakers and Bakery Workers, with a membership at 31st March, 1951, of 15,713, probably represents over 95 per cent. of the production and ancillary workers in the Industry in Scotland. This excellent organisation on both sides has led to a degree of negotiation which is almost unknown in England and Wales. It has facilitated the successful operation of the Scottish shift system and is a major factor in the continued successful operation of the apprenticeship scheme in the Scottish Baking Industry.

### ENGLAND AND WALES

41. In England and Wales the position is much less satisfactory. The employers are mainly organised either in the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers or in the National Association of Master Bakers, Confectioners and Caterers, although there are some in smaller local or area associations. In addition, virtually all Co-operative Bakeries (accounting for nearly 20 per cent. of the bread trade of the British Isles) are organised in the Co-operative Union. The Federation is composed only of the large plant bakers and its membership is fairly small although it is estimated that the Federation's members are responsible for 27½ per cent. of the country's trade in bread and flour confectionery. The National Association, on the other hand, includes all classes of bakers and has a membership of 11,000; in addition, 260 local associations and 20 area federations are affiliated to it, and these have in membership a large number of bakers who are not direct members of the Association. Thus a majority of the employers in England and Wales may be said to be organised but only in rather a loose way.

42. On the workers' side, organisation in England and Wales is by no means comprehensive. The membership of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers at 31st March, 1951, was 29,559, which represents at best not more than about one-third of the operatives in England and Wales.\* The degree of organisation in England and Wales on both sides does not appear to be sufficient to permit the setting up of effective negotiating machinery. Indeed we cannot help thinking that if the Industry had been more highly organised, rather more progress might by now have been made towards a solution of the problem of night baking.

### THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE UNIONS SPEAK FOR THE OPERATIVES

43. The relative lack of organisation on the workers' side in England and Wales raises the question of how far the Bakery Unions really speak for the mass of the operatives. Many of the employers who gave evidence questioned whether the operatives really wanted the abolition of night work. They told us of men in their employ who apparently preferred continuous night work, even where there was a chance of working alternating night and day shifts. No doubt there are such individuals but we doubt very much if their attitude is typical. In Scotland certainly, the Union represents the overwhelming

\* The productive employees in the Co-operative Bakeries are almost all members of the appropriate trade union.



majority of the operatives and we accept the fact that when they ask for abolition they speak for the operatives of Scotland. Indeed, the Dundee arbitration in 1944 (prior to the introduction of the Scottish shift system) confirmed how strongly the men felt on the matter. As regards England and Wales, the position is less clear. The Union has apparently doubled its membership since the Alness report in 1937, but it still represents at best not more than about one-third of the operatives in England and Wales. It might be argued that if the workers felt as strongly as the Union claims, this matter would not have dragged on as long as it has. We think this would be a dangerous assumption. We believe there is a considerable feeling that night work ought to be abolished. The annual conferences of the Bakers' Unions certainly show that feeling is very strong.

## THE MAIN METHODS OF BAKING NOW IN USE

### BREAD

44. We cannot turn from this account of the background to the problem without describing briefly the main methods of baking now in use. An account of these is essential to a proper appreciation of the various submissions made to us.

45. Breadmaking is one of the fermentation industries. In order to produce a loaf of good quality the dough from which it is made has to be properly fermented, and fermentation takes time. The exact time varies with the amount of yeast contained in the dough. We were told of processes in which the period is as long as 15 hours. We heard also of what is called a "no-time dough" process in which a very large quantity of yeast is used. Thanks to this, and the high temperature at which it is set, the dough ferments rapidly and the time of bulk fermentation is reduced to a very few minutes. Neither of these extremes is normal, and the usual fermentation time is at present 3 to 4 hours.

The exact process of making a loaf may be most conveniently summarised in 5 stages.

(1) The dough is mixed. This takes about 15 or 20 minutes. By means of a high-speed mixer the process can be reduced to as little as 3-5 minutes.

(2) It ferments in bulk. As stated above, a typical case takes 3-4 hours, although with varying processes it can take much less or much more.

(3) After bulk fermentation, the dough is divided and moulded into individual pieces appropriate to the size of the loaf. This is followed by a recovery or intermediate fermentation period, technically known as the "First Proof", and a final moulding. The whole of this process takes approximately 15 minutes.

(4) The pieces are then subjected to a final period of fermentation known as the "Final Proof". The time required for this varies with the proportion of yeast in the dough, the length of the bulk fermentation period, the dough temperature and the character of the flour used. On an average, the period is about 45 minutes.

(5) The loaf is then baked in the oven. The usual period for a standard 1½ lb. loaf is about 45 minutes. A 14 oz. loaf takes about 10 or 15 minutes less. Some types of bread such as the Scottish batch loaf take one and three quarters to two hours.



46. Thus an average overall time for producing a loaf can vary appreciably, but about five or six hours is fairly normal. The National Association told us that six hours might be regarded as an average time. The Federation said that under normal working conditions five and a half hours would suffice in a plant bakery. The Scottish employers indicated a minimum of six and a half hours for a Scottish batch loaf.

47. The figures we have quoted present a reasonable picture of the general practice in the production of a loaf. It is impossible to be more precise, for whatever fermentation process may be used variations are inevitable with biological raw materials of varying composition and performance.

48. The times quoted above relate only to the period from the mixing of the dough to the emergence of the loaf from the oven. In addition, a period for cooling must be allowed. The baked loaf hot from the oven is in a fragile state and a period of two hours should be allowed before it is fit for loading on vans, while a further three hours is normally required if the loaf is to be sliced and wrapped.

49. The account in the above paragraphs relates to bread making only. The making of morning rolls and such goods as teabread takes very much less time.

#### FLOUR CONFECTIONERY

50. We have concentrated in the above description on the production of bread and rolls rather than flour confectionery which also falls within our terms of reference. The term "flour confectionery" covers a wide range of goods from fruit cake, gateaux, slab cakes, fancies and pastries down to "morning goods" ("teabreads" in Scotland) such as buns, muffins and scones which stale as rapidly as bread and rolls. The former group (fruit cake, gateaux, etc.) have good keeping qualities and are therefore generally made by day. Morning goods are much more perishable and are usually made at night or early in the morning so that people can get them fresh early in the day. In this respect they fall into the same category as bread and morning rolls. The procedure adopted in most bakeries where both bread and flour confectionery are produced is to use the same ovens for both types of goods. (Many bakeries produce the more perishable products such as bread, rolls, tea-cakes, scones, muffins, etc., at night while their cake and other flour confectionery lines are made during the day.) By following this procedure the most economical use can be made of fuel because for many types of flour confectionery residual heat is used for baking.

51. The problem which we have to solve is, in our view, primarily one of enabling the more perishable goods, especially bread and morning rolls, to be provided in the right place and at the right time if night baking is abolished or limited. Almost all the witnesses before us have concentrated in their evidence on the problem of bread or rolls production and we agree that this is the key to our problem. Abolition of night baking might and probably would cause certain problems in regard to the production of the less perishable types of flour confectionery such as cake, but they would be problems arising from the general reorganisation of work due to abolition rather than from the perishable properties of these goods.



### PART III: WHAT THE PUBLIC WANTS

52. Before we come to a detailed examination of the consequences of abolishing or limiting night baking, we wish to deal with the needs and wishes of the public in regard to the purchase and consumption of bread. This has seemed to us throughout our hearing a paramount consideration and indeed, implicitly or explicitly, witnesses from both sides of the Industry have shared our view as to its importance. Everyone has to eat bread, and in the case of so basic a commodity, care must be taken to ensure that any recommendations have the fullest regard to the public taste. At a very early stage in our inquiry, therefore, we set ourselves the task of finding out to the best of our ability the habits and tastes of the public in this matter.

#### THE EMPLOYERS' ASSESSMENT OF THE PUBLIC TASTE

53. There was no lack of persons ready to tell us what they believed the public wanted. The employers with one voice claimed that the public insisted on new bread and rolls, both for consumption in the home and for consumption in industrial canteens, cafés, hotels and snack bars. They admitted that because the housewife insists on buying bread new it does not necessarily mean that it is eaten new. We were told that in most households bread was left for several hours after purchase before cutting. Because of this, however, the housewife insisted on it being new when she bought it. Similarly, in industrial canteens and analogous undertakings where there is a large trade for morning rolls and fermented goods, workers, so the employers told us, are insistent on having new morning rolls. The Caterers' Association, for example, explained to us that in most industrial canteens the break for refreshments is at 9 a.m. or 10 a.m.; some canteens, in addition, provide a breakfast service for workers who live a long way from the undertaking. At all these sessions, we were told, the filled roll (i.e., with ham, cheese, etc.) provides the basic element of the meal. Few canteens bake their own rolls; they are normally supplied from outside and are delivered about 7.30 a.m.

The Caterers' Association claimed that experience shows that canteen users insist on new rolls. They said that when, because of some accident, it had been necessary to serve rolls baked on the previous day, there had been bitter complaints from the workpeople, who are at a disadvantage in that normally they have no alternative eating place to the canteen. Both the Caterers' Association and the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers went so far as to suggest that unless the workers got their morning rolls new, there might be a falling off in industrial productivity.

54. This alleged demand for new goods, according to the employers, extends, however, over a much wider field than industrial canteens and domestic consumption. They claimed that it was indeed true of the whole field of bread consumption. The Managing Director of a very large London chain of cafés told us of the demand for new morning goods in the London area. The proprietor of a catering firm in Yorkshire said that the same was true of catering for outdoor events, such as agricultural shows. In hospitals, institutions, cross-channel steamers, indoor events, exhibitions or sports meetings the demand was always, so the employers told us, for new bread and especially for new rolls.

#### THE UNIONS' ASSESSMENT OF THE PUBLIC TASTE

55. The Bakers' Unions were more cautious in their estimate of the public demand. By their emphasis on the way certain technological methods would make it possible to supply new morning rolls without night baking, they implicitly admitted that there was a considerable public demand for new rolls,



They claimed, however, that the employers greatly exaggerated the nature of the demand for new bread. They said flatly that there was not the demand for hot bread which was alleged. Already, in many cases consumers, they declared, were buying and were satisfied with bread made on the previous day. Indeed, the customers often did not know whether the bread they were buying was new or not. Much of the bread bought was considerably more than twelve hours old; and certainly a great deal of the bread coming from the large plant bakeries was baked on the day before it was bought. This was especially true in the case of wrapped bread. In support of these statements, the Unions drew our particular attention to the position in Scotland where there is considerable concentration of bread production in Glasgow, whence bread is often delivered very long distances to remote areas. The Scottish Bakers' Union presented us with a detailed statement of some of the distances over which bread in Scotland is delivered. Bread made in Glasgow is, for example, sold at Lerwick, 330 miles away, and while this may be an extreme case, there can be no doubt that very long delivery distances do obtain in Scotland. The Unions suggested that this proved conclusively that the public did not demand hot or new bread. They pointed out that Glasgow-baked bread sold at points a hundred miles or more from Glasgow would very often have been baked twelve or more hours before it was sold. It might be baked at 7 p.m. or earlier and would not be sold until the next day. Thanks to wrapping, but even without wrapping, that bread would in the Unions' view be perfectly good and edible when consumed. They suggested that the public clearly shared their view, since the centralised bakeries at Glasgow were able to sell such bread and even to compete with local bakeries which might be selling newer bread. In other words, the Unions' submission was that while undoubtedly the public do not want stale bread, in the main people do not mind whether or not the bread they get is hot or very new provided that it is reasonably fresh.

#### THE BREAD ORDER, 1917, CITED AS PROOF THAT THE PUBLIC WANT NEW BREAD

56. The employers in support of their contentions as to the public demand also cited the Bread Order of 1917. It will be recalled that this prohibited the sale of bread which had not been made for at least 12 hours. The object of the Order was to reduce the consumption of bread, and this, the employers claimed, showed that the public demand was for new bread.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION'S EXPERIENCE OF PUBLIC TASTE WITH A DAY-WORK SYSTEM

57. Perhaps the most interesting evidence in support of the claim that the public demand new bread came from the representatives of the Co-operative Union. They cited the experience of certain Co-operative Bakeries which were working on a system of day baking in areas where night baking generally obtained. Because of this, the bread which they were consequently able to sell was, they said, less fresh than that of their competitors who were doing night work. As a result there had been a most serious decline in their bread trade. For example the bread sales of the Plymouth Co-operative Bakery had dropped 21 per cent. over a period of 5 years, while during the same period the total retail trade of the Society had risen 18 per cent. Again in Liverpool, over a period of four years from 1940-44, Co-operative bread sales had dropped 25 per cent. at a period when the Society's general trade had greatly increased. Similar experiences were reported from other Societies (see also para. 80 below). The Co-operative Union claimed that this lost trade had gone to their competitors who, because they did night work, were able to sell fresher bread and thus meet the public demand.



## THE COMMITTEE'S VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC TASTE

58. The difference between these two points of view is important. Whether the consumer insists on bread hot from the oven or whether he is satisfied with bread baked on the previous day has a very direct bearing on the matter of night baking. It seemed to us essential to establish as precisely as possible just what it is the public want. While the submissions made by the two sides of the Industry were undoubtedly of value, we felt that they were bound to be coloured by their respective interests in the matter. We considered that there was a real need for some authoritative evidence on the question. No such evidence was forthcoming. The very small number of letters which we received from the public were not sufficient to enable us to draw from them general conclusions as to the public tastes. Nor did the reports of earlier inquiries give us what we wanted. After very careful consideration we decided that we must break fresh ground and arrange for an independent survey of representative groups of housewives and of canteen users. We therefore proposed to your Department that arrangements should be made for a Social Survey of housewives and canteen users to be undertaken by the Central Office of Information in order to determine as precisely as possible the facts of this matter. This was agreed. A survey of approximately 1,300 housewives was taken between 5th and 24th February, 1951, and of approximately 300 canteen users between 26th February and 10th March, 1951, in the course of which a number of questions were put to them designed to shed light on their habits and tastes in regard to the buying of bread and rolls. So far as we can ascertain, this is the first time that an inquiry of this kind has ever been undertaken with the object of determining consumers' tastes in relation to the problem of abolishing night baking. We would like to express our warm thanks to the Central Office of Information for their work in making these most interesting and valuable Surveys.

## RESULTS OF THE SOCIAL SURVEYS

59. The questions put and an analysis of the answers received are set out at Appendix A (for the Housewives Survey) and Appendix B (for the Canteen Survey). Summed up briefly the main points in the answers are as follows:—

### *The Housewives Survey*

#### *(a) The frequency with which bread is bought*

Forty-six per cent. of housewives buy bread every day, 40 per cent. every other day and 12 per cent. less often. Two per cent. did not answer the question. Bread is bought at rather more frequent intervals in towns than in the country and in Scotland and the North than in the South. Younger housewives buy bread more often than older housewives, and those with large families and with children more often than others.

#### *(b) The extent of bread delivery*

Fifty-two per cent. of housewives have their bread delivered at the door. Delivery is more common in the country than in towns and in the South than in the North.

#### *(c) The time at which bread is bought*

Fifty per cent. at least of housewives get their bread before 1 p.m. (21 per cent. by 11 a.m. and 2 per cent. by 9 a.m.). A further 21 per cent. said they got it at different times and 29 per cent. got it in the afternoon.



(d) *The extent to which wrapped bread is bought*

Nineteen per cent. of housewives said they always bought wrapped bread, 8 per cent. said they often bought it and 18 per cent. that they occasionally did so. Wrapped bread is more popular with large families and families containing children than with others. Young housewives have it more often than older ones, and it is more popular in Scotland and the North and in urban areas than in the South and in rural areas.

(e) *The condition in which housewives prefer their bread*

Six per cent. of housewives said they liked their bread to be hot when they bought it and 67 per cent. said they liked it to be new. Twenty-four per cent. liked it a day old. About half of those who liked it new or hot said they insisted on this. Younger housewives said they liked their bread to be new or hot more frequently than older ones.

(f) *The interval between the buying and eating of bread*

Forty-four per cent. of housewives said they started eating bread on the day on which it was bought and 34 per cent. did not start it till the next day or later. Twenty-two per cent. said their habits varied in this respect. New bread (i.e. eaten on the day it is bought) is more popular with younger than with older housewives. Those with large families and with children more often eat their bread on the day it is bought, and rather more do so in urban than in rural areas and in Scotland and the North than in the South.

(g) *Knowledge of when bread is baked*

Seventy-two per cent. of housewives said they did not know when the bread they bought was baked. Eleven per cent. knew it was baked overnight and some others gave answers which may have meant overnight or in the early hours of the morning.

(h) *Rolls*

Thirteen per cent. of housewives bought rolls more than once a week and 66 per cent. never bought them. Rolls were bought, on average, earlier in the day than bread. Eleven per cent. of the housewives who bought them liked to eat them when hot and an additional 82 per cent. said they were eaten the same day as they were bought. Rolls were bought more in Scotland than in England and rather more in towns than in the country. More of the larger families than of the smaller ones bought rolls.

### *The Canteen Survey*

About 40 per cent. of those using canteens sometimes buy rolls and the same proportion sometimes buy sandwiches. Rather more than half buy bread to eat with meals. Only 15 per cent. regularly buy rolls.

Rolls and sandwiches are quite frequently eaten at the mid-morning break but rather more frequently at midday. Only 10 per cent. of all canteen users eat rolls before 10 a.m.

Three-quarters of those buying rolls and sandwiches like them to be new, the proportion liking their rolls to be actually hot is, however, only 12 per cent. About two-thirds of those having bread like it to be new, including only 5 per cent. wanting it to be hot. The proportion of the whole sample wanting hot rolls and bread is 5 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively.

There was no evidence of canteen users refraining from buying rolls, sandwiches or bread on account of the bread being thought stale. Most of those who never bought them had quite other reasons for not doing so.



60. From these two reports, we suggest, a fairly clear picture emerges of the public's attitude in these matters. We think that the following conclusions can be drawn from the facts disclosed by the Surveys.

### *The Housewives Survey*

(a) Since a high proportion (at least 72 per cent.) of housewives do not know at what time their bread is baked, it is probably immaterial to them whether the actual baking goes on by night or day. They are simply concerned to get the bread in the condition they want it.

(b) For the great majority of housewives, it is not a matter of importance to buy bread soon after it comes out of the oven. Only 6 per cent. want their bread hot when they buy it.

(c) Most housewives (67 per cent.) like their bread to be new, although not necessarily hot when they buy it. But only 44 per cent. always start eating the bread on the day it is bought. Moreover, 52 per cent. do not buy bread every day. In a majority of households, therefore, it is probable that the bread which the family eat today was bought either yesterday or earlier still. In some cases, e.g. in rural areas, this may be because the housewife has to take her bread when she gets it delivered and not necessarily when she would like to have it. But whatever the reason, it seems fair to draw two conclusions from these facts:—

(i) The housewife's main concern is undoubtedly that her bread should be new when she buys it; she is probably less concerned that it should be new when the family starts to eat it.

(ii) Because her family may in many cases not start eating the loaf until the day after purchase or later it is likely that the housewife will be all the more insistent on it being newly baked when she buys it.

(We recognise that an exactly contrary argument might be based on the premise in (ii) above. It could be argued that since many households do not start eating their bread on the day it is bought and therefore cannot be insisting on eating it new, there is no reason why the housewives should object to buying a loaf baked the day before purchase so long as it is in a fresh condition when bought. We have examined this argument carefully but we are not convinced of its validity. It seems to us that the housewife's insistence will undoubtedly be on newness rather than on mere freshness at the time of purchase and the greater the probable gap between the time of purchase and the time of eating, the more insistent the housewife is likely to be on buying the bread new.)

(d) Wrapped bread is bought only by a comparatively small proportion of housewives. There is no evidence to explain its popularity with these, but it is doubtful whether it is due mainly to any additional keeping qualities wrapped bread may possess as compared with unwrapped. The fact that wrapped bread is most popular with large families, where bread is likely to be eaten fairly quickly suggests that its keeping qualities are not the only nor perhaps the most important reason for its popularity. Other factors, such as its hygienic quality and its labour saving properties when sliced, may equally account for its popularity with the minority who always buy it.

(e) Twenty-nine per cent. of housewives get their bread after 1 p.m. and for a further 21 per cent. the time at which they get it varies. These facts must be assessed cautiously since some of the housewives may have no choice of the time at which they get their bread, e.g. because they have



to have it delivered and therefore get it when the delivery van calls and not necessarily when they would like it. So far as they go, however, these figures support the conclusion in (b) above that there is a very large body of housewives for whom it is not a matter of importance to buy bread very new from the oven.

The figures are of great importance to the baker. Like all the figures in the Survey they are subject to a sampling error but if they are typical of the buying habits of the average baker's customers they mean that the small baker with only a limited retail door to door delivery trade or with no delivery trade at all, need only produce prior to 1 p.m. one half of his total bread production in order to be able to satisfy the requirements of his customers who get bread before 1 p.m. In other words only about half of this baker's customers expect to get their bread before 1 p.m. This conclusion must be confined to small bakers with a limited retail delivery trade because many bakers with a larger retail or wholesale delivery trade may have to produce well before 1 p.m. bread which will not reach the customer till long after 1 p.m.

(f) The general conclusion from this Survey is that the great majority of housewives do not care when their bread is baked, but that they are very concerned to buy it new. For the most part they do not eat it for some time after purchase.

### *The Canteen Survey*

As is pointed out in Appendix B, the figures in this Survey are subject to some margin of error and caution must be exercised in analysing them. Subject to this reservation, the most interesting point which emerges from the Survey is that it shows the demand for morning rolls to be less in extent than the employers suggested to us. Sixty per cent. of canteen users never eat them at all and only 15 per cent. eat them regularly. Only a quarter of the minority who buy rolls (or only about 10 per cent. of all canteen users) eat rolls before 10 a.m. and the most popular time for eating rolls is not at breakfast or mid-morning but at lunch time. Apart from suggesting that the early morning roll trade is limited so far as industrial canteens are concerned, the Survey also confirms that a majority of canteen users want their rolls, bread and sandwiches to be new when they eat them.

## **PART IV : THE CASE FOR ABOLITION**

### **THE UNIONS' DEMAND AND THE GROUNDS FOR IT**

61. The precise proposals as set out by the Unions in their evidence were:—

(1) All bakeries working a single shift should commence work not earlier than 6 a.m. Preparatory workers (i.e., mixers and firemen) should be permitted an earlier start of not more than two hours. No other work should be allowed before 6 a.m. except these two operations. In firms which choose to bake bread a day in advance, general working must start not later than 10 a.m. with a similar allowance of two hours for preparatory workers.

(2) In establishments where double shift working is essential, the morning start should be as for firms engaged on a single shift. In the evenings, work should finish not later than 10 p.m., and shifts must alternate.

(3) Where at present an establishment works a three-shift system throughout the whole period of twenty-four hours, permission may be given for working to continue between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. for a period not exceeding



two years pending the re-organisation made necessary by abolition. A joint committee of employers and workpeople should be appointed to examine applications from any establishments wishing to be granted this permission in the interim period. The Committee would also review periodically the position in such establishments.

The Unions told us that they had also at one stage proposed a reduction in the length of the working week for operatives working a late shift, but that this proposal was now withdrawn.

62. In other words, if the Unions' proposals were accepted, no baking of bread and flour confectionery would take place in this country between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. save for certain preliminary work which might take place not earlier than 4 a.m.

63. The basis of the Unions' demand for abolition was that night baking was unnecessary and that it brought great hardship to the operatives by seriously interfering with their family and social lives. The Unions stressed that in pressing for abolition they were seeking no privileged position for baking operatives. They objected to night baking because in their view it was a form of unnecessary night work and they claimed that wartime experience in this country and modern technological developments proved this. They also objected because they thought it was detrimental to the future of the Baking Industry by discouraging new recruits. On the whole comparatively little was said about any effects which night baking might have on the health of the operatives. We consider in the following paragraphs the implications of these claims by the Unions.

#### WHAT ABOLITION MIGHT INVOLVE FOR THE WORKERS

##### (i) *Removal of social disadvantages*

64. The Unions laid great weight on the hardships which night baking entailed for the family and social life of the operatives. They pointed out that in England and Wales a large number of operatives did continuous night work, that is to say the same men remained on night work six nights a week throughout the year except during their holidays. In Scotland, although practically no one now worked continuously by night, there was still a great deal of night work and more or less awkward hours obtained at all times. All this meant a severe disruption of the family and social life of the operatives who were unable to enjoy to the full the companionship of their families. The Unions said that the dislike of night baking was at least as great among their wives as among the operatives themselves. We agree that night baking carries serious social disadvantages and we started our inquiry with a predisposition to ameliorate this position if possible. We believe that among a high proportion of operatives night work is unpopular. Certain employers indeed admitted to us that it carried disadvantages. The owner of a Liverpool plant bakery admitted that the introduction of a shift system, where alternate day and night work was substituted for continuous night work, had "made all the difference" to his operatives, which suggests that the operatives' feelings about night work and particularly continuous night work were rather strong. Clearly these grievances would be removed if the Unions' proposals were put into effect.

##### (ii) *Effect on earnings*

65. Against this we have tried to weigh the unpopularity of the alternatives. Wages for night work are some 10 per cent. higher than for day, and abolition of night work would therefore mean a reduction in earnings.



The Unions say that the men would willingly accept this as the price of abolition. In our visits to bakeries we have heard it said by some operatives that the additional earnings obtained by night work scarcely compensate for the dislocation involved. We are somewhat doubtful about these arguments. Certainly at this present time, with a rising cost of living, even a limited reduction in the pay packet would be a cause of hardship and it may be that the operatives would find the cost of abolition higher than they now imagine.

(iii) *Probability of additional "back shift" working*

66. We have also had in mind the probability that for some operatives abolition of night work would mean an increase of the work to be done on the afternoon shift (2 p.m.-10 p.m.) or "back shift" as it is known. We discuss later the implications of night work for bakeries operating shift systems. It can be said right away, however, that where a bakery now works a night shift and a day shift, abolition is almost certain to mean some additional "back shift" working. The Unions say the men will be willing to accept this and they reject the suggestion that evening work is more disadvantageous to the operatives' social life than night work. We were told that the overwhelming majority of operatives would greatly prefer evening work to night work. This is strongly denied by almost every employers' representative who has appeared before us. They say that the back shift is by far the least popular. There is no reconciling these views. Our opinion is that the Unions minimise the unpopularity of the back shift. We think that as a permanent working period it is open to many serious objections, some of them perhaps different from those which are put forward to night work, but in their practical effect not much less disadvantageous to the operatives. We believe that any action which had the effect of substituting a permanent back shift for a permanent night shift or an alternation between those two shifts would not in fact be a worthwhile solution of the problem.

NEED TO AVOID SUBSTITUTING SUNDAY WORK FOR NIGHT WORK

67. We cannot leave the point about social amenities without referring to the question of week-end work. The practice as regards week-end work at present varies according to the size of the bakery. In certain large plant bakeries which work a three-shift system, there is virtually no break at the week-ends, and work goes on all through Sunday. Such bakeries are the exception. In the great majority of establishments outside the realm of the plant bakery this is not the case. Extra hours are worked on Friday and until about midday on Saturday. Production then stops until late on Sunday evening or early on Monday morning, when baking starts for the Monday demand. The employers have suggested to us that if no work is to be permitted between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. it will be impossible to meet the Monday morning demand except by working a shift on Sunday afternoon. They say that this will be most unpopular with the operatives, particularly in Wales. The Welshmen sitting on or associated with our Committee were gratified to receive this testimony to the Sabbatarian traditions of the Welsh nation, but we feel that the objections to Sunday work are not likely to be confined to Wales. At a later stage we consider in detail how far, if at all, abolition would mean more Sunday work for the operatives. Here we would content ourselves with saying that any solution which required the operatives to work every Sunday afternoon which is at present a rest day, would in our view be highly unpopular with the men and is to be avoided if at all possible.



## THE EXTENT TO WHICH MODERN TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE MADE NIGHT BAKING UNNECESSARY REFRIGERATION

68. The operatives placed great stress on the technological developments which, for the most part, have taken place since the Alness Report and which, they claimed, point to a solution of the problem of night work. Of these, the one upon which they laid most emphasis was refrigeration. This is a process which has been developed only in recent years and according to Mr. Spencer, the independent technical expert who acts as Chief Bakery Production Officer to the Ministry of Food, it is still in something of an experimental stage. Its principal purpose is to retard the fermentation of dough for the making of rolls and similar goods. The procedures adopted vary somewhat but in general what happens is that after the period of bulk fermentation and the division of the dough into pieces (Stages (2) and (3) in para. 45 above), the pieces are placed in a refrigerating chamber at a temperature of 35°-40° F. instead of going into the final fermentation prior to firing in the oven. The pieces can be left for periods of up to 24 hours during which fermentation goes on at a very slow rate. They can be taken out before the time at which it is desired to bake them and after a period of recovery varying from a half to two hours the final stages can be proceeded with. It was claimed that by means of a thermostatic control in the refrigerator this period can be somewhat reduced by cutting off the freezing mechanism and allowing some of the recovery to proceed in the refrigerator.

69. The relevance of this to our problem is the effect it has on the time factor. Instead of the whole process of production being continuous, it can be split. Where no night baking goes on between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (except for preparatory workers) it is theoretically possible in the case of rolls for the processes of bulk fermentation and dividing to be carried out on the previous evening and the pieces put in the refrigerator at 10 p.m. or perhaps a little earlier. They can then be taken out at 6 a.m. and, allowing for the recovery period, they can be baked and out of the oven by 8 a.m. We heard evidence from a firm in Stirling which is at present producing some 500 dozen morning rolls daily by the refrigeration method without any work going on before 5 a.m. (see para. 131 below). We have also tasted morning rolls produced by a bakery in Hamilton by this method and found them to be indistinguishable from rolls produced by conventional methods.

### REFRIGERATION SUITABLE ONLY FOR MORNING GOODS

70. It appears that for technical reasons refrigeration is suitable only for the production of small goods, such as morning rolls, and at present at least it is not in use for the production of loaves of bread. This, while it reduces the possibilities of the system, does not altogether eliminate its value, for as all witnesses were agreed and as the Social Surveys to some extent bear out, it is more essential that the public should have their morning rolls new than their bread. Subject to the considerable qualifications below, we think it is therefore fair to say that refrigeration can make a contribution to the problem of producing morning goods without night work. As more experience is gained of the system, it may well prove to be capable of extension to a wider field of bread production.

### THE DIFFICULTIES OF ADOPTING REFRIGERATION METHODS

71. The reservations in regard to refrigeration are its cost and the space it takes up. The cost of plant varies but the Unions admitted that a comparatively small refrigerator would cost about £1,000. This is a large sum and may be beyond the means of many bakers. Moreover, considerable



reorganisation of premises would often be necessary to accommodate the plant. Apart from the cost of doing this at the present time, it might be difficult to acquire extra space or to obtain the necessary permits to build the additional accommodation for housing the refrigerator. While some bakers might be able to overcome these problems, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that at the present time a heavy burden would be placed on most bakers and more particularly the small men if they had to solve the problem by refrigeration. Moreover, having regard to the fact that the Unions agree to two hours of preliminary work before 6 a.m. the installation of refrigeration would not save an enormous amount of time, although admittedly it would be of great help with the very early morning goods production. In short, while we do not decry or underestimate the potentialities of refrigeration, we do not think it offers the prospect of an early or widespread solution of night baking.

#### AIR CONDITIONING

72. Much the same considerations apply to air conditioning. Adequate air conditioned storage, involving regulation of temperature and humidity, undoubtedly helps to keep goods fresh for a much longer period than would otherwise be the case. The Unions' submission was that air conditioning would facilitate the baking of bread one day for sale on the next. This system has the advantage that it applies to bread as well as to rolls and morning goods and the Unions suggested that the best results were to be obtained by the combination of air conditioning and refrigeration. Mr. Spencer agreed that air conditioning had considerable value; but the Scottish employers thought it encouraged bacterial growth. We think it is of value but again it may involve considerable capital outlay and it may mean the provision of extra storage space. It is a development which, in our view, is still in an experimental stage and our conclusion on its value as a solution to the night baking problem is the same as for refrigeration.

#### THE "NO-TIME" DOUGH

73. The "no-time" dough was also suggested by the Unions as assisting in the solution of the problem by speeding up the processes of bread production. We have mentioned in paragraph 45 above this process which reduces the period of bulk fermentation from 3 or 4 hours to a few minutes. This undoubtedly is a considerable time-saver and would help to advance the hour by which new bread would appear in the shops given a 6 a.m. start. The employers told us that it reduces the quality of the bread and adds about 3s. per sack to the cost. Our view is that the "no-time" dough would certainly prove a great time-saver and if night baking were abolished, we think that its use would become much more widespread. Possibly the employers do not give sufficient weight to it as yet. Nonetheless, we cannot think that the problem of night baking can be solved solely by a device such as this and we must content ourselves by saying that it might solve some of the difficulties of abolition but only at a greater cost.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S VIEW ON THE VALUE AND PRACTICABILITY OF TECHNOLOGICAL METHODS AS A SOLUTION

74. To sum up. In varying degrees all these devices have a contribution to make to solving the problem and particularly to the morning rolls problem. Moreover, necessity is the mother of invention and no doubt the prohibition of night work would stimulate the development of these or other technical devices. But most of them are too elaborate and expensive for us to base any recommendations on the assumption that they can be generally adopted, and we would have grave hesitation about recommending total abolition of night work solely on these grounds.



75. We are less impressed by these technical methods than by the evidence that properly baked bread with a correct degree of dough maturity keeps fresh for quite considerable periods under reasonable conditions. We saw practical proof of this during our visit to the National Bread Survey at the Ministry of Food, Stanmore. We inspected there bread several days old and saw that it was in good condition. We have also tasted bread as much as a week old and found it palatable. Undoubtedly bread remains in a reasonably good condition, if properly baked, for much longer periods than we had believed possible. This is particularly so when it is wrapped. We have had this factor very much in mind in drawing up our conclusions.

## EXPERIENCE OF ABOLITION IN THIS COUNTRY

### WAR-TIME ABOLITION OR RESTRICTION OF NIGHT BAKING IN BRITAIN

76. The Bakers' Unions sought to prove the feasibility of abolishing night baking by drawing our attention to instances where in various places and at various times it has proved possible to do without night baking. They told us that in Birmingham and in Glasgow during the war night baking was abandoned by agreement among a majority of bakers. In Birmingham, we were told, night baking was abolished from the latter part of 1940 until 1945, bread being baked one day for sale on the next. These arrangements, it was said, worked smoothly and there had been no evidence of public dissatisfaction. The system broke down in 1945 following the award of the National Arbitration Tribunal referred to in paragraph 22 above which was unfavourable to the Union. Even so, the Birmingham Co-operative Society continued to operate on a day system. A somewhat similar arrangement, it was stated, had operated in Glasgow between 1941 and 1944, as a result of which virtually no night baking went on. Figures were presented to us which, it was said, showed that apart from one or two very large plant bakeries, baking was to a considerable extent carried on by day in the Glasgow area during the war.

### CURRENT EXAMPLES OF BAKERIES WORKING ENTIRELY ON A DAY BASIS

77. The Unions also pointed out to us that since the war a number of Co-operative Bakeries had been able to adopt or continue a system of day baking only and were apparently able to compete successfully. Birmingham has been mentioned above. In addition, we were told, the Warrington, Nottingham and Watford Co-operative Bakeries were working on a day basis. If they could do it, it was asked, why could not others? The answer which the Unions suggested was that the continuance of night baking was solely a consequence of competition between rival bakers to supply the public with the freshest bread possible.

### THE COMMITTEE'S VIEW OF THE WAR-TIME ARRANGEMENTS MENTIONED BY THE UNIONS

78. We have found very great difficulty in assessing the weight to be attached to the war-time practice in such places as Birmingham and Glasgow largely because of the absence of evidence as to precisely what happened and what were the consequences. There appear to have been no written agreements, but in Birmingham, according to the Co-operative Union, the arrangement to work by day was fairly generally observed, at any rate by the principal baking concerns. Certainly in the war, the Birmingham Co-operative Society working on a day basis did not have to face very serious competition due to night baking on the part of other firms. On the other hand, the Managing Director of a large Birmingham plant bakery, while admitting that during the war two-shift bakeries arranged for the gap in shifts to take place



during the night, said that three-shift bakeries had continued to work all through the night. There does not seem to have been a hundred per cent. cessation of night work; for the Birmingham employers told the National Arbitration Tribunal in 1944 that some of their number had never ceased night baking. The fact that stress of competition was then advanced as a reason for resumption of night work seems to suggest that there was no complete cessation of night work. Nor was there in Glasgow, to judge from the evidence of the Scottish Bakers' Union, which shows that one or two at least of the largest Glasgow bakeries were working a night shift.

79. The arrangements seem in fact to have been designed to meet a war-time situation by ensuring that in large towns the baking of bread was completed on the day before it was sold, thereby ensuring that hold-ups due to night bombing did not result in an interruption of supplies in the shops next morning. In the peculiar circumstances of war-time these arrangements seem to have worked with a reasonable degree of success. But the areas involved were so limited, the extent of the abolition so incomplete and the general evidence as to its functioning so slight that we cannot agree that it proves of itself that the universal abolition of night baking in all parts of Britain under peace-time conditions is feasible.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S VIEW OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT DAY-WORK ARRANGEMENTS IN CERTAIN BAKERIES

80. On the practice of those Co-operative Societies which are still baking by day only there is some more substantial evidence. On this point we feel bound to accept the evidence of the Co-operative Union in preference to that of the Bakers' Unions. We have already mentioned in paragraph 57 the unfortunate experience of the Plymouth and Liverpool Co-operative Societies. We also received evidence from the Co-operative Union about the four Societies referred to by the Bakers' Unions, namely those at Warrington, Nottingham, Birmingham and Watford. We were informed that in both the Warrington and Nottingham Bakeries there has been a resumption of night work. In Birmingham, the Co-operative Union told us, very serious difficulties had arisen and since the end of the war the Society's bread trade had declined by about 15 to 20 per cent. because the bread it was able to offer on a day-work system was less fresh than that of its competitors. This is a plant bakery and we are told that, despite the lower output, it is not feasible to make any substantial reduction in the number of staff needed to run it, so the financial position is generally adversely affected. Similar difficulties, we were told, had also arisen at Watford.

81. It is important to be clear as to the meaning of this evidence. It does not of itself mean that the abolition or limitation of night baking is impracticable. What it shows is that under conditions where other bakeries are free from restrictions on their hours of work, it is difficult, if not impossible, for a bakery in the same area to compete successfully if its hours are strictly confined to a day basis.

### EXPERIENCE OF ABOLITION OVERSEAS

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTION

82. The Bakers' Unions drew our attention to the fact that night baking had been abolished in a number of other countries which apparently are able to operate successfully a system of day baking. There is an International Labour Convention on this subject, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1925. The purpose of this Convention is to prohibit for all persons, whether employers or workers, the making of bread, pastry, or



similar flour products during the night, subject to certain exceptions mentioned below. The Convention does not apply to the wholesale manufacture of biscuits. It defines the term "night" as a period of at least seven consecutive hours, which shall include the interval between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m.; this interval may be replaced by the interval between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. when required by the climate, or the season, or after agreement between the employers' and workers' organisations concerned. Permanent exceptions are allowed for preparatory or complementary work (provided that young persons under 18 years of age are excluded), for special requirements in tropical countries and to ensure the weekly rest. Temporary exceptions are also allowed if required because of unusual pressure of work or national necessities. Finally, the Convention also permits exceptions in case of accident "actual or threatened" or "urgent work to be done to machinery or plant" as well as in the case of "force majeure".

83. It may be observed that the terms of this Convention go beyond the recommendation of even the Mackenzie Report of 1919 in a number of respects; in particular, the Convention applies automatically to proprietors as well as workers, while its definition of night is a period of not less than seven hours (as against the six recommended by the Mackenzie Committee) including 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. or, by agreement between employers and employed, 10 p.m. to 4 a.m.

#### THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO THE CONVENTION

84. The British Government has not ratified this Convention. The reasons given for this (Cmd. 2633 of 1926) were that its provisions went much beyond the recommendations of the Mackenzie Committee and were too drastic. In particular, the objection taken by H.M. Government to the inclusion of the master baker within the scope of the Convention had not been met. In addition H.M. Government referred to the Report of the Peat Committee which had suggested that the effect of the prohibition of night work in bakeries if the supply of bread were to be continued at its then level would be an increase in the cost of the loaf. In view of the cost of living at the time, H.M. Government were not prepared to accept such an increase. We understand that the question of ratifying this Convention has since been reviewed and that in this connection it was thought necessary at the time to have regard to the fact that the regulation of hours in the Baking Industry formed the subject of negotiation between the two sides of the Industry.

#### LAW AND PRACTICE OF STATES WHICH HAVE RATIFIED THE CONVENTION

85. The Convention has to date been ratified by twelve States namely:—

Bulgaria.	Estonia.	Nicaragua.
Chile.	Finland.	Spain.
Colombia.	Irish Republic.	Sweden.
Cuba.	Luxemburg.	Uruguay.

The law and practice regulating night baking varies in these States. In Bulgaria, for example, the prohibited period is 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., although preparatory work may start at 2.30 a.m. in winter and 2 a.m. in summer; Bulgarian national legislation contains a safeguarding clause to the effect that if it is found that bread has been removed from the ovens before 8 a.m. that shall be deemed to be irrefutable evidence that the bakery began work before 5 a.m. In Chile, on the other hand, the interval is between 9 p.m. and 4 a.m. but preparatory work is allowed after 2 a.m. In Finland, with very limited exceptions, night work is prohibited between



10 p.m. and 5 a.m., no exception being allowed for preparatory work. In the Irish Republic the Night Work (Bakeries) Act, 1936 prohibits night baking between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. with exceptions for dough making and for week-end work. In fact even before the Act was passed, night baking appears to have been almost non-existent in Dublin by voluntary arrangement between employers and workpeople and was carried on only to a limited extent outside the capital so that the Act did little more than give effect to arrangements which already existed. In Luxemburg, in accordance with agreements between employers and workers, the day's work may start at 4 a.m. and work will then be prohibited after 9 p.m., or alternatively the forbidden period is 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., in either case there being no exception for preparatory work. In Sweden the prohibited interval is long, 8 p.m. to 6 a.m., with exceptions for dough making and preparatory workers. The legislation there, we understand, is under review. In Uruguay night baking is forbidden between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m., there being no exception for preparatory work.

86. Certain of the States which have ratified the Convention permit exceptions to the law in respect of members of the same household making the products defined in the Convention for their own consumption. This exception is specifically stated by the Convention. The majority of the ratifying States also permit exceptions where there is unusual pressure of work, due to such things as local festivals, fairs and markets, and also in the case of repairs to machinery and plant, and accidents.

#### POSITION IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT RATIFIED THE CONVENTION

87. In addition to the States ratifying the Convention there are several others where there are various restrictions on night baking, for example, Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Norway. In Australia State Legislation and awards of Industrial Tribunals in many cases restrict the extent of night baking. For example, in South Australia night baking is prohibited by law at week-ends and public holidays, while in Western Australia, although there are no prohibited hours by law, Industrial Awards restrict the starting hour in different areas to periods varying from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., with exceptions prior to the week-end.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BAKERY WORKERS

88. Our attention was drawn in this connection to a resolution adopted as recently as April, 1951 by an International Conference of Bakery Workers convened by the International Union of Food and Drink Workers' Associations in London. In addition to referring to resolutions adopted at International Bakery Workers' Conferences in 1926 and 1939 calling on Governments to ratify the International Labour Convention, the Conference resolved that in countries where the structure of the Trade and operating processes made it possible, the operatives should now seek total abolition between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Affiliated Unions were also recommended to seek the abolition of Sunday and holiday work taking into consideration the special conditions prevailing in each country.

#### THE EMPLOYERS' COMMENTS ON THESE INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

89. The employers, while admitting that these restrictions had proved possible in a number of countries, suggested to us that in many cases they had led to a deterioration in the service to the community, had sometimes brought about an increase in the price of bread and were not always effectively enforced.



#### THE COMMITTEE'S COMMENTS

90. Our view on this subject is that the success achieved in restricting night baking by a number of countries, some of them industrialised, is a matter which we should take into account in our assessment of the possibilities of limiting or abolishing night baking here. This we have done. In general, however, we would not wish to pursue these comparisons too far. No one country is exactly the same as another. Conditions, practice and habits vary greatly and it is as dangerous to assume that we can abolish night baking here because some other country has done it, as to accept the converse proposition that we cannot abolish it because some highly industrialised countries have not done so. Throughout our inquiry we have tried to examine the position in this country on its merits. We have kept in mind what others have been able to do but our recommendations are based on what we think is reasonable and practicable having regard to the needs and circumstances of this country.

### THE EFFECT OF NIGHT WORK ON RECRUITMENT TO THE INDUSTRY

#### ALLEGED DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS

91. Not least among the objections to night baking put forward by the Unions was the allegation that it was having a detrimental effect on recruitment to the Industry. They claimed that because of night work there was difficulty in getting recruits and the right type of recruit into the Industry. For the same reason, they said, there was a rapid turnover of men who came into the work for a short while and then left to go to factories and other employment where there was no night work. Despite an increase in the number of students entering on bakery courses at technical colleges, the Unions claimed that there was a disinclination to go in for bread making. A large proportion of the students were interested only in the confectionery side of the Trade or were the sons of master bakers. They had to study bread making as part of the curriculum but there was little interest in it because of the inevitable night work involved. The English Bakers' Union was not able to produce anything very detailed in the way of statistics on this matter, but they pointed out to us that of a total membership of 29,559 in the Union at 31st March, 1951, there were only 644 persons under 21 years of age. The Union claimed that if the new arrangements they proposed were introduced this serious position would be eased.

92. In Scotland, too, according to the Scottish Bakers' Union, a similar position obtains. The situation differs in Scotland from that of England and Wales in that entry into the Industry is by way of a five years' apprenticeship scheme; in general, only entrants through apprenticeship channels are permitted to work on bread production. This means that the Scottish Bakers' Union is primarily a craftsmen's Union. The Union told us that there was a serious shortage of apprentices, so much so that both sides of the Industry were actively engaged in working out fuller plans for the training and further education of apprentices. Indeed because of the shortage, a relaxation permitting the employment of dilutees, men only, had operated since early in the war. (We might observe here that the number of such dilutees is very small. The Union told us that in its total membership there were only 149 dilutees. The employers put the figure



of dilutees for the whole of Scotland at 288.) The Scottish Bakers' Union made similar submissions to those of their English colleagues about students attending technical classes on bakery in Scotland.

#### THE EMPLOYERS' COMMENTS

93. In support of their statements the Unions presented extracts from trade papers and journals in which various employers were reported to have stressed the difficulties of persuading young persons to enter the Industry because of night work. The formal evidence submitted by the employers, however, in general contradicted these statements. The Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers said that their experience in getting new recruits was no different from, or more difficult than, that of many day-time working industries during a period of full employment. Indeed, they claimed that some of their members had less difficulty in getting night workers than day workers. The National Association of Master Bakers, Confectioners and Caterers also denied that there were serious difficulties in the matter of recruitment. The Co-operative Union made the point that they were having no greater difficulty in getting young persons for the bakery side of their work than for the distributive side. The same body suggested to us that there was no real evidence to show that night baking was a deterrent to recruitment. Admittedly, the supply of labour for baking work varied from area to area and they agreed that it was to some extent affected by the availability of other employment. There were many industries in which the earnings of young persons were better than in baking and this was undoubtedly a factor in recruitment. The Co-operative Union pointed out that the figures of students in both full-time and part-time baking studies showed an encouraging upward trend, although they admitted that possibly more of these students were going in for flour confectionery than before the war.

94. The Scottish employers were similarly sanguine. They admitted that at one time after the war there had been difficulty in getting apprentices but they claimed that the position was improving and they expected that the plans for further education at present being worked out jointly by the two sides of the Scottish Baking Industry would lead to a continuation of this improvement.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES ON THE RECRUITMENT QUESTION

95. This matter seems to us to be one of fundamental importance and we have been at great pains to try to establish the facts. This has been very difficult because in this, as in so many other respects, we have been hampered by the absence of adequate statistics. The position as set out below represents as accurate a picture as we can draw and we would like to express our appreciation to the Ministry of Education, your own Department, the National Board for Bakery Education, and the various colleges and educational authorities concerned for their courtesy in supplying us with the relevant statistical and other information.

#### INTAKE OF YOUNG PERSONS TO THE INDUSTRY

96. As regards the actual intake of young persons into the Bread and Flour Confectionery Industry, we can do little more than quote the figures supplied by your Department of new entrants into employment insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts. These are as follows and relate to the whole of Great Britain.



TABLE V

*New entrants into Insurable Employment : Bread,  
Flour Confectionery and Biscuits*

Insurance year ended June	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Under 16 years	16-17 years	Under 16 years	16-17 years
1936 ... ..	4,882	544	7,193	1,006
1937 ... ..	3,932	403	6,259	958
1938 ... ..	3,956	318	6,648	855
1939 ... ..	3,287	244	6,391	844
1940 ... ..	3,498	299	6,099	784
1941 ... ..	3,926	279	5,634	811
1942 ... ..	3,774	185	5,232	664
1943 ... ..	3,562	142	4,394	413
1944 ... ..	3,588	146	4,158	315
1945 ... ..	3,840	208	4,479	339
1946 ... ..	3,615	197	4,650	332
1947 ... ..	2,582*	194	3,301*	321
1948 ... ..	484*	226	677*	371

\* Reduction due to the raising of the school leaving age from 14 to 15 in April, 1947.

N.B.—Table V shows entrants into Baking *including Biscuits*.

TABLE VI

*12 Month Period, February, 1950-January, 1951  
Juvenile New Entrants into Insurable Employment*

		15 years	16 years	17 years
<i>Bread and Flour Confectionery</i> (other than biscuits)	Boys	3,657	175	53
	Girls	3,809	187	61
<i>Biscuits</i> ... ..	Boys	469	19	6
	Girls	1,570	90	17
<i>Total</i> ... ..	Boys	4,126	194	59
	Girls	5,379	277	78

97. We must make a very important reservation in presenting these figures. The field they cover is a much wider one than that with which we are dealing. They include for one thing the Biscuit Industry which lies outside our terms of reference. (The 1950 figures alone show the Biscuit Industry separately.) They include also many workers other than those who actually enter the Bread and Flour Confectionery Industry to work in the bakehouse, e.g., clerks, drivers, packers and various unskilled workers. No figures exist showing the numbers going in for bakehouse work alone, and clearly therefore the value of the tables is limited. We present them as showing that over the whole of the wider field the trend in recent years has not been markedly downwards.

#### TRENDS IN NUMBER OF STUDENTS

98. The National Board for Bakery Education has supplied the figures in Table VII showing the number of students enrolled in each of the past four sessions at centres providing bakery instruction in England and Wales. No information is available as to specialisation between bread and flour confectionery studies.



TABLE VII

*Number of students attending Centres providing bakery instruction in England and Wales*

(Statistics provided by the National Board for Bakery Education)

	1938	1944-45	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51
Number of Centres	49	23	Not available	88	98	89
Students enrolled ...	2,650 (approx.)	537	5,166	5,666	5,940	6,443

N.B.—There may be an element of duplication in the figures where a student enrolled in more than one course.

The table shows that there is no sign of a decline in the number of bakery students. On the contrary, the number has been increasing steadily since the war. This evidence alone however neither confirms nor refutes the Unions' allegations that students prefer flour confectionery studies.

## NUMBER OF STUDENTS SITTING TECHNICAL BAKING EXAMINATIONS

99. We have therefore approached the matter from a somewhat different angle. We have taken the figures of students presenting themselves for the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute and for diplomas of the National Board for Bakery Education and have tried to see if any trends can be deduced from them. Since the latter has only been in being since the war the scope for comparison is limited. The Institute's figures however cover a period of 15 years (see Table VIII overleaf).

100. The Institute's table is of particular interest in showing the degree of specialisation for examinations after the Intermediate stage as between bread-making and flour confectionery studies. Prior to the Intermediate stage this differentiation cannot now be made although separate figures are available up to 1947. The figures suggest that, broadly speaking, flour confectionery is slightly, but only slightly, more popular than bread making. Neither group of studies, however, shows a downward trend in numbers of students, and so far as they go, the figures do not substantiate the Unions' claim that night work is a deterrent to entry into the bread making side of the Industry. Again we must make a qualification. Students taking these advanced examinations are for the most part going in for the management side of the Industry and many of them may expect to take up employment which does not involve night work.

101. It is perhaps not surprising that we have had difficulty in distinguishing between students going in for bread studies and those specialising in flour confectionery studies. A high proportion of students are likely to be ambitious young men with hopes of becoming master bakers on their own account. It is essential that such should have an all round knowledge of the Trade so that the businesses they may hope one day to manage can cater for the public needs in both bread and cakes.



TABLE VIII

*England and Wales—Number of Candidates at Bakery Examinations*

(1) CITY AND GUILDS OF LONDON INSTITUTE—(Statistics supplied by the Institute)

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Intermediate Examination:															
Breadmaking ...	158	206	208	218	111	44	47	57	83	137	309	435	647	882	818
Flour Confectionery ...	244	257	275	316	149	53	63	91	101	179	326	510	510		
Breadmaking—Final ...	86	88	94	102	64	28	23	27	35	37	71	123	182	246	362
Flour Confectionery—Final	126	137	120	152	79	39	23	32	38	48	79	126	206	296	387
Flour Testing ...	—	—	—	4	4	5	2	3	5	6	7	11	8	18	24
Confectionery Design and Decoration ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	2	5	10	12	19	26
Microbiology ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	13	30
TOTAL ...	614	688	697	792	407	169	159	212	266	409	797	1,215	1,063	1,474	1,647

(2) NATIONAL BAKERY DIPLOMA EXAMINATIONS—(Statistics supplied by the National Board for Bakery Education)

	Studying for Examination		Actually Sat for Examination	
	1949-50	1950-51	1949-50	1950-51
National Bakery Diploma (Two-year course)	229	319	147	[Not available]
Higher National Bakery Diploma (Three-year course)	4	6	4	
	233	325	151	



## SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF BAKERY STUDENTS

102. In the hope of shedding more light on this matter, we have tried to find out what happens to bakery students after the completion of their courses. To do this we have first tried to establish how far these students are drawn from the Industry itself. Both the Ministry of Education and the National Board for Bakery Education are agreed that nearly all part-time students are already in the Industry, while the full-time students are all persons who intend to go into the Industry. The National Board stated that their impression was that practically the whole of the full-time students enter the Industry on the completion of their studies, while the Ministry of Education quoted the view of one of H.M. Inspectors that full-time students normally enter the Bakery Trade itself or an allied trade, such as firms of bakers' merchants. The same view is borne out by your Department. Out of 822 persons who had been trained under the Vocational Training Scheme in Bakery and Confectionery between June, 1945 and November, 1950, 804 had been placed in the trade for which they had been trained. Perhaps the most interesting information of all as to the ultimate destination of bakery students came from the Principal of the Cardiff Technical College. The College has kept detailed records of the 348 bakery students who have passed through the College in the past 30 years. The positions held by these former students are now as follows:—

Master Bakers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
Parents' business	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59
Operatives	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	156
Demonstrators	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Managing Directors...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Managers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Allied Trades (Representatives)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Bakery Teachers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
Colonies (mostly Master Bakers)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
H.M. Forces	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Deceased	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Unknown or further studies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37

The Principal suggests that this pattern can be regarded as typical. Certainly we can find no evidence to show that there is any recent disinclination on the part of students to go into the Industry on completion of their studies or that a very high proportion are the sons of master bakers.

## POSITION IN SCOTLAND

103. The figures so far quoted relate to England and Wales. In Scotland, a somewhat different position arises because of the 5-year apprenticeship scheme, to be entered into between a worker's 15th and 19th birthday. This is no recent innovation. The Scottish employers told us that apprenticeship in the Scottish Baking Industry is of very long standing. The present Agreement relating to Scotland allows for the employment of one apprentice where not more than three journeymen bakers are regularly employed; two where there are four or five journeymen; three where there are between five and ten journeymen and thereafter one for each additional five journeymen. Out of a total membership of 15,713 in the Scottish Bakers' Union on 31st March, 1951, there were 1,633 apprentices and 9,724 journeymen. The overall proportion of apprentices to journeymen is therefore about one in six. The Union suggested to us that the deficiency of apprentices was as much as 1,000. The employers, while agreeing that there was room for more apprentices, claimed that many firms were already up to full establishment. It is a fact, nevertheless, that both sides are at present engaged on plans for the development of extended educational facilities for apprentices in Scotland and we think it likely that in doing this, they are activated by some concern about the future



flow of apprentices into the Industry. We should mention here that at the Glasgow Royal Technical College the number of students engaged on advanced studies in breadmaking and flour confectionery at the College is increasing and the College has more applicants than can properly be accommodated.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S COMMENTS ON THE VARIOUS SUBMISSIONS REGARDING RECRUITMENT

104. It is not easy to come to any very firm conclusions on this question. One thing is clear ; there is no decline in the number of students entering on bread and flour confectionery studies. Nor is there any real evidence to show that there is a marked preference for courses in flour confectionery because flour confectionery work carries much less risk of night work. We doubt whether any such preference can really be proved to exist.

105. On the other hand, it is not so easy to discount the Unions' wider allegations that night baking is proving a deterrent to entry into the Industry. An important piece of evidence in support of this seems to us to lie in the statistics of membership of the English Bakers' Union which show a low proportion of young persons. Against this we have to weigh the repeated assertions of the employers in evidence that the recruitment position is not causing them serious concern and is not worse than in other industries in a period of full employment. Our own observations and visits to bakeries do not altogether corroborate this sanguine view of the recruitment position. One employer in a Scottish country bakery, for example, told us that in his view night baking was proving a deterrent to the recruitment of apprentices. At almost every bakery we visited in the London area we heard of the difficulty of getting operatives for bread making. One employer, while denying that night baking as such was a deterrent, suggested that hot conditions in bakeries and the existence of a five-day week in other industries were making it difficult to get young people to join the Industry. There is some corroboration of this from other sources. The views of a number of Youth Employment Officers have been obtained on various aspects of this problem. These suggest that in Scotland and the North-West of England, although there is no serious recruitment difficulty and night baking is not regarded as a deterrent, there are various other factors detrimental to entry into the Industry. We have already referred to the heat of ovens. In addition there have been mentioned to us the facts that in many areas more money can be earned in other occupations ; that many of the tasks, such as cleaning and greasing, deter young people ; and that the extension of the five-day week has reduced the popularity of an Industry where Saturday work is inevitable. That there is no uniform pattern in this matter, however, is clear from the fact that in certain Midlands areas, in the experience of some Youth Employment Officers, night baking is a deterrent to recruitment, and there is an unsatisfied demand for young workers, many of whom leave the Industry at the age of 18. The Ministry of Education has also quoted to us the opinion of one of H.M. Inspectors that so far as students are concerned, although the great majority enter the Baking Industry in its wider sense, a very small number indeed take up positions which entail night work. He points out that it is perhaps one of the rewards of technical training that a student can obtain the more desirable jobs which do not involve night work.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE EFFECT OF NIGHT BAKING ON RECRUITMENT

106. From all this mass of statements and submissions, it seems to us fair to draw the following conclusions :—

(a) There are a number of deterrents to entry into the Baking Industry which may have, and in many cases are having, the effect of making it



less popular than other industries open to young people. The fact that the number of students attending bakery classes is on the increase does not in our view invalidate this proposition. The great majority of these students are persons who are already in the Industry and the fact that they see fit to embark upon studies implies that they hope to improve their qualifications and consequently attain a position where the deterrents in the Industry apply with much less force. But to the prospective entrant who has neither the wish nor the ability to go in for such studies, there are certain factors which may make the Baking Industry unattractive ;

(b) Night baking, and perhaps in particular continuous night baking, is one of those deterrents but it is not the only one. The five-day week, the more attractive wages to be obtained at least initially in competing industries in some areas, and the absence of clear-cut organised facilities for training in England and Wales probably all constitute equally effective deterrents to young persons to enter and to stay in the Industry. We do not wish to exaggerate these deterrents ; they may not at present give cause for serious concern, but we think it very possible that their cumulative effect will become increasingly apparent as time goes on. It would be outside our terms of reference to suggest remedies for any except night baking, but we may observe in passing that in our view one of the major deterrents has hitherto been the absence in England and Wales of a proper apprenticeship scheme. We are glad to learn that agreement has this year been reached among all parties for the setting up of such a scheme. This will, we believe, add greatly to the attractiveness of the Industry. We would go so far with the Unions as to say that an abolition or a limitation of night baking would remove a factor which deters young persons from entering the Industry, but we think that the Unions have overstressed the effect which night baking is having on recruitment. We believe that its effect is limited in relation to the whole range of other deterrents and we therefore doubt whether its elimination or limitation would have more than a mildly stimulating effect upon the flow of new entrants.

## THE HEALTH FACTOR

107. We have heard very little evidence about any detrimental effects which night baking might have on health. The Unions, it is true, submitted that "the effect of a natural working day upon the general health of the operatives must inevitably advance the standard of craftsmanship" but they did not press the point beyond saying that it was undoubtedly much harder to obtain unbroken sleep during the daytime than at night. Several employers however claimed that there were no grounds for supposing night work to be detrimental to the health of the operatives.

108. The Alness Committee in 1937 found that no case had been made out that night baking was injurious to the health of the operatives. This conclusion was not seriously challenged in the evidence presented to us but we nevertheless thought it right to consult the Factory Department as to whether there had been any developments since 1937 to indicate that the conclusion of the Alness Committee was no longer sound. Dr. E. R. A. Merewether, the Senior Medical Inspector of Factories, was good enough to furnish us with a memorandum from which we quote :

"It has often been alleged that night baking is harmful to the health of the baker, but there is no evidence that night work is more harmful to bakers than night work to any other class, and there is no conclusive evidence that night work as such is harmful at all.



The Registrar General in his Decennial Supplement 1931 (the last published, owing to the war) ranked (male) bakers and pastrycooks low in order of mortality rate—26th amongst 200 occupational groups embracing the great bulk of male occupations. In this respect they ranked with typists and clerks in the Civil Service and lower than 'Civil Service Officials, not executive or clerical', both of which groups are, in general, medically selected populations initially. He stated also that bakers and pastrycooks had 'a low general mortality ratio' and 'that no cause (of death) showed any important excess'.

Now, bakers and pastrycooks are employed in a compact and reasonably stable occupation in which the processes and materials used are fairly even, and if any major factor deleterious to health operated because of the nature or conditions of work, one would expect it to have some effect on their mortality rates, either generally or in respect of specific diseases, which does not appear to be the case.

At present there are no sickness as opposed to mortality data available by which comparison of the day to day ailments of night bakers as compared with day bakers can be made, still less with bakers as compared with other people, but evidently they do not materially affect the mortality rates of bakers as a class compared with the majority of other occupation groups.

Again, there is no evidence that the occupational health hazards, actual or suggested, of bakers, such as dermatitis, flat foot, anaemia, and leptospirosis, are likely to be increased by night work as opposed to day work."

Dr. Merewether also made the general observation that frequent changes from night work to day work (e.g., weekly or fortnightly) and vice versa cause dislocations in household routine which not all families and all individuals are able to cope with satisfactorily.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S COMMENTS ON THE HEALTH ASPECTS

109. We think from this that it is reasonable to say that, although night baking may cause some inconvenience in the matter of daytime sleep, there are no good grounds for saying that it is detrimental to the health of the operatives.

### PART V : THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING

110. We have so far confined ourselves to a consideration of the arguments in support of abolishing or limiting night baking and have only incidentally touched on some of the new problems which might be expected to arise if the Unions' proposals were adopted. We now turn to some of the difficulties which, we were told, would be likely to ensue if the Unions' demands were conceded. Most of the objections were put forward from the employers in the Industry but some support came from one or two bodies which, although not part of the Baking Industry, feared that they would be affected by such a change in the operating methods of the Industry.

#### NATURE OF THE OBJECTIONS

111. The objections to abolition and, to a lesser extent, to limitation of night baking fall into two main categories.

(a) Objections based on the difficulties of providing the right quantities of bread in the right place at the right time. In other words, difficulties arising from the perishable nature of the commodities produced by the Industry. For the sake of convenience we will describe these alleged difficulties as "Time difficulties".

(b) Difficulties based primarily on economic grounds; that is to say, problems arising not so much out of the perishable nature of bread, but from the need to secure the maximum degree of economic efficiency from the Industry. We will call these alleged difficulties "Economic difficulties".



112. It is of course true that to some extent the second group embraces the first, in that the time difficulties, if they are real and cannot be overcome, might well react to the economic disadvantage of the producer of bread. Nonetheless, the two sets of objections are distinguishable and it will enable the full extent of the problem to be seen more clearly if we can deal with them separately. There are in addition a few miscellaneous difficulties on the fringe of the problem which do not conveniently fall within either category and we shall look at these separately.

## THE TIME DIFFICULTIES

### THE EMPLOYERS' SUBMISSIONS

113. We have already touched upon the alleged time difficulties in considering the Unions' arguments about technological developments and in our analysis of the public demand (see paragraphs 60 and 69 above). The difficulties arise from the fact that bread is a perishable commodity which stales quickly. According to the employers, the public insist on getting it new in the shop. Because of these two facts, the aim of all bakers is to sell as much bread as possible as early as possible in the day. On the whole, we were told, most bread bought in this country is baked on the day of purchase, although some bakeries do produce bread which will not be sold until the next day. (This seems to be particularly the case in Scotland). If night baking were abolished, the employers told us, it would be impossible to provide this service to the public, who would have to eat goods stale or at any rate staler than they do now, since much of the bread they bought would be baked on the previous day. This would have a depressing effect upon sales, it was said. Similar arguments would apply to rolls and morning goods with even greater force. The latter stale more rapidly than bread and the public are even more insistent, it was claimed, that they should be new when bought in the shop or eaten in the café. The time difficulties therefore rest on the two propositions that people want new bread and that, without night baking, both the public who will get staler bread and the bakers who will sell less bread will be worse off.

114. These are most important submissions and a proper assessment of their validity is essential for a true understanding of the night baking problem. We have examined them with great care, bearing in mind the conclusions as to the public tastes which we have drawn from the results of the Social Surveys (paragraph 60 above) and in particular the conclusion that the housewife is very concerned to buy her bread new. In the following paragraphs we take each of the main classes of bakery and try to see exactly how far in each case the alleged time difficulties would arise if night baking were abolished and how far they might be overcome. For this purpose we will examine bakeries under the three headings set out in paragraph 28 above, except that we will subdivide the small retail bakery into two classes, giving four groups in all as follows:—

- (A) The small retail baker who does not now bake by night.
- (B) The small retail baker who does now bake by night.
- (C) The large retail and medium wholesale bakery.
- (D) The plant bakery.



As we see it, the position in these bakeries if the Unions got their way and no operatives (except preparatory workers) started work before 6 a.m. would be as follows:—

(A) THE PROBLEM FOR THE SMALL RETAIL BAKER WHO DOES NOT NOW BAKE BY NIGHT

115. This first group presents little difficulty. If there is now no night work going on in a small retail bakery, abolition of night work can have virtually no effect. It must be remembered that there are a very large number of bakeries which fall into this category. Table III above shows that in two-thirds of the bakeries which answered our questionnaire no work goes on between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. We think that the majority of these are likely to be small bakeries attached to a retail shop with a limited retail delivery trade. Probably most of them finish their bread making by about 10 a.m. or at any rate have enough bread in the shop to meet the demand until further loaves emerge from the oven later in the day. Their flour confectionery making will commence later on in the morning. For these bakeries, which probably form the majority of small bakeries, acceptance of the Unions' proposals (even with a 6 a.m. start) is not likely to make a great deal of difference. Indeed, if they take advantage of the 4 a.m. start which the Unions would permit for the doughmakers, we doubt if they would need to make any great change in their methods of working.

(B) THE PROBLEM FOR THE SMALL RETAIL BAKER WHO NOW BAKES BY NIGHT

116. We have explained above that in our view the small retail bakers who at present work by night form a minority of small bakers. Their ranks are swelled on Friday night by some small bakers who wish to produce enough to meet the week-end demand, but they still remain a minority. Probably the reason why they work by night is that they have a comparatively large bread trade.

117. Clearly, some difficulties would arise for them if there were a total prohibition of night baking, although it seems likely that the employers exaggerate their extent. In assessing these difficulties we have borne in mind that, according to the Social Surveys, the great majority of housewives want their bread new, although the times at which they get it vary considerably. Given a 6 a.m. start, the quantity of new bread that this class of small baker could sell in the shop by between 9 a.m. and 10 a.m. would admittedly be limited in relation to his total production. More bread would, however, be coming out of the ovens as the morning went on and we see little reason to doubt that by 1 p.m. a fair number of such bakers would at least have produced enough bread to meet the requirements of half of their customers, which is the proportion definitely shown by the Social Survey to be getting their bread at present before 1 p.m. On the other hand, they might have difficulty in satisfying the 21 per cent. who get their bread before 11 a.m. and would find it very hard to supply newly-baked bread to the 2 per cent. who buy before 9 a.m. There is a further 21 per cent. of housewives whose buying time varies and in so far as they buy before 1 p.m. the position would be aggravated. (We assume that the percentages shown by the Social Survey are broadly true for these bakeries. We appreciate that there may be considerable variations between individual bakeries but in general we doubt if the variations are so great as to invalidate the arguments). In other words, some housewives would probably have to buy their bread rather later than at present, but the hour of purchase for most of them might not necessarily have to be very much later, and for the most part the housewife would get bread which was baked on the day it was bought. All such bread would be fresher than that which she now obtains.



118. It might seem from this that even for the small baker who now works by night, abolition of night baking would present no great problem. This is not quite true. We believe that the difficulties would be less than the employers imagine, but there are three special problems not mentioned in paragraph 117 which complicate the issue. These are:—

- (i) The week-end problem.
- (ii) The morning roll problem.
- (iii) The flour confectionery problem.

*(i) The week-end problem*

119. First, there is the question of the week-end demand. Enough bread has to be produced for sale on Saturday to cover the consumption for a period of nearly 48 hours. This is a considerable problem. We were told that in London at present certain bakeries experience a demand on Saturdays 100 per cent. greater than on weekdays. It was represented to us that it is not an economic proposition for bakers to have plant, equipment and staff available to enable the working hours which are normal during the remainder of the week to be maintained immediately prior to the week-end. Extra hours are therefore worked on Friday nights and Saturday mornings and sometimes on Thursday nights, although less often in the case of a small baker. In some bakeries where no night work goes on during the rest of the week, it is necessary to work by night on Friday. Clearly, it is often going to be very difficult to meet the week-end demand if there is to be no night work on Friday, even though some bread needed for sale on Saturday is produced during the day on Friday. This fact was appreciated by both the Mackenzie and Alness Committees and the former, while generally endorsing the principle of abolition, specifically recommended that an exception should be made to meet the needs of the week-end trade. We frankly confess that we do not see any satisfactory way around this particular problem if a complete abolition of night baking is to take place. To some extent the problem might be eased by requiring the operatives to work on Saturday afternoon, but this carries serious disadvantages. It would almost certainly be unpopular with the operatives who do at least have their Saturday afternoons free now, although in some cases they have to spend them catching up on sleep. It would also, we think, be unpopular with some of the public who would have to defer their bread purchases until fairly late on Saturday afternoon.

120. At the other side of the week-end (i.e. on Mondays) in the small retail type of bakery which at present bakes at night it does not seem to us that very serious difficulties would arise. We see no reason why the Monday bread trade could not be met in the same way as on an ordinary weekday. These conclusions, although they relate specifically to the week-end trade, apply equally to the position before and after Bank Holidays. The problem then is similar in nature, but it may differ in degree since the Bank Holiday break is longer than that at the ordinary week-end.

*(ii) The morning roll problem*

121. The second difficulty is that of producing morning rolls. Our opinion that the small baker who now bakes at night would be able to meet the bread trade on an ordinary weekday without serious dislocation (see paragraph 117) rests on the assumption that his entire oven time from 6.0 in the morning is devoted to bread production. This would allow him no opportunity to produce rolls at all. The question of producing fresh morning rolls in time to meet the public demand presents a special problem of its own which we will deal with separately later. For the moment we would



only observe that unless his rolls trade is very small, which is often the case, he will find it very difficult with a 6.0 a.m. start to turn out rolls and bread at the same time sufficiently early to meet the early morning demand for both. This is true, although to a lesser extent, even if he possesses refrigerating plant. Even with that, the firing of rolls after their removal from the refrigerator is bound to make encroachments on the valuable oven time which is needed for bread.

### (iii) *The flour confectionery problem*

122. Finally, there is the flour confectionery problem. This is a little different. We have explained earlier that a large range of flour confectionery is less perishable than bread, rolls and kindred goods and that at present it is normally produced by day with the residual heat of the ovens cooling after bread making (Paragraph 50). It is, we understand, technically desirable that this should be the order of baking, since cake production is better suited to a falling temperature. Now, if the Unions' proposals were accepted, it is likely that in the small bakery now baking by night, this range of flour confectionery could be produced after the bread production was over, i.e. commencing in the late afternoon and continuing until 10.0 p.m. at night, the final closing hour under the Unions' proposal. It is possible that the total oven time available for flour confectionery under this system would be less in some bakeries than under the present system, but we are not convinced that it would be appreciably less. Admittedly, the producers of flour confectionery would have to work later hours than they do now, and unless they could alternate their duties with the bread makers, they might well be condemned to a permanent back shift. Nevertheless, on a normal day the small baker could, in theory at least, go on producing his flour confectionery. The same is not true of the day before the week-end or Bank Holiday. We have suggested earlier that if a small baker now makes bread and kindred goods by night, one result of total abolition will be that on Saturdays or before Bank Holidays he will have to sell some bread which was baked on the previous day. But to bake it on the previous day will take up more oven time and, unless the baker buys more ovens, which would hardly be an economic proposition, or, in some cases, feasible on grounds of space, the oven time for baking the extra bread can only be got at the expense of oven time for flour confectionery. Unless therefore, he is already using his ovens for flour confectionery at something appreciably less than capacity, there is bound on these occasions to be a reduction in flour confectionery production if bread production is to be kept at the same level. In fact we do not think it likely that this position would arise. Bread, as all employers before us have stressed, is a less profitable sales proposition than flour confectionery. We believe that many a small baker, faced with a choice between making bread and flour confectionery, would abandon bread rather than cakes. He would either give up bread making completely and seek to obtain bread delivered wholesale from a large plant bakery, or at any rate reduce his production of bread and seek to make it up from the same source. If he at present engages in any door-to-door delivery to his customers this would incidentally create an added distribution problem, for to retail delivery would be added the problem of wholesale delivery of the bread from the central bakehouse to his shop. We do not think he would abandon the *sale* (as opposed to the *production*) of bread completely unless forced to, since the public is more likely to buy flour confectionery from a shop that sells bread than from one which does not. That this suggestion of an abandonment of bread production is not fantastic is apparent from a study of the figures for claimants of the bread subsidy of the Ministry of Food given in Part II of our report. Even without the handicaps which



abolition of night baking would impose, there has been over recent years a steady falling off in the number of claimants of bread subsidy. With the additional difficulties which are outlined above, we think there would be a further decline in bread production by the small man at present baking bread by night.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE SMALL BAKER'S TIME DIFFICULTIES

123. To sum up, there are two main conclusions to be drawn in regard to the time difficulties for the small bakery if night baking were abolished.

(a) Most small bakeries would experience no serious difficulties since they already do no baking between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m.

(b) The minority of small bakers who are compelled at present to bake between these hours would still be able to supply the public, except before the week-end or Bank Holidays, with the same quantities of bread as fresh as at present at an hour certainly later, but generally not very much later, than that at which it is now bought. On Saturdays (and similarly before Bank Holidays) this minority would have difficulty in meeting the full public demand for bread unless the men worked and the public were willing to buy on Saturday afternoons, and even then there might be difficulties in some bakeries. They could maintain this service in bread only at the expense of all or most of the morning rolls production and with some reduction in flour confectionery production. Faced with this choice we think that many of the minority of small bakers who now bake by night would prefer to reduce or even abandon their production of bread.

#### THE TIME DIFFICULTIES FOR THE SMALL BAKER IF NIGHT BAKING WERE LIMITED, NOT ABOLISHED

124. We would emphasise that the above conclusion is valid only on the assumption that there is a complete abolition of night baking between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. The general position would be the same if a slightly earlier starting hour were allowed e.g. 5 a.m., although in that event the time schedules for production would be slightly easier. If however a form of limitation of night baking were to occur, permitting workers to be employed at night during half the working days in the year, the position would in most cases be appreciably easier. Assuming that the staffs producing bread and flour confectionery were completely interchangeable, it might be possible to continue with virtually no dislocation. This is not generally possible, either because the men making bread have not the technical training to enable them to make flour confectionery and vice versa, or because women are employed on flour confectionery and are not allowed under the Factories Acts to work at night. It would still be true, however, that the difficulties would be less than under complete prohibition. The more men who were employed at night in the small establishment, the easier the problem would be. Even where only two men were employed at night a limited form of alternation would be possible with one man (although of course not always the same man) coming in appreciably earlier than 6 a.m. (or whatever the starting hour was) and getting some of the production under way. We do not dispute that there would still be difficulties for the small bakery in getting the necessary production in time under a system of alternating shifts, but we are not convinced that they would be insuperable and we believe that with a little ingenuity most of them could be overcome. Alternation of shifts would of course not be feasible where only one man was employed by night, but even in such a case there might be some easing of the week-end difficulty if he were allowed to work on Friday night.



### (C) THE PROBLEM FOR THE LARGE RETAIL AND MEDIUM WHOLESALE BAKERY

125. We have dealt in the preceding paragraphs with the consequences of abolition or limitation in relation to the time difficulties for a small retail bakery. We now look at the time difficulties in the case of the larger unit. This will be a bakery (not necessarily a large highly mechanised plant bakery), where there is centralised production of bread and flour confectionery which is supplied either to branch shops or other retail establishments. Perhaps the most important difference between this and the small bakery is that the distribution problem is much bigger. Instead of delivering bread door to door to customers who live fairly near the shop, this type of bakery may have to deliver to many shops over a wide area. The areas of distribution vary greatly. The plant bakeries often deliver over very long distances. We heard of one in Liverpool which delivers as far afield as Rhyl in North Wales, while in Scotland deliveries extend over an even greater area, for example from Glasgow to Dundee. Distribution is sometimes undertaken by rail but more frequently by road transport owned by the producing firm. Such long deliveries are perhaps exceptional and are probably confined to large plant bakeries rather than the smaller type of establishment we are now considering. We mention them to show just how big a problem distribution may be. Clearly this has a very direct bearing on the time difficulties. We have suggested above that the small bakery which is at present baking by night, although it may be able to get enough bread into the shop by 1 p.m. to meet the demand up to that hour, may not have completed its bread production by that time. In that kind of establishment, however, the proprietor has only a limited distribution problem. For the large unit the problem is greater because there must be taken into account the time taken to deliver from the central bakery to the selling point, be it shop or café. In addition some time must be allowed for cooling because it is difficult to pack bread in the van hot from the oven. All this may well be an hour, and in some cases much more, so our estimate of an earliest selling time of bread in the small shop of 9-10 a.m. becomes for the shop served by the large retail or medium wholesale bakery 10-11 a.m. or later. But this is only the first bread to emerge from the ovens, and it will often be far from constituting a vanload. The bakery has therefore the choice of sending out its vans half-full as early as possible to get some bread fresh in the shops not too late in the morning, and then bringing the vans back to the bakery to reload, or of keeping the vans at the bakery until enough bread is available to give them a full load, in which case the delivery at shop or café will not take place until late in the morning or in extreme cases early afternoon. In any event it seems to us that if there is abolition of night baking the greater part of the bread sold or eaten in the morning in shops or cafés served from a central bakery will have to be bread which was baked on the previous day. We would again emphasise that this is not necessarily stale bread.

#### THE TIME DIFFICULTIES: SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS FOR THE LARGE RETAIL AND MEDIUM WHOLESALE BAKERY

##### (i) *The question of Sunday work*

126. For the larger bakery, the problem of meeting the Monday morning demand is particularly difficult because of the distribution problem, but we do not altogether share the view of the employers that Sunday work would be inevitable. Our conclusion that it would not be necessary for the small bakery now baking at night was in great measure determined by the fact that that bakery had virtually no distribution problem. We accepted the fact that at the start of Monday there would be either no bread at all in the small



bakery or bread baked on Saturday because we believed that the period without new bread would be short enough not to cause serious inconvenience. For shops served from a central bakery, the position would certainly be more difficult. They might not have any new bread to sell until mid-day or early afternoon on Mondays, and such bread as they had in stock would be two days old. Similarly, cafés and industrial canteens would be forced to serve at breakfast, and possibly mid-morning, bread which was two days old. Of the two, we think the shop would suffer more than the café but the extent of the inconvenience may be exaggerated. We do not believe that bread (as distinct from rolls) 36 or even 48 hours old served in a café is going to be unpalatable. In the case of the shop, we are quite ready to believe that the housewife will not buy the old bread on Monday morning if she can get new bread elsewhere. To the extent that the small local bakery is able to supply her needs, the position will change to the disadvantage of the company shop, but on the whole we believe that it is more likely that the housewife would be able to defer her purchase of bread until the Monday afternoon when fresh supplies would be available. It is for this reason that we also have some doubts about the need for Sunday work in the medium-sized bakery.

(ii) *The production of rolls and flour confectionery*

127. For the medium-sized bakery whose production is based on two shifts similar to that of the small bakery described above, the first shift being devoted to bread, rolls and kindred goods, and the second to flour confectionery, the problems as regards the maintenance of rolls and flour confectionery production will also be similar to those of the small bakery. If anything, they may be slightly less, since the greater the oven space, the more opportunity there is for flexibility. This gives the baker a scope for variations as between his early morning roll and early morning bread production which is denied to the smaller man with very limited space. In essence, however, the problem remains the same for any size of bakery engaged on a two-shift system, where bread and rolls and similar goods are produced on the first shift and flour confectionery on the second.

(D) THE PROBLEM FOR THE LARGE PLANT BAKERY

128. In the case of the very large plant bakery, working either two or three shifts the time difficulties are rather different. In all of these, bread production is organised separately from flour confectionery, and to that extent the time difficulties are less since the complications caused by the need to use the same ovens for flour confectionery are avoided. At present, in the case of the large plant bakery working two shifts, with both shifts producing bread, some of the bread is produced during the night and is sold in the shops on the day it is baked, some is produced during the day and is normally not sold until the next day. Here the problem as regards bread is not so difficult if night work were abolished. Assuming that the same quantities of bread could be produced as at present, it is true that bread baked on the same day would reach the shops later than at present, but the shop would still have in stock or could have delivered early in the morning bread baked on the previous day. As some bread of this kind is undoubtedly at present being sold in shops served by a central bakery operating in this way, it seems to us that the service to the community would not greatly deteriorate. It must be remembered that this conclusion relates only to bread (not rolls), that it assumes flour confectionery production is separate from bread and that the same amount of bread can be produced by two day shifts as on one night and one day shift. We deal with this latter point below under "Economic difficulties".



129. In the case of a bakery producing bread on a three-shift system, i.e. continuously throughout the 24 hours except for a short interval for cleaning, the essential problem is not so much a time difficulty because of the perishable nature of the bread, but an economic one through the loss of eight hours' production time between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.

## SOME SPECIAL TIME DIFFICULTIES

### (1) THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF ROLLS PRODUCTION

130. We have chosen to deal with rolls production separately because it presents special problems of its own. There was fairly general agreement among all the witnesses before us that morning rolls must be eaten fresh for they stale rapidly. Similarly Vienna rolls, which tend to be judged by the crispness of the crust, lose that crispness long before the inside becomes stale. To some extent the same thing applies to buns and the Scottish teabread. The demand for rolls varies greatly from one part of the country to another and appears to be not nearly as large as the employers think. (See comments on the Social Surveys in paragraph 60.) The Housewives Survey showed that taking Great Britain as a whole, only 34 per cent. of housewives ever buy rolls, although in Scotland 54 per cent. buy them. For the country as a whole only 13 per cent. of housewives buy rolls more than once a week, 93 per cent. of those who buy rolls eat them on the day they buy them and 58 per cent. buy them before 1 p.m. but only 11 per cent. of those housewives who buy them want them to be hot. In industrial canteens only 15 per cent. of the customers buy rolls regularly. Of those canteen users who ever buy them, three-quarters like them new but only 12 per cent. actually want them to be hot. Nearly two-thirds of all canteen users, however, never buy rolls. In general these figures, so far as they go, bear out the view that only a minority of the community buy rolls but the demand is much greater in Scotland than in England and Wales. Those who do buy rolls like them new (see paragraph 60).

#### *The experience of a baker using refrigeration for rolls*

131. We have already drawn attention to the competing demands of bread and rolls for oven space early in the morning. We have suggested that for many bakers rolls production in time for the early morning demand can only be achieved at the expense of bread production. The larger the plant, the easier the problem but it still remains. We are fortified in this conclusion by the evidence of the Stirling baker to whom we have referred in Part IV of our report. His experience offers an excellent example of the difficulties of rolls production if night baking were prohibited and illustrates very clearly the possibilities and the limitations of the use of refrigeration which the Unions put forward as one major way of solving the morning rolls problem. Here is a firm doing very much what the Unions suggest should be done. It does no night work. It makes rolls in the morning preceding the day on which they are to be sold. It puts them in the refrigerator half fermented about 11 a.m. and they stay there until 5 a.m. next morning when the first workers arrive at the bakery. They are then taken out and the remaining processes are completed at about 6 a.m. As a result the firm is able to deliver the rolls to the customers earlier than before the refrigerator was installed. So far as it goes, the experience of this firm seems to show that if everyone could instal refrigerating plant (which for reasons given earlier we very much doubt) the morning rolls problem could be solved. Unfortunately there are two reservations which must be made. The first is that the rolls trade of this firm is comparatively limited



and the firm admitted that if it expanded to the point at which the refrigerator was being used to capacity, some rolls would not be delivered until as late as 11 a.m. The second point, and to our mind the most important, is that its present very satisfactory rolls service to the public is achieved by concentrating entirely on rolls in the morning and leaving bread and flour confectionery production until later in the day. Thus even under conditions most favourable to the solution propounded by the Unions, satisfactory rolls production early in the morning is achieved only at the expense of bread production at that time of day.

#### *The position in a typical industrial town of Scotland*

132. For the firms who do not possess refrigeration plant the problem is more difficult. The employers sought to illustrate the difficulties by reference to the problems which would arise in the town of Dundee. The demand for rolls is much higher in a Scottish town than it is in England and Wales because of the traditional Scottish preference for morning rolls. Nevertheless the example is of great interest.

133. In October, 1950, the Scottish employers issued a questionnaire to bakers in Dundee on the subject of night work and the morning rolls problem. They said they chose Dundee because it was a typical Scottish industrial area with no export or import of morning rolls. Twenty bakeries replied, representing about half the number of producers and 70 per cent. of the total production in the city. These bakeries turn out just over 880,000 morning rolls per week. Their replies show that 545,000 of these rolls (or about 91,000 per day) have been delivered or are in course of delivery before 6 a.m. and that only 7 per cent. of the total man-hours spent on morning rolls production are worked after 6 a.m. The statistics admittedly come from an interested party, but we have no reason to doubt their accuracy.

134. The Scottish employers presented certain submissions based on these statistics. They claimed that if baking were prohibited between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. these same 20 Dundee bakeries would by 7.15 a.m. each day be able to produce only 20,000 rolls. (This figure is calculated on the basis of two ovens per bakery being available.) A further 30 minutes for cooling and an average of a further 30 for delivery would have to be allowed so that instead of 91,000 rolls being available each day at 6 a.m. there would be 20,000 available at 8.15 a.m., far too late, it was claimed, for the morning workers' demand.

135. As regards the possibility of using refrigeration, the Scottish employers estimated that it would cost £50,000 to equip the 20 bakeries in question with the necessary refrigerating plant. In addition, increased prover accommodation would have to be found adjacent to the oven. Even if all this could be done, they considered that the maximum number of rolls that could be produced by 7.15 a.m. (and be on sale by 8.15 a.m.) would be 60,000 or two-thirds of the present production. The employers claimed that these arguments could be applied generally to the whole of Scotland and proved that the public demand for morning rolls could not be met if the Unions' proposals were accepted.

#### *The rolls problem : the Committee's comments*

136. Our view is that even if every baker decided to concentrate his early morning production entirely on rolls, it is likely that with a 6.0 a.m. start many would have extreme difficulty in supplying the same number of rolls at the same time as at present. Moreover, even if this could be done, the effect would be to aggravate all the problems relating to bread and flour



confectionery which we have discussed above. At best, even with the help of the technological processes mentioned by the Unions, it is hard to see how fresh rolls could be produced for breakfast or even mid-morning except at the expense of the production of other goods.

137. We do not think, however, that the problem would be insoluble, if there were some degree of limitation of night baking rather than total abolition. We have drawn attention above to the way in which an alternating shift system, if it could be devised, would ease the bread production problem. The same considerations would in our view apply equally to rolls production. If there is any serious doubt, it should be dispelled by the fact that in Scotland, where the morning rolls demand is at its highest, it is possible to meet that demand on an alternating shift basis.

## (2) THE POSITION OF THE TRANSPORT AND DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS

### *The employers' submissions*

138. We have drawn attention above to some of the distribution difficulties to which abolition of night baking would give rise. The employers in their evidence suggested to us that, in addition to the difficulties already mentioned, the hours and conditions of transport and distributive workers, whether engaged on wholesale or retail door-to-door delivery, would be worsened by the abolition of night baking. This proposition is based on the grounds that in many bakeries bread would be emerging later from the ovens than at present, which is reasonable, and that the vans would be starting on their rounds later. It seems to us that this latter presumption is also generally true, although the degree of the lateness would be governed by the extent to which the employers were ready to load the first vans with bread baked on the previous day or were willing to let them leave half empty. In any event, it is likely that the vans would start out later than they do now, and that consequently the vanmen would return later. In effect, the argument is that if abolition occurred workers engaged in van delivery would in many cases have to readjust their hours and that a great proportion of them would be faced with an appreciably later finishing time. The employers told us that roundsmen much prefer an early start and an early finish and that they feared that many difficulties would arise if this readjustment of working hours were brought about. The representatives of the Co-operative Union indicated that such difficulties had already arisen in a number of their bakeries which had been operating on a day basis only. The hardships involved, we were told, would bear particularly on distributive workers in the more remote rural areas who have to travel long distances on delivery work, and also on workers who as a result of the lighter early morning loads consequent on abolition would have to make additional journeys between the bakery and the place of delivery.

### *The risk of loss of commission*

139. The employers also represented to us that workers engaged on the retail door-to-door distribution of bread would be particularly affected because some of the bread they delivered would be staler than at present. (This argument rests on the assumption that some of the previous day's production would be included in the deliveries.) They said customers who insisted on getting delivery in the morning would have to accept bread baked on the previous day. The employers' contention was that the staler goods would be less popular with the housewife and that sales of both bread and flour confectionery would fall off, with a consequent loss of commission to the roundsmen. At present commission represents an appreciable proportion of the roundsmen's total earnings. We were told, for example, of a roundsman



whose weekly wage was £5 10s. 0d., but who in addition earned from £3 to £8 a month in commission. If the employers' contentions were true, therefore, abolition would mean financial hardship to this class of workers.

*The views of the transport and distributive trade unions*

140. We decided to approach the main trade unions who might have transport or distributive workers in their ranks and invite their observations on these submissions. In general their comments were somewhat reserved. The Transport and General Workers' Union considered that enough bread could be produced without night baking to avoid any material interference with arrangements for delivery. The Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association said that they did not believe abolition of night baking would seriously affect their members employed as van salesmen and delivery men; this conclusion was based on the view that "if night baking is abolished the necessary reorganisation will require to take steps to ensure that the normal hours of work of other workers remains unaffected".

141. The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, which is perhaps the principal Union concerned, favoured us with a more detailed statement in which they associated themselves with the submissions of the Bakers' Unions. They pointed out that distributive workers, while appreciating the problems involved, do not consider them to be insoluble. They drew attention to the experience of a number of bakery firms which had abandoned night baking during the war and had never reverted. In such cases, they claimed, there had been no adverse effect on the wages and working conditions of distributive employees. The example of the Birmingham Co-operative Society was quoted where, the U.S.D.A.W. understood, there had been no loss of trade as a result of maintaining day baking. (In this connection we must however draw attention to the exactly opposite evidence given by the Co-operative Union Ltd., see paragraph 80 above.) The U.S.D.A.W. thought it essential that measures of reorganisation both in producing and distributing bread should be seriously tackled, and they suggested that such reorganisation would not be attempted so long as night baking was permitted in any section of the Industry. The plea of competitive pressure would be put forward even from those employers who professed to have sympathy with the principle of abolition. The U.S.D.A.W. thought that complete satisfaction could be given to the consumer without night baking and drew attention to various methods of effecting this such as late evening and early morning baking, coupled with a reorganisation of delivery systems. They stated that the U.S.D.A.W. would be willing to participate in any discussions locally or nationally to overcome the problems consequent on abolition of night baking.

142. Only one transport union expressed fears about the consequences of abolition for their members. This was the United Road Transport Workers' Association of England who told us that their members, particularly those engaged on wholesale distribution, were already working the maximum driving hours allowed by law, and that any delay in obtaining supplies would curtail the number of their deliveries as their working day could not be extended. The Association failed to see how any methods of reorganisation or re-equipment could enable the van salesmen to obtain freshly baked bread at their normal starting time, which was said to be 6.30 a.m. to 8 a.m. As regards loss of commission, the Association thought it true to say that in many instances commission on sales represented an appreciable proportion of salesmen's earnings. To attempt to sell other than freshly baked commodities would, in the Association's view, have a serious effect upon those earnings.



*The Committee's conclusions on the position of transport and distributive workers*

143. In general, we agree with the submissions of the employers as to the effect of abolition on the hours of transport and distributive workers. It seems to us quite clear that many of these workers would have to start and finish work later than at present. Unless the employers are willing to load their vans at the same time in the morning as now with bread baked on the previous day, which in the great majority of cases we are sure they will not wish to do, the morning start must be later. It is possible that a plant bakery where bread is produced on two or three shifts a day would be willing to load entirely with bread baked on the previous day, since already it must be selling a fair amount of such bread, but even here we think that if possible the bakery would want to include some new bread in the morning load. If the vanmen's start is later, then the finish will be later too. Although most of the Unions concerned have been reserved in their comments, we are inclined to think that there will be considerable discontent among the vanmen if this were to come about. That this is not a small problem is apparent from the results of the Social Survey, which shows that over half the housewives in Britain have their bread delivered and that in rural areas, where the vanmen would probably be hardest hit by the readjustment of hours, the percentage rises to 72. The Ministry of Food estimated that in April, 1950, 45 per cent. of all bread sold in England and Wales was delivered by retail to the customer.

144. As regards loss of commission, we think the consequences of abolishing night baking would be less serious than has been suggested. Where commission is paid on bread, there may be a slight falling off in commission, especially at first if the housewife is now used to getting very new bread. We doubt if there will be much loss of commission on flour confectionery sales. On the whole, we consider it unlikely that there will be a serious or permanent drop in salesmen's commission.

(3) THE POSITION OF ADMINISTRATIVE WORKERS

*The employers' submissions*

145. The employers have also suggested to us that the hours of clerical and administrative staffs employed in bakeries would be adversely affected by abolition. They said that, under present arrangements, clerical staffs check, in the evening, goods and cash brought in by roundsmen at the end of the day and in many cases have to prepare production schedules on the basis of orders placed by customers with the roundsmen during the day. Since this work cannot start until the roundsmen have returned to the bakery, and since the roundsmen are likely to be later returning than at present, it follows, so the employers claimed, that the clerical staffs will have to work later into the evening. The United Road Transport Workers' Association generally endorsed this view and expressed the fear that the hours of clerical staffs would be seriously affected. There is certainly some truth in these submissions, although as regards cash collection, some kind of staggering of collections might be adopted which would ease most of the difficulties. This was a possibility to which the U.S.D.A.W. drew particular attention.

*The difficulty of preparing production schedules*

146. The point about the preparation of production schedules raises slightly different issues. At present production orders for the night workers are often based on customers' orders placed with vanmen during the day. The employers suggested to us that abolition would present two difficulties



in this regard. The first was that production clerks would have to work later, which may be true. The other was that even if they did work later, there would still be great difficulty in preparing accurate production schedules since the result of abolition would often be that baking of bread would be proceeding during the hours of the back shift. Since the back shift would have commenced long before the vanmen came back from their rounds, the question of deciding how much bread should be produced on the back shift would, it was said, have to be determined by guesswork rather than by the orders placed with vanmen during the day. Waste, it was said, would be bound to follow.

#### *The Committee's comments*

147. We do not believe that this difficulty is very serious. For one thing although, as we have said earlier, abolition will mean additional back shift work, there will still be many bakeries where very little bread production will be transferred to the back shift, for it is likely to be devoted to flour confectionery. For another, we doubt if the fluctuations in demand are likely to be so great from day to day that an experienced baker cannot gauge the demand fairly accurately. And in any case, we feel sure that most bakers will not bake all their bread on the previous day. Some of each day's sales, even with abolition, will consist of bread baked that day. In that case the employer's difficulty will be minimised if he bakes a quantity of bread (less than his estimated minimum requirements) on the previous day and makes up the balance next morning when the vanmen's orders will presumably be available and the weather and any other local conditions which might affect demand can, if anything, be gauged more accurately than on the previous evening when the production schedules are at present made up.

## THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

### THE NEED FOR THE ECONOMICAL USE OF PLANT

148. We now turn to some of the alleged difficulties which in general are based on economic propositions rather than on difficulties caused by the perishable quality of bread. The broad proposition put to us was that the interests of the nation require the most economic use to be made of premises, plant, equipment, fuel and power. To do this, it was said, freedom must be given to use these at any hour of the day or night. Flexibility, we were told, was essential and legislation to abolish night baking would prevent that flexibility. One employer told us that where difficulties arose they should be overcome by the use of scientific techniques: in this way and by mutual agreement between the employers and workers concerned flexible solutions could be worked out.

We have no wish to pursue any theoretical approaches to our problem and our concern has been to find out why, if at all, abolition would lead to a less economic use of plant than at present. There seem to us to be two aspects of the problem; first, the economic effects of abolition on the two-shift bakery, whether both shifts are producing bread or whether the first is producing bread and the second confectionery; and secondly the effects on the three-shift bakery producing bread or flour confectionery or both at various stages throughout the 24 hours.

### THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: THE TWO-SHIFT BAKERY

149. At first sight it seemed to us that abolition would not necessarily lead to any less economic use of plant in a two-shift bakery than at present. The Unions are after all asking only for an 8-hour gap in production, which would



appear to leave enough time in 24 hours to enable the two-shift bakery to operate at present capacity. The Scottish Bakers' Union indeed put statistics before us to show that out of a sample they had taken of 1,348 establishments in Scotland, 1,317 had a period clear of production greater than the total number of hours which the Unions sought to have eliminated at night. The employers strongly denied that the position was as simple as this. They alleged that the real governing factor in the economic production of bread and flour confectionery was not the total number of hours available in the day, but the total amount of time during which the ovens could effectively be used. At present, they claimed, a two-shift bakery, with flexibility and overlapping in the working of shifts and in the times at which the various classes of workers could be brought into the bakehouse, might be able to obtain throughout the week as much as from 90-110 hours' effective use of ovens, because the ovens could be used at any time of the day or night. They said that abolition would impose a degree of rigidity which would make this quite impossible. The dough makers would arrive at 4.0 a.m. but it would be about 7.0 a.m. by the time the dough had fermented properly and the various breadmaking processes could begin. The first bread, it was submitted, would therefore not go into the oven until about 8.0 a.m. or 9.0 a.m. In the afternoon, dough mixing would have to cease soon after 4.0 p.m. in order to allow sufficient time to ferment, process and bake all doughs before 10.0 p.m.; and in order to leave time for clearing up and closing down before 10.0 p.m. the last loaf would probably have to come out of the oven by 9.30 p.m. Thus the oven time available would be only about 12 or 13 hours in the day, or in a week a probable maximum of about 72 hours. The employers suggested that this was by no means a pessimistic calculation. Where a longer baking process was involved, as in the case of certain types of Scottish bread, the position would be worse and probably  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hours would be the daily maximum possible.

#### THE LABOUR ASPECT

150. In addition to this loss of oven time, the employers claimed that either more labour would be required or labour would have to be used uneconomically if night baking were abolished. Given the hours allowed by the Unions' proposals, they said that it would be impracticable to fit in a complete second shift. For example, men drawing bread from the ovens after the first shift men had completed their turn of duty, would have less than four hours' bread production to deal with. Or to illustrate the labour problem in a different way, in a two-shift bakery with two ovens, 4 operatives might at present be needed, i.e. one per shift per oven. (These figures are theoretical and are used to illustrate the point as simply as possible.) Each of these would work 8 hours giving a total of 32 man-hours per day. With abolition, the employers claimed, the effective oven time in 24 hours might fall to  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hours and therefore the total oven hours available would be 19 (2 shifts of  $4\frac{3}{4}$  hours each with 2 men on each shift). To make up production from 19 to 32 oven-hours in the working time allowed, a theoretical total of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  more ovens would be needed and the total operatives who would be needed with the additional ovens would be six or seven instead of four as at present. One consequence of abolition in this case, it was contended, would therefore be an increase in the wages bill of about 50 per cent.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S COMMENTS

151. We think there is some weight in these arguments but we believe that the difficulties are overstressed. We are sure that the employers are capable of much more improvisation than their somewhat rigid view of the position



suggests. We cannot help wondering whether with the use of various technical devices, such as faster doughs, or by seeking greater flexibility in the employment of labour as between one task or another, these problems could not in considerable measure be overcome. In particular it seems to us that the difficulties in regard to the economic use of labour have been overstressed. Nevertheless we agree that these difficulties do exist in varying degrees and we accept the employers' contention that even a two-shift bakery would run less economically than at present if the Unions' proposals were accepted and complete abolition occurred. On the other hand, if a limitation of night work involving alternating shifts were introduced we doubt if these particular arguments would apply with much force. In any case we doubt whether these difficulties need cause a rise in the price of bread.

#### THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM: THE THREE-SHIFT BAKERY

152. The above problems would also beset the three-shift bakery, but they would be overshadowed by the even greater problem of coping with the great loss of production time through the disappearance of one entire shift. The employers argued that on purely economic grounds this loss would be deplorable. To run a plant geared to three shifts on a two-shift basis would be, they said, economically absurd and the prospects of making such a plant a paying proposition would be, to say the least, very slight. Quite apart from this, there would also be the question of the loss of bread production to the community. There was only one solution, they said, if a plant bakery was to maintain the same amount of production as before and that would be to extend plant and premises. The cost of this, quite apart from the difficulties at the present time of getting equipment, materials and licences, would be very high. The Scottish employers told us that the cost of a 15-sack an hour Batch Bread Plant capable of producing over 3,000 loaves an hour would be £76,350 while the cost of buildings to accommodate it would be £45,000. If, as they thought likely, new vans would also have to be bought to ease the distribution difficulties the total costs would be not much under £200,000. Admittedly this is a very large plant. The Scottish employers put the cost of a Family Baker's Automatic Bread Plant producing 40 to 50 sacks a week at £4,500, exclusive of any additional building costs which might be incurred to house the plant or any new delivery vans. In addition general running expenses such as fuel and power and rates would be increased. It may be observed here that these extensions of plant and premises would not, in the employers' view, be confined to the three-shift bakery. Some two-shift bakeries would, because of the loss of production time, have to extend their premises and the National Association of Master Bakers thought that even small bakeries would in many cases have to do the same. The Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers which represents 192 large plant bakeries in the United Kingdom estimated that the additional expenditure which their members alone would incur would total about £14,000,000.

#### THE UNIONS' REPLY: THE ALLEGED EXISTENCE OF SURPLUS OVEN SPACE

153. The Unions' answer to this was interesting. To a limited extent they appeared to agree with the proposition that the large plant bakery would have to extend its premises, and they suggested that this should mainly be done by decentralisation, i.e., by building smaller units away from the central bakery. This, they said, would lower the distribution costs and would also have some strategic advantages since it would reduce the dangers of heavy loss of bread production through the bombing of the large city bakery in the event of another war. In addition to this, they claimed that in so far as the extension of existing plant or the building of new was difficult, the



problem could be met by the re-opening of many small bakeries which over recent years had been forced to close or take their supplies from large bakeries (partly because of the competition of the large plant). In effect they claimed that there was ample surplus capacity in the country to offset the loss of production in the large bakery through abolition.

154. In this connection we would refer again to the figures quoted in paragraph 30 of the number of claimants of the bread subsidy in the past nine years. These undoubtedly show a marked falling off in the total and we are bound to go as far with the Unions as to say that there must be a fair number of ovens which were producing bread until recently and which are not now doing so. The employers however denied strongly that these were in any sense surplus to capacity. They stated that what had happened was that many small bakers had found it more profitable to concentrate on production of rolls, morning goods and confectionery. The ovens, far from being surplus, were in fact being used for other purposes. Moreover, the facilities for making bread in these bakeries were much less than in the plant bakeries they were supposed to replace. Many of the bakeries which had gone out of production were obsolete and many others did not possess machines such as dough mixers. Too much should, we feel, not be made of this latter point for any loss of production efficiency in a small bakery compared with the large would surely be offset by the lesser distribution problem of the former.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE POSITION OF THE THREE-SHIFT BAKERY

155. Too much should not be made of the significance of such surplus plant as there is in the country. Much of it will undoubtedly be old and we find it hard to believe that there is much of real value available. In suggesting a return to the use of plant which has been abandoned the Unions seem to us to be hoping to hold up the economic trend of the Baking Industry which, as in other industries, is towards greater centralisation and mechanisation. Whether this is good or bad is not our concern. We simply say that proposals which deliberately attempt to reverse the trends of industrial development in an industry are in our view bound to fail. We therefore accept the proposition that in the case of plant bakeries working a three-shift system the abolition of night baking would mean a serious loss of production, which could be made good only by considerable expenditure on new plant and buildings. This expenditure would be highly wasteful, since the bakery would already possess plant which perforce it was running at less than full capacity. Apart from the effect of this on the price of bread which is dealt with in the next paragraphs, there is a more general consideration to which we attach great importance. The uneconomic use of plant and equipment in any industry is undesirable in the national interest. We find it hard to see how the best interests of the national economy could be reconciled with a complete closing for eight hours in the twenty-four of a three-shift plant bakery.

#### THE COST OF ABOLITION

156. The employers' estimates varied somewhat on this question. Taking into account the fact that extra vans would have to be pressed into service, the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers put the total additional costs of abolition for their members alone as follows :—

Extra premises £6,900,000

Ovens and machinery £6,750,000

Extra vehicles £975,000,



In addition to this sum of over £14,000,000, they claimed that there would be extra costs for labour, rates, fuel, maintenance and insurance. Translated into terms of one loaf of bread they estimated that the price of a quartern loaf would rise by not less than  $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The Scottish employers presented their estimate in a different form. They said wages would go up about 50 per cent., the bakery expenses (i.e., provision of additional capital, fuel, etc.) by 50 per cent. and delivery expenses by  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. They thought that all this would cost the Scottish consumer an extra  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per 2 lb. loaf (actually 1 lb. 12 ozs.). The estimated increase is double that of the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers. The National Association of Master Bakers, Confectioners and Caterers made no such precise estimates but thought that the increase would be much more than  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a quartern loaf. The Co-operative Union had no doubt that the price increase would be "considerable".

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS AS REGARDS THE EFFECT OF ABOLITION ON THE PRICE OF BREAD

157. In assessing these various estimates we have noted that the Alness Committee in 1937 saw no reason to think that the abolition of night baking should lead to any general increase in the price of bread. We have remembered too, that the additional costs to which the bakers refer may partly be offset by the elimination of the higher wage rate now payable for night work. While the various points about the less economical use of ovens and labour must be given their due weight, we find it hard to believe that most small bakeries will find their total expenses any greater than at present. The larger bakeries and particularly those working three shifts are, however, likely to incur additional costs in the way of capital expenditure. It is almost impossible to estimate these with precision or to translate them into terms of extra cost per loaf of bread. The varying estimates put forward by the employers themselves show how hard it is to be precise. We hesitate to say that the Industry could absorb all the extra cost, but we certainly are not prepared to say that the increase in price would be more than the  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a quartern loaf estimated by the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers which represents the plant bakers. Moreover this would be true only as a consequence of total abolition. We see no reason whatsoever to think that an alternating shift system would lead to any increase in the price of a loaf to the consumer. The proof of this is that it has not done so in Scotland.

#### SOME SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES TO WHICH ABOLITION OF NIGHT BAKING MIGHT GIVE RISE

##### THE HOLIDAY RESORT PROBLEM

158. There are one or two special difficulties to which a complete abolition of night work might give rise which do not fall conveniently into either of the two broad categories—time difficulties and economic difficulties—with which we have so far dealt. Among the most important is the problem of meeting the demand for bread and flour confectionery in holiday resorts in the season. The Caterers' Association in particular stressed this problem. In most holiday resorts during the summer there is a very great increase in population. We were told of one resort with a winter population of 40,000 which increases to 250,000 at the height of the holiday period. The employers submitted that it was uneconomic to maintain, all the year round, bakeries large enough to cope with the maximum bread demand at the peak of the season, although it is probably true that the holiday resort bakeries normally have some margin for increased production during the summer months. That



is to say, during the winter they have to accept some idle equipment and short-time working (which however is protected by a guaranteed week), while in summer equipment and labour have to be used day and night to meet the demand, not only for bread and rolls, but also for scones and pastry. The Caterers' Association told us that in many cases additional labour had to be engaged, that often itinerant or jobbing bakers moved into the area and that as well as this some bread was imported from outside. Rolls, however, are generally made on the spot to ensure freshness. The imported bread is baked at night to some extent. The employers suggested that if an eight hours' close-down on production was imposed as requested by the Unions, it would be quite impossible to meet the demand. The local bakeries would not even be able to cope with the peak demand for bread let alone such items as scones, cakes and pastries.

159. It may be appropriate at this point to mention that the British Travel and Holiday Association and the Scottish Tourist Board expressed the fear to us that abolition of night baking might have very serious effects on the facilities which the Baking Industry could provide for the holiday maker. Both bodies stressed that they had no opinion on the question of night baking as such but were concerned only with the maintenance of facilities for the holiday maker and tourist.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE HOLIDAY RESORT PROBLEM

160. This is a very real problem and even the Mackenzie Committee which favoured abolition of night baking recognised that some permanent exceptions must be made for holiday resorts (see paragraph 9). The problem has somewhat eased since 1919 because of the growth of the large centralised plant bakery. It seems to us that this development has facilitated the import of bread into the holiday resort area, both because of the plant bakery's high productive capacity and its readiness to deliver over long distances. We believe that in some degree the holiday problem could be solved by importing from outside the area but we doubt if this would prove a complete solution. It is hard to escape the conclusion that a complete abolition of night baking between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. would sometimes, particularly at the peak of the season, cause some difficulties in holiday resorts.

161. The same would not be true if a limited form of night work by means of an alternating shift system were allowed. We believe that this, coupled with some importation of bread and flour confectionery from outside the holiday resort area, would enable the seasonal demand to be met without serious difficulty. It is perhaps relevant to point out that we have no evidence of difficulties in Scottish resorts as a result of the introduction of the Scottish system of shift working.

#### THE FUEL PROBLEM

162. A second specialised problem, perhaps even more important than that of the holiday resort, is the effect which abolition of night baking is likely to have on gas and electricity consumption and loads. Gas, coke and oil are the main heating agents used for baking. Electricity is very little used, so far as heating the ovens is concerned, but it is widely used as a source of power for the operation of the various machines used in bread making. It is also used generally for lighting. Representatives of both the Gas Council and the British Electricity Authority gave evidence on this matter.

#### GAS

163. As regards gas supplies it seems doubtful whether abolition of night baking would have very serious consequences. The Gas Council suggested that owing to the shorter time available for baking, some bakers might start



using gas as a heating agent, in preference to some other kind of slower heating agent which they are now using. Generally speaking the Gas Council's representatives thought that the various gas undertakings would be able to supply the Industry with all the gas it needed by day without difficulty, although there might be local difficulties in some smaller undertakings. They thought, too, that in the main there would be no increase in the price of gas to the baker. The National Association of Master Bakers had told us that bakers got a specially reduced rate for using gas at night ; but it appears from the Gas Council's evidence that, although this happens in some districts, for the most part discounts are based on the variation between summer and winter consumption. The Baking Industry's demand for gas is much the same in winter and summer. It is not seasonal, and a favourable tariff is given in some districts for this reason.

#### ELECTRICITY

164. The representatives of the British Electricity Authority told us that probably less than 1,000 bakers in the country actually bake by electricity. If those who now bake at night by electricity were to bake by day there would be an increase in the national day peak demand of about 3,000 kilowatts. The representatives of the Authority agreed that this was an "infinitesimal amount". The figure however conceals the real problem. The bulk of the electricity consumed by the Baking Industry is attributable to the use of electricity for driving machines in bakehouses. Most bakeries now have some electrically driven machinery so that the total electricity load which might be transferred from night to day is very much more than 3,000 kilowatts. The British Electricity Authority was unable to make any estimate of what the figure might be. They stressed that even if it was small in relation to the total peak demand, any additional transference of electricity consumption from night to day was undesirable, since it is unfortunately necessary at peak times to reduce the national load by more than 1,000,000 kilowatts by voltage and frequency dropping and load shedding.

165. The employers' organisations almost all stressed this point. They drew attention to the difficulties of carrying on baking during the day when load shedding occurred. The electricity cuts upset arrangements in bakeries and in the past had often caused goods in production to be spoilt. The employers also pointed out that preferential tariffs were usually granted for using electricity by night and that abolition of night baking would mean dearer electricity.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE FUEL PROBLEM

##### (a) *Gas*

166. We do not believe that abolition of night baking would cause any serious difficulties in the supply of gas to bakeries nor do we think it would lead to any significant increase in the price of gas to the bakeries.

##### (b) *Electricity*

It is important to remember that the problem of abolishing night baking so far as the electricity load is concerned is not to determine how much electricity is now used at night but to decide how far electricity would be used during the day and especially at the peak hours which is not so used now. The peak hours were defined last winter as 8 a.m.-9.30 a.m. and 4-5.30 p.m. although there was need for extreme economy in the use of electricity at various times outside these hours. So far as bakeries are concerned, it seems to us that most are already working at the morning peak. The majority who bake by day will very probably be using electricity at that



time and it is doubtful whether abolition of night work would make much difference to the morning peak so far as they are concerned. In addition a fair number of those who now make bread by night will probably already be using electricity at the morning peak for the flour confectionery making. In so far as abolition would involve the installation of new plant in large bakeries there would clearly be a net addition to the morning load. New plant could however only be brought in over a period of time so that its effect would not be immediate. The effect of abolition would, we think, be felt more acutely at the evening peak hours, for the additional back shift working is likely to mean in many cases an additional use of electricity. We recognise, too, that the present difficulties of the British Electricity Authority are not confined to the peak hours and that often, in winter, cuts have to be imposed outside these hours. The absence of any precise estimate of the load which would be transferred from night to day makes it hard to come to a firm conclusion. We can only say that abolition of night baking would lead to some increased demand for electricity and that its effect would probably be more acutely felt at the evening peak period than in the morning, but that some additional net demand would operate all day. We have insufficient evidence to show that this would be a serious factor in relation to the total demand for electricity, although we realise that the gap between demand and supply is already so great that it is undesirable to do anything to widen it. On the other hand, while the shortage of electricity may last some time, it will, we trust, not be permanent and we are considering permanent solutions to a problem of very long standing. We do not know how long the electricity shortage is going to last but unless it can be proved that abolition or limitation of night baking would have immediate disastrous consequences on the general supply of electricity, this particular problem of electricity shortage must be seen in its proper proportions. We would like to point out, too, that the worst consequences would arise from total abolition of night work. If there were some form of alternating shifts we doubt very much whether an equivalent additional load would be thrown on the daytime peak hours. It seems to us that the effects of an alternating shift system would be very limited in this respect. As regards costs it is clear that abolition of night baking and to a lesser extent limitation would mean some increased costs for electricity where a reduced tariff is now granted for electricity consumed by night.

#### THE PROBLEM IN REGARD TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

167. Finally, we should mention representations we received on behalf of the London Jewish Master Bakers' Protection Society which were endorsed by the Chief Rabbi. The Society drew attention to the Mosaic Law prohibiting manual labour of any sort or kind on the Jewish Sabbath and on certain Holy Days and Festivals. This prohibition includes the handling of fire and baking of bread. The Society therefore asked that night baking should be allowed for Jewish bakers as from Thursday night in preparation for the Sabbath and on Saturday night at the close of the Sabbath and similarly on the nights before and after Holy Days. We should add in this connection that the London Jewish Bakers' Trade Union told us that they wholeheartedly supported the views expressed by the English and Scottish Bakers' Unions and that they stood for abolition of night baking. They indicated however that they might as a Union seek one or two minor concessions if legislation to abolish night baking were contemplated.



## LIMITATION OF NIGHT WORK : THE SCOTTISH EXPERIENCE

168. The arguments put to us by both sides of the Industry have in the main centred around the alleged need for, or the alleged difficulties arising from, a total abolition of night baking. Our terms of reference, however, require us to consider the desirability of limiting or abolishing night work. We have, therefore, in examining any particular argument, sought to relate it to the possibilities of limitation as well as those of abolition ; and wherever possible in our Report we have tried to indicate the arguments which are valid if complete abolition is proposed but are invalid or less valid in relation to a limitation of night baking. It is perhaps worth remarking here that the employers' organisations showed rather less unanimity in their attitude towards limitation than towards total abolition.

### THE EMPLOYERS' PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR LIMITATION OFFER OF NOVEMBER, 1948

169. In November, 1948, the employers told the English Bakers' Union that they would agree to a statutory order for England and Wales under which no bakery worker would be required to work at night for more than half the year, the hours of night being defined as 10 p.m.—6 a.m. or 6 p.m.—5 a.m., either arrangement being available to the employer, and special arrangements being permitted on Friday nights and at holiday times. (See paragraph 25.) This offer in effect substantially limited night work. The Union rejected it, but it nevertheless seemed to us important to establish whether the offer still held good. The employers' organisations were not unnaturally unwilling to commit themselves on this important point but it is perhaps significant that only one body, the National Association of Master Bakers, Confectioners and Caterers, was prepared to say that so far as it was concerned the offer no longer held good. The Association's representatives explained that when negotiations had started with the English Bakers' Union after the war, their assessment of the future economic prospects for the Industry was somewhat rosier than it is now. They had expected a removal of some restrictions on the erection and alteration of new buildings and an easing of the difficulties in the way of shortage of plant and raw materials, all of which would have helped them to deal with the problems of reorganisation which acceptance of their offer might be expected to entail. As it was, their position had, if anything, deteriorated. Essential ingredients were still in short supply, costs of raw materials, essential services and labour were rising : gas and electricity supplies were not always available, new plant and machinery could only be obtained after considerable delay and at extremely high prices and in the main it was very difficult to obtain licences for building and alterations. Even in 1948, they had incurred criticism from the membership for associating themselves with the employers' offer. In the changed circumstances of to-day they were compelled to oppose abolition or limitation of night baking.

170. We have had very much in our minds throughout our inquiry the statements by the employers on the particular question of a limitation, rather than a total prohibition of night baking, and especially the statement by the National Association explaining the difficulties of limitation. But we have also kept in mind the fact that in Scotland it has been possible since the war to bring about a system of alternating shifts whereby no operative works at night for more than 25 weeks in the year. It seemed to us that the same difficulties and disadvantages must have prevailed there as in England and Wales, yet apparently these had not prevented a scheme from operating successfully in Scotland. This seemed to us such an interesting fact that we deemed it advisable to hold a session in Scotland and to see for ourselves at first hand the conditions obtaining there. This we did from the 5th–7th March, 1951.



## THE SCHEME IN SCOTLAND

171. It is certainly true that the scheme in Scotland is operating successfully and it may be appropriate at this stage to describe it in some detail. Broadly speaking the present Scottish National Working Agreement divides bakeries into two classes. The first class is the establishment which works only a single shift. In such an establishment, the Agreement allows the workers on the shift to be divided into two categories if this is desired by the employer. As a normal measure operatives are to start work at or after 5.0 a.m. (or 4.0 a.m. on Saturdays). Up to 50 per cent. of the workers may, however, be allowed to start at 2.0 a.m. or, on the Friday night shift, midnight. (There is provision for more than 50 per cent. to be employed from midnight on Fridays only, but a heavy additional overtime rate must be paid to all workers additional to the 50 per cent.) Where this system of alternation in a single shift bakery is adopted, the workers who start before 5.0 a.m. have to alternate with those commencing at or after 5.0 a.m. so that no one starts work before 5.0 a.m. for more than half the number of weeks worked in the calendar year. The shifts normally alternate fortnightly, but the period may be altered by the National Joint Committee on the joint application of an employer and his workers. In effect, if we assume night to finish and day to commence at 5.0 a.m., those workers in a single shift bakery who do any night work at all spend at least half their time on day work.

172. The other class are bakeries working a two- or a three-shift system. For these, the Working Agreement notionally divides the day into three parts called shifts, but which for the sake of clarity we will call parts.

Part I. Any period of work commencing not earlier than 6.0 a.m. and finishing not later than 6.0 p.m.

Part II. Any period of work commencing not earlier than 8.0 a.m. and finishing not later than 9.0 p.m.

Part III. Any period of work commencing not earlier than 10.0 p.m. (Fridays 9.0 p.m.) with a start for preparatory workers two hours earlier than the commencement of Part III.

A two-shift bakery is required to organise the shifts so that the first shift falls within the limits of Part I and the second within the limits of either Part II or Part III. The workers are to spend equal periods on each shift, but it is not permissible to alternate between Part II and Part III. In other words half the time must be spent on Part I, i.e., starting after 6.0 a.m. and finishing not later than 6.0 p.m. This is to ensure that a worker is not required to spend half his time working nights and the other half working the evening or back shift. The frequency of alternation is as for a single-shift bakery.

173. A three-shift bakery has to organise its shifts so that in each period of eight weeks an individual spends two periods of two weeks on Part I, one period of two weeks on Part II and one period of two weeks on Part III. Thus broadly speaking, half the worker's time is spent on day work (i.e., after 6.0 a.m. in this case), a quarter on night work and a quarter on evening work. The Agreement contains a limited number of exceptions, of which the most important is the exclusion of foremen from its scope. We need not enter into the minor details of the Agreement but we have thought it important to set out fairly fully its broad provisions.

## SOME CRITICISMS OF THE SCOTTISH SCHEME

174. The criticisms we have heard of the Scottish scheme have come from the workers' side exclusively and are in two forms. One is the obvious one, that it has only limited night baking, not abolished it. We were told that



the executive of the Scottish Bakers' Union had incurred criticism from the rank and file of the Union for having put their signature to what some members regarded as an exceedingly limited concession.

#### THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SCOTTISH SCHEME HAS WORSENERED THE LOT OF CERTAIN OPERATIVES

175. The other criticism raises a more subtle point and does draw attention to a possible weakness of the arrangements. Before the Agreement was signed, in some single-shift bakeries work started normally at 4.0 a.m. After the Agreement, some of these bakeries, it was alleged, took advantage of the arrangement whereby half the workers might start work at 5.0 a.m. and the other half at 2.0 a.m. As a result for half their time, the workers found themselves two hours worse off, and for the rest of the time were only one hour better off, so that really the Agreement had brought little or no advantage to such workers. Moreover, a 2.0 a.m. start presented great difficulties for workers in getting to work on time. We were told that many had to leave home before midnight in order to get public transport and had to wait about in the bakery for an hour or more before work started. It is, of course, true that this same difficulty must have applied when they started at 4.0 a.m. The reason for the 2.0 a.m. start was primarily to enable morning rolls to be produced on time, but there is no doubt that single-shift bakeries in Scotland, which are the only ones concerned, do produce bread as well as rolls between 2.0 a.m. and 5.0 a.m. The Unions' submission is that the rolls trade can satisfactorily be met, thanks to various technological methods which we have earlier described, by a much later start than 2.0 a.m. For reasons given earlier we have some doubts about this argument, but we do share the view that whatever arrangements may be made for the regulation of night work, it is most desirable to avoid a start at the unearthly hour of 2.0 a.m. The Scottish employers told us that some time ago agreement had very nearly been reached in Scotland on a scheme which *inter alia* provided that where a man worked at night he was to start work before midnight. In the end no agreement was reached and it is no part of our task to examine the reasons for this, but we would reassert the principle that any scheme which provides for a limitation rather than abolition of night work should ensure that starts in the very early hours of the morning are avoided.

#### THE MERITS OF THE SCOTTISH SCHEME

176. We would not wish this particular criticism to minimise the merits of the Scottish Working Agreement. It is an Agreement which was voluntarily arrived at and which has, to say the least, made substantial inroads on the problem of night baking. We appreciate that there are some workers who may dislike a system of alternating shifts, but for the majority we believe that the elimination of night work over half the year represents a substantial advance. Moreover, this has been achieved with comparatively little dislocation and very little cost. Certainly the Agreement has not led to any increase in the cost of the loaf to the consumer and we heard no complaints from the Scottish employers that it had operated to their financial detriment. It appears that initially some additional cost was incurred through a slowing-up of the rate of production while full interchangeability of workers between work usually done at night (e.g., bread and rolls making) and that usually done by day (e.g., various types of flour confectionery) was achieved. This cost seems to have been fairly limited however and was absorbed by the Industry. This apart, we heard nothing about the need for capital extensions or the purchase of new plant or the other difficulties which, we were told, would be the result of total abolition. In effect we think that the Scottish Agreement has brought about at virtually no cost a considerable improve-



ment in the conditions of night work. We have therefore asked ourselves whether there are any special conditions in Scotland which have led to the acceptance of these arrangements, and if so, whether similar conditions exist or can be created in England and Wales.

#### FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF THE SCHEME: THE STRENGTH OF ORGANISATION

177. Both on the Committee and among our assessors the Scottish nation is well represented and it has been suggested to us that the Agreement is attributable to the special qualities of tenacity, ingenuity and character which prevail among the inhabitants North of the Border. We would certainly acknowledge the existence of these qualities, but perhaps we would be exceeding our terms of reference were we to express opinions as to how far these are peculiar to the North and not shared with the less fortunate denizens of England and Wales. Primarily we believe the achievement of the Scottish Agreement to be due to two factors. The first is the strength of organisation on both sides of the Industry. This, perhaps more than anything else, distinguishes the Scottish Baking Industry from that of England and Wales. We have already commented on the indifferent organisation in England and Wales. It is this, we are convinced, which explains why this problem has dragged on almost interminably. If the Industry had been properly organised, there would have been no need for three Committees in little more than 30 years to undertake detailed inquiries into the Industry and to propound solutions to matters which the Industry might by this stage be expected to have solved for itself. The Alness Committee recognised this weakness in the Industry and there is no doubt that following their recommendations, some progress has been made. But the Industry is still a long way from being effectively organised and we realise that its effective organisation cannot be accomplished in a short time. It is clear to us, therefore, that to achieve even a limitation of the kind now in force in Scotland, it will be necessary in England and Wales to substitute for the voluntary agreement reached in Scotland, the imposition of restriction by legislation. Moreover if such legislation were imposed we think its scope could not be restricted to England and Wales, even supposing it to be no more favourable to the operatives than the Scottish Agreement, for there might well be complaints from the Scottish workers that they were being placed in a less favourable position than their colleagues in England and Wales whose protection carried the sanction of law.

#### FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF THE SCHEME: THE APPRENTICESHIP ARRANGEMENTS IN SCOTLAND

178. The second factor peculiar to Scotland which has ensured the success of the Scottish Agreement is the operation of the apprenticeship scheme. This, as we have already pointed out, is of very long standing, and its relevance to the Scottish Agreement is that as a result of it, the great majority of operatives in Scotland are all-rounders trained in all sides of the Baking Industry. This has meant that there has been no difficulty about effecting interchangeability between the baking processes carried out at night (mainly bread, rolls and the like) and those done by day (various types of flour confectionery and, in larger bakeries, bread). It is true that complete interchangeability is not practicable because women cannot be employed at night but this is a less serious difficulty than might be supposed because in general, flour confectionery work requires more labour than bread making and thus if the correct proportion of men to women operatives is employed on flour confectionery and other day-time tasks it is possible to achieve the necessary degree of interchangeability between night and day work without loss of production, while still employing some women on flour confectionery work.



179. In England and Wales, as we have earlier explained, there has so far been no apprenticeship scheme and consequently it has been difficult to effect interchangeability. Since we started our inquiry, however, we have learnt that agreement has been reached on the establishment of an apprenticeship scheme for England and Wales. All the parties concerned who appeared before us told us how much weight they attached to the setting up of proper educational arrangements in the Industry. Now that at last agreement has been reached they have the opportunity of putting these proposals into practice and we earnestly hope that the fullest co-operation will be given by all concerned to make the scheme work. For the employers who have laid such emphasis on the need for flexibility, good all-round technical training of operatives will make flexibility very much easier. For the workers who want an amelioration of night working, all-round ability to tackle all aspects of baking work is essential if any improvement is to be brought about. Indeed we would go so far as to say that no improvement can be achieved unless the Industry is prepared to turn its back on the narrow specialisation which the growth of the plant bakery has undoubtedly encouraged and concentrate instead on restoring the Bakery Trade to the status of craftsmanship.

## PART VI: THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

180. Before setting out our conclusions on the desirability of abolishing or limiting night baking, it would be appropriate here to summarise our findings regarding the economic and social consequences of abolition or limitation. We consider these probable consequences in relation to the bakery operatives, the employers in the Industry and the public as a whole. In addition, we examine the consequences in certain specialised contexts, viz.: in their effect on transport and distributive workers in the Industry, on holiday resorts and on fuel consumption.

### EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON THE OPERATIVES

#### *Establishments where no night work at present goes on*

181. Abolition or limitation of night baking obviously would have no effect on the operatives employed in establishments where no night baking goes on. These form the majority of establishments in Great Britain but they employ less than half of the estimated total of 110,000-120,000 operatives in the Baking Industry. (Tables III and IV.)

#### *Loss of Earnings*

182. In establishments where night baking goes on, between 27,500 and 28,500 operatives are employed on some kind of night work (Para. 38). For the great majority of these abolition or limitation of night baking would mean a drop in earnings due to the loss of the 10 per cent. additional minimum rate payable for night work (Para. 65). This will represent in some cases an appreciable hardship which will be felt most by operatives now engaged on continuous night baking of whom there are some 14,000-17,000 (Para. 39).

#### *Effect upon Health*

183. No case has been made out that night baking is detrimental to the health of the operatives (Para. 109). A limitation of night baking involving



frequent alternation of shifts might cause difficulties in household routines which certain individuals would not be able to cope with satisfactorily (Para. 108).

### *Social Consequences*

184. We find that night baking carries serious social disadvantages for the operatives concerned (Para. 64), and we consider that its abolition would remove a real hardship. The same conclusion applies, but with less force, to a form of limitation.

185. Abolition would mean that in establishments where flour confectionery is now baked by day in cooling ovens following the baking of bread by night, the operatives who make flour confectionery would probably have to work later into the back shift (Paras. 122 and 127). We are convinced that this would be very unpopular (Para. 66), particularly where it meant regular late evening work.

186. The operatives who at present bake bread would in some cases have to work on Saturday afternoon if there were a total abolition of night baking (Para. 119), but we see no reason why any additional Sunday work should be necessary in any type of bakery (Paras. 120 and 126).

187. A limitation of night baking involving a system of alternation of night and day shifts, if this could be arranged, would eliminate the need for additional back shift working and would reduce the need for Saturday afternoon work, although it might not in every case eliminate the latter unless some special arrangements were made for Friday night work (Para. 124).

### *Effect upon the Recruitment of Operatives*

188. Night baking is one of several deterrents to recruitment into the Baking Industry, but its abolition or limitation would probably have no more than a mildly stimulating effect on the flow of recruits into the Industry (Para. 106).

## EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON THE EMPLOYERS

### *Effect upon the small retail bakery*

189. The majority of small retail bakers do no night baking and abolition or limitation of night work would have no effect on them (Para. 115).

190. The minority of small bakers who now bake by night would still be able, even with complete abolition of night baking, to supply the public, except before the week-end or Bank Holidays, with the same quantities of bread as new as at present at an hour later, but generally not very much later, than that at which it is now bought. On Saturdays (and before Bank Holidays) they would have difficulty in meeting the full public demand for bread without Saturday afternoon work. They could maintain this service in bread only at the expense of all or most of the morning rolls production, and with some reduction in flour confectionery production (Para. 123). The use of certain technological devices, and in particular refrigeration, would ease the difficulties but would not eliminate them (Para. 74). As a result some such small bakers might have to reduce or abandon their production of bread (Para. 123).

191. With a limitation of night work involving alternating day and night shifts these problems could in large measure be overcome, although certain difficulties would remain prior to the week-end. The adoption of such a scheme would, however, be dependent on interchangeability between the



operatives who make bread and those who make flour confectionery (Paras. 32 and 178). In a very small establishment employing only one man alternation of shifts is not possible but there are probably not many such establishments doing all-night work and those that are could take advantage of the early start which the Unions would permit for doughmen. Difficulties would still arise for them on the night prior to the week-end (Para. 124).

192. We see no reason to think that either abolition or limitation of night baking would add to the total costs of production of most small bakers (Para. 157).

#### *Effect upon the medium-sized bakery*

193. For the medium-sized bakery working two shifts, whether bread is produced on both or one produces flour confectionery and one bread, our general findings are much the same as for the small baker now baking by night. We think that abolition of night baking would lead to a rather less economic running of the establishment than at present, particularly because a certain amount of oven time would be lost (Para. 151); but we doubt if this need cause a rise in the price of bread. The medium-sized bakery might also incur some difficulties because of the greater distances over which it has to distribute bread. This would compel shops served by it to sell each morning some bread baked on the previous day. This is not necessarily stale bread and indeed some such bread is probably already being sold (Para. 125). Great difficulty would be experienced by the medium-sized bakery in supplying fresh morning rolls to outlying shops or cafés in time to meet the public demand (Para. 136).

194. We find further that a system of alternating day and night shifts would present few difficulties for this kind of bakery, except possibly at the week-end.

#### *Effect upon the Plant Bakery*

195. For two-shift plant bakeries, where bread is produced on both shifts or where bread production is organised separately from that of flour confectionery production, it is unlikely that the service in bread would greatly deteriorate as a result of abolition (Para. 128). This service could, however, only be maintained at the expense of rolls production even with the use of technical devices such as refrigeration (Para. 136). Abolition might add slightly to bakery expenses because of the higher tariff in some cases payable for day-time electricity (Para. 166), but we think this extra could be absorbed by these bakeries. No difficulties would arise in regard to rolls production if a system of alternating shifts were introduced (Para. 137). For two-shift plant bakeries which produce bread on one shift and flour confectionery on the other, our conclusions are similar to those set out in paras. 193-4 for the medium-sized bakery.

196. For the large plant bakery now working three shifts, abolition of night baking would mean a grave loss of working time (Para. 152). This could be overcome only by the extension of plant and premises. We do not believe that the loss of production time could be made good by any existing surplus plant in the country (Para. 155). The cost of additional plant and premises would be considerable and might add  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to the price of a quartern loaf produced from the large plant bakery (Para. 157).

197. For the large plant bakery working three shifts we find that a rotating shift system for operatives to avoid continuous night baking could be adopted without difficulty (Para. 173) and should lead to no general increase in the cost of the loaf (Para. 157).



## *General*

198. To sum up, for most small employers abolition of night work would, in our view, not cause very serious difficulties except at the week-end and as regards the maintenance of morning rolls production. The difficulties which would arise might in part be overcome by technological devices such as refrigeration but they could not be eliminated in this way. For the medium-sized bakery, abolition of night work would lead to a less economic running of plant, while for the three-shift plant bakery it would mean a grave loss of production time which could only be made good by an extension of plant and equipment. In other words, abolition of night baking would work inequitably among employers. For some, particularly small bakers, it would be accomplished without difficulty, but on others it would impose serious disadvantages. On the other hand, all classes of bakers could, with comparatively little dislocation, work a system of alternating or rotating shifts provided that the workers could be interchanged between the differing processes of bread and flour confectionery making.

### EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON THE PUBLIC

199. The public are for the most part concerned to buy bread new, although they do not eat it till some time later. The minority who eat rolls like them to be new when they eat them (Para. 60). If there were abolition of night work, we believe that, in general, the public would still be able to get bread as new as at present but in many cases at a slightly later hour. Those housewives who insist on delivery in the morning would, however, probably get some bread which was baked on the previous day, (Paras. 122, 125, 139 and 144) and those who buy bread baked in a centralised bakery would on Mondays not get newly baked bread until the afternoons (Para. 126). We do not believe that this would lead to any serious decline in the demand for bread. Abolition of night work would mean that bread produced in the large plant bakery would probably rise in price but there would be no necessity for a rise in the price of bread produced by most small bakeries (Para. 157).

200. Abolition of night work would cause difficulty in the production of morning rolls for breakfast or mid-morning (Para. 136), and it would in many cases be hard to get them in time. This would be felt more keenly in Scotland where rolls consumption is much higher than in England and Wales (Para. 132).

201. Limitation of night baking involving alternation of shifts between day and night baking would not lead to any general increase in the price of bread or have any other material effect on the public.

## *Costs of Bread*

202. We would like to emphasise that total abolition would mean that some, but not all, bakers would have to raise the price of their bread. Limitation of night baking on the other hand would mean no increase in the price of bread. It follows that a scheme offering the baker a choice between total abolition and a system of alternating shifts would not necessarily lead to a rise in the price of bread.

### EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON TRANSPORT AND DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS IN THE BAKING INDUSTRY

203. Abolition of night baking would mean that many transport and distributive workers would have to start and finish work later than at present (Para. 143). Administrative workers engaged in checking cash would also



have to start and finish work later (Para. 145). We think that there would be no very serious or lasting drop in commissions earned by roundsmen (Para. 144).

204. We think that the introduction of an alternating shift system would have no material effect on the position of administrative, transport and distributive workers.

#### EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON HOLIDAY RESORTS

205. Abolition of night baking would cause some difficulties in holiday resorts at the peak of the season (Para. 160), but no serious difficulties would arise in the event of a limitation of night work (Para. 161).

#### EFFECT OF ABOLITION OR LIMITATION OF NIGHT BAKING UPON FUEL CONSUMPTION

206. Neither abolition nor limitation of night baking would cause any serious difficulties in the supply of gas to bakeries. Temporary difficulties might arise in regard to the supply of electricity, especially at the time of the evening peak demand (Para. 166).

#### THE DESIRABILITY OF ABOLISHING OR LIMITING NIGHT BAKING

207. After a careful examination of the probable consequences to all classes of the community, we have come to the conclusion that a restriction of night baking is desirable and feasible. We see no prospect of agreement on the subject between the two sides of the Industry in England and Wales and, since our proposals differ in some respects from the terms of the Agreement now prevailing in Scotland, we recommend that effect be given to them by legislation covering the whole of Great Britain. It may be appropriate at this point to express our regret that in England and Wales the Baking Industry has hitherto failed to solve this problem by agreement. It is extraordinary that three independent Committees have had to be appointed in little more than 30 years to solve a problem which a well organised industry would long since have settled for itself. We attribute this to the regrettable absence of effective joint organisation within the Industry in England and Wales (Para. 177).

208. We are impressed by the arguments advanced as to the need for flexibility in dealing with this problem. It seems to us that the circumstances of employers and operatives in different parts of this Industry vary so much that there is no one solution capable of general application without causing some unfairness and difficulty. What will do for the three-shift plant bakery will not do for the small retail baker employing one operative. It will be clear from the conclusions set out above that we believe total abolition of night baking at least up to 5 a.m. to be feasible for many small bakers. It will also be clear that we regard the introduction of a system of alternating shifts whereby no one works at night more than half his time to be generally feasible, provided that interchangeability is achieved between male workers engaged on the various kinds of bread and flour confectionery production. Except in Scotland such interchangeability is not possible at present, although as the apprenticeship scheme for England and Wales gets under way, it will become increasingly so. We therefore think that before any legislation restricting night baking takes effect, the Industry should be given a period of grace to make arrangements for training operatives in all the varying types of bakery work so that full interchangeability between male operatives becomes possible. Although some witnesses have suggested that this would be a long process, we believe that the certainty of legislative restriction of night work could be a great stimulus and we suggest that a period of not more than two years should suffice.



209. We have also carefully examined the desirability and practicability of including the master baker within the scope of legislation restricting night baking. We recognise that there are arguments in favour of his inclusion, mainly on the grounds that his exclusion would give him an unfair advantage over larger bakeries. We have, however, heard no convincing evidence that his exclusion would have serious prejudicial effects on other bakers. On the contrary, it has been pointed out to us that to include the master baker within the scope of legislation would be an interference with personal liberty which would in any case be impossible of enforcement. We accept these latter arguments and consider that they outweigh any theoretical advantages which his inclusion might bring.

### THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS

210. Subject to these points we recommend that legislation should be adopted requiring each baking establishment to choose between total abolition of night work and the introduction of a system of alternating or rotating shifts. We consider that a scheme of this kind would have sufficient flexibility to enable it to meet the requirements of all types of baking establishments while at the same time removing the worst features of night baking, without causing the public to have less efficient service or to pay more for bread. As devised, the scheme would also avoid the dangers of excessive "back shift" working or Sunday work (see Paras. 66 and 67).

211. We recommend:—

(1) that legislation should be introduced to provide that every bakery establishment should be required to adopt one of two courses as follows:—

#### EITHER

(a) It should employ no person in the manufacture of bread and flour confectionery between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.

#### OR

(b) It should employ no person in the manufacture of bread and flour confectionery between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. for more than half the weeks worked in any particular calendar year.

(2) that whichever course is adopted by the establishment the following permanent exceptions should be allowed:—

(a) An establishment should be permitted to employ men outside the permitted hours on one night per week to meet the requirements of the week-end trade or the Jewish Sabbath. If advantage is taken of this exception, the day of the week on which the exception applies should always be the same throughout the calendar year.

(b) The employment of men outside the permitted hours should be allowed in the event of breakdown of machinery, illness, accidents or other unforeseeable circumstances.

(c) The employment of men outside the permitted hours should be allowed on a night preceding the day before a statutory holiday.

(3) That where course (a) in recommendation (1) is adopted men employed only as doughmakers or oven firemen should be allowed to commence work not earlier than 4 a.m.

(4) That where course (b) in recommendation (1) is adopted it is desirable that the alternation or rotation of shifts between night and day should not occur too frequently. Our view is that a month should be the minimum period of alternation.



(5) That master bakers should be entirely excluded from the scope of the legislation.

(6) That the obligations imposed by recommendation (1) above should take effect not later than two years after the passing of the legislation.

We do not think that there should be any further exceptions. The scheme is sufficiently flexible in itself.

### *Enforcement*

212. As regards methods of enforcement of the legislation, we have taken no evidence nor do we think it is within our province to make detailed proposals. In Scotland, the Industry is so well organised that we believe enforcement can be left to the two sides. In England and Wales, organisation is so imperfect that in our view some official degree of supervision of the application of the law would be necessary.

213. Finally, we would point out that there is nothing to prevent the two sides of the Industry at any time from agreeing on more favourable conditions than those we have proposed. Agreement is always a more suitable method of regulation than legislation and if the Industry had not shown so clearly in England and Wales its inability to reach agreement, the proposals we have made would be unnecessary. We trust that the influence of this, the third and we hope the last Committee on Night Baking will stimulate progress towards an effective system of joint organisation and negotiation which is desirable in the best interests of the Baking Industry and the public which it serves.

### *Acknowledgements*

214. We have been assisted in our work by four assessors nominated by the Baking Industry. They were Mr. J. N. Frears, nominated by the bakery employers in England and Wales, and Mr. W. S. Goodfellow, J.P., by the Scottish bakery employers; Mr. W. Rees Jones, nominated by the Trade Union representing the bakery operatives in England and Wales, and Mr. J. Menzies by the Trade Union representing the Scottish operatives. We have made full use of the knowledge and experience of these four gentlemen. They have always been ready to explain technical details to us and to advise us on the lines of inquiry it would be profitable to pursue. We would like to record our thanks to them for all the help they have given us.

215. In conclusion we wish to express our appreciation of the services of our Secretary, Mr. Hywel W. Evans. He has given us most valuable assistance throughout the inquiry and has exhibited unflagging zeal in exploring every aspect of our problem. We are particularly indebted to him for preparing drafts of the Report for our consideration. A very considerable amount of labour was involved in reducing the mass of oral and written evidence to a form in which it could be presented as succinctly as possible.

J. F. REES (*Chairman*).

H. L. BULLOCK.

JOHN I. FALCONER.

GEOFFREY MARCHAND.

MARY E. SUTHERLAND.

H. W. EVANS (*Secretary*).

13th August, 1951.



## APPENDIX A

### THE HOUSEWIVES SURVEY

#### I. INTRODUCTION

##### SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

1. The Survey was carried out by the Government Social Survey for the Ministry of Labour and National Service to provide the Committee on Night Baking with information regarding consumers' requirements and tastes in the buying of fresh bread and rolls.

2. A sample of 1,296 housewives representing the housewives of Great Britain was interviewed between 5th and 24th February, 1951. 61 administrative districts in Great Britain were selected with probability proportionate to population after stratification by region, urban and rural type and an index of industrialisation. Within these selected districts samples of separately rated items of dwelling property were selected at constant intervals from the rating records of the local authorities. Interviewers were instructed to interview the housewives of the households found to be living in the selected items of property. The field work was carried out for the Social Survey by Mass-Observation.

##### NATURE OF INQUIRIES

3. The housewives were asked how often and at what time of day they bought bread, whether it was delivered at the door or whether they went to a shop for it, and whether they bought wrapped bread. They were further asked whether they knew when the bread they bought was baked, in what condition they liked it to be, and whether they started eating it on the day on which it was bought or later. In regard to rolls housewives were asked if they bought them and if so, at what time of day and when they ate them.

##### ANALYSES OF RESULTS

4. (1) Analyses were made geographically in three parts covering
  - (a) Scotland
  - (b) the North of England, the Midlands, and North Wales
  - (c) the South of England and South Wales.
- (2) Analyses for Urban and Rural areas were classified according to the title of the administrative districts.
- (3) Analyses were made as follows:—
  - (a) in four age groups: up to 34 years: 35–44 years: 45–54 years: 55 years and over,
  - (b) by housewives with and without children in the household,
  - (c) by the number of people in the household, and
  - (d) by whether or not the housewife went out to work.

#### II. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

*Note:* A sampling error is contained in all the percentages given in these tables.

##### A. THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH BREAD IS BOUGHT

*Question 1. "How often do you buy your bread?"*

TABLE 1  
*Replies analysed by Type of District*

	Urban	Rural	Total
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ... ..	51	22	46
Every other day ... ..	37	53	40
Twice a week ... ..	8	22	11
Once a week ... ..	1	1	1
Varies ... ..	2	2	2
Bake own bread ... ..	1	—	—
SAMPLE ... ..	1,020	276	1,296



Six housewives said they baked their own bread and these were not asked the subsequent questions since they did not apply. They amount to less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole sample. They were all in urban areas and five of them were in the Northern Region.

TABLE 2

*Replies analysed geographically*

	Scotland	North	South
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ...	49	50	39
Every other day ...	26	35	50
Twice a week ...	22	10	8
Once a week ...	3	2	1
Varies ...	—	2	2
Bake own bread ...	—	1	—
SAMPLE ...	156	582	558

TABLE 3

*Replies analysed by Age*

	Up to 34 Years	35-44 Years	45-54 Years	55 Years and over
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ...	55	52	47	32
Every other day ...	36	36	39	46
Twice a week ...	6	7	12	16
Once a week ...	1	2	—	3
Varies ...	2	2	2	2
Bake own bread ...	—	1	—	1
SAMPLE* ...	268	296	329	393

\* 10 housewives whose age was not recorded are omitted.

TABLE 4

*Replies analysed by Size and Composition of Households*

	Number of People in Household				Whether Children	
	One	Two	Three	Four or more	Children	No Children
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ...	7	27	51	61	58	36
Every other day ...	37	51	41	33	35	44
Twice a week ...	43	16	7	4	5	15
Once a week ...	9	2	—	1	1	2
Varies ...	4	3	1	1	1	2
Bake own bread ...	—	1	—	—	—	1
SAMPLE* ...	89	362	335	507	540	754

\* The number of people in the household was not recorded in three cases and whether there were children was not recorded in two cases.



TABLE 5  
*Replies analysed by whether Bread is delivered*

	Bread delivered	Bread not delivered
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ... ..	34	58
Every other day ... ..	55	25
Twice a week ... ..	9	13
Once a week ... ..	1	2
Varies ... ..	1	2
SAMPLE ... ..	663	627

B. THE EXTENT OF BREAD DELIVERY

Question 2. "Is it delivered to the door or not?"

TABLE 6  
*Replies analysed to show percentages of Housewives having Bread delivered at the Door*

	Per cent.	Sample
All housewives ... ..	52	1,296
Type of District		
Urban ... ..	45	1,020
Rural ... ..	72	276
Geographically analysed		
Scotland ... ..	33	156
North ... ..	42	582
South ... ..	66	558

C. TIME AT WHICH BREAD IS BOUGHT

Question 3. "At what time of the day do you get your bread?"

TABLE 7  
*Replies analysed by Whether Bread is Delivered*

	Bread delivered	Bread not delivered	Total
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Before 9 a.m. ... ..	3	2	2
9 a.m. - ... ..	8	5	7
10 a.m. - ... ..	12	13	12
11 a.m. - ... ..	16	15	16
12 mid. - ... ..	15	11	13
1 p.m. - ... ..	7	3	5
2 p.m. - ... ..	6	6	6
3 p.m. - ... ..	7	6	7
4 p.m. - ... ..	5	7	6
5 p.m. and after ... ..	3	7	5
Time varies ... ..	18	25	21
SAMPLE* ... ..	663	627	1,290

\* Six housewives who bake their own bread are excluded.



TABLE 8

*Replies analysed by Type of District and Geographically*

	Type of District		Geographically analysed		
	Urban	Rural	Scotland	North	South
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Morning (before 1 p.m.) ...	51	43	54	48	51
Afternoon ... ..	26	37	17	36	24
Time varies ... ..	23	20	29	16	25
SAMPLE* ... ..	1,014	276	156	582	558

\* Six housewives who bake their own bread are excluded.

## D. THE EXTENT TO WHICH WRAPPED BREAD IS BOUGHT

Question 4. "Do you buy wrapped bread?"

TABLE 9

*Replies analysed by Type of District*

	Urban	Rural	Total
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Always ... ..	22	7	19
Often ... ..	8	9	8
Occasionally ... ..	20	14	18
Never ... ..	50	70	55
SAMPLE ... ..	1,020	276	1,296

TABLE 10

*Replies analysed geographically*

	Scotland	North	South
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Always ... ..	26	21	15
Often ... ..	15	10	4
Occasionally ... ..	13	17	22
Never ... ..	46	52	59
SAMPLE ... ..	156	582	558

TABLE 11

*Replies analysed by Age*

	Up to 34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55 years and over
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Always ... ..	26	21	18	13
Often ... ..	8	8	9	8
Occasionally ... ..	20	19	22	14
Never ... ..	46	52	51	65
SAMPLE* ... ..	268	296	329	393

\* 10 housewives whose age was not recorded are omitted.



TABLE 12  
*Replies analysed by Size and Composition of Households*

	Number of People in Household				Whether children	
	One	Two	Three	Four or more	Children	No Children
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Always ... ..	12	15	21	21	25	14
Often ... ..	4	5	8	11	8	8
Occasionally ... ..	19	17	19	19	19	18
Never ... ..	65	63	52	49	48	60
SAMPLE* ... ..	89	362	335	507	540	754

\* The number of people in the household was not recorded in three cases and whether there were children was not recorded in two cases.

E. THE CONDITION IN WHICH HOUSEWIVES PREFER THEIR BREAD

*Question 5. "In what condition do you like your bread when you get it?"*

TABLE 13  
*Replies analysed by Type of District*

	Urban	Rural	Total
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Hot ... ..	5	7	6
New ... ..	68	61	67
A day old ... ..	23	29	24
More than a day old ... ..	1	1	1
"Don't mind" or bake own bread ... ..	3	2	2
SAMPLE ... ..	1,020	276	1,296

TABLE 14  
*Replies analysed Geographically*

	Scotland	North	South
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Hot ... ..	1	6	7
New ... ..	67	65	67
A day old ... ..	32	24	22
More than a day old ... ..	—	2	1
"Don't mind" or bake own bread ... ..	—	3	3
SAMPLE ... ..	156	582	558



TABLE 15  
*Replies analysed by Age*

	Up to 34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55 years and over
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Hot ... ..	9	5	6	4
New ... ..	75	69	67	60
A day old ... ..	14	22	25	31
More than a day old ... ..	1	1	—	1
"Don't mind" or bake own bread... ..	1	3	2	4
SAMPLE ... ..	268	296	329	393

F. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE BUYING AND EATING OF BREAD

Question 6. "Do you start eating it (the bread you buy) the same day or later?"

TABLE 16  
*Replies analysed by how Housewives like their bread to be when they buy it*

	Like Bread to be:			Total
	Hot	New	A day old	
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
The same day ... ..	43	48	35	44
Later ... ..	31	30	44	34
Varies ... ..	26	22	21	22
SAMPLE* ... ..	74	867	309	1,296

\* Those who did not mind about the condition of bread (and who baked their own) are excluded from the analysis, but not from the total.

TABLE 17  
*Replies analysed by Type of District and Geographically*

	Type of District		Geographically analysed		
	Urban	Rural	Scotland	North	South
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
The same day ... ..	45	35	25	47	46
Later ... ..	34	33	40	33	32
Varies ... ..	20	32	35	19	22
Bake own bread ... ..	1	—	—	1	—
SAMPLE ... ..	1,020	276	156	582	558



TABLE 18  
*Replies analysed by Age*

	Up to 34 years	34-44 years	45-54 years	55 years and over
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
The same day ... ..	59	48	46	28
Later ... ..	22	29	32	46
Varies ... ..	19	22	22	25
Bake own bread ... ..	—	1	—	1
SAMPLE* ... ..	268	296	329	393

\* 10 housewives whose ages were not recorded are omitted.

TABLE 19  
*Replies analysed by Size and Composition of Household*

	Number of People in Household				Whether Children	
	One	Two	Three	Four or more	Children	No Children
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
The same day ... ..	26	32	45	54	54	36
Later ... ..	43	40	31	28	28	37
Varies ... ..	31	27	24	18	18	26
Bake own bread ... ..	—	1	—	—	—	1
SAMPLE* ... ..	89	362	335	507	540	754

\* The number of people in the household was not recorded in three cases and whether there were children was not recorded in two cases.

Question 7. "Do you insist on the bread you buy being hot or new or not?"

TABLE 20  
*Replies analysed by the time the consumers start to eat bread*

Start eating bread	Insist	Do not insist	Do not want bread hot or new
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
The same day ... ..	52	42	35
Later ... ..	31	30	42
Varies ... ..	17	28	23
SAMPLE ... ..	478	463	349

#### G. KNOWLEDGE OF WHEN BREAD IS BAKED

Question 8. "Do you know when the bread you buy is baked? When?"

TABLE 21  
*Replies analysed*

	Per cent.
The day before ... ..	3
Overnight ... ..	11
The same day ... ..	14
Don't know ... ..	72
SAMPLE ... ..	1,296



## H. ROLLS

Question 9. "Do you ever buy rolls?"

TABLE 22

Replies analysed to show percentages of Housewives in Different Groups answering "Yes"

	Per cent.	Sample
All housewives ... ..	34	1,296
Type of District		
Urban ... ..	36	1,020
Rural ... ..	23	276
Geographically analysed		
Scotland... ..	54	156
North ... ..	25	582
South ... ..	37	558
Size of household		
One or two persons ... ..	27	451
Three or more persons ... ..	37	842

Question 10. "How often do you buy rolls?"

TABLE 23

Replies analysed to show Frequency

	Whole sample	Those who buy rolls
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Every day ... ..	4	13
Every other day ... ..	3	8
Twice a week ... ..	6	17
Once a week ... ..	7	19
Less than once a week ... ..	7	22
Varies ... ..	7	21
Never ... ..	66	—
SAMPLE ... ..	1,296	435

Question 11. "At what time of the day do you buy them (rolls)?"

TABLE 24

Replies analysed to show the times at which Rolls and Bread are bought

	Rolls	Bread
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Before 9 a.m. ... ..	15	2
9 a.m.— ... ..	5	7
10 a.m.— ... ..	13	12
11 a.m.— ... ..	15	16
12 mid— ... ..	10	13
1 p.m.— ... ..	2	5
2 p.m.— ... ..	5	6
3 p.m.— ... ..	6	7
4 p.m.— ... ..	5	6
5 p.m. and after ... ..	2	5
Time varies ... ..	22	21
SAMPLE ... ..	435	1,290



Question 12. "When do you eat them (rolls)?"

TABLE 25  
Replies analysed

	Per cent.
Hot ... ..	11
The same day as buying them ...	82
After that day ... ..	7
SAMPLE ... ..	435

## APPENDIX B

### THE CANTEEN SURVEY

#### I. INTRODUCTION

##### SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

1. This Survey, which was supplementary to "The Housewives Survey", was carried out by the Government Social Survey for the Ministry of Labour and National Service to provide the Committee on Night Baking with information regarding the requirements and tastes of users of industrial canteens in the buying of fresh rolls, sandwiches and bread for eating with meals.

2. A sample of 306 persons who used factory canteens in Great Britain was interviewed between 26th February and 10th March, 1951. All industrial canteens in the administrative districts covered by "The Housewives Survey" were listed and the number of employees of the firm to which the canteen belonged was used as the basis of selection of the canteens.

A sample of 37 canteens in 17 administrative districts was selected with probability proportionate to the number of employees, by working through the cumulative sum of number of employees at a constant interval. Equal numbers of interviews were allocated to each selected canteen, except that the large canteens with a number of employees greater than the sampling interval (2,700) were allocated a proportionately higher quota.

The actual selection of people to be interviewed at each selected canteen was of necessity left to the investigator who was instructed to use whatever random procedure was best suited to the circumstances.

All the canteens visited were the type that supply cooked meals and not only "snacks".

##### NATURE OF INQUIRIES

3. Canteen users were asked how often and at what time they bought rolls, sandwiches and ate bread with any of their meals in the canteen; in what condition they liked these goods to be when bought, and how soon after buying they ate them. In addition, those canteen users who never bought rolls and sandwiches were asked to give their reasons for not buying.

4. Owing to the small numbers involved in the sample and the method of selection of the individuals the figures set out in the tables below are subject to some margin of error.



## II. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

### A. THE FREQUENCY OF BUYING

Question 1. "Do you ever buy rolls/sandwiches/Do you eat bread with any of your meals/in the canteen?"

TABLE 1  
*Replies analysed to show frequency*

	Rolls	Sandwiches	Bread
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Regularly ... ..	15	10	28
Occasionally ... ..	25	32	26
Never ... ..	60	58	46
SAMPLE ... ..	306	306	306

TABLE 2  
*Replies analysed by Sex*

	Rolls		Sandwiches		Bread	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Regularly ... ..	15	14	9	14	33	15
Occasionally ... ..	25	26	29	38	23	33
Never ... ..	60	60	62	48	44	52
SAMPLE ... ..	214	92	214	92	214	92

### B. THE TIME OF BUYING

Question 2. "At what time do you buy rolls/sandwiches/bread to eat with meals?"

TABLE 3  
*Replies analysed*

	Rolls		Sandwiches		Bread	
	Per cent. of whole sample	Per cent. of those buying	Per cent. of whole sample	Per cent. of those buying	Per cent. of whole sample	Per cent. of those buying
Before 10 a.m. ...	10	26	5	12	—	—
10 a.m.— ... ..	5	11	5	12	—	—
11 a.m.— ... ..	—	—	1	2	—	1
12 midday— ...	16	39	11	27	39	71
1 p.m.— ... ..	4	9	3	7	12	22
2 p.m.— ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p.m.— ... ..	1	2	4	9	1	1
4 p.m.— ... ..	—	1	4	9	—	—
5 p.m. and after ...	—	1	4	10	—	1
Time varies ... ..	4	11	5	12	2	4
Do not buy ... ..	60	—	58	—	46	—
SAMPLE ... ..	306	122	306	129	306	165





C. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN BUYING AND EATING

Question 3. "How soon after buying rolls/sandwiches/do you eat them?"

TABLE 4  
Replies analysed as percentage of those buying

	Rolls	Sandwiches
	Per cent.	Per cent.
At once ... ..	89	86
Later the same day ... ..	11	14
SAMPLE (those buying) ... ..	122	129

D. THE CONDITION IN WHICH PREFERRED

Question 4. "In what condition would you like rolls/sandwiches/bread to eat with meals/to be when you buy them?"

TABLE 5  
Replies analysed as percentage of those buying

	Rolls	Sandwiches	Bread
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Hot ... ..	12	—	5
New (but not hot) ... ..	65	75	60
A day old ... ..	—	9	19
Don't mind ... ..	23	16	16
SAMPLE (those buying) ... ..	122	129	165

E. THE REASONS ROLLS AND SANDWICHES WERE NOT BOUGHT

Question 5. "Why do you never buy rolls/sandwiches?"

TABLE 6  
Replies analysed as percentage of whole sample

	Rolls	Sandwiches
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Bring something to eat from home ... ..	18	19
Don't need any, don't eat between meals... ..	11	18
Prefer other sorts of food, can't eat them ... ..	5	7
Dislike the ones provided ... ..	—	3
Not sold at canteen, have never seen them ... ..	22	8
Other reasons and "don't know" ... ..	4	3
Total never buying ... ..	60	58
Total buying ... ..	40	42
SAMPLE ... ..	306	306



# ROYAL SANITARY INSTITUTE

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8. Volumes returned through the post must be securely packed in a box, or otherwise protected.

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1951

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN