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PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN IN SCOTLAND: 1930-1970

Anthony D. Chapman

A thesis submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Plymouth Polytechnic, August 1984 .
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DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that, whilst registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the Council for National Academic Awards, I have not been a registered candidate for another award of the Council for National Academic Awards, nor of a University.

The following activities, comprising the programme of related studies, have been undertaken:

i. Attendance and participation in weekly staff seminars.

ii. Attendance at the British Sociological Association Post-Graduate Summer School, Cambridge, September 1982.

iii. Attendance at the Thirteenth and Fourteenth European Consortium for Political Research Summer Schools in Advanced Data Analysis. University of Essex, July-August, 1981; July-August, 1982.

iv. Attendance and participation at various Sociology Conferences.

v. A schedule of guided reading compiled by the supervisors.

A.D. CHAPMAN

A B S T R A C T

Researchers and writers on occupational and social mobility have attracted a good deal of criticism over the past ten years because they have not included women in their analyses. Accusations of 'intellectual' sexism have provoked different responses from researchers in this field; some have tried to remedy the empirical and theoretical deficiencies of earlier research, whilst others refute the validity of such attacks at a theoretical level. In this thesis it is argued that the exclusion of women from mobility analysis is unacceptable at a theoretical level. Those researchers who have not considered the case of women's mobility, it is argued, have done so because of methodological inconvenience.

The empirical component of this thesis considers the differential patterns of occupational mobility amongst men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970. Drawing on data from the Scottish Mobility Study the analysis proceeds on a number of levels including discussion of national trends, variations of employment distribution and mobility in rural and urban areas, and in industrial sectors. Interpretation of these data is problematic because most analytical techniques which have been adopted by conventional mobility researchers have been devised to study only men. Consequently a strong theoretical and historical component is introduced in order to explain differential patterns of mobility.

In terms of substantive findings, the thesis demonstrates that patterns of intergenerational mobility vary considerably between men and women. There appears to be a strong relationship between origin and destination for men but not for women. Also, it is demonstrated that the career patterns of men and women are quite different. Men, it appears, are much more likely to make strong career advancements whilst women's employment relationship is affected by certain contingencies.

Interpretation of these findings is problematic without access to data on these contingencies. This applies not only to women, but men also. It is argued in conclusion that it is necessary to adopt a complementary qualitative approach to assess the circumstances in which men and women as individuals and in families, pursue careers.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 1940s there has been a number of influential studies of social and occupational mobility. Until recently, however, there has been no serious attempt to consider the extent and importance of the social and occupational mobility of women. Such an omission has not, of course, gone unnoticed; indeed, a great deal of criticism has been directed at mobility researchers over the last twenty years. Nevertheless, no detailed examination of the patterns of women's inter-generational or intragenerational mobility with reference to conventional social mobility research data has been forwarded as yet. This study, therefore, provides the first comparative analysis of women's and men's occupational mobility at a national level.

Sociologists in the past have approached the study of social and occupational mobility in a variety of ways. In America, for instance, much research has concentrated specifically on the issue of the 'openness' of society; from which, it is claimed, the level of social equality can be measured. Other writers have been more interested in the issue of class formation, consciousness and action. Whilst some researchers have sought to examine the issue of inequality of opportunity in the occupational structure.

Clearly, in this study it would not be possible to adopt all of these approaches given the constraints of time

and space. Indeed, to follow in the theoretical tradition of past researchers should not always be regarded as desirable; especially when a new dimension is introduced into the research: in this case, the study of women. Consequently, many of the theoretical debates which have dominated the minds of social mobility researchers will be set aside in this study in order to make way for a new approach.

This study draws on data from the Scottish Mobility Study, the only one of the three national studies undertaken in the 1970s in Britain which collected data on women's occupational mobility. As this study was carried out within the conventional empirical tradition of social mobility research, pioneered by Glass and his colleagues in 1949, the present study necessarily follows many of the analytical procedures adopted by other researchers. Nevertheless, these techniques of investigation will not be used in an uncritical way. In fact, one essential aim of this research is to consider the viability of undertaking future research on women's occupational mobility using conventional quantitative methods of data collection and analysis as used by most mobility researchers.

In terms of substantive aims of this thesis two clear objectives can be identified. Firstly, to assess the extent to which segmentation by gender in the labour market exists and, secondly, to examine the effect of this segmentation on men's and women's opportunities on entry into the labour market and on later career development.

Unlike many previous studies of social and occupational mobility, analysis will proceed on more than one dimension. Not only will gender differences be considered, but also variations in labour market participation and mobility in urban and rural areas, and in industrial sectors. Clearly, if such a programme of work is to be undertaken it is necessary to consider, historically, the development of the industrial and occupational structure of Scotland from 1930-1970; and further, to consider those factors which might affect men's and women's occupational opportunities at a theoretical level. The importance of these historical and theoretical discussions cannot be overstated given the complexity of the issues to be examined with reference to the data. Such an approach is unusual in social and occupational mobility research. More often, researchers have concentrated their attention on statistical techniques to explain the relationships between variables. The value of such an approach is strongly disputed in this thesis which seeks to interpret empirical observations with direct reference to sociological theory rather than statistical manipulation.

The thesis is divided into two parts. In Chapter One, a critique of the conventional approach to social and occupational mobility research will be forwarded. It will be argued that the decision of researchers to exclude women from analysis is not acceptable - especially if researchers were concerned with inequality of occupational opportunity, and also with the issue of class formation, consciousness and action. Indeed,

it will be suggested that the inclusion of women in either type of research would have enabled these sociologists to explain the causes and consequences of social mobility in society in much greater depth - although it is clear that an alternative, or at least complementary, methodological approach would need to be sought.

In order to interpret the empirical observations presented in the second part of the thesis, Chapter Two will concentrate attention on the historical development of the Scottish industrial and occupational structure between 1930 and 1970; and in Chapter Three, sociological explanations for the differing patterns of employment and careers of men and women will be assessed.

In Part Two of the thesis the findings from the empirical investigation of the Scottish Mobility Study's data will be presented. In Chapter Four, the details of the collection, management and analyses of these data are discussed. Chapter Five will include an analysis of the differential patterns of occupational mobility amongst men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 at a national level of analysis. In the following chapter variations in mobility will be assessed in urban and rural areas. In Chapter Seven, the patterns of occupational participation and mobility of men and women in industrial sectors will be examined in detail.

In addition to the overall summary of conclusions which will be presented in the final chapter, a consideration

of future directions for research on inequality of occupational opportunities amongst men and women in the labour market will be forwarded. Furthermore, a reappraisal of the issue of women's inclusion in social mobility research will be presented; from this, possible directions for research on class mobility, including women, will be tentatively suggested.

CHAPTER ONE

WOMEN, CLASS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

1.1. Introduction

Researchers and writers on class, stratification and social mobility have attracted a good deal of criticism over the past ten years because they have not included women in their analyses.[1] Such accusations of 'intellectual sexism' (Acker, 1973) have provoked different responses from researchers in this field; some have attempted to remedy the empirical and theoretical deficiences of earlier research (Britten and Heath, 1983; McRae, 1982; Llewellyn, 1981; Payne, Payne and Chapman, 1983) whilst other writers refute the validity of such attacks at a theoretical level. (Goldthorpe, 1983).

In this Chapter, the central concern will be to consider in detail these criticisms and the responses they have provoked in order to assess the viability of undertaking social mobility research either with, or without female respondents. The reasons for re-examining and contributing towards the debate are these: firstly, it would be temerarious to initiate a novel approach to social mobility research without giving previous work due consideration because

it may offer the researcher greater insight into the theoretical problems associated with similar programmes of work. Secondly, such a discussion is useful simply because it concerns itself with a number of important questions which are still given insufficient attention; although many sociologists do raise the issue in reference to mobility research (often pointing out that women 'should' have been included) few actually face up to the practical and theoretical problems associated with these issues. It is useful, therefore, to draw together the various strands of the arguments levelled at social mobility researchers and to assess their own value. Such a review has not yet been undertaken. Even in some wide ranging overviews of the literature (Allen, 1980; Beechey, 1984) the issue of women's occupational mobility has not been discussed. Thirdly, in light of the findings to be presented in this thesis, such a discussion will allow for the development of new approaches to the study of occupational and social mobility which may, in fact, go beyond the aims of the present study; in this sense certain aspects of the following discussion are, essentially, propaedeutic.

This Chapter will be divided into a number of parts. In the first section a number of criticisms of class, stratification and social mobility researchers for excluding women from analysis will be forwarded. It will be argued that the use of the family as the central unit of analysis by

sociologists is problematic on two levels. Firstly, because the family is not universal in most Western societies, which means that a large number of men and women would be unclassifiable. Secondly, because the class position of the family is defined by the male 'head of household's' occupational position, whilst women's contribution to the family's class position is ignored.

In the second part of the Chapter, the viability of defining women's class position in terms of their own occupational position, or, the use of other criteria which might independently define a woman's class position will be assessed. It will be concluded that the possibility of defining married women's class position without reference to their husbands' occupational status is highly problematic because women's relationship to the production process is often an indirect one.

Having recognised a number of problems with the use of women's occupations as a means of defining their own class position, the value of Marxist and Weberian theories of class and stratification will be reassessed. Such theories, it will be argued, are more aware of the problem of locating women's position in the class structure than many critics have asserted. However, the definition of a family's class position in such theories does not incorporate an explanation of women's contribution to the class mobility of families, or the effect women have on children's mobility potential. Indeed

it will be suggested that in the case of social mobility research it is necessary to formulate a new methodology which fully appreciates the contribution of women to the family's mobility potential.

From the discussion of class mobility of families in this Chapter, it will become evident that it is not possible to undertake an analysis of women's class mobility or social mobility using conventional social mobility data. However, the data can be used in another way: to consider the differential patterns of occupational mobility of men and women. In this concluding section, the terms of reference within which the empirical component of this study is grounded will be defined.

1.2. The feminist critique of conventional class and stratification theory

Until the 1960s, very little attention was paid to the role of women in society by sociologists. Many researchers tended to emphasise the 'marginality' of women to the central issues of the discipline, especially those relating to class and stratification. (West, 1978:221). The only area of study within which women were paid serious attention was the sociology of the family, and there, women's roles tended to be defined in cultural terms and not economic.[2] For many sociologists, it seems, the family was regarded as an area of limited importance. As Beechey has argued, the dominant theoretical paradigm of sociology

> has led sociologists to divorce the family from an analysis of the forces and relations of production, which are in capitalist societies class relations, and to underestimate the importance of both forms of female labour, domestic labour and wage labour. (1978:157).

This is particularly evident when the sociological literature on the family is scrutinised: of the twenty-two contributions included in one Reader (Anderson, 1971) none directly considers the importance of women's role in the family in terms of the system of stratification or class except in functionalist terms.

Despite this lack of concern with the role of women in the family and in paid employment in the study of class and stratification the family itself has generally been regarded

as the central unit for class and stratification analysis. The 'status' or 'class' of that family being generally defined by the male's occupation, irrespective of the women's own paid employment or family background. This is a view which is aptly reflected by Wallace, who suggests that a

> woman's socially defined success is typically dependent not on her own occupational and job mobility, but on her husband's... there is only one... departure and arrival in her life cycle: her exchange of a father determined social status for a husband one. (cited by Haug, 1973:87)

It would be misleading, of course, to suggest that the problem of women's class position was universally ignored prior to the resurgence of interest in feminism in the 1960s. Indeed, Duncan argued in the early 1960s that

> students of social stratification generally maintain that the social status of a family is more likely to reflect the occupation of the husband than that of the wife, if both are employed. This may not be as true as it once was, insofar as family social status is based on levels of living and ultimately on family income, including that of the wife who works, rather than on occupation (an issue that students of social stratification have hardly resolved). (1961:118).

Notwithstanding the above, Duncan, like most American and British social stratification and social mobility researchers, continued to regard the family as the unit of stratification. This view, which will be referred to as 'the conventional view', is still highly influential amongst sociologists who are concerned with both class and stratification theories. Goldthorpe, for example, recently argued that

> we would wish to maintain the view that - whatever current trends of change in women's work and family life may portend - during the decades preceding

> our inquiry, and to which our data relate, it has been through the role of their male members within the social division of labour that families have been crucially articulated with the class structure and their class 'fates' crucially determined. (1980:288).

In criticism of the conventional view, Acker has argued that there are a number of assumptions inherent in all class and stratification studies which have regarded women as insignificant in their analyses: these are

(1) The family is the unit of stratification systems.
(2) The social position of the family is determined by the status of the male head of household.
(3) Females live in families; therefore their status is determined by that of the males to whom they are attached.
(4) The female's status is equal to that of her man, at least in terms of her position in the class structure, because the family is a unit of equivalent evaluation.
(5) Women determine their own social status only when they are not attached to men.
(6) Women are unequal to men in many ways, are differentially evaluated on the basis of sex, but this is irrelevant to the structure of stratification systems. (1973:937)

Each of these assumptions is dependent on the acceptance of the first - that the family <u>is</u> the unit of class and stratification analysis - consequently, it is important immediately to address the issue of this assumption's validity.

One common criticism of the conventional view is that the nuclear family is not universal in advanced industrial societies. (Acker, 1973; West, 1978; Allen 1982). As Land has argued, the assertion that women are economically dependent on men is overstated; at the very least, she argues, 'one in six of all households, <u>excluding</u> pensioner

households, are substantially or completely dependent upon a woman's earnings or benefits and the majority of these households contain either children or adult dependants.' (1976:119 emphasis in original). There is also an increasing proportion of households with no wage earning head, especially amongst the pensioned and unemployed. (West, 1978).

It is also evident that even in those families with a male 'head of household' in the sense that the husband is the primary earner, women contribute a great deal to the overall economic welfare of the family through their own paid employment, although only two per cent of married couples in Britain have a female 'chief economic supporter'. (lister and Wilson, 1976) and as Hewitt (1980) reported, only five per cent of dual earning families have a woman who earns more than her husband. However, as Hamill (1978) reports, on average a wife's earnings represent around twenty-five per cent of family income. In a recent report on low pay and family poverty in Britain it was pointed out that

> To achieve the same relative living standards which might have been afforded in the 1950s through the efforts of the breadwinner, families of the 1970s increasingly require the employment of two wage earners. In many cases the employment of married women represents the dividing line between poverty and adequate living standards. (McNay and Pond, 1980:1-2).

Hamill calculated from her analysis of the 1974 Family Expenditure Survey that the number of families located below the official (supplementary benefits) poverty line would have been multiplied by three times had the women not been in paid employment.[3]

The assumption that the family is the proper unit of class and stratification analysis is also based on the view that women are less likely to have the same level of control over their employment relationships than men. The argument that many women work part-time is often cited as a reason for not taking women's earnings into account in defining the family's class position. Land (1975; 1976) has shown, for example, that only one third to a half of married women workers are employed in part-time work, and also that two fifths of married mothers work.

Acker argues, having presented similar findings for the United States, that it is unsatisfactory to eliminate women's own attributes in the analysis of class and stratification on the following grounds.

> In a society in which women, as well as men, have resources of education, occupation and income, it is obviously not true that women have no basis for determining their own status. If women do have such resources, why do we assume they they are inoperative if the woman is married? It is inconsistent to rank an unmarried woman on the basis of her education and occupation and then maintain that these factors are of no importance to her social status or class placement after she gets married the next day? (1973:938).

If such criticisms of class and stratification theory were accepted, it is clear that an alternative approach should be sought. There have been a number of attempts to do this; firstly, by identifying women's own class position without reference to the family. Secondly, by locating women's relationship to the class structure of capitalist societies

by taking into account their own participation in the labour market and in unpaid domestic labour. And thirdly, by creating a 'cross-classification' scheme in which the husband and wife's educational and occupational achievements are taken into account.

1.3. Women as a class in themselves

Acker argues that conventional approaches to class and stratification research make it very difficult to integrate women because they have a different relationship to the occupational structure from men. She suggests, that in the case of Marxist theory, the central concern is to locate individuals or aggregates of individuals according to their relationship to the production process; Weberians on the other hand position people in stratification systems according to their relative wealth, power, market situation and socially-bestowed status. The fact that women have a different relationship to these conceptual constructs from men suggests that they are relegated to a secondary status.

Acker argues that the idea of taking the individual's own status into account irrespective of their position in the family is one way of overcoming the problem; a position from which it may be possible to integrate gender into other models of stratification in at least one of two ways.

> (1) As a dimension in stratification which cuts across class lines and produces two interrelated hierarchies of positions or persons, or
> (2) as a basis of evaluation which affects the placement of individuals in particular hierarchies. (1973:941).

Acker proposes, therefore, that similar class typologies can be retained whilst identifying women within 'caste-groupings' in the class system; each affected to some degree by the class in which they are located, and also in terms of common experiences

all women have, irrespective of class. 'Class differences in ideology, life-chances, and life-style may obscure the identical nature of many structural factors affecting female castes.' (1973:941).

If Acker's contention is accepted that women should not simply be regarded as appendages of their husbands, it is necessary to find some other criteria by which women might be ranked in a class or stratification system. She argues that in a society where there are increasing numbers of non-employed persons such factors ought to be considered: the following question is posed - 'Can value be assigned to productive work which is not paid labour?' (1973:941). She goes on to say that

> If long-range predictions about the declining centrality of work and the increasing importance of non-work activities in cybernated societies become reality, the relevance of paid occupation for class placement may decline, and other, unpaid activities may become more important as a source of social identity. (1973:941)

Such a system, Acker concedes, does not yet exist; consequently she argues that in the interim it might be possible to use housework as an indicator of class position. Such a scale might be devised, she suggests, because 'the value (of housework) may rise as functions become more centred around consumption and less around production activities.' (1973:942).

The explanatory value of such a scale is, of course, open to question. Delphy, for instance, argues in accordance with Acker that 'Occupation, the universal measure of an individual's social class, is in the case of women and women alone, replaced by a completely heterogeneous criterion:

marriage.' (1981:116). However, Delphy argues, with reference to two French stratification studies which have attempted to include women's occupational status, (Girard, 1964; Jackson, 1968) that is is meaningless also to take into account a married woman's occupation as a determinant of her class position without reference to her husband's class position.

> The critiques of the treatment of women in stratification studies suggest it is offensive for a woman to be classified according to her husband's occupation, particularly when she has an occupation of her own in so far as this leads to a distortion in possible comparisons between women and between husbands and wives. But... as far as women are concerned, taking their own occupations into account resolves nothing. (1981:122-123).

Delphy also argues that comparisons between husband's and wife's occupational status or social origin is equally problematic in that it attributes central importance to the 'association between occupation and social class position. If we accept this assumption, we must conclude that individuals without an occupation have no social class position of their own.' (1981:124). Delphy here identifies a contradiction; on the one hand, 'the absence of an occupation is seen to be the same as the absence of a place of one's own in the class structure.' (1981:125). Whilst on the other hand, 'The concept of a class system as a stratification system is exhaustive in the sense that it is supposed to cover all the possibilities in a given society.' (1981:124). Delphy points out that this contradiction is rarely challenged

because of the unquestioned acceptance of the view that occupation is the defining characteristic of class position. If a person does not have an occupation, or at least one of lesser importance to that of a male, then marriage becomes the criterion for determining class membership. A woman's stratification position or class position is therefore 'mediated and conditioned by a personal relationship.' (1981:125).

> So the relationship of women without an occupation to the economic world is a mediated and not a direct one. Women without an occupation determines a part of the economic sphere whose operation determines the criteria for social stratification, the labour market and the system of industrial wage labour. Nevertheless, they do have a relationship to production, a means of earning a living. (1981:126).

Delphy is suggesting, therefore, that women's class position in society is related to a specific position in the production process, one which is defined by her deferential relationship with her husband.

Although Delphy's argument offers little in terms of an alternative conceptualisation of women's class position which might usefully be empirically operationalised, her argument is powerful in as much as it raises a number of issues related to the positioning of women either in their own right or as dependants in the class structure.

Delphy's concerns are highly abstract in the sense that she relates her arguments to the relationship of individuals to the class structure of societies with a capitalist

mode of production and is, therefore, less concerned with the life chances of those individuals or families over time. Despite her criticisms of conventional class and stratification theories it is apparent that Delphy's arguments have not ruled out the possibility of using the family as an indicator of both women's and men's class position.

Indeed, Delphy's arguments offer more encouragement for the reconsideration of conventional class and stratification theory as a useful way of understanding women's class position than devising new approaches which might identify women's class position according to certain individualistic criteria. Consequently, it is of importance here to look again at conventional class theory in order to ascertain its overall validity in defining women's class position.[4]

1.4. Marxist and Weberian theories reconsidered

Marxist writers have continued to insist, in accordance with conventional Marxist class thoery that the class position of any individual is determined by his/her relationship to the production process either as an owner of the means of production, or as a wage labourer.[5] A number of writers have, however, identified certain problems in conceptualising women's class positions because many women do not have a direct relationship with the production process. Two complementary theories have emerged to explain women's relationship to the capitalist mode of production, these are concerned with (a) the industrial reserve army of labour, and (b) the domestic labour of women.

Rather like those economists and sociologists who have attempted to understand women's position in the labour market according to their 'peripheral' relationship to the occupational structure[6] Marxist writers have observed that women occupy a significantly different position in the labour market to men. It is argued that this position is attributed to specific changes in both the structure of the family and in the changing occupational structure in response to Capital's need to create new means of producing surplus value through the organisation of wage labour. It is argued that if women do work they are employed in jobs of lower status, security and skill than their male counterparts. As Mandel argues:

> On the one hand, the fluctuations in their (women's) employment are much greater than those of 'stable'

> workers who are 'heads of households'. On the other hand, they are paid much less for their labour power as the bourgeoisie cynically assumes that their income is only a 'supplement' to the 'family budget'. (1975:182)

In times of economic crisis, therefore, these labourers are expendible and are thrown into the industrial reserve army. Such employment, Braverman argues, 'is not an aberration but a necessary part of the working mechanism of the capitalist mode of production.' (1974:386). Furthermore:

> the female portion of the population has become the prime supplementary reservoir of labour. In all the most rapidly growing sectors of the working class, women make up the majority, and in some instances the overwhelming majority, of the workers. Women form the ideal reservoir of labour for the new mass occupations. The barrier which confines women to much lower pay scales is reinforced by the vast numbers in which they are available to capital. (1974:385).

Given that many Marxists suggest that women do have a different occupational relationship to the production process from men it is not surprising to find that some authors have considered women's domestic labour as a means of explaining their relationship to the capitalist mode of production. Seccombe (1974) argues that the Marxist analysis of the capitalist mode of production has concentrated too much attention on the production of surplus value by wage-labourers. He suggested, therefore, that analysis should proceed not only from the organisation of capitalist enterprises, but also from the family. The family, he argues, produces two functions for capital: (1) the reproduction of labour power, and (2) the reproduction of capitalist relations through child socialisation.

Seccombe's argument is useful in the sense that it takes women's unwaged labour into account in Marxist theory. However, it does not explain how women have come to be identified with domestic labour only and men have been regarded as the primary earners within the family. It does not, therefore, consider the causes or consequences of women's position in the family on labour market participation. As Mactintosh argues

> The sexual division of labour within the home - that is, the fact that it is women who perform most of the domestic labour - had within the terms of the debate to be taken for granted. Once it was taken for granted that it is women who do the housework, then the analysis of domestic labour could be used to examine the question of how women's work within the home is related to her subordination both within the home and outside it. (1979:174)

Weberian theorists, it seems, have a clearer understanding of inequality between the sexes which derives from women's socialised domestic role and escape the functionalistic approaches many Marxists adopt. Although they too regard the family as the unit of class analysis.

Parkin, for example, explains that the family is the unit of class analysis but identifies inequalities which may occur because of women's socially conditioned role within it.

> The failure of some writers to recognise that the family, not the individual is the appropriate social unit of the class system has led to some confusions in their analysis... Not infrequently, collectivities of individuals having particular attributes in common such as age and sex, are designated as units of stratification. Women, for example, by virtue of the disabilities they suffer in comparison with men... are sometimes regarded as social units comparable to a subordinate class or racial minority. (1971:14)

Parkin argues that women's class position should be determined by their husband's occupation, despite the fact that women share certain common disadvantages. Feamle status, Parkin argues:

> certainly carries many disadvantages compared with that of males in various areas of social life including employment opportunities, property ownership, income and so on. However, these inequalities associated with sex differences are not usefully thought of as components of stratification. This is because for the great majority of women the allocation of social and economic rewards is determined primarily by the position of their families - and in particular that of their male head. Although women today share certain status attributes in common, simply by virtue of their sex, their claims over resources are not primarily determined by their own occupation, but, more commonly, by that of their fathers or their husbands. (1971:14-15 emphasis added).

Parkin; therefore, rejects the notion of locating women in a class system in an independent capacity on the grounds that their relationship to it is primarily determined by their husband's occupation.

Giddens, in a brief though pertinent comment on the class position of women, supports the view that the family is the central unit of analysis:

> Given that women still have to await their liberation from the family, it remains the case in the capitalist societies that female workers are largely peripheral to the class system; or, expressed differently, women are in a sense the 'underclass' of the white collar sector. They tend to monopolise occupations which not only have a low economic return, but which are lacking in subsiduary economic benefits, have limited security of tenure, and offer little in the way of chances of promotion. (1975:228).

Both Giddens and Parkin, therefore, maintain that the husband's occupation is the most useful indicator of a family's class position; but at the same time, recognise that there is a degree of inequality within the family and at the workplace. This inequality is not, however, necessarily condoned. As Goldthorpe has recently written in defence of the conventional view:

> Consistently, therefore, when class theorists subscribe to the view that it is the family that forms the basic unit of stratification, they do not seek to claim that this must be so in order that certain functional requirements are met. Rather they give an account that again emphasises inequalities in power and advantage which are found within modern western societies. (1983:469).

The Weberian argument appears, in conclusion, to offer an acceptable explanation for taking the husband's occupational position as a general indicator of a family's class position.(7) However, a very important question needs to be raised when the sociologist intends not only to consider a 'snap-shot' view of the family's class position but to look at the changing class position of families over time; ie, is it acceptable to regard the husband's occupation as an indication of the mobility potential of that family, or are there other processes involved which might enhance the chances of a family being class mobile?

It would appear that the Nuffield mobility researchers did not see any reason to consider the possible effect women might have on a family's mobility potential. Indeed, the issue is never raised. This omission, it might be argued, is

acceptable because the study was less concerned with the mobility of individuals than with the effect of mobility on class structuration, consciousness and action.[8] As Goldthorpe points out, the decision to ignore women was taken on the following grounds.

> It concerned the degree of relevance that information on the occupational mobility of women would have for our own interests which, as we have made clear, were not in processes of occupational attainment as such but rather in occupational qua class mobility, and, primarily in its implications for class mobility. (1980:287).

The validity of this assumption must be brought into question.

Although the male's occupation may offer an indication of a family's class position at one particular time (in that occupations can be hierarchically categorised according to a common definition of occupational prestige), it is not clear from his occupation what opinions both he and his wife may hold about, say, affiliation with trade unions or political parties: commonly adopted indicators of class consciousness, formation and action. Given that the concept of social mobility relates not only to husbands and wives, but to their children also, it would seem to be important to discuss the effects of family background in transmitting certain attitudes about class. Certainly, the father's occupational position is very important, yet, the mother's own occupational history (even if she is not presently working) and her own family background ought to be taken into account as well.

It is surprising that Goldthorpe does not recognise the importance of such factors on class consciousness and action because he, in collaboration with David Lockwood et al, has presented evidence which supports the view that the wife's influence on the class identification of the family is significant. As Bruegal points out.

> Goldthorpe and Lockwood do show that wives' contact with white collar work has an effect on husband's voting behaviour and on family's social activities. Given this, Goldthorpe's neglect of mother's influence on social mobility patterns is all the more strange. Moreover, the influence of mother's earnings on resources available to the household continues to be ignored. (1982:6).

Because Goldthorpe is so concerned with class structuration, reflected very strongly by his in-depth discussion of Marx's writings on the class structure and the formation of classes, it is not surprising to find that he pays no attention to the Weberian concept of market situation.(9) The decision to avoid the concept of market situation was unfortunate because it might have offered some explanation for the propensity of certain families to change their class position. By exploring such factors which affect mobility, the central aims of Goldthorpe's thesis would not have been re-directed; on the contrary, such a programme of work may have enhanced our understanding of the processes of class identification, formation and action.

1.5. Goldthorpe's defence of the conventional view: a critique

In 'Women and class analysis: in defence of the conventional view' (1983) Goldthorpe attacks the recent attempt of Nicky Britten and Anthony Heath to devise a method of taking women's employment into account in the definition of a family's class position. They argue that in many families the economic and social contribution of the woman to the family is substantial and should, therefore, be included. Britten and Heath argue, with reference to families with a manual working male and non-manual working feamle, that:

> the members of this cross-class category, both women and men, display characteristics and behaviour which are by no means identical to those of the homogeneous manual families to which they are usually assimilated. The cross-class family is a large and important category within the contemporary class structure which class theorists ignore at their peril. (1983:60).

Goldthorpe's rejection of their schema stems from the high levels of mobility which would be recorded if women are taken into account. He sums up his criticisms as follows:

> The conclusion to which one is forced is then that the application of a class schema of the kind proposed by Britten and Heath to the analysis of the class structure is in effect a largely self-defeating exercise. If the employment situation of married women is as important in determining the class locations of their families as such a schema implies, then it has in turn to be accepted that the rate of mobility of family units is at such a level that any interest in class formation becomes difficult to sustain. (1983:484).

On its own, such an argument is itself difficult to sustain,

ie, rejecting Britten and Heath's method simply because it is rather damaging to Goldthorpe's own theory. Goldthorpe does, however, add more substance to his criticism when he argues that:

> In fact, for anyone who has examined women's work-histories in detail, it would be difficult to regard the frequency of class mobility that is implied by the Britten-Heath schema as being other than spurious. (1983:484).

Although Goldthorpe did not, of course, examine women's work histories in detail, he invites the reader to 'consider the following (hypothetical) case' ...

> The wife of a man[10] who is throughout a manual wage-worker herself works for two years after their marriage as a shop assistant. She then leaves paid employment for a period of eight years, during which time she has two children. She then goes back to work on the 'twilight' shift at a local factory, but after a year stops again to have a third child. Five years later she returns to work once more, part-time at the factory: but after another year she finds employment again as a shop assistant. An every day story of working-class folk? But according to the Britten-Heath schema, the family has been class mobile five times in less than twenty years. (1983:488).

It cannot be disputed that Goldthorpe's point is quite valid: it is extremely difficult to devise a class hierarchy which takes into account both the man and the woman's occupation in a family. However, this is not a sufficiently strong reason to disregard the possibility that in social mobility terms, women may have an effect.

Below, a second hypothetical example is presented which might usefully be interpreted in a number of ways.

> A man of working class origin begins work in a large nationalised industry as an apprentice engineer. By the time he is married he is a qualified telephone engineer and later becomes a technical officer. After a number of years as a technical officer he moves into the drawing office as a draughtsman having taken a number of examinations at night school and day release courses. Whilst in the drawing office he is heavily involved in a trade union which brings him into contact with the welfare department of the firm. He decides eventually to become a welfare officer himself and after a few years moves through the various grades by moving around the country. Whilst working as a welfare officer further examinations are taken qualifying him for employment in the personnel department. Eventually he becomes personnel controller in a large provencial headquarters. After a further five years he is invited to become chairman of a provincial headquarters.
>
> His wife was of middle class origin, her father having been a station master. At the time of marriage she worked in an office as a wages clerk and remained in this job for three years until they could afford to have children. She then stayed out of paid employment for fifteen years until both children were at secondary schools. After which she decided to train as a school teacher, after she had qualified she began teaching in a number of schools depending on the place of her husband's employment. She remained a teacher until her husband's retirement.

In terms of Britten and Heath's schema, this example is far less problematic because the occupational career of the husband is, in terms of the occupational heirarchy used, highly coherent in the sense that each occupational change marks an upward movement. So strong is this career development that it makes little difference what the wife's occupation was, although her career in teaching complements the solid middle-classness of his own occupational history in later years. So much so, in fact, that it would not seem

to be all that important to take her occupations into account at all, thus Goldthorpe's thesis is supported.

There is, however, more to be said about this particular family's class mobility. According to Goldthorpe's approach it is the male who determines the class position of the family, he suggests that:

> what is essential to class analysis is the argument that family members share in the same class position, and that this position is determined by that of the family 'head' in the sense of the family member who has the greatest commitment to, and continuity in, labour market participation. (1983:470 emphasis added).

Issue should be taken with the way in which Goldthorpe suggests that the 'head' of the family 'determines' the class position of the family. Certainly, on most occasions his occupation 'reflects' the class position of the family in that it is indicative of the family's income and perhaps style of life. However, it is not quite so clear how the husband's career pattern is determined. Goldthorpe argues that the husband's 'instrumental leadership' (a term he borrows from functionalism but does not use in functionalist terms) is the cause of the mobility. It will be argued here that this might not always be the case, although the husband's occupational career is certainly indicative of class mobility.

With reference to the hypothetical example cited above, it might be argued that the husband's occupational mobility has indeed changed the family's class position and identification in many ways. His wife no longer works in routine clerical employment after she has had children, it

might be argued, because it is not befitting of a person who is incorporated in a family of such a class position. Certainly, she would be less likely, now, to work in a manual capacity or in a shop as an assistant. So she trains as a teacher, the sort of occupation many of his colleagues wives have: the sort of occupation she identifies with is, therefore, determined by his occupation in the sense that both he and she identify with a new class perspective.

Such an argument would be valid if it could be accepted that the husband's occupational position is determinant. It is clear, however, that if such theoretical and methodological constraints common to social mobility research are removed that a quite different explanation might emerge. It could be argued that the husband's success in obtaining higher occupational status is strongly dependent on his wife's ability to adapt to new social situations. Although it is not, of course, possible to generalise in terms of the psychological capacities of individuals to change, it is possible to draw some insightful sociological generalisations by simply considering her own class background. Because she was of middle class origin, indeed, born into a family which enjoyed not only a comfortable standard of living but also a good deal of recognition within the community, she would be aware of some of the advantages of middle-class life as well as being au fait with the social conventions of the middle-classes. It need not be argued that she will, as a

consequence, 'push' the husband into obtaining a higher occupational position (although she might), all that needs to be said is that he may subliminally absorb certain aspects of a middle class way of life which may enhance his opportunities in obtaining a better job.

Clearly, it would be most inappropriate to argue that the mix of middle class wife with working class husband will always cause long-distance social mobility. What is being argued is that to suggest that the head of household determines the family's class mobility potential is unacceptable, although it would seem reasonable to suggest that it reflects the family's class position. In social mobility studies which claim to offer explanations for the causes and consequences of mobility on individuals and families it would seem an invaluable source of insight to look not only at men and their family origins but also to look at their wife's family origin. Empirically such a programme of work would be very difficult to instigate as there would seem to be few concrete indicators of one person's influence over another.[11]

Given the complexity of the arguments which have been discussed above, it is useful here briefly to summarise the conclusions drawn before proceeding.

Firstly, it has been demonstrated that the idea of classifying married women in a system of stratification

without reference to their husband's occupational status is problematic because women, and especially married women seem to have a contingent relationship to the production process; or, in Weberian terms, have an insecure work situation.

Secondly, it has been suggested that Marxist and Weberian class theorists have directed considerable attention to the issue of women's class position. Marxists have tended, however, to adopt a functionalist standpoint where women's position in relationship to the class structure is one which is useful to capital. The Weberians, on the other hand, are more sympathetic to the inequality of opportunity which this relationship causes. But Marxist and Weberian theorists explore neither the extent of this inequality, nor the causes and consequences of inequality in sufficient detail. Notwithstanding, the insistence amongst both Marxists and Weberians that the family is the most useful unit of class analysis is accepted here, and also, that the husband's occupational position is the best indicator of this class position. Although it is recognised also that the use of the family as the unit of analysis is also problematic because it is not universal.

Thirdly, it has been argued that social mobility researchers, who <u>are</u> concerned with the causes and consequences of families' class mobility over time are incorrect in their assumption that the husband's job determines the class position

of the family because this assumes that he, and he alone, holds the key to that family's potential to be socially mobile or stable. At best, conventional social mobility data can describe what the class position of a family is at particular times, but it cannot explain why that family is mobile.

Fourthly, it has been shown that the use of a 'cross-class' schema as a way of including women's occupational position in the definition of a family's class position is also problematic. The reason for which is that women seem to have a less stable occupational career which has the effect of constantly changing the family's class position. It has been argued, however, that the problem of taking women's occupations into account is more a methodological one than theoretical, because those attempts to create a cross-class schema have relied heavily upon conventional methods of occupational scaling when in fact a more fruitful methodology might have been employed which considered both partners' family background, education and occupational histories. In Chapter Eight, an alternative methodological approach to the study of class mobility will be tentatively suggested.

1.6. Conclusion: the analysis of occupational mobility

The preceding discussion has directed criticism both at those sociologists who have chosen to ignore women and those who attempt to include women in the analysis of class, stratification and social mobility. Although an alternative methodology will be tentatively suggested in Chapter Eight, it is clear that in this thesis, which is based upon a data set which was collected in the manner of most 'conventional' social mobility research, an attempt seriously to consider issues of class mobility (in either the Marxist or Weberian sense) would be inappropriate given that data on married women are being used.

The fact that data on both women and men are available provides a unique opportunity to explore questions of a different kind, such as the questions of inequality of opportunity of individuals to obtain higher occupational status in the labour market: an issue which has, of late, been neglected by many social mobility researchers. Given that this is a comparative study of men and women it will be possible to research both the differential patterns of occupational mobility and labour market participation in an original manner given that no such sociological data are available elsewhere.

Bearing in mind that only limited attention has been paid to the study of female's occupational mobility in

the past, it is important to clarify how the terms conventionally used in social mobility research are to be operationalised in this project. Each of these will now be dealt with in turn.

By occupational mobility the movements of men and women between occupational status categories are being referred to. Although a number of occupational status scales will be used in the thesis, all adhere to a similar principle: that certain occupations are 'commonly' attributed a higher social status than others in the sense that they offer their incumbents certain economic rewards, employment security, social standing and so on. Bearing this in mind, it is clear that however many categories are being defined, a certain hierarchical logic is being assumed.[12] For the various reasons outlined above, however, the term occupational mobility should not be associated with class mobility.

In the analytical work which follows, both intergenerational and intragenerational mobility will be referred to. Considering the latter first, intragenerational mobility will be used to explain the pattern of occupational movements of individuals within their own career in paid employment. Intergenerational mobility on the other hand, refers to the occupational attainment of individuals in comparison with their father when the respondent was aged fourteen. The father's occupation is being used to refer to the individual's social origin, or, class of origin. This decision is consistent with the theoretical conclusions drawn above,

which stated that the respondent's father's occupation is likely to give a strong indication of the family's class position at that time.

Details of the collection of the Scottish Mobility Study's data and a discussion of, and explanations for the methods of categorisation of data in this thesis are presented in Chapter Four. Before this, it is necessary to consider the development of the Scottish industrial and occupational structure, from which a theoretical analysis of the position of women in the labour market can proceed in Chapter Three.

NOTES

(1) For instance, see Acker, 1973; Delphy, 1981; Cooper, 1983; Allen, 1980; McRae, 1982; Llewellyn, 1981; Eichler, 1982; Oakley, 1981; Bruegal, 1982.

(2) The work of Talcott Parsons was particularly influential in the sociology of the family in both the United States and in Britain. His concentration on the 'expressive' role of women in the family as opposed to the 'instrumental' or economic role of men tended to isolate women from other areas of discussion in sociology. Although Parsons eventually recognised that 'the preservation of a functioning family system even of our type is incompatible with complete 'equality of opportunity' (1964:422) in the occupational structure, he did not seek to explain this situation other than in purely functional terms.

(3) The evidence presented in this paragraph is drawn from Oakley (1981:294-5).

(4) The following discussion of Marxist and Weberian attempts to locate women's class position must necessarily be brief given that this study is primarily concerned with the social mobility and occupational mobility of men and women in industrial society and not with the broader issues of class structuration, consciousness and action.

(5) Clearly, this is a gross oversimplification of those Marxist theories which have attempted to locate the growing middle classes into their explanations of the class structure in late capitalism. (Carchedi, 1983; Poulantzas, 1975, 1977; Olin Wright, 1978). However, this simplification can be justified on the grounds that the over riding concern of these theorists has continued to be the attempt to understand class position within the relations of production in advanced capitalist societies and not within the occupational structures of these societies.

(6) A discussion of 'segmented labour markets' and 'dual labour markets' will be presented in Chapter Three.

(7) Although they do not satisfactorily take into account the position of single women or of households with a female head of household or no head of household. (Stanworth, 1984)

(8) It should be noted that Goldthorpe's 'interests' in class formation, consciousness and action may not have been fully developed from the outset. The initial objectives of the Oxford Mobility Study Group were defined clearly before the fieldwork began. The members of the research group, Hope pointed out:

> have set themselves initially a twofold task: the detection of trends in intergenerational social mobility within the society of England and Wales, and the comparison of the processes of occupational achievement in British and American society. In its first aspect our task is to repeat the enquiry reported by Professor David Glass and his colleagues in Social Mobility in Britain, and in its second aspect our task is to replicate the enquiry reported by Professor Peter Blau and Professor Dudley Duncan in The American Occupational Structure. (1972:1)

If the aim of the study was to make 'comparisons of the processes of occupational achievement in British and American society' it would appear to be relatively clear that one of the central aims of the study was to ascertain the various reasons why some individuals were more successful than others in obtaining a higher occupational status than others. In other words, a central theme was to assess those factors which affect an individuals market situation and not simply consider the work situation. The Oxford Mobility Study Group's undertaking, therefore, was not only to look at occupational places which came into being or were lost in response to the needs of capitalism, but also, to address the issue of those factors which affected individual's chances of obtaining a better job. If the aim of the study had been to discuss places only, the omission of women from the sample may have been justified in as far as the male's occupation does at least give a strong indication of the family's class position at one particular time. If some attention was to be paid to the issue of the 'processes of occupational achievement' however, as indeed it was, it would then seem quite unacceptable that no data on the respondent's wife and his wife's social origins were collected.

It is no less than alarming to note that there seems to be no reference in any of the early working papers of the Oxford Social Mobility Group to the issue of women and social mobility. Indeed, even when 'Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain' was published some

eight years later, only a limited consideration was given to the issue of women, and even here only briefly in an appendix.

(9) Significantly, Goldthorpe makes only one reference to Weber in 'Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain' and here only in criticism of Duncan for not taking Weber into account.

(10) Goldthorpe, presumably, means a 'married woman'.

(11) Unfortunately, there is very little sociological evidence available to support these arguments, only indirectly has the role of men's wives been taken into account. (Dennis, et al, 1969, (Miners); Tunstall, 1962, (Fishermen) 1971, (Journalists); Pahl and Pahl, 1971, (Managers); Fowlkes, 1980 (Medicine and Academia); Beynon, 1973 (Car Workers); Cain, 1973, Mitchell, 1975 (Policemen). In one recent study, 'Married to the Job', only secondary evidence was used, however, some support was found for the view that women do play an important role in furthering men's careers. (Finch: 1984).

(12) Goldthorpe (1972) considers the issue of the construction of occupational scales which take into account a common definition of prestige in some detail. The actual categorisation of such scales is however, a purely individual decision on the part of the sociologist, and has, therefore been the centre of some controversy (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974; Payne, 1975; Stewart, Blackburn and Prandy, 1981). The definitions of the scales to be used in this thesis are in Chapter Four with explanations for preferences.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SCOTLAND : 1930-1970

2.1. Introduction

In Chapter One it was stated that the central aim of this thesis is to assess the differential patterns of occupational mobility amongst men and women in Scotland using the data collected in the Scottish Mobility Study of 1975. Clearly, if a discussion of such patterns and explanations for variations are to be forwarded, it is essential that the development of the Scottish industrial and occupational structure is considered in some depth for the period 1930-1970. Furthermore, a discussion of changes in the industrial and occupational structure is particularly important given that this study concerns itself with Scotland only, and not with the whole of Britain. In the past such discussion has been neglected by some social mobility researchers, instead it is simply assumed that data collected from parts of Britain apply to all of Britain.(1)

This Chapter will be divided into four parts. In the first, an historical analysis of the development of the industrial structure of Scotland will be presented. Although

the primary objective of this discussion will be to identify the key changes in the industrial structure between 1930 and 1970, a brief review of the earlier developments in the industrial structure of Scotland will be forwarded in order to explain why Scottish industry became less diverse than in England.

In the second part of the Chapter a detailed discussion of the development of the Scottish occupational structure will be forwarded. In this section comparisons will be made between Scotland and the rest of Britain in order to assess the extent to which the Scottish occupational structure is different.

In the first two sections of the Chapter, it will have been demonstrated that the industrial and occupational structure of Scotland is similar to that of England and Wales in many ways. Nevertheless, the evidence will have shown that certain significant dissimilarities are identifiable. In order to assess the level to which the findings presented in this thesis are generally applicable to Britain as a whole, a comparative analysis of the patterns of occupational distribution for men in England and Wales, and Scotland will be forwarded. This analysis is necessarily restricted to men alone because no data are available for women in the Nuffield study of social mobility in England and Wales.

In the final section, patterns of occupational participation of women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 will

be analysed. In this section also, comparative data for Scotland and Britain will be presented. This discussion is of particular importance for the critical consideration of those theories which assert that women's occupational participation is restricted in comparison with men which will follow in Chapter Three.

2.2. The structure of the Scottish industrial economy

The industrial economy of Scotland did not develop as quickly as in England, nevertheless, by the latter half of the nineteenth century Scottish industry was mature and prosperous. (Burgess, 1980; Campbell, 1965; Dickson and Clarke, 1980; Hobsbaum, 1969; Lenman, 1977; Slaven, 1975). After the First World War the apparent unshakability of Scotland's economic security was undermined. As Lenman comments, 'the self-reinforcing success of the Victorian age seemed to have been replaced by an age of self-reinforcing failure.' (1977:206). Given that the aim of this Chapter is to explain the changing patterns of employment in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 it is important here to outline some of the reasons why the Scottish industrial economy was weakened by considering briefly the development of the industrial structure in the nineteenth century, and further, to detail the effects of these developments on industrial structure between 1930 and 1970.

In the period between 1870 and 1914 Scotland was a highly prosperous industrial nation. Unlike the English industrial economy, however, the most economically successful industries were concentrated in heavy manufacturing. Other industries which had enjoyed high profits in the earlier part of the nineteenth century had progressed little. Indeed, even the cotton industry, which had been highly profitable,

fell into decline by the end of the century. (Slaven, 1975:110). Not all textile industries failed; some industrialists specialised into thread making, and others into high quality textiles, nevertheless, such diversification was rare. (Lenman, 1977:188-9). The majority of investment in Scotland continued to be concentrated in shipbuilding, iron and steel production, and mining. By 1870 these industries were well integrated, each increasing production enormously up until 1914. Coal production, for example, doubled between 1870 and 1914 as demand escalated with the developing steel industry and as the railways reached previously inaccesible areas.

The biggest success story of the era was the shipbuilding industry and the associated metal manufacturing industries. It developed as larger and faster ships were required to cope with ever expanding world trade. By the 1870s steel hull ships were being ordered in preference to the composite vessels (wood and iron), in 1879, 10.3% of Clyde launchings were steel, only one decade later 97.2% of the Clyde shipbuilders production were steel ships. (Campbell, 1965:229).

The steel industry responded to the requirements of the shipyards, although it had not been a major industrial concern before the 1850s due to severe production problems. In view of these difficulties the pig iron producers made little effort to convert to steel production, the malleable iron producers, who had been unable to compete with the pig

iron manufacturers eventually overcame the problem of steel production once the Gilchrist-Thomas method was perfected. The Steel Company of Scotland received its first admiralty order in 1876, by 1885, there were ten steel manufacturing companies which produed 42% of all British steel production.

Despite the successes in shipbuilding, steel production and coal mining, by the end of the period many industries were under pressure. The once thriving iron industry was threatened both by the new steel manufacturers and by foreign competition, and textile production was in serious decline. Industrial investment in Scotland had been concentrated in two industries, the prosperity of which masked the effects of decline in other sectors of the economy. Unlike the English industrial structure which was well diversified and could adapt more easily to changing markets after the First World War, the Scottish economy showed signs of collapse as the demand for iron, steel, and ships fell away.

Before the First World War, Scotland had been a relatively independent capitalist nation, inasmuch as the investment in Scottish industry was, on the whole, internally generated. When it was not, for example in the railways where considerable English investment was attracted, the firms were still under the control of Scottish directors. (Scott and Hughes, 1980:18-19).

Much of Scottish investment was also directed into

overseas ventures, numerous investment trusts were set up which exported capital into North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, (Scott and Hughes, 1980:25-30) to the detriment of internal investment. With the onset of industrial decline after the war, many of Scotland's previously independent industrial enterprises were forced to merge with British companies in order to avoid complete collapse, much of the initiative for the incorporation of Scottish capital into English came from England itself, and in many cases from Westminster.

During the First World War there was no shortage of demand for coal, iron and steel and new ships, there had also been a boom in textiles. At the end of the war the demand for these products did not collapse immediately and in the case of shipbuilding demand remained relatively stable for some time. By the end of the inter-war years however, as Table 2.1. indicates, the steel industry was the most stable whereas the others, especially pig iron production, fell into decline.

By the 1930s it was recognised by the government that the overemphasis on heavy industry in Scotland was the cause of Scotland's poor economic condition. In response, the government took positive steps to remedy the problem, this was the first time Westminster had intervened in peace time, although it had been shown during the war years that such state intervention could lead to greater efficiency through

TABLE 2.1.

Output of Coal, Steel, Iron and Shipbuilding Industries: 1911-1937

	West Scotland Coal (million tons)	Scotland Pig-iron (million tons)	Scotland Steel (million tons)	Clyde Launchings (million tons)
1911-1913	22.7	1.32	1.3	676.0
1918-1920	17.1	0.97	1.8	617.2
1927-1929	16.8	0.61	1.5	544.3
1935-1937	14.0	0.45	1.6	293.3

(from Slaven, 1975:184)

the rationalisation of the production process. Government action was largely ineffective however, the heavy industries struggled with a series of booms and slumps which related closely to the flow of orders in the shipbuilding industry which, in turn, affected demand in the steel industry. Coal production became less cost effective as old seams were worked, even in 1920, the Scottish mines were running a deficit of £5,250,000 and 1921 were losing about a million pounds a month, had it not been for heavy subsidisation from the more productive English and Welsh mines the industry would have collapsed.

1930 marked the beginning of the depression, Dundee was worst hit when the Jute trade discarded 70% of its workforce leaving 37,000 unemployed jute workers in Dundee alone in July of 1932, this was reflection, albeit an extreme

case, of what was happening all over Scotland.

The failure of the Scottish industrialists to respond to changes in technology in both newly established and existing industries worsened the effects of economic depression, as in the case of nineteenth century industrial entrepreneurs, if a profit was being made there seemed to be little effort to rationalise and diversify. In the worst periods of the 'thirties there was considerable encouragement from government to industries to reorganise in order to cope with changing markets, however, in many Scottish industries the typical response was simply to sack labour in order to maintain waning profit margins. Perhaps in a period of such uncertainty such a response might be expected, the long term effect of depression were seriously exacerbated by the recalcitrance of industrialists to look ahead; and as a consequence, as Slaven comments: 'such a prolonged period of depressed not only debilitated the staple industries; it cut off new developments, and made the problem of regeneration all the more severe.' (1975:200).

New industrial developments had taken place during the First World War, notably motor vehicle and aircraft production and electrical engineering, however, most of these collapsed despite the efforts of entrepreneurs to diversify; Wm. Beardmore, and the Argyle Motor Company had both shown great potential but neither succeeded. One reason for the failure of such industries to become well established was the intense competition from the English Midlands, in this region, there

were signs of economic recovery in 1932, in the case of Scotland recovery did not come until the Second World War. Ironically, the recovery of Scottish industry was concentrated once more in the heavy industries which showed remarkable recuperative qualities, however, the development of modern industries was limited.

By the end of the 1930s Scottish capital had been incorporated into the wider sphere of English capital. One of the first movements towards these interlinkages came about when the government forced certain railway company amalgamations when the London-Midland-Scotland Railway and the London-North-Eastern Railway companies were established, both with London based head offices. Similarly, the production of electricity was centralised by the Central Electricity Generating Board as the National Grid was planned in 1926. Another important change was the merger of Brunner-Mond, United Alkali and Nobel's among others with ICI, this was the first time a British company had adopted a centralised divisional administrative structure rather than a holding company structure, after this merger the last important section of the Scottish chemical industry was passed out of Scottish control. (Scott and Hughes, 1980:66-67). In the inter-war years, as Scott and Hughes have noted, 'Three trends stand out: economic concentration, "anglicisation" of control, and the growth of government regulation.' (1980:67). After the war a further trend can be identified,

the 'Americanisation' of much of Scotland's industry as numerous 'branch-plants' have been established under the control of American 'parent-companies'. (Scott and Hughes, 1980:126-7; Smith and Brown, 1980).

Since the Second World War, Scotland's industrial structure has undergone numerous changes, however, it still retains the legacy of its past inasmuch as the economy, especially in the West of Scotland, is dominated by heavy industry. The Second World War revived Scottish industry, the process began as a programme of rearmament was initiated in the late 1930s. Most of the economic activity was concentrated in the traditional heavy industries; on the eve of the war there were over 178,000 unemployed people in the West of Scotland, by July 1944 the number was 16,199, less than 1% of the insured workforce. Industries which had been in decline for nearly twenty years found it difficult to respond to the enormous demands of war, although the industries coped well. The war brought an enormous boost to these industries, the effect of five years at war went further than this however, as Slaven has commented:

> It also brought an extension of government intervention and a demonstration that a planned or managed economy could work. The success of government involvement left the central administration with certain important convictions. The first was a commitment to plans for reconstruction after the war to avoid the calamities which befell the nation after 1918, and an overriding determination to maintain high levels of employment. (1975:211)

The war had demonstrated convincingly the capacity of the

Scottish industrial workforce to utilise skills flexibly, even after a long period of depression. Nevertheless, in the immediate post-war years prospects for long-term recovery looked poor; there was a shortage of skilled labour as well as dollars for investment and raw materials, unemployment rose rapidly to 78,702 by 1946. (Slaven, 1975:210-11). In the decade which followed this trend was completely reversed, in fact, in the period from 1947 to 1960 unemployment remained low, whilst the workforce itself increased from 1,463,000 to 2,154,000 by 1960.

This period of prosperity was brought about as new industries were established, especially in light engineering (clocks, batteries, sound equipment, cash registers and so on) which took advantage of cheap female labour and government incentives, many of these firms were of American origin. Such industries were not as well developed as in England; emphasis still remained on the staple industries. One writer in the 'afflucent 'fifties' reluctantly admitted that the over-emphasis on heavy engineering, especially shipbuilding, may lead to future problems: 'The predominance of heavy industries' Leser writes, 'makes Scotland sensitive to economic depressions since it is generally the production of heavy engineering products that falls off most drastically in a slump.' (1954:69). Leser's optimistic account of growing industry is, in itself, an indictment of an imbalanced industrial structure: he comments that 'Scotland is lagging

behind in the development of plastic-goods productions and in a few minor industries, but the manufacture of rubber products promises an expanding output.' (1954:131). Industrial investment was concentrated in old industries as opposed to the new growth areas (ie rubber instead of plastic) as Leser admits, 'it remains true, however, that light engineering is relatively insignificant'. (1954:121).

In this period of overall affluence, the government did not make great efforts to rectify the disequilibrium of the Scottish industrial structure, although it is evident, with the benefit of hindsight that this appearance of affluence was a veneer. As Lenman comments:

> Macmillan had style not to say dash but he did not, in Scotland deliver the goods. Arguably he hardly did that in England either, but, when he claimed the credit for prosperity there in the late 1950s, there was at least plenty of it around. (1977:250).

In the 1960s the pace of decline accelerated considerably, the fortunes of the railway industry provides a suitable example. When the railways were nationalised, the system inherited a rail network which had been over-expanded and was run-down, also, the increasing number of private car owners and competition from the road haulage companies rendered many lines uneconomic. The Beeching Report, published in 1963, proposed widespread cuts in services, especially on the non-profit making northern and south western services. Many of these proposals were shelved on the grounds that there was not suitable road transport into these areas rendering

the social cost of closures too high. (Lenman, 1977:255-6).

The coal industry also faced cutbacks in uneconomic pits, in 1962 the Scottish Division of the National Coal Board forwarded a plan to close twenty-three of the remaining seventy-one Scottish pits, a decision which was made as demand fell when oil-firing became more important, not only in the domestic market but also in very large firms such as Colville's, the steelmakers. Shipbuilding also faced recession after nearly fifteen years of full order books, despite the fact the the demand for large vessels, especially oil tankers, was rising; many of the Clyde yards operated on the narrowest of margins until the situation improved. However, in the face of fierce foreign competition, especially from Japan, West Germany and Sweden the industry continued to decline. (Lenman, 1977:256-7). Foreign competition was not the only explanation for decline however, as Andrew Schonfield concluded in 1958:

> it is very hard to account for the extraordinary behaviour of certain British industries in recent years, Shipbuilding is perhaps the most remarkable case of all... (in) the post-war decade Britain achieved the longest shipbuilding order book in the history of man... (during) the 1950s the amount of money spent on plant equipment can have been barely sufficient to cover wear and tear and obsolescence in the shipyards... (suggesting) to the outsider that someone was trying to get out of the business, and in the meantime was determined to spend as little as possible on it. (cited by Smith and Brown, 1980:291 my brackets)

In the 1960s, successive governments attempted to encourage industrialists to set up new industries in Scotland,

the Central Scotland Plan for 1963, for example, emphasised the importance of establishing light industries. (Lenman, 1977:254-5). The successes of many of these 'planning' exercises were limited although some large companies were attracted, such as the British Motor Corporation's truck and tractor plant at Bathgate in 1961 and the Rootes' plant at Linwood producing Hillman Imp motorcars in 1963, but as Lenman points out, 'Both plants nearly collapsed in their early years due to a combination of low productivity, high overheads, and transport costs.' (1977:258).

There had been a continuous flow of overseas investment in new manufacturing industries in Scotland, especially from the United States, between 1958 and 1968 overseas companies provided thirty percent of new employment in Scottish manufacturing industry. (Firn, 1975:168). There remained a strong bias towards heavy manufacture despite these new developments in light industries, however, it would be misleading to suggest that all new employment in the post-war period derived from manufacturing alone. Indeed, in Scotland, as had been the case in England, there was an enormous growth in the service industries and in administrative employment (in Local and National government, nationalised industries and commercial and financial services), the importance of which should not be underestimated in consideration of changes in the occupational structure between 1930 and 1970, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.3. Changing patterns of employment in the Scottish occupational structure: 1930-1970

In the last section it was shown that Scottish industry continued to be concentrated in heavy manufacturing throughout the period 1930-1970 despite recurrent fluctuations in demand. In order to combat the inherent economic instability caused by such concentration, successive governments attempted to broaden the base of the economy by encouraging the establishment of new industries in Scotland. However, the Scottish industrial economy remained susceptible to recession because an increasing number of companies were satellites of English and American firms which were externally controlled: consequently, the possibility of withdrawal to other areas rendered the industrial structure unstable. (Smith and Brown, 1980).

In this section the impact of the heavy concentration in heavy manufacturing in Scotland on the occupational structure will be assessed utilising comparative data for England and Britain as a whole.(2) In the above discussion of Scottish industrial development most attention has been directed towards manufacturing and extractive industries, in this section the scope of study will be broadened to include the development of other industrial sectors, namely the construction industries, public utilities (ie transport and communications; distributive trades; and gas, electricity and water services and so on) and the service industries

(ie Banking, finance and business services; Professional and scientific services: Public administration etc). Before this more general analysis is undertaken, in view of the detailed historical discussion of the development of manufacturing and extractive industries in Section One, it is useful, firstly, to make some detailed comparisons between labour force participation in Britain as a whole as compared with Scotland.[3]

In the industries which have traditionally played an important role in Scottish industry (represented in the upper section of Table 2.2.) especially heavy industries such as mining, metal manufacture and shipbuilding it can be seen that between 1931 and 1971 there has been considerable contraction in employment with the exception of shipbuilding which enjoyed a period of regeneration in the 1950s. In comparison with Britain as a whole, shipbuilding has employed a much larger proportion of the workforce in Scotland.

In metal manufacturing also, there has been a relatively stable pattern of employment which has generally been at a higher level than in Britain as a whole. The other industries which have experienced the most marked decline are the textile industries, and mining and quarrying. In mining, the proportion of the employed manufacturing workforce has been reduced by more than two-thirds since 1931 and by almost a half in textiles; although this decline in employment is reflected in Britain as a whole.

TABLE 2.2

Industrial Employment in Scotland and Britain by Industrial Sectors.

		SCOTLAND				BRITAIN			
ORDER	INDUSTRY	1931	1951	1961	1971	1931	1951	1961	1971
2	Mining and Quarrying	16.4	11.4	10.8	5.0	14.9	9.5	7.9	4.6
4	Coal and Petroleum	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7
6	Metal Manufacturing	7.2	7.2	7.9	6.8	5.2	6.4	6.9	6.5
10	Shipbuilding	4.9	8.8	7.9	5.6	2.2	3.1	2.6	2.1
5	Chemicals and Allied inds.	2.1	3.9	3.9	4.2	2.8	6.4	6.9	6.5
13	Textiles	17.8	13.5	12.3	10.4	15.5	11.1	8.7	6.9
3	Food, Drink and Tobacco	11.6	11.1	10.4	13.7	9.1	8.4	7.7	8.7
7	Mechanical Engineering	8.0	12.2	14.6	14.2	6.4	10.5	12.4	13.2
8	Instrument Manufacturing	0.5	1.0	1.4	2.5	0.7	1.3	1.6	1.7
9	Electrical Engineering	1.2	2.1	4.0	7.2	3.5	6.3	8.3	9.9
11	Vehicles	3.3	4.2	4.0	5.1	5.8	8.3	9.2	9.3
12	Other Metal Goods	2.2	3.4	2.8	4.1	4.6	5.7	5.8	6.9
14	Leather, Leather Goods	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.6
15	Clothing and Footwear	6.3	4.6	3.5	4.5	11.8	7.6	6.0	5.5
16	Bricks, Pottery and Glass	2.0	2.5	2.6	3.0	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.6
17	Timber, Furniture etc.	5.5	4.5	3.5	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.3	3.5
18	Paper, Printing and Publishing	6.8	6.0	7.1	7.3	6.2	5.8	6.7	7.2
19	Other Manufacturing	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.5	3.0	3.2	3.8

Source: Kendrick, Bechhofer and McCrone, 1982:24.

TABLE 2.3

Employment by Industrial Sectors: Scotland and Britain, 1931-1971.

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	SCOTLAND 1931	SCOTLAND 1951	SCOTLAND 1961	SCOTLAND 1971	BRITAIN 1931	BRITAIN 1951	BRITAIN 1961	BRITAIN 1971
Agriculture	10.4	7.4	5.8	4.1	6.4	5.1	3.7	1.7
Mining and Quarrying	6.0	4.5	3.9	1.7	5.6	3.8	3.1	1.7
Manufacturing	30.3	35.1	32.5	32.2	32.1	36.3	36.1	34.6
Construction	4.2	6.9	7.9	8.2	5.0	6.3	6.9	7.1
Intermediate*	25.4	21.9	23.7	21.0	24.0	21.4	23.7	21.0
Services	24.0	24.1	26.2	32.8	26.8	27.2	27.7	33.0

Source: Kendrick, Bechhofer and McCrone, 1982:38.

* The 'Intermediate' sector, as defined by Kendrick *et al.*, includes Transport and Communication; Gas, Electricity and Water; and Distributive Trades.

Employment in the heavy traditional industries has remained more concentrated in Scotland throughout the period, some 49% of the working population in manufacturing in Scotland in 1931 worked in such industries, compared with only 41% in Britain as a whole. By 1971 the proportion of Scottish manufacturing employees had been reduced significantly to 32.4% whilst in Britain as a whole the proportion had reduced to 27.3%. These figures indicate a shift of emphasis away from heavy manufacturing into more modern light industries, although Scotland had still not experienced much growth in developing industries such as electrical engineering, and vehicle production even in 1971. In mechanical engineering, however, there was considerable growth in employment in this period compared with decline in the whole of Britain.

Despite these dissimilarities, it can be stated that the employment structure of Scotland has become more similar to that of Britain generally between 1930 and 1970. This point is especially well supported by the evidence presented in Table 2.3. which demonstrates that the proportion of employed persons in Scotland in the six sectors utilised have become more similar to Britain overall in the period. This process of convergence is particularly marked in the service industries.

In Table 2.4., the distribution of the working population of Scotland, and England and Wales are compared. Turning attention firstly to the non-manual categories, it

TABLE 2.4

Socio-Economic Groups as a Percentage of the Total Economically Active Population: Scotland, England and Wales, 1931-1971.

		1931		1951		1961		1971	
S.E.G.	OCCUPATION	SCOT	E & W	SCOT	E & W	SCOT	E & W	SCOT	E & W
1,2	Employers and Managers	5.2	5.9	5.7	6.7	6.4	7.6	7.5	9.1
3	Self Employed Professionals	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
4	Employed Professionals	1.0	0.8	1.5	1.4	1.7	2.2	2.6	3.0
5	Intermediate Non-Manual	2.8	2.7	4.0	3.7	5.7	5.8	7.6	7.6
6	Junior Non-Manual Workers	14.6	14.3	17.8	18.0	20.4	20.3	20.1	21.3
7	Personal Service Workers	8.1	9.1	5.2	5.4	4.4	4.7	5.3	5.2
8	Manual Supervisors and Foremen	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.7	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5
9	Skilled Manual Workers	28.8	28.0	26.5	26.1	26.3	23.7	22.6	21.1
10	Semi-Skilled Manual Workers	12.9	13.5	13.6	13.7	14.8	15.0	12.9	12.7
11	Unskilled Manual Workers	12.8	12.3	12.6	11.1	9.0	7.8	9.6	7.3
12	Self-Employed non Professional	3.9	5.0	2.3	4.1	1.7	3.1	1.9	3.7
13	Farmers (employers and Managers)	1.6	0.9	1.7	0.6	1.4	0.7	0.7	0.5
14	Farmers (own account)	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
15	Agricultural Workers	4.8	3.4	4.2	2.8	2.9	1.8	1.9	1.1
% economically active (in millions)		2.2	17.2	2.2	18.6	2.3	20.3	2.3	22.7

Source: Kendrick, Bechhofer and McCrone, 1982:92.

can be seen that there has been an overall increase in the percentage of people employed in the first six SEGs (ie all non-manual categories excepting personal service workers, and manual supervisors and foremen). However, towards the end of the period, there have been slightly more employers and managers, and employed professionals in England and Wales. In the remaining SEGs it is evident that there has been a considerable decline in personal service workers, which can most probably be explained by the decline in domestic service workers. The proportion of people employed in such work still remained relatively high in 1971, although the majority of these employees will, most probably, have been working in commercial firms, (ie in laundry services and in private catering services). There has, however, been a slight increase in the percentage of people working as manual supervisors and foremen, the proportions remain similar throughout the period in both Scotland and in England and Wales.

In the manual occupational categories there has been a considerable decline in the proportion of persons working in both a skilled or unskilled capacity in Scotland, and in England and Wales although there was a slightly higher proportion of skilled and unskilled workers than in Scotland in 1971. The percentage of semi-skilled workers has remained relatively constant in both England and Wales, and Scotland throughout the period.

In the remaining SEGs, it is clear that there has

been a small reduction in the number of self-employed non-professional workers between 1931-1971, especially in Scotland. Whereas in agricultural employment, overall decline has taken place in both Scotland and in England and Wales at about the same rate. In Scotland, however, there have, throughout the period, been about twice as many people employed in agriculture compared with England and Wales.

Drawing overall conclusions from these data, it is clear that there are no striking differences in occupational employment between Scotland and England and Wales, although certain differences do occur. The most important being the generally higher level of non-manual employment in England and Wales, and the more rapid decline in skilled and unskilled workers.

The evidence put forward above suggests that there are greater similarities between the occupational structure of England and Wales, and of Scotland. Although certain significant differences can be identified, especially in the high levels of employment in heavy manufacturing, these do not seem to be so marked that large differences in the level of social mobility would be expected comparing England and Wales with Scotland. In the next section a comparative analysis of the levels of occupational mobility in Scotland and in England and Wales will be presented in order to assess the extent to which the findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven might be regarded as generally applicable to Britain as a whole.

2.4. Occupational mobility in Scotland, and in England and Wales: a comparison

Most attempts in the past to make comparisons between nations in mobility research have been fraught with problems. The primary reason for this is that the data are rarely compatible, this incompatibility has usually derived from the type of occupational scaling devices adopted by the various researchers, and because the studies have been undertaken at different times.

The Oxford Mobility Group and the Scottish Mobility Study team did confer on the types of data which were required and consequently the two data sets are almost perfectly compatible,[4] and even though the studies were undertaken at different times, data are available from the Scottish Mobility Study's data set about respondent's occupations in 1972, the time at which the England and Wales study was undertaken. Unfortunately, the Oxford team did not include women in their survey, consequently, comparisons can only be drawn here between men from England and Wales, and Scotland. The exercise is still a useful one however, because such comparisons will give some indication of the distinctiveness of Scotland as an identifiable industrial region of Britain. It should be remembered that this exercise is oriented towards a discussion of occupational mobility and not an analysis of the levels of 'openness' or of 'class structuration' as

attempted by Goldthorpe and his colleagues; although the data are necessarily presented in the same way as Goldthorpe (1980:38-67) (ie utilising the same occupational scale and within the same tabular and diagrammatical formats).

In Table 2.5. the 'row' percentages are presented, these represent the proportion of respondents in each occupational category[5] according to their father's occupational position when the respondents were aged fourteen years. Turning attention firstly to the distribution of the respondents' fathers in both Scotland and England and Wales it can be observed that there is a higher proportion of men of professional and semi-professional status in England and Wales, (10% compared with 13%) whilst in manual work, it is evident that there were considerably fewer men with only 54% of men in England and Wales working in manual occupations compared with 61% in Scotland. In the remaining occupational categories, further differences can be noted, although these are not particularly pronounced. There are slightly more men in supervisory occupations (category V) in England and Wales as there are in the small proprietor and self employed artisan category (category IV).

For the respondents themselves, it is clear that many more men are employed in the professional and semi-professional categories (categories I and II) employing some 21% of men in Scotland and 25% in England and Wales, these increases in the professional and semi-professional cateogires have not

TABLE 2.5

Occupational Distribution of Respondents by Occupation of Father at Respondent's Age Fourteen: Scotland, and England and Wales Compared.

Father's class	Respondent's H-G classification (1972) I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	N	%
I	40.9 (45.2)	22.8 (18.9)	12.5 (11.5)	6.5 (7.7)	6.5 (4.8)	6.0 (5.4)	4.7 (6.5)	232 (688)	5.2 (7.3)
II	21.0 (29.1)	30.1 (23.1)	14.2 (11.9)	3.2 (7.0)	11.0 (9.6)	11.0 (10.6)	9.6 (8.7)	219 (554)	4.9 (5.9)
III	12.6 (18.4)	16.0 (15.7)	12.9 (12.8)	5.2 (7.8)	12.0 (12.8)	19.3 (15.6)	22.1 (16.9)	326 (694)	7.3 (7.3)
IV	10.7 (12.6)	10.0 (11.4)	7.4 (8.0)	32.6 (24.4)	5.4 (8.7)	11.2 (14.4)	22.6 (20.5)	552 (1329)	12.4 (14.1)
V	10.8 (14.2)	16.3 (13.6)	8.1 (10.1)	6.7 (7.7)	16.0 (15.7)	20.2 (21.2)	21.9 (17.6)	406 (1082)	9.1 (11.5)
VI	5.0 (7.8)	9.0 (8.8)	7.6 (8.3)	3.3 (6.6)	12.4 (12.3)	31.9 (30.4)	30.7 (25.9)	1326 (2594)	29.8 (27.5)
VII	4.8 (6.5)	7.9 (7.8)	8.8 (8.2)	5.2 (6.6)	13.3 (12.5)	22.7 (23.5)	37.3 (34.9)	1396 (2493)	31.3 (24.6)
N	418 (1285)	522 (1087)	400 (870)	363 (887)	523 (1091)	985 (2000)	1246 (2214)	4457 (9434)	
%	9.4 (13.6)	11.7 (11.5)	9.0 (9.2)	8.1 (9.4)	11.7 (11.6)	22.1 (21.2)	28.0 (23.5)		

Notes

(1) Bracketed figures are those presented by Goldthorpe for England and Wales. (1980:48)

(2) Farmers are included.

irradicated the differential pattern of participation however, in as much as there are still around 4% fewer men in the SMS sample in such work. In manual work, it is evident that there has been a marked decline in both skilled, and semi- and unskilled manual workers (categories VI and VII), from 61% to 50% in Scotland and from 51% to about 44% in England and Wales. These changes are indicative of a gradual change in occupational participation away from manual to non-manual work, although the proportion of men in manual work in Scotland remains higher than in England and Wales, and especially in unskilled and semi-skilled work. In the remaining categories changes are less pronounced although a general increase in routine non-manual work and of supervisory workers might be noted in both Scotland and in England and Wales, whilst the number of small proprietors and self-employed artisans has decreased.

Such a comparison between fathers and sons does not, of course, offer as satisfactory evidence as a straight forward trend analysis (as are used later in the thesis, however, no published data from the Oxford Mobility Group's study are available for comparison) the comparison of two generations does, however, give a strong indication of the way in which the occupational structure has changed over time. Indeed, the data presented in Table 2.5. reflect those presented in Table 2.4. from this, it is possible to proceed with the analysis with some confidence.

For those respondents whose father was of professional occupational status, about the same number of men (around 63%) obtain either professional or semi-professional status in either England and Wales or in Scotland, although a higher proportion in England and Wales were found to achieve professional status. However, of these respondents whose father was of semi-professional status, a substantial proportion of men in England Wales find themselves in the professional category, 8% more than in Scotland; this pattern is reflected in all seven 'origin' categories and can be explained by the fewer number of professional opportunities in Scotland. Of the respondents in Scotland who had professional fathers, they are seen to be concentrated in the semi-professional category more heavily than in England and Wales.

For those respondents whose father worked in a manual occupation it is clear that men in Scotland are more likely to follow into such occupations, and especially semi and unskilled manual work. For those men who were occupationally mobile, it is clear that in England and Wales they had a better chance of finding themselves in professional occupations than men in Scotland.

Given the aims of this analytical exercise - to assess how distinct Scotland is from England and Wales in terms of the patterns of occupational participation and mobility - it is possible to conclude that the differences in

the occupational structures of England and Wales, and Scotland has an effect on the patterns of mobility. To make too much of these differences would, of course, be unwise given the broad similarities in patterns of occupational mobility. Nevertheless, the findings presented later in this thesis should not simply be applied to the whole of Britain although they may reflect the overall patterns.

2.5. Patterns of industrial and occupational employment of women in Scotland: 1930-1970

In the preceding sections it has been shown that the development of the Scottish economy has had a significant impact on the occupational structure between 1930 and 1970. Furthermore, from the comparative analysis of levels of occupational mobility of men in England Wales, and Scotland it was demonstrated that these differences in industrial structure had a significant effect on the patterns of occupational participation. Given that the primary aim of this thesis is to consider the patterns of female employment and occupational mobility in Scotland it is important here to further this historical discussion through an analysis of women's employment between 1930 and 1970.(6)

Table 2.6. shows the proportion of all women employed in five industrial sectors over five decades.(7) It can be observed from the data that the proportion of women working in the productive industries (ie farming, forestry and fishing; mining and quarrying; and manufacturing) has diminished considerably throughout the period from just over 35% to less than 28% in 1971. The growth in the service sector was not evenly spread between the basic service industries (ie gas, electricity and water; transport and communications; distribution) and other services however. In fact the commercial, administrative and defence, and professional and

scientific services made the most important contribution to women's employment. Throughout the period, most women have been occupied in the two service sectors: comprising more than 64% of all women workers in 1931 and just less than 70% in 1971.

If the employment of women in these sectors is considered as a percentage of the whole working population, as indicated by Table 2.7., it is evident that women have constituted a major part of the employed workforce in service industries since 1931: around 50%. Women have also been employed extensively in manufacturing and in the basic services throughout the period, although the proportion of women employed in manufacturing has remained relatively stable throughout at about 30%. In the basic services, on the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the percentage of women: from a little over 28% to nearly 42% in 1971. In the primary industries the proportion of female workers (in paid employment) remained relatively even between 1931 and 1961 at around 9%, although a slight increase is observed in 1971 when 13% of workers in farming, forestry and fishing were women. In the construction industry and in mining and quarrying the proportion of women workers remained low, although a slight increase is noted in construction throughout the period.

Clearly the most important area of female employment in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 has been in service

TABLE 2.6.

Percentage of total female employment in industrial sectors: 1931-1971

	1931	1951	1961	1971
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	2.7	2.3	1.6	1.5
Mining and quarrying	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
Manufacturing	32.1	34.7	29.5	26.3
Intermediate *	22.7	24.1	26.6	23.3
Services	41.7	37.7	41.0	47.6

Source: Adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982b:81)

TABLE 2.7.

Percentage of females in the total working population: 1931-1971

	1931	1951	1961	1971
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	8.3	9.3	8.7	13.1
Mining and quarrying	1.6	1.6	2.0	3.1
Manufacturing	33.6	30.0	29.3	30.6
Intermediate *	28.3	33.6	36.2	41.7
Services	55.2	47.5	50.5	54.4

Source: Adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982b:81)

* 'Intermediate' refers to gas, electiricity and water; transport and communications; distribution.

industries. Table 2.8. illustrates how women have been distributed in these industries. Clearly, distributive services, professional and scientific services and miscellaneous services provide most opportunities for female employment throughout the period. However the distribution of women in these industries has altered considerably since 1931. Whilst there has been a degree of stability in the level of employment in distributive services throughout, at about 20%; the proportion of women employed in professional and scientific services has more than doubled since 1931: rising from less than 10% to nearly 24%. In miscellaneous services, on the other hand, there has been a substantial decrease in the percentage of women working: from 27% to only a little over 15%.

TABLE 2.8.

Percentage of total female paid employment in distributive and service industries in Scotland: 1931-1971

	1931	1951	1961	1971
Gas, electricity and water	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.6
Transport and communication	2.4	4.3	3.8	3.3
Distribution	20.2	19.5	22.3	19.4
Insurance, banking, finance	1.2	1.6	2.3	3.8
Professional and scientific	10.7	15.4	18.9	23.9
Miscellaneous services	27.0	17.2	16.3	15.2
Public admin., defence	2.8	3.5	3.5	4.6
Percentage of total female working population	64.4	61.9	67.6	70.8

Source: adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982b:80)

The heavy concentration of women in these three industries, remaining relatively stable throughout the period at around 57% of the total female workforce, is of some significance in terms of obtaining an understanding of the diversity of women's sectoral employment. The evidence seems to suggest that there is a great deal of concentration in a relatively narrow band of industries.

This assertion is particularly well supported by the data presented in Table 2.9. It is evident from these data that in 1971 nearly 59% of women were concentrated in only three industrial sectors: distribution, professional and scientific services and in miscellaneous services. The three largest employers of males (construction, distribution and engineering) on the other hand, only employed 31% of all employed males.

In the manufacturing industries women are concentrated in four sectors accounting for a further 19% of the female working population: these industries are food, drink and tobacco manufacture; engineering; textiles; and clothing and footwear manufacturing. Males are distributed more evenly throughout the manufacturing industries, and are better represented in most industries with the exceptions of food, drink and tobacco production, textiles, and clothing and footwear manufacturing.

In the service industries, as was shown to be the case in Table 2.8. women are much more highly concentrated.

TABLE 2.9.

Distribution of men and women in Scottish industries: 1971

	MEN	WOMEN
Farming, forestry and fishing	5.7	1.4
Mining and quarrying	2.6	0.1
Food, drink and tobacco	4.3	5.0
Chemical manufacture	1.9	1.0
Metal manufacture	3.3	0.6
Engineering	9.7	5.6
Shipbuilding	2.9	0.3
Vehicle manufacturing	2.5	0.5
Other metal	1.5	0.7
Textiles	2.5	5.1
Leather goods and fur	0.2	0.2
Clothing and footwear	0.4	3.4
Bricks, pottery and Glass	1.4	0.3
Timber, furniture etc.	1.8	0.4
Paper, printing and publishing	2.5	2.4
Other manufacturing industries	0.9	0.6
Construction	12.3	1.3
Gas, electricity and water	1.8	0.6
Transport and communication	8.7	3.3
Distributive trades	9.0	19.2
Insurance, banking and finance	2.1	3.2
Professional and scientific services	7.2	23.7
Miscellaneous services	6.7	15.7
Public administration and defence	7.9	4.6
	0.2	0.6
As percentage of all working	99.7	99.4
N	1350100	814010

Source: Adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982:99-100)

In the seven service industries (construction is excluded) over 70% of female paid workers are employed compared with only 43% of males.

Although no published data are available yet on the occupational distribution of men and women in these industries, it is possible to consider the distribution of men and women in occupational groupings.

When the data presented in Table 2.10. are considered, which shows the percentage of men and women employed in selected occupational categories, it is evident that women are heavily concentrated in only four occupational categories: in intermediate and junior grade non-manual employment, as personal service workers and in semi-skilled employment. These four occupational groupings account for nearly 76% of women's employment in Scotland; whilst in the case of men the four largest groupings account for only 66% of all male employment. If the six largest employment groupings are amalgamated for women (including unskilled and skilled manual workers to the list) 91% of all employed women are accounted for. The six largest employment groupings for men only include 77.5% of employed males.

It can also be seen from Table 2.10. that a much higher proportion of men are employed in the professional and managerial occupations. In these four occupational categories it is apparent that 15% of men, compared with only 5% of women are employed. Similarly, in the higher grade manual

occupational categories, (foremen and supervisors of manual workers, and skilled manual workers) only about 7% of women are employed, whilst nearly 37% of men are located in these jobs.

TABLE 2.10.

Occupational distribution of men and women in Scotland by socio-economic groups: 1971

SEG	MEN	WOMEN
Employers & managers in large establishments	3.7	1.1
Employers & managers in small establishments	6.4	3.1
Self-employed professional workers	1.0	0.1
Employed professional workers	3.9	0.7
Intermediate grade non-manual workers	5.3	12.7
Junior grade non-manual workers	11.3	37.3
Personal service workers	1.0	12.8
Foremen and supervisors of manual workers	3.6	0.6
Skilled manual workers	33.0	6.0
Semi-skilled manual workers	12.8	13.1
Unskilled manual workers	8.7	9.3
Own account workers (other than professional)	2.5	1.1
Farmers - employers and managers	1.1	0.2
Farmers - own account	1.1	0.3
Agricultural workers	2.8	0.7
Percentage of total working population	98.2	99.1
N	1350100	814010

Source: Adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982:102-103)

The data presented above, it seems, lends some support to the view that women are concentrated more heavily

in certain occupations and industrial sectors than men, and that there is, therefore, a degree of labour market segmentation in Scotland. Furthermore, it appears that in those occupations which are generally associated with higher pay, better employment conditions and prospects seem to be dominated by men.

2.6. Conclusion

In this Chapter it has been shown that the Scottish industrial structure, in response to its early development in the nineteenth century, has never achieved the same level of industrial diversity as in England. Although the distinctiveness of the Scottish industrial profile has become less marked from that of England in the period 1930-1970 as successive governments have intervened in the running of the Scottish economy (especially through the encouragment of new industrial investment from England and overseas) certain differences are still evident.

One of the consequences of the concentration in heavy manufacturing in Scotland has been the development of an occupational structure which is in some ways different from that of England. Throughout the period there has been a higher proportion of people working in manual labour in Scotland, nevertheless, these differences are not striking.

The observed similarities between the occupational structure of Scotland with that of England and Wales have been shown to have had an effect on patterns of occupational mobility. In the comparative analysis of the occupational distribution and occupational mobility of men in England and Wales, and in Scotland, which was based on the Scottish Mobility Study and Nuffield Mobility Group's data, it was demonstrated that there were overall similarities between the

two studies' findings. Because some significant differences were found in patterns of occupational participation and mobility, it is clear that the conclusions drawn from empirical evidence in this thesis should not be directly applied to Britain as a whole, although the findings presented should allow for broad generalisation.

More importantly, the discussion of the industrial and occupational structure presented above allows for informed interpretation of the empirical evidence forwarded in Chapters Five, Six and Seven which deal specifically with the patterns of occupational participation and mobility amongst men and women in Scotland. In Chapter Seven, which deals specifically with patterns of employment and occupational mobility in industrial sectors, the above analysis is of particular importance.

Much of the above discussion has not differentiated between men and women's employment, largely because no published data are available for the purposes of comparison. In the last part of the Chapter it was shown, however, that women's employment patterns were quite distinct from men's in both industrial sectoral and occupational distribution. The fact that women appear to be more strongly concentrated in certain occupations and industries, it was suggested, lends support to the view that a high level of labour market segmentation may be based on gender. Before a detailed discussion of the findings of this study are presented, it is important

first to examine the causes of labour market segmentation by gender at a theoretical level. This will be the aim of the following Chapter.

NOTES

(1) Goldthorpe and his colleagues' book, for example, is entitled 'Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain' (1980) when the data refer only to England and Wales.

(2) The data presented below are drawn from the analyses of the 'Social Structure of Modern Scotland Project' team, Steve Kendrick, David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer, which has relied on census data and C.H. Lee's reformulations of census data (1979). The tables presented below are adapted from Kendrick et al's analysis. The occupational and industrial distribution presented below include both men and women, excepting the last two tables which include men only. The former tables have been included in order to obtain a general picture of differences between Scotland and Britain, and the latter to deal more specifically with the men's distribution as the mobility analysis is restricted to men only. The Oxford Mobility Study did not interview women in its survey, therefore, there is no available data from which a more thorough analysis might be undertaken.

(3) It would have been useful to compare only England and Wales with Scotland, however, Kendrick et al, have made comparisons in many of their tables between Scotland and Britain, where data for England and Wales are available, they have been utilised.

(4) See, for further discussion of the formulation of the two studies, in Chapter Four.

(5) The occupational scale being utilised here is that operationalised and devised by Goldthorpe (1980:39-42), details of which are given in Chapter Four.

(6) These data are drawn from census data, no data are available for 1941 because of the Second World War.

(7) Unfortunately, no comparative data are available for England and Wales for the period 1930-1970 in published form, consequently the following discussion is necessarily restricted to the analysis of patterns of employment in Scotland only.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN, WORK AND THE LABOUR MARKET

3.1. Introduction

In the last Chapter it was shown that women seem to have been employed in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 in a manner which is quite distinct from men in two important ways. Firstly, it became apparent that women were very much under-represented in certain occupations, especially as skilled manual workers, supervisors, higher grade technicians and as professionals. Furthermore, from an analysis of the patterns of occupational participation in industrial sectors, it became clear that women are very much over-represented in certain industries: especially in parts of the service sector.

Clearly, this pattern of occupational and industrial distribution amongst women cannot be explained from the historical analysis of the development of the industrial structure of Scotland presented above, which has shown how the occupational structure has developed generally (ie without specific reference to gender differentiation). Consequently, it is important here to offer an explanation for differential patterns of employment and occupational mobility amongst men and women.

The formulation of such an explanation is problematic because, until recently, relatively little sociological evidence was available on female employment. Much of the literature on organisations, industrial sociology and the sociology of work does not have a female dimension. There are a number of explanations for these omissions. Firstly, as Brown (1976) has shown, women are often not taken into account because of the area of study within which the sociologist is interested. In fact there have been a number of influential studies in the sociology of work which have concentrated on exclusively male, or male dominated occupations. (eg Lockwood, 1958). On only a few occasions have women been taken into account in these 'Classic' studies on employment, even here the primary interest has usually been on the effect of the husband's job on family life. (Dennis et al, 1956; Beynon, 1974; Tunstall, 1962). Brown argues that in such studies women are not taken into account simply because the work is not considered to be suitable for women. He rejects this explanation on the following grounds.

> They have not acknowledged that the absence of women in many cases is due not to the nature of the work but to either the tight control of the labour market exercised by men through their unions, and/or the policies of employers. For example, women worked successfully at many jobs in shipbuilding during the Second World War in this country and in the USA... but were excluded from all production work afterwards. (1976:24)

Brown suggests, therefore, that the domination of men in such industries should not be 'taken for granted', indeed,

'questioning the taken-for-granted is essential for a more adequate analysis'. (1976:24). Clearly, in those studies which consider men only in occupations within which women comprise the majority of people employed is quite unacceptable. (Lockwood, 1958; Stewart et al, 1981).

Secondly, Brown is critical of research which has not considered the position of women because gender differences are not seen to have any effect on individuals' employment situation. Brown correctly criticises the Hawthorne Experiment reports which did not use gender differences as contributing towards an explanation for different patterns of behaviour at work.[1] Gouldner made the point twenty-five years ago that although men and women's behaviour in organisations may be similar in many ways, it is very important to consider differences also.

> It is obvious that all people in organisations have a variety of 'latent social identities' - that is, identities which are not culturally prescribed as relevant to or within rational organisations - and that these do intrude upon and influence organisational behaviour in interesting ways... Yet many sociologists who study factories, offices, schools, or mental hospitals take little note of the fact that the organisational role-players invariably have a gender around which is built a latent social identity. (cited by Brown, 1976:26-7)

Thirdly, Brown argues that women have not been included in much sociological research on work because they are regarded as a 'problem'. The problem derives from the 'dual-role' many women perform as paid employees and in domestic labour, which, it is argued, effects the patterns of

female employment. (Thomas, 1948; Klein, 1960).

> It is apparent that these studies result from the assumption that there is something problematic about women (and especially married women) in employment, which is not problematic in the same sense in the case of men... In so far as common-sense understandings of the world do include such differentiation between men and women workers in any society, the sociologist must take account of them. To do this, however, does not mean taking them as his problem; this is likely to lead to an acceptance of the status quo and serious restrictions on the questions which are raised and the answers which can be given. (1976:28 emphasis in original).

West outlines a further difficulty with the concept of 'dual-roles' in respect to research on paid employment:

> To focus exclusively on the 'dual-role' of women is to suggest more ambiguity and complexity in the position of women than may in fact exist. Without an adequate theoretical appreciation of women's direct relationship to and experience of productive and market forces we continue the mistaken tradition of allocating women to a wholly special place in our society which so easily becomes a 'problem' area requiring entirely different tools of enquiry. (1978:222).

Throughout the last decade there has been a number of studies of women's employment in Britain which have proceeded from the view that women's paid employment is of considerable sociological significance. The significance of these studies does not simply derive from a general interest in what types of jobs women do and how women's experience of work differs from men (although these issues should not be devalued in terms of their contribution to sociological knowledge). But also because the study of women's work introduces a new dimension to the study of labour markets

generally. Such shifts in emphasis in research are clearly necessary given that there are now around eight and a half million women in paid employment in Britain: around 42% of the working population. More specifically, in Scotland over 800,000 women work, forming just over 43% of the workforce. (Breitenbach, 1982:7).

Clearly, a number of important areas of theoretical discussion and empirical research could be considered if a full explanation for different patterns of occupational participation and mobility amongst women is to be forwarded. However, given that thesis is concerned with the patterns of occupational achievement, rather than with those factors which affect women's orientations to work, attention will be directed primarily to those factors which intrude upon women's opportunities to work as paid employees. This is not, of course, to suggest that the issue of women's orientations to work is not important, although it is an area of sociology which has been under researched. Indeed, until the recent publication of the Department of Employment/Office of Census and Population Studies report (Roberts, 1984) no systematic research on women's orientations to work had been undertaken.[2]

In this Chapter, discussion will proceed with a critical evaluation of those theories which claim to explain the position of women in the labour market in terms of occupational segregation. It will be argued that such 'dual

labour market' theories are useful in the sense that they draw attention to the existence of occupational segregation by gender. Although it will be shown that explanations for the causes of segregation require a more detailed historical consideration of the actions of the state, trade unions and employers which have restricted access to many types of employment to men only.

In the last part of the Chapter a more detailed discussion of those factors which perpetuate the system of labour market segregation by gender will be forwarded with reference to recent studies of women's employment. This analysis of the institutional restraints imposed on women employees from obtaining higher occupational status and of limited access to certain jobs, will allow for the development of a broad understanding of those factors which affect women's employment in the labour market; thus providing an essential base upon which the findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven can be interpreted.

3.2. Theories of labour market segmentation by gender

Theories of labour market segmentation are not new. The idea that the persistence of low pay amongst certain groups of individuals who share similar characteristics was endemic in capitalist society had been expressed by Mill in the 1840s. (Rubery, 1980:242). More recently, there have been a number of attempts to explain the persistence of labour market segmentation with reference to transformations in the production process. Two theoretical approaches of importance have emerged; firstly, that which emphasises the importance of technological development in creating a 'dual labour market'. (Doeringer and Poire, 1971). And secondly, that which concentrates on the role of capitalists who consciously segregate the labour force in order to maximize profit and to divide employees in order to weaken trade union solidarity. (Gordon, Reich and Edwards, 1975).

Doeringer and Poire's theory of the dual labour market was inspired by Kerr's pioneering work on 'internal' or 'balkanized' labour markets. Kerr (1954) argued that the labour market in modern capitalism is no longer an open and competitive bourse, but a series of distinct markets. These markets, Kerr argues, have become 'structured' in the sense that there is more to the relationship between waged worker and employer than pay. He defines two types of market within this model, the 'internal' and the 'external'.

Internal labour markets develop in response to the introduction of new technology, the operation of which demands that certain employees obtain specific skills. Given that the acquisition of these skills involves costly training and that alternative employees may not easily be found, the business institution recognises that it is in its interest to encourage employees to remain in their employ. The individuals who are located in such an 'internal' labour market, therefore, are likely to enjoy a degree of security in employment, higher pay and so on. Those individuals who occupy a position in the external labour market however, ie, those individuals who do not have specific skills, have a much less secure market position and will tend not to be as well paid. (Doeringer, 1980:211-14).

Doeringer and Poire extended this theory, recognising that in the labour market as a whole 'primary' and 'secondary' labour markets might be identified. They recognise also that as technology develops and becomes 'firm specific' employers will seek to stabilize the part of their workforce which requires extensive training. In this theory it is recognised that the secondary labour market provides labour in times of expansion through sub-contracting, or by employment on a temporary basis, which in turn effects the characteristics of secondary sector workers as inherently unstable, and consequently unsuitable for primary sector work.

Reich, Gordon and Edwards offer an alternative explanation for segregation in the labour market. They argue

that the development of segmented labour markets is a consequence of the transition from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism: a process which has broken down the homogeneity of the workforce into more specialised and distinct groups. Reich et al do not regard technological development in itself as the determinant of these changes, instead, they argue that the workforce has been reorganised to facilitate greater managerial control: 'Labour market segmentation arose and is perpetuated because it is functional - that is, it facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions. Segregation is functional primarily because it helps reproduce capitalist hegemony.' (1980:239 emphasis is original).

Segmentation of the labour force, they argue, is functional for the reproduction of the 'capitalist hegemony' for three reasons. Firstly, because segmentation divides workers and undermines potential movements against employers. Secondly, Reich et al assert that segmentation establishes 'fire trails' (1980:239) across occupational strata which causes 'workers (to) perceive separate segments with different criteria for access, workers limit their own aspirations for mobility.' (1980:239). Finally, it is argued that the division of workers into stratified segments legitimate inequalities of authority between superordinates and subordinates. 'Institutional sexism and racism' they argue as an example 'reinforce the industrial authority of

white male foremen.'[3] (1980:240).

These variations on dual labour market theory present some interesting arguments which might help to explain how certain groups are forced into a secondary position in the labour market. However, as they stand, some serious problems arise. Firstly, as Rubery has demonstrated, both Doeringer and Poire, and Reich et al consider that dual labour markets have been created by capitalists or corporate managers and do not pay any attention to the role of trade unions in actually maintaining divisions within the workforce for the positive benefit of their members. Similarly, neither theory takes into account the increasingly important role of the state, neither in terms of encouragement of segmentation, (through protective legislation for example) or discouragement (ie with equal opportunities legislation and so on). Secondly, neither theory adequately defines which groups of individuals can be found in each sector. It can be assumed that the 'inherently unstable' labour referred to by Doeringer and Poire is identified in much the same way as Reich and his colleagues when they say that 'institutional sexism and racism reinforce the industrial authority of white male foremen.' (1980:240). In other words, in the primary sector it can be assumed that it is dominated by white males, however, no specific indication of the skill levels required to obtain membership of this sector are forwarded.

Barron and Norris have provided a more sophisticated theoretical argument which attempts not only to identify dual

labour markets, but also to explain which individuals will be located in different sectors. They argue that 'In Britain, the secondary labour market is pre-eminently a female labour market if low earnings levels are taken as an indicator of the secondary status of a job.' (1976:48) It is suggested that biomodality in the national pay structure is associated with occupational segregation, which they argue is gender specific. 'Sexual divisions in the labour market are shown by the fact that nearly two thirds of women work in occupations in which they are either highly over represented or highly under represented'. (1976:48).

Barron and Norris's conception of duality is more complicated than those discussed above, they argue that

> dualism in a labour market can cut through firms, industries and industrial sectors. Although some firms or industries may be primary employers, it is possible for a single employer or industry to contain both primary and secondary labour markets... (1976:49).

In order for such segmentation to take place, four essential conditions must be set, these are:

(1) There are more or less pronounced division into higher paying and lower paying sectors;
(2) Mobility across the boundary of these sectors is restricted;
(3) Higher paying jobs are tied into promotional or career ladders, while lower paid jobs offer few opportunities for vertical movement;
(4) Higher paying jobs are relatively stable, while lower paid jobs are unstable. (1976:49)

Barron and Norris clearly state, however, that there are rarely clear demarcations between sectors. Indeed cleavages are

blurred to a greater or lesser degree across industries and institutions, making generalisations a 'formidable methodological task.' (1976:50).

Barron and Norris also improve upon previous approaches by emphasising that occupational positions themselves are not simply places in a hierarchy of occupations. They disassociate themselves from such arguments on the following grounds.

> In the real world jobs not only confer upon individuals a biography which they find difficult to escape from, one which reinforces the attitudes of employers and of agencies which serve the employment market, but through secondary socialization, jobs also help to create or at least strengthen attitudes and outlooks which in turn may confine the horizons of the individual to particular kinds of work and to particular ways of behaving in the job market. (1976:50).

They point out that such an argument lends itself to circularity: because in many of the occupations within which women are concentrated are identified as 'high turnover' jobs, it is often assumed that women <u>generally</u> are less likely to hold down jobs than men. Barron and Norris recognise that high turnover may be partly attributable to women's propensity to leave paid employment, however, they subscribe to the view that the nature of jobs conventionally taken by women is of considerable importance. Such a two-way perspective is important, they argue, for the following reasons.

> A failure to unravel the different strands of 'individual' and 'structural' causation can lead to a crude reification of individual characteristics and an unwarranted emphasis upon those character-

> istics as causes. In this paper we are in no sense suggesting that women are 'innately' suited to secondary jobs. (1976:50).

Barron and Norris's explanation for the development of a dual labour market attaches significance to both the supply and demand aspects of labour. Rather like Reich, Gordon and Edwards, they consider the control of employees as being an important function of the dual labour market. However, they do not necessarily accept a conspiratorial explanation for the establishment of dual labour markets. An important reason for which is the recognition that some members of the primary sector, especially the most highly skilled, 'are able to exert their power more quickly and who have the resources to endure a confrontation with the employer.' (1976:51). A problem with their approach is that they do not recognise that even with technological development, which effectively 'de-skills' many primary workers, these groups can still maintain their primary position.[4] Despite the lack of detailed attention to trade union power, (both in terms of defending the position of their memberships and in effectively barring other groups from it) Barron and Norris attempt to explain why certain groups of individuals are concentrated in a secondary labour market position. Five debilitating attributes are identified. Firstly, the level of individuals' <u>dispensability</u> is considered either in terms of the likelihood of voluntary turnover or in terms of the 'relative ease of involuntary separation.' (1976:54).

Secondly, that workers in the primary sector are distinguished from those in the secondary sector through some conventional social difference. Barron and Norris recognise gender as the most common indicator of social division:

> Sex, as a criterion for employment market segregation, is more useful than other social differences not only because sexual differences are highly visible, but because social divisions between men and women are deep seated, without, however, arousing the sort of ambivalent feelings that are associated with divisions between other groups, eg racial or ethnic groups. (1976:58).

Barron and Norris are correct in their assumption that social differences are a debilitating force, although their notion that racial and ethnic differences are the source of ambivalence as opposed to direct discrimination is no less than startling. Thirdly, it is argued that individuals in secondary labour markets have a lower inclination to seek training which might be valuable for occupational advancement:

> Secondary sector jobs, are, above all, jobs in which there is a low investment in human capital. They do not offer training, and because there is little or no effort made by the employer to improve the quality of the worker, he is not particularly concerned about retaining his employees' services. It suits the secondary employer, therefore, to take on workers who are less concerned about the amount of training they receive and who have low expectations about moving up a job ladder. (1976:60).

Fourthly, Barron and Norris suggest that the people who are occupied in the secondary sector are less likely to be as concerned with economic rewards than those in the primary sector. This lack of concern with 'economism' is advantageous

to the prospective employer because 'A worker who places a high value on monetary rewards is a possible threat to the stability of the secondary reward system.' (1976:62). Finally, Barron and Norris suggest that individuals in the secondary sector are unlikely to form associations with organisations which would represent their interests solidaristically because they regard their position as ephemeral.

In criticism of Barron and Norris's categories, Beechey (1978:16) has pointed out that all five factors are observations of the employment characteristics persons in the secondary labour market share: there is no explanation of how they come to take on these characteristics. One obvious explanation for women's secondary labour market position, Beechey argues, comes from analysis of women's familial role. Barron and Norris, however, disclaim the family from their analysis on the following grounds.

> The emphasis in this paper is on the structure of the labour market, and the question of men and women's place in the family - the household sexual division of labour - is relegated to the status of an explanatory factor which contributes to, but does not of itself determine, the differentiation between the sexes in their work roles. (1976:47).

This position is unacceptable given that the aim of their paper is 'To begin to understand the reasons for sex-related occupational differentiation'. (1976:47). Beechey argues that if such an explanation is to be forwarded, then a theory

must necessarily link 'the organization of the labour process to the sexual division of labour; it is of fundamental importance to analyse the relationship between the family and the organisation of production in the process of capital accumulation.' (1978:180-1).

Barron and Norris's arguments, in conclusion, are useful on a descriptive level although they do not satisfactorily take into account the role of the family. Furthermore, it is clear that Barron and Norris's arguments lack historical depth, essential for the explanation of the origins of the dual labour market. In the next section such an historical analysis will be forwarded.

3.3. The origins of labour market segmentation by gender

In the early stages of the industrial revolution women were more likely than men to work for set monetary rewards through their productive labour. Indeed, not until the traditional methods of agricultural production collapsed, which resulted in a dislocation of the male labour force did men seek waged labour. Initially factory labour was regarded as of low status work, and therefore suitable for women who did not have direct relationship with agricultural landlords. (Middleton, 1979, 1982; Hill, 1964; Pinchbeck, 1981; Clark, 1968).

Indeed, until the state began to introduce protective legislation which restricted women's labour in the 1840s women and children constituted a substantial proportion of the waged labour force. Concern was voiced, however, for the effects factory life had on women in the early nineteenth century; as one contemporary writer observed 'I must admit that... some women prefer the crowded factory to the quiet home because they have a hatred of solitary housework.'[5] (cited by Oakley, 1974:41). Unease was first officially recorded about women's, and especially married women's work in 1815 in the Peel Committee's report.

Early attempts at protective legislation, however, were more concerned with child labour than women's, beginning in 1802 there were a succession of acts. It would be incorrect therefore, to assume that the limiting of female

and child labour was a ploy on the part of the employers to strengthen the position of men in the labour market. As Marx commented, manufacturers were generally opposed to any protective legislation: 'The nearer the deadline approached for the full implementation of the Factory Act, the fatal year of 1836, the wilder became the rage of the mob of manufacturers'. (cited by Coyle, 1980:4). Coyle explains that such legislation was regarded as a 'fundamental intrusion into the sanctity of the private capital labour bargain. The implications were far broader than the mere restrictions on child and female labour.' (1980:4). Coyle continues:

> The fact that manufacturers evaded the legislation in all kinds of ways... A working norm was established and provided a basis and starting point from which men could organise. From the definition of a ten hour working day, trade unions have been able to bargain for an ever shorter working period. What is interesting to note here is that whilst women appear to be limited by protective legislation, men have often been able to negotiate for themselves conditions far superior to the law. (1980:5 emphasis in original).

The immediate effect of those protective acts which concerned women and children was to actually increase the number of female workers (as replacements for children). However, the women who were employed tended to be single women or childless married women. (Oakley, 1974:38-41).

By the 1850s there was already considerable segmentation in the labour market by gender. In Table 3.1. the concentration of women in certain industries in 1851 and 1911 are particularly marked. In these industries it

was factory employment which was the most popular among women because women were better off in terms of wages and hours worked, consequently these women workers enjoyed relative independence in comparison with domestic workers. (Pinchbeck, 1981:188).

TABLE 3.1.

The employment of women in Scotland 1851 and 1911 in selected industries

	1851		1911	
	N	% of total female employment	N	% of total female employment
Agriculture, farming & fishing	60,643	14.7	22,738	4.1
Food, drink and tobacco manufacture	9,106	2.2	44,894	8.2
Textiles	136,691	33.1	125,903	22.9
Clothing and footwear manufacturing	52,636	12.8	73,096	13.3
Professional & scientific services	6,566	1.6	37,209	6.8
Miscellaneous Services	133,734	32.4	175,467	31.9
Total female employment	412,889	96.8	550,616	87.2

Source: Adapted from Kendrick et al (1982:39)

Note: the six selected industrial categories in this table are drawn from a total of twenty seven categories over which men are relatively evenly spread.

By the 1950s women were concentrated mostly in unskilled factory labour or in domestic service: relatively few women were employed in a skilled capacity. There was increasing pressure from both the state and organised male employees from the 1840s onwards to limit the level of married women's employment. These actions were indicative of the development of a new ideology which identified the married woman's role as a domestic one: caring for house, children and husband. For the working classes, this was a new phenomenon, although for some time working had become 'a misfortune and a disgrace' for middle class women. (Neff, 1966:187). Attempts to impose this ideology onto the working classes became more common as women's position in factory employment came to be identified as a 'special problem' and fears for the safety of the traditional working class family were aroused (Alexander, 1976:59-63).[6]

It is important to emphasise that the shifting around of the division of labour by gender was not brought about solely because of economic criteria: ideological pressure was also very important. As was noted above, the reaction of employers in manufacturing to protective legislation was not always one of support, or even ambivalence: on the contrary, they were in direct opposition.[7] (Humphries, 1981). As a result of protective legislation in the nineteenth century,employers were forced to respond to a contraction in the pool of cheap labour by increasing the momentum of techno-

logical innovation in order to reduce labour costs. Similarly, employers extended the division of labour in labour intensive production. In bookbinding, for example, tasks were separated in order to reduce the level of training and pay of workers, who were predominantly women by the end of the century. (Alexander, 1976:93; Breitenbach, 1982:5).

In other areas of the printing industry where skilled tasks could not easily be broken down (even after the introduction of the linotype in the 1890s) skilled male workers made compositing a strictly male preserve. (Cockburn, 1983:123-6). In the printing industry, as in most other industries, pressure to restrict women's employment came not only from management, but from the unions also. As the organised labour movement grew in strength it carried with it (in order to protect its predominantly male membership), a strongly patriarchal ideology. Indeed, the development of the trade union movement in the nineteenth century was characterised by its constant struggle to maintain the wages and skill levels of its male membership. The unions, which associated themselves specifically with either occupation or industry grew in an atmosphere of competition for skilled jobs. In order to maintain their supremacy as a labour aristocracy they successfully excluded women from the unions, and generally from the occupations themselves.

These practices had two consequences for women workers. First, that if women were unionised they were forced to form their own unions which remained weak alongside

highly competitive and aggressive male unions. Second, that women, even when the general unions emerged in the later part of the century, were often not unionised at all. (J. Hunt, 1982). In effect, the trade unions actually forced the majority of women into a weak bargaining position, and also, out of the most highly skilled and waged occupations which became a male preserve. (Cockburn, 1983:23-6; Alexander, 1976:83-110). Even when the trade union movement as a whole decided that women should not be discriminated against in work, formulated in a TUC resolution in 1885 which stated that 'where women do the same work as men, they should receive equal pay', (in J. Hunt, 1982:155) it was clear that individually, the unions were not prepared to encourage such practice. It was, after all, too late- women had already been excluded from much of the best paid work. So the establishment of the Women's Trade Union League, and later the National Federation of Women Workers set up in 1906 were relatively ineffective.

After the First World War there was a marked change in the pattern of female employment, even though the number of women working during the war was drastically reduced after the return of demobilised servicemen. One such change was the type of work within which women were employed. For example, there was a greater demand for female workers in those industries within which the levels of skill required

had been reduced during the war. This deskilling had been easily achieved in the absence of strongly unionised males by introducing new machinery. (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980:415-7). Furthermore, there was a significant increase in the number of women who were employed as secretarial and clerical workers. (McNally, 1979).

A second significant change was the transformation in the composition of the female workforce.(8) During the war many women from middle class families or origins (especially when single) were in paid employment. Even though the mass employment of women during the war was drastically reduced after the return of demobilised servicemen, many single women from middle class origins sought full-time employment. (Oakley, 1974:57). Indeed, the number of single women from middle class origins entering paid employment increased significantly both during and after the war. However, by the early 1920s the overall proportion of women in paid employment was reduced to a level even lower than before the war.

The most likely reason for this reduction in female labour and especially married female labour, was the action of the trade unions: the policies of the 1885 Congress had been overturned by the mid 1920s. Throughout the 1920s men were well represented by trade unions in most industries; consequently, they were able to improve (or at least maintain) their position. (J. Hunt, 1982:154-62). Women, on the other

hand, were much less well represented by trade unions. Of the million female union members in Britain during the war, only half remained by 1931, partially because of female unemployment and also because of male trade unionists' unwillingness to represent women. Even in the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, to which the National Federation of Women Workers was affiliated, nearly all representation by women was lost by 1923. Before 1923 women had been given special committee status, their own representative council and district office in the NUGMU. Mary McArther, who was the sole woman representative after 1923 had hoped only three years earlier that:

> inside the National Union we shall be able to demonstrate the possibility of a great industrial organisation of men and women, in which women are not submerged, but in which they take as active a part as the men. That will be a great thing in the history of this country for it has never been done before. (Cited by J. Hunt, 1982:156).

In some unions, even during the war, women were excluded from full membership status. In a membership drive of 1916, for example, one union of compositors warned members and prospective members about the dangers of employing females:

> Have you considered what <u>your</u> position is likely to be after the war? Do you know that non-Society employers are engaging and training girls and women to work as compositors - case and machine? Are they doing this for <u>your</u> benefit? When the boys come home, will <u>your</u> position be better or worse?... Play the man and join now. (Cited by Cockburn, 1983:36, emphasis in original)

Despite the barriers the trade union movement erected against women's employment in the inter-war years,

women still worked. Although the actual number of women working had remained relatively stable (Tilly and Scott, 1978: 70-1) there was a considerable change in the composition of the female workforce. Single women from both working-class and the middle-class origins were recruited into a number of occupations which previously had been a male preserve: clerical and secretarial work provides a good example. Although even here men and women were still in separate trade unions, and even in the 1930s were still outnumbered by men in the lower levels of office work. (McNally, 1979:27). Women were also well represented in the new light manufacturing industries, in electrical engineering and in retailing. During the First World War, women had proven their ability (both to themselves, as well as employers) to work effectively in occupations they had not generally been employed in before the war. Consequently, they were no longer willing to accept the menial and low paid tasks required of them in domestic service given expansion of opportunities for employment elsewhere. As Burnett notes:

> Domestic service was increasingly the refuge for the poor and ill-educated, for the over-large families where every additional child was an extra mouth to feed, and for the daughters of normally comfortable working-class parents hit by depression and unemployment. (quoted by Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980:147).

At the outbreak of the Second World War when there was a severe labour shortage and so the state was obliged to recruit married women into the labour market, although

agreements had to be sought with many trade unions to guarantee that women were only 'temporary' employees. In order to encourage women to work during the war the coalition government relieved the burden of domestic responsibility by providing nurseries. Between 1941 and 1945 the number of state nurseries in Britain increased from 118 to 1,559. (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980:418-9).

Even in this period of desperate labour shortage, many married mothers (especially from the middle classes) were never formally conscripted into the workforce by the Ministry of Labour. The advantage of recruiting 'voluntary workers' was that the members of the Women's Voluntary Service were unpaid and also that they could easily be released from employment after the war.

During the war, women were not generally recruited into skilled manual work or into managerial posts. (Riley, 1981). The explanation for which was not simply because women lacked the necessary skills (although this is an important factor) but also because of trade union action. In the printing industry, for example, retired male compositors were encouraged by their unions to return to work in order to keep women out of the printing shops. (Cockburn, 1983:36-7). Similarly, in 1940 the Extended Employment Agreement between the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the employers ruled that women could only be regarded as 'temporary'. Furthermore, if women workers required any supervisory assistance they only

received 75% of men's pay. In order to qualify for the basic male wage rate, women had to work for thirty-two weeks with no supervision. (Riley, 1981:67).

Shortly after the end of the war most of the nurseries were closed. Even those local authorities who favoured the provision of nurseries found that it was not possible because grants from the exchequer had been halved after the war and also because many of the nursery buildings, which had been requisitioned had to be returned to their normal peace time use.

The withdrawal of women from the labour force was not, of course, immediate. However, towards the end of the war when many munitions factories were being returned to their pre-war uses, pressure came from the government to reinforce the pre-war ideology of the 'woman's place' as a housewife and mother. (Riley, 1981). Obviously, the withdrawal of nursery provision made it difficult for many women to continue working. Further encouragement for women to return to the domestic sphere came from the newly established Family Allowance Act of 1945. (Riley, 1979).

Despite the stated preference of Governments in the immediate post-war period to reinstate married women into their pre-war family role, labour shortages demanded that women were brought back into the labour market towards the end of the 1940s. A government economic survey of 1947, for example, appealed to married women to return to work.

> Women are urgently needed in many factories, in many services and in agriculture... (The Government) was not asking women to do jobs usually done by men, as had been the case during the war. Second, the labour shortage was temporary, and women were being asked to take a job only for whatever length of time they could spare, whether full time or part time. Third, (they) were not appealing to women with very young children, although for those who wanted to volunteer, or had children a little older there were in many places nurseries and creches.' (cited by Wilson, 1980:44)

The 1947 survey presented a list of those industries in which women's work was required: in the boot and shoe industry, in textiles, clothing and even iron and steel; in the hospitals, domestic service and transport. Shorthand typists were also in great demand and there was a desperate need for midwives and nurses. The survey still emphasised that women were only required to work on a temporary basis, and in jobs which were deemed 'suitable' for women.

Labour shortages existed up until the early 1970s however, consequently, the number of women, and especially married women, in the labour market continued to increase. In 1921, only 9 percent of married women had been in paid employment, rising to only 10 percent in 1931. By 1951, 21 percent of married women were employed, rising to 32 percent in 1961 and 47 percent by 1927.[9] (Westergaard and Resler, 1975:98). Clearly, the gorwth in female employment was substantial, but it must be made clear that women were not competing with men for the most highly skilled and paid manual occupations, or in professional, higher administrative or

managerial jobs. It might, therefore, have become normal for women to work; however, it was not generally expected that women would pursue a career in the same sense as men - especially if they were married.

3.4. The origins of labour market segmentation by gender

(a) Segmentation by gender in manual and routine non-manual occupations:

The introduction of new technology has been an effective way of extending the division of labour in both manual and non-manual work. Braverman outlines three consequences of these transformations. Firstly, an overall reduction of the level of skills through the separation of tasks. Second, the separation of 'conception' and 'excecution' of the work; and thirdly, the gradual replacement of the 'social division of labour' in which individuals are able to define their occupation in terms of the work they do, to a more diversified division of labour in which people have to perform exceptionally small repetitive tasks.

In office work, for example, new technology is increasingly based on the microprocessor which has centralised many office functions such as the manipulation, storage, retrieval and distribution of the text. The consequence has been the loss of certain clerical occupations, whilst new, lower skilled jobs have been created. (West, 1982:60-75). In secretarial work, the word processor has recently introduced to de-skill the secretarial role, firstly by reducing the number of secretaries required meaning that fewer individuals train as secretaries. Secondly, because the skills required

for corrections of 'top-copies' of accurate copytyping and of layout are rendered obsolete by new technology. (Bird, 1980).

De-skilling is experienced in manual occupations also through the introduction of computerised technology. (Pollert, 1981, 1983; Armstrong, 1982; Coyle, 1982; Cockburn, 1983). Braverman himself, did not fully appreciate the effectiveness of organised labour in maintaining their position. (Rubery, 1980:261-6). In Britain, for example, the trade unions have been particularly effective in holding up the introduction of new technology. The Times compositors strike which lasted 11 months in 1978-79 provides an excellent example, a strike which was well supported by all Fleet Street compositors to discourage employers from threatening the compositors financial employment position, even if they did eventually have to concede to the introduction of new technology. (Cockburn, 1983:81-3). This example does not only show that the unions can, under favourable circumstances, resist the severely damaging effects of new technology, (ie, breaking union solidarity, lowering wages and job security) but also, that it has a particular effect on those who do not have strong union support. Certainly in the case of printing newspapers, male dominated unions have maintained differentials over their (apparently) less skilled female counterparts.[10]

In other industries there is a marked degree of segregation which originates from union action. In garment

manufacture, for example, an industry which is characterised by intense competition and low profit margins, labour costs have to be kept to a minimum. Consequently the traditional method of 'making through' is now virtually obsolete, although the industry itself is still labour intensive. Even after radical changes in the manufacturing process, men have maintained their skilled status. Coyle has described how labour segregation is perpetuated.

> Men lay the cloth, lay the pattern on the fabric, mark the fabric and cut the fabric. The craft basis of these operations was undermined by the introduction of machines in the inter-war period, notably the bandsaw. The bandsaw requires a great deal of concentration, certainly looks dangerous and an error would be expensive since several layers of cloth are cut in one operation. It is a moot point, however, whether its operation requires the three-year apprenticeship (once seven years) which the NUTGB insist upon. (Women have done this work, but informally, and usually in small non-unionised factories). The technical basis of men's skills has been eroded in the cutting room by certain machines, but the relative level of technical development is quite low, and elements of job control remain. (1982:15).

The lack of commitment amongst trade union leaders to the problems of sexual discrimination Rowbotham suggests is widespread, indeed:

> the whole orientation of the trade unions is masculine. It is only by a special effort that men remember women. The only guarantee women have that their own interests will be considered is to organise as workers and as women. (in Coyle, 1982:24-5).

Even in those unions in which women constitute the majority of members they are generally under represented on decision making executives. Table 3.2. presents data on a number of

women representatives in those trade unions which have a Scottish Committee in addition to a National Executive Committee.

TABLE 3.2.

Representation of women on the Scottish Committee and National Executive Committees of selected trade unions

Union	No. of women on NEC	Total NEC members	Per cent women in union in Britain	No. of women on SC	Total SC members	Per cent women in union in Scotland
CPSA	9	58	70.6	5	21	70.4
NUPE	7	25	66.0	5	23	65.0
TGWU	0	40	15.9	2	30	21.0
BIFU	4	26	46.0*	5	40	-
ABS	2	18	-	1	5	-
APEX	3	19	55.5	1	7	58.1

Sources: Adapted from Breitenbach (1982:47,51) and Hunt, (1982:166) Figures refer to 1976.

Note: * Refers to 1978.

Management have had to accept the restrictions imposed on the introduction of new technology by many of the stronger trade unions. However, employers have adapted their labour deployment strategies and recruitment procedures in order to counter the effects of trade union action. Armstrong, (1982) in a study of the electrical component and footwear manufacturing industries has shown that men retained their skilled status (by definition at least) and relatively secure

occupational position through trade union action. Women's work on the other hand, was defined as unskilled and was paid less in consequence. In fact the work women did was often more highly skilled than the work undertaken by men in the same factory.[11] Armstrong concluded that women tend to be 'formally' excluded from craft and skilled work even though they do, in fact, perform work tasks which are skilled in a real sense.

Ironically, one of the most important reasons why there is strong segregation by gender, is that there is legislation to stop unequal pay. In the five and half year period in which employers had to reorganise the workforce after the legislation, it had been possible to segregate the workforce. (Barrett, 1980:153-5). As Mackie and Pattullo have concluded:

> The Equal Pay Act of 1970 was never meant to bring about equal pay between men and women. There is nothing in the act to level up the pay of a machinist or a kitchen hand (likely to be female) with the pay of a bus driver or sales manager (likely to be male). The Act, by itself, does nothing to spread the area of women's employment from the low paid corrals of the service, textile, and clerical industries to a broader number of occupations where wages are higher. (1977:135).

It is not only in full-time work in which are paid badly and have few opportunities for promotion. Indeed the problems are even worse for the 40% of working women who are employed part-time. In 1978, a survey demonstrated that the rates of pay per hour which part-time workers received on average

TABLE 3.3.

Percentage of women working part-time (30 hours or less) in Scotland 1971: selected occupations

	Part time	% all women workers	Total women workers
Agricultural workers	1,780	31.6	5,630
Winders, reelers	870	21.9	3,970
Weavers	600	14.2	4,240
Knitters	790	16.0	4,930
Textile fabrics workers	1,040	13.9	7,490
Sewers and embroiders	2,680	12.1	22,120
Clothing workers	520	11.0	4,720
Food processors n.e.c.	2,730	29.5	9,240
Printing workers n.e.c.	450	8.9	5,030
Labourers n.e.c.	4,340	29.9	14,520
Packers, labellers etc.	2,740	16.2	16,950
Telephone operators	1,550	22.4	6,930
Clerks, cashiers	24,850	19.0	130,490
Office machine operators	1,260	10.4	12,080
Typists, secretaries	8,980	16.9	53,240
Shop assistants	37,090	41.4	89,590
Barmaids	3,250	52.0	6,250
Waitresses	5,350	48.9	10,950
Canteen, counter hands	10,420	56.8	18,340
Cooks	2,480	22.7	10,910
Kitchen hands	4,040	10.5	9,980
Maids, related workers	28,560	67.9	42,060
Chars, office cleaners	42,560	85.1	50,030
Hairdressers etc.	1,250	12.6	9,910
Nurses	13,130	28.0	46,910
Primary and secondary teachers (24 hours or less)	(4,850)	(10.3)	
Total women working in selected occupations			600,170
Total women working in all occupations			792,390

Source: Adapted from Kendrick *et al* (1982:85)

would qualify most full-time workers for supplementary benefit. (Mackie and Pattullo, 1977:42). Part-time workers tend to be concentrated in a limited range of occupations, mainly in catering, cleaning, laundry work, shopwork, semi-skilled and unskilled factory work and so on. (See Table 3.3. above).

Clearly, there are certain circumstances in which employers favour part-time workers as employees. Freeman (1982:143-9) has outlined a number of possible explanations, the most important of which are: firstly, that part-time workers are dispensable in times of economic recession, (significantly, the proportion of part-time workers has declined in the last few years). Secondly, for those workers who work less than sixteen hours a week, employers do not have to pay any National Insurance contributions. Thirdly, even if it costs more to administrate for part-time workers, they can be paid at a lower rate. Finally, part-time workers can often work unsociable hours, in which full-time workers may demand extra payment for overtime; or on the other hand, when the work is seasonal, or when there is not sufficient to take on a full-time employee.

Low rates of pay are often justified by employers on the grounds that there is high turnover of part-time workers, and because the majority are married women with dependent children, they are unreliable. It would seem, however, that high turnover can be accounted for by considering

the type of work undertaken, ie work which is 'undemanding, ill-paid and of low status with no prospects of advancement' (D of E report 1974 quoted by Mackie and Pattullo, 1977:43).

A further explanation for the poor position of part-time workers is the lack of unionisation. Often part-time work is concentrated in small factories, shops and so on, consequently the task of organisation is difficult; even if unions were willing to attempt this. In some cases, when workers have actually approached the unions, they have been unwilling to respond. (Freeman, 1982:141).[12]

(b) Women in the professions

In the above discussion, attention has been primarily directed to the restraints imposed upon women in manual and routine non-manual occupations. Clearly, such a discussion is of considerable importance given that the majority of women who are in paid employment do not obtain professional or semi-professional status. However, given that a central concern of this thesis is to analyse career patterns of women in all areas of the occupational structure, it is important to consider in some detail what kinds of restraints are imposed upon women in gaining access into the professions; and once in that profession, of further occupational mobility.

Since the turn of the century women have been able to gain access into an increasingly large number of professions

which previously had been open to men only. However, despite the removal of such barriers, women have continued to be very much under represented in the professions (Silverstone and Ward, 1980:14-18). Table 3.4. illustrates the level of participation of women in a number of professions.

TABLE 3.4.

Participation of women in selected professions, Britain, 1977

Profession	Per cent
Dentists	15
General Practitioner	14
Vetinary surgeons	10
Barristers	6
Architects	5
Chartered surveyors	1
Civil Engineers	1

Source: Adapted from Oakley, (1981:154)

In order to understand the position of women in the professions, Spencer and Podmore argue, it is important to recognise that:

> Professions... are not unified and homegeneous entities, despite attempts by professions to present themselves as such. They are characterized by a good deal of heterogeneity, strain and diversity and contain different segments and interest groups which need to be accommodated and controlled. Women are one such segment. (1983:2)

Women are located in the periphery of professions, Spencer

and Podmore argue, largely as a result of male oriented stereotypes of women's capabilities, personalities, professionalism and commitment. These stereotypes about women fall into two broad categories. First, that women are different, and that these perceived differences lead men in that profession to suppose that women's performance in the job is beset with difficulties. The second, which is related to the first, asserts that it is in some sense unnatural for women to have professional status - especially if it involves superiority over men. Evidence suggests that male professionals accuse women of 'abuse of power', as being 'over-concerned with detail', 'jealous', 'personal', 'dictatorial' and so on. (Kanter, 1977). Epstein observes that women are seen as:

> incompetants dependent on males to make the important decisions, as giggling magpies who will contaminate the decorum of the male luncheon clubs and bars; as persons who can't be trusted to be colleagues. (cited by Spencer and Podmore, 1983:6)

Such stereotypical views seem to stem from the traditional views about the professions themselves. In law and management, for example:

> the emphasis is on conflict, on combative qualities, on extraversion and self-confidence and on 'winning' - qualities which men are assumed to possess but which women do not. If they do possess such qualities women show them at their peril. Indeed the very qualities looked for in men lawyers arouse intense suspicion when encountered in women. (cited by Spencer and Podmore, 1983:7)

A view epitomised by McGregor's conception of the qualities required of a good manager.

> The model of the successful manager in our culture is a masculine one. The good manager is aggressive

> competitive, firm and just. He is not feminine, he is not soft and yielding or dependent or intuitive in the womanly sense. The very expression of emotion is widely viewed as a feminine weakness that would interfere with effective business procedure. (cited by Spencer and Podmore, 1983:7).

Such stereotypes about the nature of the profession, the qualities required of professionals, and the assumption that only men have the necessary aptitude, can help explain not only why few women are recruited into professions, but also, why they tend to be less successful than men once qualified.

In medicine, one of the few professions in which a fairly high proportion of women are recruited, this would still seem to be the case, despite official support for the training of females. The Goodenough report of 1944, for example, recommended to the Government that:

> the payment to any medical school of Exchequer grants in aid of medical education should be conditional upon the school being co-educational and admitting a reasonable proportion of women students... Otherwise the women will not form a sufficiently numerous body to ensure a proper status and position. The grudging admission of a few women is unsatisfactory... There must be no sense of inferiority or of privilege. (cited by Elston, 1976:119)[13]

If the medical profession is something of an exception in terms of recruitment, it is not when the careers of qualified practitioners are considered. As in other professions, female doctors are concentrated in the less prestigious specialisations. As Elston observes:

> Women are well represented in anasthetics, paediatrics, child psychiatry and radiology and recently there has been an increase in female consultants in obstetrics and gynaecology.

> With the exceptions of the latter, 'women's specialities' are 'shortage' specialisations in which the number of posts available exceeds supply, and opportunities for private practice are limited. (1976:126)

In management this also seems to be the case; as the Institute of Personnel Management reported:

> We have a lot of very good young women on course but our fear is over what happens to them when they finish. We fear that a lot of them end up in clerical recruitment or in training. They are not, we think, being allowed into the field of industrial relations, which is the essential thing today. (cited by Mackie and Pattullo, 1977:83).

Indeed, for the women who do obtain professional status, they are concentrated in areas which are strongly associated with the 'feminine role'. In other words, an extension of the domestic caring role.

It is argued by the guardians of the profession[14] that women do not make it to the higher echelons of the profession or to the more lucrative areas of practice and research because they are unable to make as strong commitment to their career as men. As in other occupations, it is argued that domestic responsibility is the primary cause of this. Certainly, domestic responsibility is an important factor,[15] but it is as important to consider those restraints which are imposed on women which derive not from women themselves, but are created by men. Most of the professions are quite old, and have been dominated by men throughout their history, consequently, certain informal practices which surround 'male oriented' activities have developed. It

is difficult for women to participate in these. As Fogarty (1981) suggests, women are isolated from the main channels of communication:

> the socialising, the drinking in the right pubs and clubs, and above all the easy social contact which men have with one another, all militated against the advancement of women. All these contacts were felt to give men much more opportunity of indulging in internal politics than women could ever have. (cited by Spencer and Podmore, 1983:13).

It can be concluded that women are handicapped in their attempts to further careers in professions. Even if women do attempt to adapt to the roles which men have created, (ie, to play the role of the surrogate male) they are still isolated from certain social networks, crucial for career advancement.

It would be incorrect to assume that this ideology is isolated to the professions, in both manual and routine white collar work women experience similar forms of discrimination.[16] In clerical work, for example, men are much more likely to be singled out for career sponsorship. (Crompton, Jones and Reid, 1982). In banking also, women are recruited to tackle the bulk of the day-to-day clerical and counter work, whilst men (for whom recruitment procedure is more stringent) are encouraged to further a career. (Heritage, 1983:133-4). Whilst in manual work, as has been illustrated above, it is men who have maintained their position in the most prestigious skilled occupations.

3.5. Conclusion

In this Chapter, those theories which have attempted to identify and explain the origins of labour market segmentation by gender have been critically evaluated. The historical analysis which has been forwarded has generally supported the view that such labour market segmentation exists. However, it has been argued that there is a need to extend the explanatory power of these theories by considering in more detail the role of the state and the trade unions in engendering labour market segmentation as well as reinforcing it.

In the latter parts of the Chapter, which considered the mechanisms utilised by employers, trade unions and the state to reinforce labour market segmentation by gender with reference to recent sociological analyses, it was shown that segmentation is evident on more than one level. Indeed, it was shown that the process of segmentation is encouraged not only at the point of recruitment into occupations (ie, consciously employing recruitment procedures which direct women into occupations with limited opportunity for promotion), but also within occupations. This practice, it has been shown, is particularly evident in the professions where women's opportunities for career advancement are restricted because of a dominant sexist ideology amongst males which asserts that women are unsuitably equipped with the temperament

required for such work.

Segmentation by gender in the labour market, it has been shown, does not operate only in terms of the types of jobs women obtain, but also the terms of employment. It is clear that many women are employed in occupations which are lowly paid and insecure. This is especially common in part-time employment where the employment relationship appears to be inherently unstable because of low pay, poor working conditions and an inadequate commitment on the part of the employer to training, provision of facilities and so on.

Although a good deal of evidence has been forwarded to support the view that segmentation in the labour market by gender is in existence, most has been based on small scale sociological enquiries. In the following chapters it is possible to explore the extent of labour market segmentation on a large scale using comparative data for men and women in the Scottish labour market between 1930 and 1970. Other studies have been commissioned to consider the origins and extent of labour market segmentation, (Hakim, 1979; Roberts, 1984) however, a comparative analysis of the differential patterns of occupational mobility intergenerationally and intragenerationally amongst men and women at a national level has not yet been attempted. Consequently, the findings presented in this thesis which do address this issue empirically will bridge an important gap in sociological knowledge on women's employment and careers.

NOTES

(1) There has been a number of other studies which have not taken gender as an important factor in explaining behaviour at work. Viteles, 1954; Kahn, 1958; Tannenbaum, 1966.

(2) There has been a number of studies which have discussed women's orientations to work with reference to the effects of education (Sharpe, 1976; Deem, 1982) of the romantic identifications of girls with certain occupations (McRobbie and Gamber, 1975) and of women in manual and clerical employment (Armstrong, 1982; Coyle, 1984; Pollert, 1981; McNally, 1979).

(3) Reich et al do not make it clear how the existence and reinforcement of institutional sexism and racism 'legitimises' control, perhaps reinforce would have been a more useful term.

(4) The members of printing unions have been very successful in maintaining their primary position despite numerous managerial attempts to break union power. (Cockburn, 1983).

(5) Not housework in the modern sense (ie unpaid domestic labour) but domestically based manufacturing.

(6) Recent evidence suggests that the 'traditional working class family' ie, resembling the Victorian middle class family in structure and organisation, probably never existed. (Gittins, 1983).

(7) Humphries has recently argued that the 1842 Mines Act confirms that legislation derived from Victorian moralist patriarchal pressure to which many employers were opposed. Indeed, it would seem that much of the legislation protecting women in the nineteenth century was ideologically based.

(8) Until recently, many historians have incorrectly accepted the idea that married working class women as a whole rarely worked. Even an authority as well respected as Hobsbaum suggested this as recently as in 1979. It now seems that such generalisations are no longer acceptable (Alexander, Davis and Hofsetter 1979:175; Gittins 1982:95-125).

(9) These figures apply to Britain as a whole.

(10) The printing of newspapers is something of an extreme case, because the employers are not able to redistribute the work on an international scale. In other sections of printing and publishing tasks are divided on an international scale, while the centre of administrative operations remain here.

(11) Pollert (1981; 1983) has argued that in many factories men are actually physically separated from women in order to reinforce definitions of men's work and women's work. Wilkins (1983) supports this finding, arguing that young men are uncooperative in work which they do not define as men's work - irrespective of the level of skill.

(12) The TUC has developed policy on part-time workers recently on both home workers and part-time workers. (J. Hunt 1982:163).

(13) In order to irradicate any sense of inferiority it was stated that one fifth of the intake should be women. (Heritage 1983:119).

(14) The most senior members of most professions are men, in 1975, for example, 42 of 46 members of the General Medical Council were men. Whilst on the central council of the British Medical Association 48 out of 50 members were men. (Elston, 1976:121).

(15) As in routine clerical work, and in manual occupations, many professional women work on a part-time basis during periods in which they have dependent children. As Elston comments 'To qualify for promotion it is essential to keep up with the latest work and to develop and maintain colleague and sponsor ties. This is hard for women to achieve if they work part-time or have a break in the continuity of their employment at a vital stage soon after graduation. (1976:130). Similar experiences are reported in accountancy (Silverstone, 1980), in architecture (Wigfall, 1980), and dentistry (Fox and Seward, 1980).

(16) It is not possible to extend the discussion to white collar and manual work here, professional work has been specifically selected as an example as it is an area in which men might be expected to be more enlightened in their view of women, as well, of course, as the fact that in professions exploitation of women for profit is unlikely.

CHAPTER FOUR

M E T H O D O L O G Y

4.1. Introduction

In the first part of this thesis, a number of questions were raised which require detailed attention at an empirical level. In the Chapters which will follow, two broad issues will be addressed with reference to data from the Scottish Mobility Study. These are, firstly, to analyse in detail the patterns of occupational participation of men and women in the Scottish labour market, in order to assess the extent to which labour market segmentation is in existence. Secondly, to compare the patterns of occupational mobility, both intragenerationally and intergenerationally, of men and women in Scotland.

The analytical discussion will not proceed utilising the SMS data for national analysis only, instead the patterns of occupational participation and mobility will also be assessed with reference to the industrial sectoral composition of Scotland and also by region. Clearly, such a programme of work is of some importance given the evidence presented in Chapter Two which has shown that the Scottish industrial structure differs not only from the rest of Britain,

but also that there are considerable dissimilarities within geographical areas of Scotland itself.

The management, analysis and interpretation of these data inevitably is a complicated process, consequently, it is important to direct attention to these issues before the findings of this research are presented. Prior to this discussion, however, it is of considerable importance to examine, in detail, how the SMS data were collected.

4.2. The Scottish Mobility Study

The Scottish Mobility Study was undertaken within the theoretical and empirical tradition of national sample mobility studies pioneered by Glass and his colleagues at the London School of Economics in 1949. It should, though, be stressed that the Scottish Mobility Study resembles that of the Nuffield Mobility Group's study which sought to replicate the 1949 survey and the American national study carried out by Blau and Duncan (1967)[1]

The organisation and collection of data in the Scottish Mobility Study, (financed by the SSRC), ensured that a detailed investigation of occupational mobility patterns for the Scottish population was achieved from an historical perspective.[2] The study consists of nearly 5,000 interviews with men born between 1909 and 1955 and of around 3,500 sub-interviews with the male sample's wives. This study was the first attempt at a systematic analysis of the social and occupational structure of Scotland which was specifically oriented in the tradition of large scale quantitative sociological investigation.

The questionnaire used in the Scottish Mobility Study was designed to collect data on the occupational histories of respondents and respondents' families in much the same way as in the Nuffield College study of England and Wales. Also, questions on post-secondary education, income, geographical

locations and so on were similar to those asked in the Nuffield study. The Scottish Mobility Study questionnaire included more on migration, on kinship and friendship interactions, on attitudes to work and methods of obtaining a job than the English study. However, no data on political attitudes as used by the Nuffield researchers were included.

Where appropriate, the Scottish Mobility Study questionnaire followed the same design as the Nuffield College version. Many of the questions had, therefore, been pre-tested and piloted extensively in the 1972 survey of England and Wales. Changes of content, wording modifications, changes in order and final layout of the Scottish version were pre-tested in several areas of Glasgow in January 1974 by Payne and two other experienced interviewers. Further piloting, using more typical interviewers, was carried out in four areas chosen to reflect the varied character of Scotland. This pilot interviewing stage was also used to test briefing, administrative and coding procedures. The questionnaire was printed after final modifications in March 1974.

Sampling

Until 1974, only the Census provided a national sample survey of the resident population of Scotland which covered the whole country. The Scottish Mobility Study,

therefore, is the only alternative national sample survey that provides biographical information on occupational changes, income, education as well as a wide range of previously unstudied variables relating to familial ties in Scotland.

It was decided by the Scottish Mobility Study's research team that it would not be possible to sample both men and women randomly in their own right. The effects on the accuracy of the data which would have been caused had there been two samples of around 2,500 respondents of each sex (given that the SSRC grant only allowed for the collection of 5,000 completed questionnaires) was considered to be too great to sample women also. Instead, a sub interview was held with the male respondent's wife on her own occupational history, education and family background. The data on females upon which the present study draws, in consequence, refer to married women (or women living as married) only. Furthermore, the available data on women was not subjected to the rigors of conventional sampling techniques.

The method used to sample male respondents was devised by Professor G. Kalton. The sample of 5,000 was taken from those men aged between 20 and 64 who were living in the inner islands and on the mainland in 1974-75. The Outer Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland were deliberately excluded from the sampling frame due to costs.[3]

Initially, the eight (pre local government re-organisation) planning regions were stratified, then the

population was sampled according to urban areas, cities, burghs with over 6,000 inhabitants, and densely populated 'landward areas'.[4] There were 68 areas with a population over 6,000 and a systematic random sample was drawn from them; a probability sample proportionate to population size at a rate of 1 in 582: the sampling interval was 215.3962. The remaining landward rural areas which had a population of less than 6,000 (covering more than 90% of the landmass) were grouped in the same way as the burghs. These were then sampled using clustering.

In order to allow for a 20% failure rate, (composed of potential respondents on the electoral register who had died or were too ill, or for those who did not respond or refused to take part), 6,250 males were required when initial contacts were made. It was estimated that there were 1,724,753 males on the Scottish electoral register aged eighteen years and over in 1973, only 1,383,595 of whom were assumed to be in the age range 20-60 years, comprising 80.4% of all males resident in Scotland. Therefore, $\frac{6250 \times 100}{80.4} = 7775$ males were required to allow for discards. The sampling method demanded that an 'over-sample' was required to take account of wastage. Since males make up about 46% of the Census population, (allowing for under-representation), then $\frac{7775 \times 100}{46} = 16{,}902$ sampling units are required in order to yield 6,250 interviews. Consequently, the population under investigation had been accurately defined by the above

procedure. The selection of sampling units and construction of the frame, was rigorously compiled and checked by both members of the original team at Aberdeen University, with the advice of Professor G. Kalton.[6]

Fieldwork

Fieldwork began in March 1974 and was completed in the summer of 1975.[7] The data were coded by a team of about twenty students working in four specialist groups dealing with occupations, education, post-secondary education, and migration (including other data not specified elsewhere). Each questionnaire was coded twice independently; differences were reconciled under the supervision of the project's director or other senior members of the research team.

The data were systematically computerised and 'cleaned' over a period of seven months using range checks (ie maxima and minima) internal consistency checks (ie logical interconnections) and listings of selected variables. The final data set consisted of 4887 cases, each containing a potential entry on 1,000 variables (including some secondary variables generated from original occupational codings). The data-set is lodged at Aberdeen University, Plymouth Polytechnic, and at the ESRC Survey Data Archive, University of Essex.

4.3. Data management

Given the unconventional approach adopted to the study of occupational mobility in this thesis, in the sense that it is not intended to proceed with analysis using national data in an undifferentiated manner, it is necessary here to detail the method by which new variables were created. The Scottish Mobility Study data were manipulated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 7, in order to produce categorical data on occupations, regions and industrial sectors. The computational work, involving complex recoding procedures, testing and retesting combinations of variables and so on, took place over a period of eight months. The final presentation of the figures and tables involved extensive manual calculation and data reorganisation.

(a) Occupational scales

Data on respondent's occupations in this thesis will be presented in accordance with the conventions of large scale mobility research. (Glass *et al* 1954; Hope and Goldthorpe, 1974; Payne, 1975). A number of scales will be used with differing numbers of occupational categories, all of which are based on the occupational classification schema devised by Hope and Goldthorpe, (1974). From this 124 category

scale, Goldthorpe's and Payne's collapsed scales were drawn, both of which have been shown to be more reliable than the Hall and Jones scale which was used by Glass and his colleagues in the 1949 mobility study. The scale was based on the principle of producing a scale which 'represented popular evaluations of the general "goodness" (in the sense of "desirability") of occupations.' (Goldthorpe, 1972:21).

There are, of course, certain difficulties in operationalising such a scale given that it was created to classify male occupations in a hierarchical manner. As was shown in Chapter Three, women may be employed in the same occupation as men, but may not be able to achieve higher occupational status within that organisation because men are generally singled out as the best candidates for career advancement. Furthermore, the occupational scales which were speciafically developed to classify men in the occupational structure, as was shown in Chapter Two, illustrate the diversity of employment opportunities amongst males. The latter reservation is less problematic for the present study however, because the very fact that women are located in fewer occupations will be highlighted - producing useful information on the different patterns of occupational participation amongst men and women in Scotland.

In Chapter One, it was stated that occupational positions were not being regarded as synonymous with class position in this thesis because the research is concerned with

occupational participation and mobility and not class formation, consciousness and action. In terms of the operationalisation of occupational scales, however, it would seem to be an advantage that class is not being considered because they reflect, to repeat Goldthorpe's statement, 'popular evaluations of the general "goodness" (in the sense of "desirability") of occupations'. (1972:21) and not popular evaluations of the class position of persons with certain occupations.

It would seem quite permissible, therefore, to adopt the overall hierarchy of the Hope-Goldthorpe categorisation (and Payne's and Goldthorpe's derivations) as offering a useful methodological tool with which research may proceed. In other words, the grading of occupations is identified as a reliable indicator of occupational status, ie, that individuals in certain groupings may have better working conditions, pay, prospects, and social status than individuals in other categories. However, it is also recognised that for many of the respondents, especially women, their occupational status as indicated by their position in the hierarchy of occupations may not necessarily be indicative of their social class.

In this project both Goldthorpe's seven category scale and Payne's seven category scale will be used. Overall preference is given to Payne's derivation in Chapters Five, Six and Seven; except in the latter part of Chapter Seven in

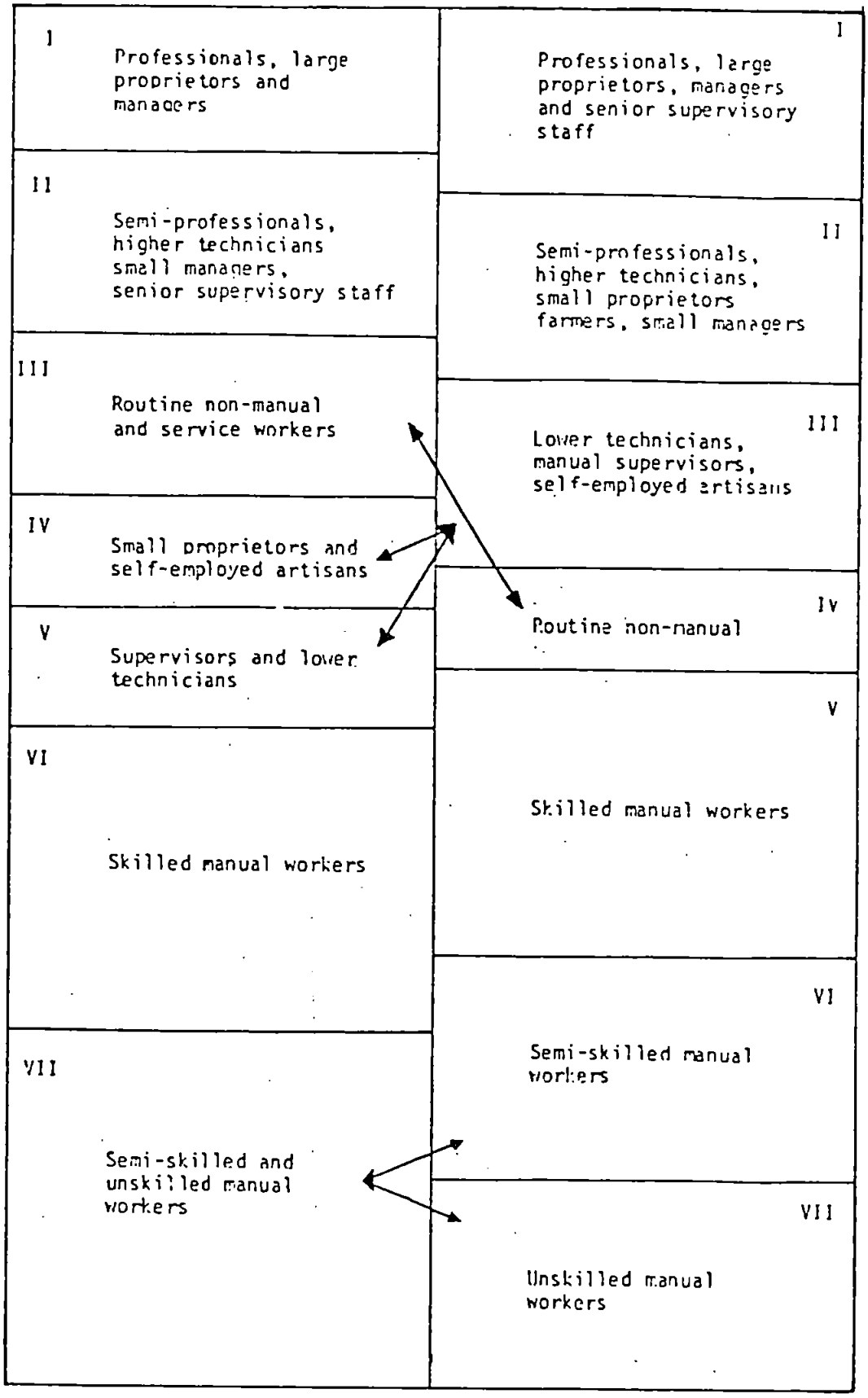
which the Hope and Goldthorpe thirty-six category scale is introduced because it provides a more suitable scale for the detailed study of occupational distributions. Only in Chapter Two is Goldthorpe's seven category scale operationalised, so that comparisons between the Nuffield College data for England and Wales and the SMS data can be made.

Preference has been given to Payne's scale because skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual workers are distinguished. Furthermore, the category 'Routine non-manual and service workers' as defined by Goldthorpe has, perhaps unwisely, been located above the 'supervisory and technician lower grade' category and above 'small proprietors and self-employed artisans'. In Payne's scale, as illustrated in Figure 4.1., these anomalies are rectified by raising the position of supervisors and lower technicians above routine non-manual workers. Further, service workers have been disaggregated in Payne's scale into both manual and non-manual occupational categories. (Payne et al, 1976)

Payne's seven category scale has been further collapsed for the present research into either a dichotomous scale (frequently used by Payne, based on the manual/non-manual divide) or a three category scale, illustrated in Figure 4.2., which is similar to Goldthorpe's derivation. The advantage of using a three category scale is that the non-manual and non-professional occupations are separated, a division which

FIGURE 4.1

Goldthorpe's and Payne's occupational scales compared



is of particular importance given the high levels of female employment in routine non-manual work.

In Chapter Seven, the Hope-Goldthorpe thirty-six category occupational scale is used in order to examine in a more detailed way the patterns of occupational participation of men and women in the labour market.

FIGURE 4.2.

The three category occupational scale, derived from Payne's seven category scale

Professionals, large proprietors and managers	Professionals and semi-professionals
Semi-professionals, higher technicians, small proprietors, farmers, farm managers.	
Lower technicians, manual supervisors, self-employed artisans	Non-manual workers
Routine non-manual workers	
Skilled manual workers	Manual workers
Semi-skilled manual workers	
Unskilled manual workers	

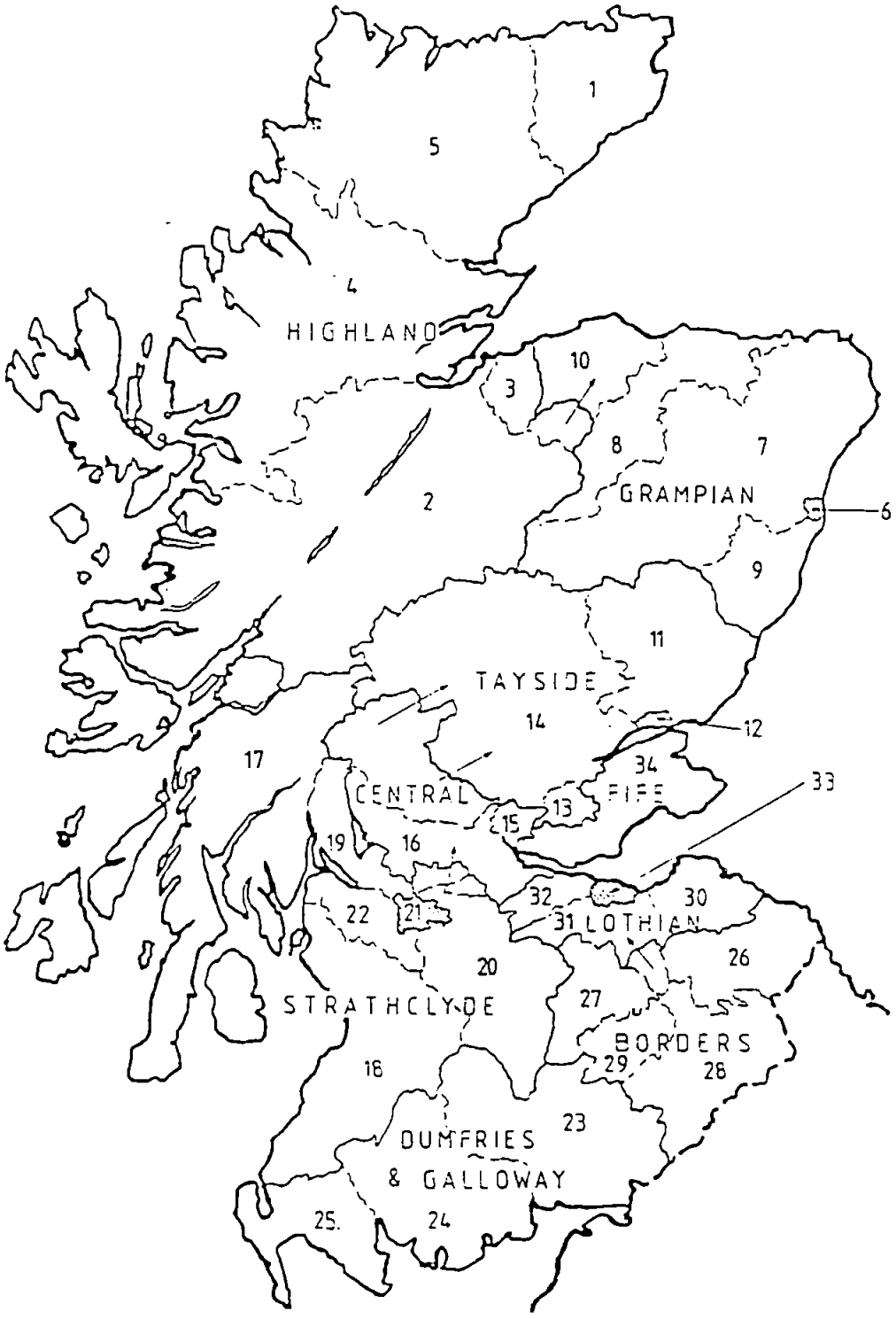
(b) Regional Analysis

In Chapter Two, it was shown that the industrial structure of Scotland is unusual because nearly all manufacturing industry, commerce and administration is concentrated in only one relatively small area - the Central Lowlands: around 80% of the resident population of Scotland live in this region. The rest of the population, numbering around one million, live in an area half the size of England. Given that data are available for the whole of Scotland (except the Outer Islands, Orkney and Shetland) it is important to consider the patterns of occupational participation and mobility in these peripheral areas.

The Scottish Mobility Study sample is large with around 5,000 respondents, however, certain practical problems arise in the definition of 'rural' and 'urban' areas.(8) The most important of which is to retain as many respondents as possible in the rural sample so that the number of respondents in the basic mobility table are sufficient to produce reliable results for the purposes of comparison. Consequently, relatively arbitrary geographical boundaries have been drawn. Figure 4.3. illustrates the county boundaries in Scotland prior to the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, and the new regional boundaries established in 1973. The SMS data set has coded the county of residence of respondents (ie, pre 1973), because, as an historical study, the old county

FIGURE 4.3

Old county boundaries and new regional boundaries of Scotland



KEY

HIGHLAND
1 Caithness
2 Inverness
3 Nairn
4 Ross & Cromarty
5 Sutherland

GRAMPIAN
6 Aberdeen City
7 Aberdeenshire
8 Banff
9 Kincardine
10 Moray

TAYSIDE
11 Angus
12 Dundee City
13 Kinross
14 Perth

CENTRAL
15 Clackmannan
16 Stirling

STRATHCLYDE
17 Argyll
18 Ayr
19 Dunbarton
20 Lanark
21 Glasgow City
22 Renfrew

DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY
23 Dumfries
24 Kirkcudbright
25 Wigtown

BORDERS
26 Berwick
27 Peebles
28 Roxburgh
29 Selkirk

LOTHIAN
30 East Lothian
31 Mid Lothian
32 West Lothian
33 Edinburgh City

FIFE
34 Fife

Regional Boundaries (1975)

Old County Boundaries

Major cities

Areas of old counties crossed by new Regions (arrows indicate county to which area previously belonged)

boundaries relate more closely with other sources of data, such as Census data, Local Government reports and so on. In the present study many of these county boundaries have been utilised as a means of distinguishing between 'rural' counties and 'urban' counties. In some cases this was not possible especially in the counties surrounding the Central Lowlands, Aberdeen and Dundee. Consequently, further boundaries have been drawn using Ordinance Survey grid references available for all respondents in each county. These boundaries are illustrated in Figure 4.4.

The urban region incorporates both Glasgow and Edinburgh and the satellite towns which are within close proximity to these metropolitan centres: Dumbarton, Paisley, Hamilton, Motherwell, Falkirk, Dumfirmline and Kirkcaldy being the most important. Within the boundaries of this region there are also numerous smaller settlements and rural areas. These smaller settlements and rural areas have not been excluded, because in many cases the resident population actually work in the towns and cities. (Pacione, 1983).

The rural areas are composed of two broad regions, firstly, the Borders, Dumfries and Golloway, the southernmost area of Strathclyde Region (formerly Ayr) and the area south of Lanark also in the Strathclyde Region. The second area includes the area of Strathclyde north of Dumbarton, the Highland Region, Grampian Region excepting the Eastern coastline and the Aberdeen hinterland, and parts of Tayside north of Forfar and west of Comrie.

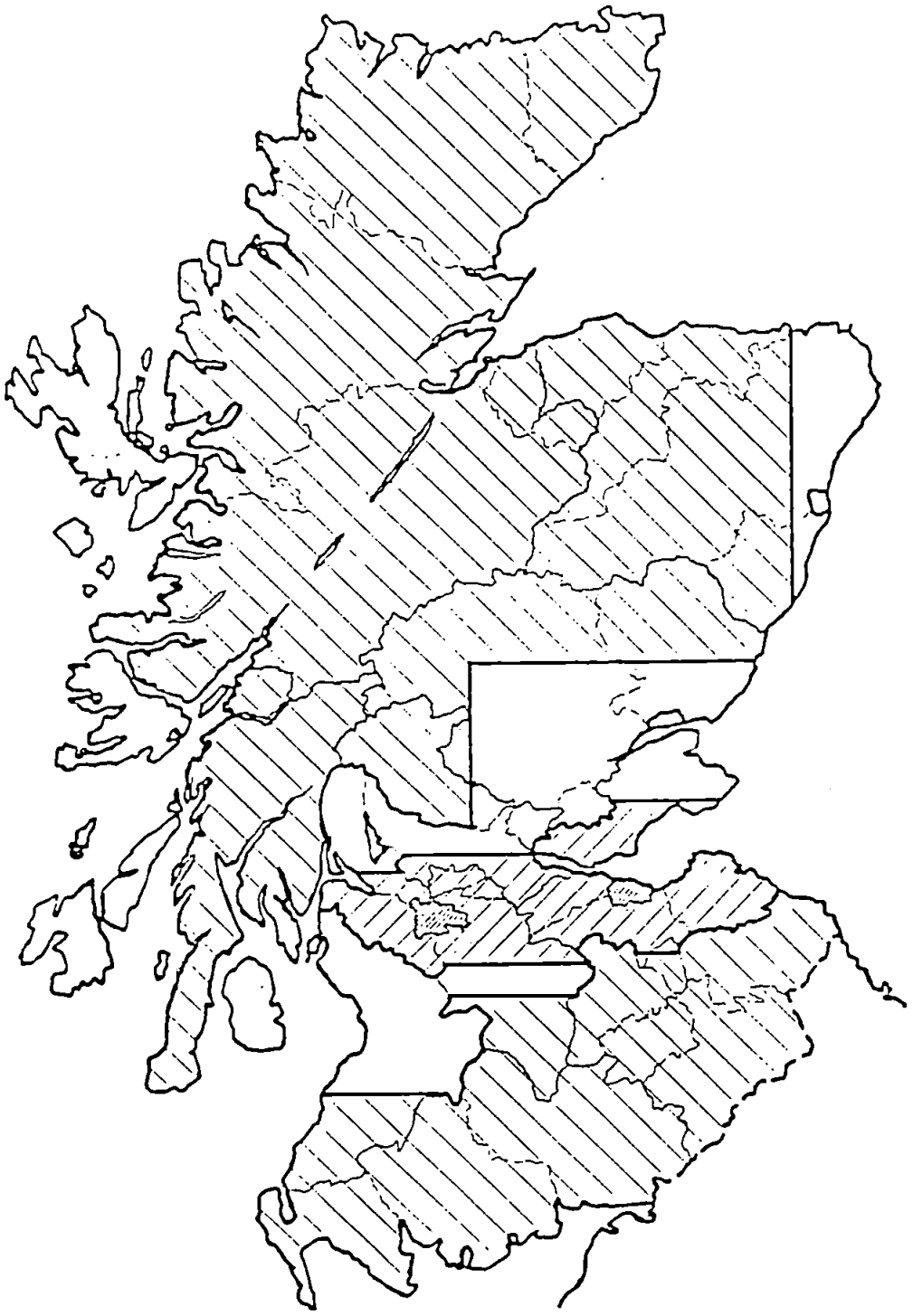


FIG 4.4

Location of rural and urban areas for data analysis

KEY

Urban areas

Rural areas

It should be noted that both Aberdeen and Dundee have not been included in the urban areas, this is simply because they too are physcially isolated from the central area. Clearly they could not be included in the rural areas so they have been excluded along with the surrounding travel to work areas. Similarly, Ayr, Lanark and Kilmarnock and their surrounding areas have been excluded.[9]

As has been stated above, these boundaries do not attempt to take historical or cultural issues into account, but are devised solely as a means of comparing individual's occupational mobility in areas which display quite different industrial and economic characteristics. Decisions about the designation of areas to either urban or rural areas (or complete exclusion) were therefore based on a detailed study of the Structure Plans produced by all the Regional Councils in the 1970s[10] and upon numerous historical accounts on the development of the Scottish economy. (Cairncross, 1954; Campbell, 1954; Dickson, 1980, 1982; Kendrick et al, 1982a, 1982b; Lenman, 1977; Scott and Hughes, 1980; Slaven, 1975).

(c) Industrial sectoral classification

Conventionally, social mobility researchers have concentrated much of their attention on the movement of individuals between occupational categories. In the present study, analysis will proceed on a number of dimensions: comparing men and women, regional variations in occupational mobility,

and finally across industrial sectors.

There has been a number of attempts in the past to devise a series of industrial sectoral groupings, most of which have been specifically designed to reflect the development of industrial societies. (Bell, 1976; Browning and Singleman, 1978; Clark, 1940; Rostow, 1971). In this study, little emphasis is placed on such developmental theory because the main concern is with the relatively short historical period: 1930-1970.

The five industrial sectors which are listed below have been specifically constructed to reflect the industrial structure of Scotland which was discussed in Chapter Two.

Industrial Sector	Industrial Order
Primary Industries	
Farming, forestry and fishing	I
Basic Manufacturing Industries	
Mining; Coal and Petroleum; Metal manufacture; Shipbuilding; Textiles	II, IV, VI, X, XXII
Other Manufacturing Industries	
Food, Drink, Tobacco; Chemicals; Mechanical, Instrument, Electrical Engineering; Vehicles; Metals nec.; Leather and Clothing; Construction Materials; Paper, printing and publishing; other manufacturing nec.	III, V, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIV-XIX
Basic Services	
Construction; Utilities; Transport and Communications: Distribution; Misc. Services	XX-XXVI
Other Services	
Insurance, banking and business services; Professional and scientific services; Public Administration and defence	XXIV-XXVII

4.4. Data analysis

In this study, a number of variables have been used extensively for the purposes of exploring the patterns of occupational distribution and mobility of men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970. The variables drawn from the Scottish Mobility Study data set for the research can be split into three types. Firstly, those which refer to the respondent's own occupational history. Secondly, variables which provide information on respondent's family of origin. And finally, those which record the geographical location at the time of enquiry.

Data on respondent's occupational histories allow for the examination of their occupational position on entry into the labour market and for their present or most recent job. Variables which refer to respondent's first employment provide information on the first 'full-time' occupation the respondent held, and the industry within which he or she was employed. The date at which the respondent entered the labour market, together with his or her age are also recorded, these variables allow for the production of tables on occupational participation and mobility in a historical context. The respondent's 'present or most recent job' is recorded as a single variable. The consequence of which is that for many respondents, especially women, the occupation recorded for them in 1975 as present job, may, in fact,

have been vacated some time ago: after which the respondent was not in paid employment. Interpretation of this variable would be especially problematic if detailed analysis of women's occupational histories were to be attempted on an individual level. However, as this study is more concerned with the more general issue of females' labour market participation and occupational mobility across broad regions and industrial sectors, the difficulties of interpretation are offset. It would have been possible to distinguish between those respondents actually working in 1975 from those who had left work previous to this date, but such a course of action was decided against on the grounds that the number of females in the sample would have been reduced to the extent that the validity of findings comparing women with men would be diminished.(11) Furthermore, it was decided not to differentiate between part-time and full-time employment amongst women. Firstly, because no comparative data are available for male respondents, and secondly, because too many women would have been lost in the analysis. This is not, of course, to suggest that the issues of women's part-time employment is insignificant to the analysis of the labour market; but given the aims of this study, to provide detailed information on women's overall occupational participation and mobility at a national, regional and industrial sectoral level, it was decided that the loss of data on around 23% of female respondents for comparative analyses

would be detrimental to the overall aims of the study detailed above.

Data on respondents' family of origin is restricted to information on the respondents' fathers' jobs when the respondent was fourteen years old. Although it is not possible to fully explain from the father's occupation the respondent's class background, or the effect of their origin on their own occupational potentiality (as was explained in detail in Chapter One), this variable provides the only available indication of social origin. Nevertheless, the information on respondents' fathers is useful because it offers a general indication of family background from which comparisons about the occupational achievements of men and women from similar backgrounds can be drawn.

The analysis of these variables will proceed using simple and effective methods of data presentation, (crosstabulations, line graphs and histograms, and flow diagrams). Such an approach is unusual in social and occupational mobility research which is generally associated with highly sophisticated statistical techniques which are notoriously difficult to interpret. In this study such analytical procedures will not be used for two very simple reasons. Firstly, because this study is not concerned with predictions on how individuals might fare in the labour market if certain conditions are met. As an historical study, it is more important to illustrate what factors actually affected individuals' mobility chances between 1930-1970. Clearly, in

the face of changing historical circumstances; for example, mass unemployment, the impact of North Sea Oil, of new technology, and a changing world economy, it would be inappropriate to make predictions from the SMS data set as to the levels of occupational mobility in, say, the late 1970s and 1980s. General theoretical claims can be made as easily from a consideration of simple crosstabulations as from other more complicated statistical procedures.

Secondly, because such statistical procedures seem not to produce results which add a great deal of additional evidence from which sociological insights might be drawn. As Zeeman suggests, himself a professor of mathematics: 'For some writers, the mathematics is not essential, because they can describe the heart of their matter in ordinary language;... (whilst others)... use mathematics only in a cosmetic role for making their arguments look more elegant.' (1979:vii). Such analytical devices are most successfully used in the physical sciences given the ways in which, say, inorganic materials can be accurately quantified and experimented upon in laboratory conditions.[12] However, to attempt to reduce sociological data which do not lend themselves so easily to such treatment, the practice would seem to be of limited value. Sociological research, at least in the British empirical tradition, has sought to emphasise the complexity of sociological knowledge rather than to reduce it to apparently unambiguous mathematical statements - this tradition is maintained here.

NOTES

(1) The following discussion is based on unpublished information of the Scottish Mobility Study and on informal conversation with Geoff Payne.

(2) The only other large scale study of the Scottish population is the 1932 Mental Health Survey which was directed by the Scottish Council for Research in Education. This was subsequently repeated in 1949, and is mentioned by Glass et al (1954:16)

(3) It was calculated that the cost of interviewing in these areas did not justify the likely return in improved accuracy. Even with severe clustering, possibly only one respondent would be drawn from each island.

(4) Landward areas are the same as rural districts used prior to local government reorganisation, which in Scotland took place a year later than in England and Wales.

(5) Males actually make up 48% of the adult population (1971 Census). The experience of both the Nuffield Survey and the Aberdeen pilot surveys seemed to suggest that 46% was a better estimate of the proportion of men registered on the electoral roll.

(6) The response rate was fairly high at 80%.

(7) There were certain problems associated with the completion of the fieldwork. Almost 40% of the fieldwork was completed by the summer of 1974 and this represented a failure on the part of the Market Research Company to fulfil the contract. The remainder of the fieldwork was undertaken by the Research Team in Aberdeen. Although the fieldwork period was extended until the summer of 1975, this did not affect the nature of the codified variables. The most problematic was income of the respondent and the earlier income variables were weighted to allow for inflation and standard comparison. Other variables such as education and occupation were not affected by the time at which the interview took place. Every questionnaire was coded twice independently under the strict supervision of the Scottish Mobility Study team. The coding schemes followed the English study as far as possible and the quality of the data collected reflected the stringent independent checking procedure. The editors themselves were subject to a 10% spot check. The subsequent 'cleaning' of the data took place over eight months to ensure the reliability of the data-set.

(8) A theoretical discussion of the problems associated with the definition of rural and urban areas is located in Chapter Six.

(9) It should be noted that the exclusion of the East Coast area around Aberdeen has nothing to do with the development of the oil industry in this area because large scale economic activity did not begin until after 1970. This is not, of course, to suggest that recent developments have not had an effect on occupational mobility in the area, however, no data are available for such an investigation in the Scottish Mobility Study.

(10) Structure Plans produced by the nine Regional Councils. Borders Region, Boswells, 1980: Central Region, Stirling, 1981: Dumfries and Galloway Region, Dumfries, 1980: Fife Region, Kirkcaldy, 1982: Grampian Region, Aberdeen, 1981: Highland Region, Inverness, 1979: Lothian Region, Edinburgh, 1978: Tayside Region, Dundee, 1978: Strathclyde, Glasgow, 1981.

(11) The reason for this is that cell size would be diminished to an extent that may leave some empty cells, making interpretation very difficult.

(12) For a comprehensive critique of the use of path analysis, for example, which is widely used in mobility research, see Crowder, 1981.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN IN SCOTLAND: 1930-1970

5.1. Introduction

In this Chapter the patterns of occupational participation and mobility of men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 will be considered empirically. The primary concern of this Chapter will be to examine the patterns of mobility in Scotland as a whole so that a general understanding can be obtained. Following this, more specific analyses of the patterns of occupational mobility in industrial sectors and regions will be presented in Chapters Six and Seven.

In this Chapter the analysis will proceed with a detailed discussion of the patterns of occupational mobility of men and women intergenerationally. The aim of which will be to assess the variations in occupational participation of men and women in comparison with their fathers. The usefulness of such a study lies not only in the information it presents about the relationship between fathers' jobs and the employment of their offspring, but also of the extent of occupational transition over two generations.

Following this, the patterns of occupational mobility

both intergenerationally and intragenerationally will be examined. This exercise allows for the discussion of the relationship between origin and destination, and also the patterns of occupational mobility of men and women in their own lifetime. In this section, data will be presented which will compare the relationship between the respondents' father's occupation and the respondents' occupations over time. Further historical analysis on the changing patterns of labour market participation of men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 will be forwarded in this section in order to assess the importance of occupational transition on individuals' occupational mobility potential.

In the last section of this Chapter a further issue will be examined which refers specifically to women's occupational mobility: the consideration of the importance of marriage in explaining women's employment and occupational mobility. In the previous sections it will have been shown that women are less likely to achieve as high occupational status as men, consequently, the aim of this analysis will be to assess the extent to which women 'marry-up'. Obviously, if women are distributed differently to men occupationally it is important also to make comparisons with reference to some other evidence; comparisons will also be made, therefore, with the origins of husbands and wives.

5.2. Patterns of intergenerational mobility of men and women in Scotland: 1930-1970

In most conventional social mobility studies, the first stage of analysis involves a detailed discussion of a basic mobility table which includes all of the respondent's in the sample. In this case, data are presented for both males and females over seven occupational status groups to compare patterns of intergenerational mobility. For both men and women, then, their own occupational status is cross-tabulated with their father's when the respondent was fourteen.[1] The analysis of such a large table is a complicated procedure; in order to interpret the data more easily, therefore, the basic data will be presented in a number of ways. First of all, the overall percentage table will be discussed; followed by both 'inflow' and 'outflow' percentage tables.

Table 5.1. presents the overall percentages for the sample which represent the 'absolute' rate of mobility. Absolute mobility means that the cell frequencies represent the 'actual' number of respondents in each cell. Turning attention firstly to the actual levels of occupational mobility observed in Table 5.1. (summarised after calculation in Table 5.2.) the data show that over seven occupational categories, males are much more likely to be upwardly mobile[2] than women; and that if they are not upwardly mobile the

TABLE 5.1.

Occupational mobility of men and women: by their father's job when respondent aged fourteen

Men's and women's occupational position in 1975

Overall percentages

Father's Occupation	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		%	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
I	2.8	0.4	1.5	1.9	0.4	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.5	0.3	0.3	6.2	5.4
II	2.3	0.2	4.2	2.8	1.3	0.4	1.0	1.9	1.2	0.7	1.5	3.5	0.8	1.8	12.2	11.3
III	1.6	0.1	2.0	1.9	2.6	0.1	0.6	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.3	4.2	1.6	2.8	12.8	12.3
IV	0.9	0.1	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.5	3.3	3.8
V	2.0	0.2	2.8	3.0	3.7	0.5	1.4	3.6	8.6	3.4	5.7	10.2	4.7	7.2	28.7	28.2
VI	1.1	0.2	2.0	1.9	2.8	0.3	1.0	3.0	4.2	2.8	5.5	6.8	3.3	6.1	19.9	18.0
VII	1.2	0.2	1.6	1.7	2.7	0.2	0.9	2.4	3.6	2.1	3.6	5.8	3.4	5.6	16.9	18.0
%	11.8	1.5	14.8	14.2	13.9	1.7	5.7	14.7	20.2	10.6	19.3	33.0	14.2	24.3	100.0	100.0
															4648	3650

TABLE 5.2.

Rates of Occupational Mobility over Seven Occupational Categories and Two Occupational Categories

	MEN		WOMEN	
	7 x 7	2 x 2	7 x 7	2 x 2
Upward	42.5	23.2	32.2	17.2
Stable	27.4	65.8	19.9	65.5
Downward	30.4	11.3	48.8	18.0

chances of being downwardly mobile, or of staying at the same occupational status as their father are about the same. For women, on the other hand, if they are not upwardly mobile, they are more than twice as likely to achieve a lower occupational status than their fathers. If a more narrow definition of mobility is adopted, by counting only the movements across the non-manual/manual divide, the level of mobility and stability for men and women appears to be more similar; although men still are more likely to be upwardly mobile than women.

It is evident from the above analysis that a very large proportion of women are upwardly occupationally mobile (although less so than males). Such a discovery is surprising given the theoretical assertions forwarded in Chapter Three which suggested that women were much less likely to obtain higher occupational status than men. However, it is unlikely that the high levels of female upward mobility

are indicative of greater equality of opportunity than previously supposed. In fact, such data can easily be misread unless a proper consideration of the occupational distribution of men and women is taken into account.

By observing the marginal total for male's and female's father's occupations in Table 5.1., it can be seen that there is an overall similarity, as would be expected between both male and female respondent's fathers. However, when the overall distribution of male and female respondents are compared, striking differences occur. For men, in non-manual categories I-IV a relatively even distribution can be observed in Professional, Lower Professional and in the Technician/Supervisory categories, (Categories I, II and III), ranging between around 12% and 14%. In the Routine Non-Manual category a lower percentage of men is observed: just below 6%. For women, the majority of non-manual workers are concentrated in the Lower Professional and Routine Non-manual occupations, with only minimal representation in the Professional occupations or in the Technical/Supervisory grades.

For the manual occupations there is a relatively even spread of males in the Skilled and Semi-skilled occupations, (categories V and VII). Males are also well represented in Unskilled work (category VII) although at a lower level than in the former. For women, again they seem to be concentrated in the lower status occupations, with very

large proportions working in the Unskilled and Semi-skilled jobs, especially the latter; and only half the number in Skilled work as compared with men.

If these occupational distributions are compared with those of their fathers it is possible to assess the extent to which the occupational distribution has changed over a generation. Looking first at the males, it is possible to identify a considerable shift away from skilled manual work, whilst a concommitant growth in professional work can be identified. Other transformations are less marked, although the overall increase in non-manual occupations (excluding professionals) stands at about 10%, and there is a small reduction in the unskilled occupations.

It is not possible, of course, seriously to compare women's occupational distributions with their fathers in the same manner. Nevertheless, it becomes apparent that women remain strongly under represented in professional occupations as compared to their fathers. And similarly, in skilled work the differential is greater, whilst for both semi-skilled and unskilled work women occupy a dominant position.

Two preliminary conclusions can now be drawn. Firstly, one of the reasons for the apparently high level of upward mobility for women is the concentration of women into three occupational categories, namely - Lower Professional, Routine White-collar and Semi-skilled (categories II, IV and VI).

Although it is not possible to deny that mobility has taken place, it is possible to argue that women are occupied in the lower echelons of three broad occupational categories: Professional (Categories I and II) Intermediate Non-manual (categories III and IV), and Manual (categories V, VI and VII). Secondly, that as the occupations in these categories tend to offer fewer opportunities for advancement in a career sense, or of obtaining a high income through the utilisation of specific skills, it might be argued that the perceived level of mobility is more apparent than real.

Clearly, it is too early to claim that these findings can be fully substantiated by the evidence so far presented. It is important though to voice a word of caution about the validity of the scale itself in terms of identifying an ordered hierarchy. As this point will be dealt with in detail below, one example should illustrate the problems at this stage. In the intermediate non-manual categories women are concentrated much more in the Routine Non-manual occupations than the Higher Technician or Supervisory. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the type of occupations included in the former would be less likely to offer opportunities for career advancement than the latter.

Bearing in mind these reservations, attention will now be turned to the 'outflow' and 'inflow' tables.(3) The outflow matrix, (Table 5.3.) represents the cell frequencies in terms of row percentages and from these it is possible to

TABLE 5.3

Occupational distribution of men and women by class of father at respondent;s age fourteen: percentage by row.

Respondent's father's occupation	Respondents occupation in 1975															
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		%	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I	44.8	7.6	24.8	35.9	6.3	2.0	10.1	17.2	4.9	5.1	4.1	26.8	4.2	5.6	6.2	5.4
II	19.0	2.2	33.9	24.7	10.9	3.1	7.9	16.9	9.5	6.3	12.7	30.5	6.2	16.2	12.2	11.3
III	12.8	0.9	16.0	15.6	20.5	1.1	4.4	16.7	15.3	8.9	18.4	34.2	12.6	22.5	12.8	12.3
IV	26.8	2.9	22.9	24.8	10.5	2.2	9.8	22.6	13.7	5.8	9.2	29.2	7.2	12.4	3.3	3.8
V	6.8	0.9	9.6	10.5	12.9	1.7	4.7	12.8	29.9	12.1	29.8	36.4	16.2	25.7	28.7	28.2
VI	5.5	1.0	10.0	9.2	14.2	1.6	5.1	14.0	21.0	13.1	27.7	32.1	16.5	28.9	19.9	21.1
VII	7.0	0.9	9.5	9.6	15.8	1.2	5.3	13.1	21.1	11.7	21.2	32.1	20.1	31.4	16.9	18.0
%	11.8	1.5	14.8	14.2	13.9	1.7	5.7	14.7	20.2	10.6	19.3	33.0	14.2	24.3	100.0	100.0
															4648	3650

assess the extent and patterns of mobility for men and women according to their father's occupational status.

Looking first at those respondents whose father was of professional status. It is clear that males have an excellent chance of becoming professionals themselves since almost 70% achieve lower professional status or better, whilst only 13% find themselves in manual work. For women, the advantages of having a father of professional status are less well marked. Only 45% of women from such an origin obtain professional or semi-professional occupations, almost 30% are found in manual work. The majority of women, however, are destined to work in routine non-manual work. Altogether, almost 40% of women from professional origins find themselves in manual occupations.

In the table as a whole, a fairly clear pattern emerges for males; it is evident that the lower the occupational status the father held, the less chance the male has of obtaining professional or lower professional status. The doors are by no means closed for men of manual origins in obtaining professional or semi-professional status. Indeed, some 30% of men from any of the manual categories of origin attain status of higher technician/supervisors, or better.

For women, as would be expected, given the pattern of women's mobility from parents of professional status, the pattern is far less clear. The best opportunities for genuine upward movement seem to be found in semi-professional

status occupations. Only in the lower professional and the unskilled categories do women's origin seem to have a similar effect on their destination to that of men. In other occupations, especially in categories IV and VI the effect of father's employment seems to be limited.

The inflow table, which shows the distribution of men and women in each of the occupational status groups according to their father's occupational status, expresses the data as column percentages. Looking firstly at those respondents who have attained professional status in Table 5.4., the patterns of mobility between men and women are more similar than expected (bearing in mind the conclusions drawn from Table 5.3.). Indeed, for those women who have achieved professional status, 43% are from either professional or lower-professional origins: almost exactly the same as for males. For respondents who are in professional occupations, a similar proportion of men and women are from routine non-manual, skilled and unskilled manual origins. There are, of course, some problems of comparison in this category as the number of women is low. However, a similar trend seems to appear throughout the table. In other words, in terms of destinations, the proportion of men and women from the various class, on the whole, tends to be similar. This does not contradict the evidence presented in Table 5.3. since, it is not assessing the proportion of men and women who obtain such occupational status, but the percentage of

TABLE 5.4

Occupational composition of men and women by class of father at respondent's age fourteen: percentage by column.

Respondent's father's occupation	Respondent's occupation in 1975															
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		%	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I	23.3	27.3	10.3	13.7	2.8	6.5	10.9	6.3	1.5	2.6	1.6	4.4	1.8	1.2	6.2	5.4
II	19.6	16.4	28.0	19.7	9.6	21.0	16.9	13.1	5.7	6.7	8.0	10.5	5.3	7.5	12.2	11.5
III	13.8	7.3	13.8	13.5	18.9	8.1	9.7	14.0	9.7	10.4	12.2	12.7	11.4	11.4	12.8	12.3
IV	7.5	7.3	5.1	6.6	2.5	4.8	5.6	5.8	2.2	2.1	1.6	3.3	1.7	1.9	3.3	3.8
V	16.5	16.4	18.6	20.8	26.7	27.4	23.6	24.6	42.6	32.1	29.5	31.1	32.9	29.7	28.7	28.2
VI	9.3	14.5	13.4	13.7	20.3	19.4	17.6	20.1	20.6	26.2	28.5	20.5	23.0	25.0	19.9	21.1
VII	10.0	10.9	10.9	12.1	19.2	12.9	15.7	16.0	17.7	19.9	18.6	17.5	23.9	23.2	16.9	18.0
%	11.8	1.5	14.8	14.2	13.9	1.7	5.7	14.7	20.2	10.6	19.3	33.0	14.2	24.3	100.0	100.0
															4648	3650

individuals from all seven origins.

Moving on now to make a more general conclusion about all the tables presented so far, three generalised findings may be reported. Firstly, that there is a good deal of mobility in both upward and downward directions for both males and females, which does not give the impression of social closure. Secondly, of this upward mobility, there appears to be a stronger relationship between men's origin and destination than is evident for women.

It was suggested above that these differences might, in part, be explained, in terms of a changing occupational structure; or, in other words, that individuals' life chances would be affected by the actual availability of occupational opportunities. In fact, the evidence suggests that for women, opportunities are indeed somewhat limited, especially in professional, supervisory/technical, and skilled work; despite the high levels of upward mobility recorded in the table.

Before too many conclusions are drawn, perhaps prematurely, it is important to push the analysis one stage further, by actually changing the cell frequencies themselves in order to obtain a symmetrical mobility table.(4) By equalising the marginal totals it will be demonstrated what importance father's occupational status has without the constraints of occupational change. If a person's origin had no effect on his/her own achievements occupationally, then

TABLE 5.5

Rates of occupational mobility for men and women intergenerationally assuming perfect symmetry[1]

(a) Men N=4648

Respondent's father's occupation	Occupation in 1975 I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	%
I	5.3	2.8	1.0	3.1	0.6	0.7	0.8	14.3
II	2.3	3.9	1.7	2.5	1.2	1.6	1.1	14.3
III	1.5	1.8	3.2	1.3	1.9	2.3	2.3	14.3
IV	3.1	2.6	1.6	2.9	1.7	1.1	1.2	14.3
V	0.7	1.1	2.0	1.4	3.7	2.5	2.7	14.3
VI	0.6	1.1	2.2	1.5	2.6	3.4	2.8	14.3
VII	0.7	1.0	2.4	1.6	2.5	2.7	3.4	14.3
	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	100.0

(b) Women N=3647

I	5.4	3.0	1.7	1.6	0.9	1.3	0.4	14.3
II	2.0	2.7	3.2	1.9	1.3	1.8	1.4	14.3
III	1.0	2.1	1.5	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.4	14.3
IV	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.7	1.2	1.7	1.1	14.3
V	1.0	1.3	2.1	1.8	2.8	2.6	2.6	14.3
VI	1.1	1.2	1.9	1.9	3.0	2.2	2.9	14.3
VII	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.9	2.8	2.3	3.4	14.3
	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	100.0

Note (1) The percentages in this table are derived from the data in Table 5.1. The "relative mobility" frequencies are calculated according to Heath's Method (1981:Appendix).

all the cell frequencies in the matrix would be the same. As Table 5.5. illustrates, this is not the case. What does seem to have happened, is that the percentages for the women's table is now much more similar to that of the men.

As Table 5.6. demonstrates (these percentages are calculated from Table 5.5.) the level of mobility and

TABLE 5.6.

Rates of Occupational Mobility over Seven Occupational Categories and Two Occupational Categories for both Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Mobility Tables

	MEN		WOMEN	
7 x 7	Asymmetry	Symmetry	Asymmetry	Symmetry
Upward	42.5	37.0	32.2	39.0
Stable	27.4	25.7	19.9	20.7
Downward	30.4	36.9	48.8	40.2
2 x 2				
Upward	23.2	16.3	17.2	18.1
Stable	65.8	66.9	65.5	63.6
Downward	11.3	16.5	18.0	18.2

stability converges both over seven categories and two categories. For the seven occupational status category matrix, it becomes apparent that when the changes in the occupational structure are controlled for, the level of male upward mobility declines by some 5%. Bearing in mind the historical analysis of Chapter Two which emphasised the importance of

industrial and occupational change hetween 1930 and 1970, it would seem reasonable to expect that the level of mobility would diminish should this effect be removed.

How, then, can the increase in women's upward occupational movement be explained - given that there has been a massive increase in the number of semi-professional and routine non-manual occupations? Two contradictory explanations emerge: firstly, that the developments in the occupational structure have not increased opportunities for women. Or secondly, that the data themselves are misleading. In fact it is the way that the data are being analysed which is causing this peculiarity: an effect which warrants immediate discussion. In Table 5.1. distinct differences exist in the occupational distribution of the male and female respondents, but for the distribution of father's - there was, as was expected, relatively little variation. If the occupational distribution of male respondents is compared to that of their father's, as shown in Table 5.7., it is clear that the differences between the two generations give a realistic representation of changes in the occupational structure as a whole for the period of study. As can be seen in Table 5.7., there are, for male respondents, considerably more opportunities for upward mobility in categories I - IV, and a decrease in category V; indicated by a growth in white collar and professional work, and a decrease in skilled manual work. So, as indicated by Table 5.6., if the effect of such

a change is removed the level of upward mobility will fall. For women, however, the pattern of change indicated by Table 5.7. is not representative of the actual changes in women's employment. Overall, there is a decrease of about 6% in the level of new opportunities, whereas for men it was an increase of about 3% overall. This, in itself, does not explain completely why the relative mobility table gives the impression that more women should be mobile if the effect of change is removed. What actually happens is more complicated, Clearly,

TABLE 5.7.

Occupational distribution of men and women in 1975 with that of their father

MEN	Occupational distribution						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Respondent's father	6.2	12.2	12.8	3.3	28.7	19.9	16.9
Respondents 1975	11.8	14.8	13.9	5.7	20.2	19.3	14.2
Percentage difference	+5.6	+2.6	+1.1	+2.4	-8.5	-0.6	-2.7

WOMEN	Occupational distribution						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Respondent's father	5.4	11.3	12.3	3.8	28.2	21.1	18.0
Respondent 1975	1.5	14.2	1.7	14.7	10.6	33.0	24.3
Percentage difference	-3.9	+2.9	-10.6	+10.9	-17.6	+11.9	+6.3

if the marginal distributions are equalised, as in Table 5.5. the general increase in non-manual work will be removed for men, having the effect that mobility which is unrelated to occupational change will remain, ie, assuming that there is some relationship between father's status and their sons. It would be most surprising, of course, if the table showed complete independence: that there was no association between father's status and son's. However, there would be a high probability that the level of mobility would be reduced, as indeed it is shown to do in Table 5.6. For women, the operation of equalising the marginal distributions has the effect of over compensating for those occupational categories in which women are very much under represented in comparison with their fathers. The consequences of this are serious since the impression is given that the level of women's upward mobility actually increase if the effect of occupational transition is negated. Obviously this finding raises very serious questions about all the findings so far presented on intergenerational mobility for women. However, it is clear that such an effect could only occur when a statistical methodology is employed in which cell frequencies are in any way altered. For absolute mobility tables, then, it is safe to assume that the findings are valid because they simply report the level of all mobility.

A further problem arises from this discovery: it would seem reasonable to assume that if relative and absolute levels of mobility cannot be compared, it is not possible to

assess the importance of occupational change or status inheritance through statistical manipulations. However, this problem can be overcome providing less ambitious techniques are adopted. These might be usefully summarised. Firstly, it is important that no attempt at restructuring the table as a whole is made in order to avoid spurious findings re-occuring. Secondly to avoid where possible, in intergenerational tables at least, the use of conventional mobility calculations without more detailed reference to 'inflow' and 'outflow' tables, which provide information about only one status origin or destination. And thirdly, to be very cautious in drawing conclusions about the effect of industrial change when the variables might not, in fact, be compatible.

5.3. Trends in intergenerational and intragenerational occupational mobility: 1930-1970

In the last section patterns of intergenerational occupational mobility were discussed with reference to a seven category mobility table. In this section, this analysis will be extended by introducing data on patterns of intragenerational mobility also. The discussion will proceed with the examination of patterns of occupational mobility of men and women in terms of their origin, their first full-time occupation, and their occupation in 1975. These patterns will be considered firstly, with reference to all respondents who have been working for at least fifteen years (so that there is a clear distinction between first job and present job). And secondly, using two cohorts of respondents who started work between 1910-1929 and from 1930-1949. In order to forward a more detailed analysis of patterns of recruitment on entry into the labour market between 1930 and 1970 a further trend analysis will be undertaken to conclude the section.

In the analysis of the seven category occupational scale, operationalised in the first section, it was shown that men and women are not distributed in the same way across these occupational groupings. In the discussion which follows, which concentrates on the three category occupational scale[5] comprising professionals and semi-professionals (category I)

other non-manual workers (category II) and manual workers (category III), it is important to remember that women tend to be concentrated in the lower status occupations in each grouping, (ie semi-professions, routine non-manual work, semi-skilled work and unskilled work). The data for men and women will be presented side by side, however, caution should be taken in the interpretation of these data because similar proportions of men and women entering one of the large occupational groupings may give the impression of equality, which would be misleading.

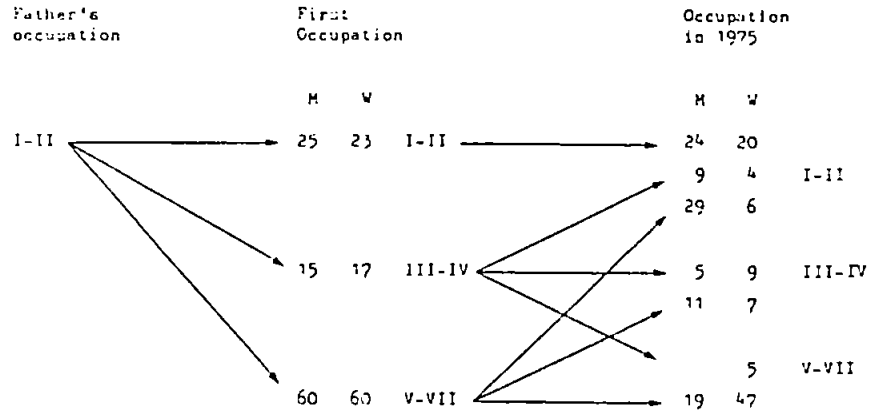
Turning attention to part (a) of Figure 5.1. the flows represent the mobility routes for men and women whose father was of professional or semi-professional status. For both men and women, it is evident that there is a considerable amount of downward movement into Categories V-VII for their first job; for men, however, this downward movement is counteracted after a number of years in the labour market. Indeed, nearly 40% of men who were downwardly mobile on entry into the labour market achieve professional status later in their careers. For women, prospects are less promising, with more than half of them obtaining only manual work, and of those who were initially downwardly mobile only 12% obtain professional/semi-professional status later in their working life.

For respondents who have fathers of intermediate status, the pattern is also similar for their first occupation.

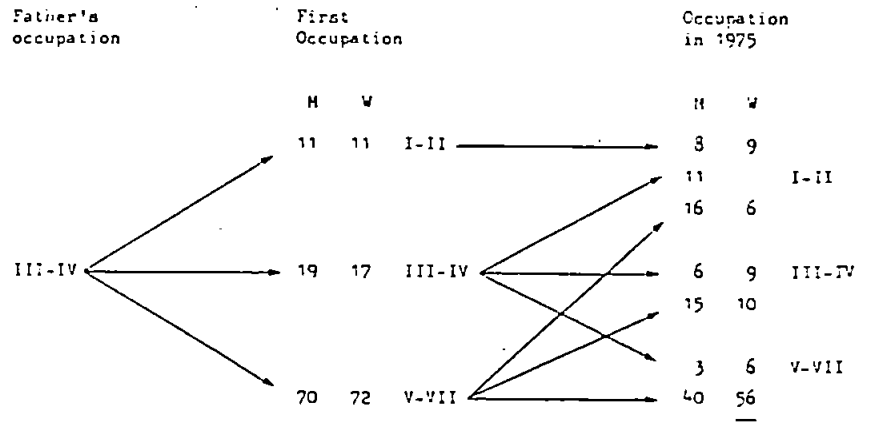
FIGURE 5.1

Three point occupational mobility patterns: flows representing three percent or more of all in class of origin, men and women aged thirty-five and over.

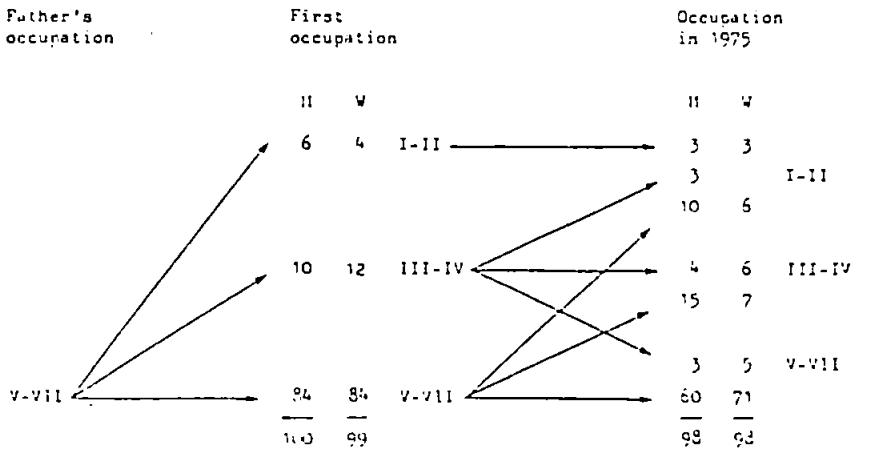
(a) Class I & II origins (Men=505 Women=397)



(b) Class III & IV origins (Men=476 Women=382)



(c) Class V - VII origins (Men=2045 Women=1616)



However, for men there is a fairly large proportion who eventually achieve professional or semi-professional status, although a similar proportion also find themselves in manual occupations for their present job. Only 15% of women ascend to the upper category whilst over 60% eventually find themselves in manual occupations. The proportion of men and women who maintain the same status as their fathers remains about the same, at around 20%.

For men of manual origins, almost 65% remain in manual work compared with over 75% for women, but for the upwardly mobile nearly twice as many men eventually obtain professional and semi-professional work. From either professional/semi-professional, or manual origins, it seems as though the relationship between men's origin and destination are fairly closely related, and if they are mobile, they are more likely to be upwardly so. For women, on the other hand, the relationship between origin and destination is less pronounced. A high proportion of women from all origins are likely to obtain manual work for their first occupation, and will probably remain in such work.

The most striking point, is that men and women for their first jobs from all origins seem to be very similar, whereas for men, later achievement of higher status is far more likely.

It is, of course, important to remember that the data presented in Figure 5.1. represents a large group of respondents

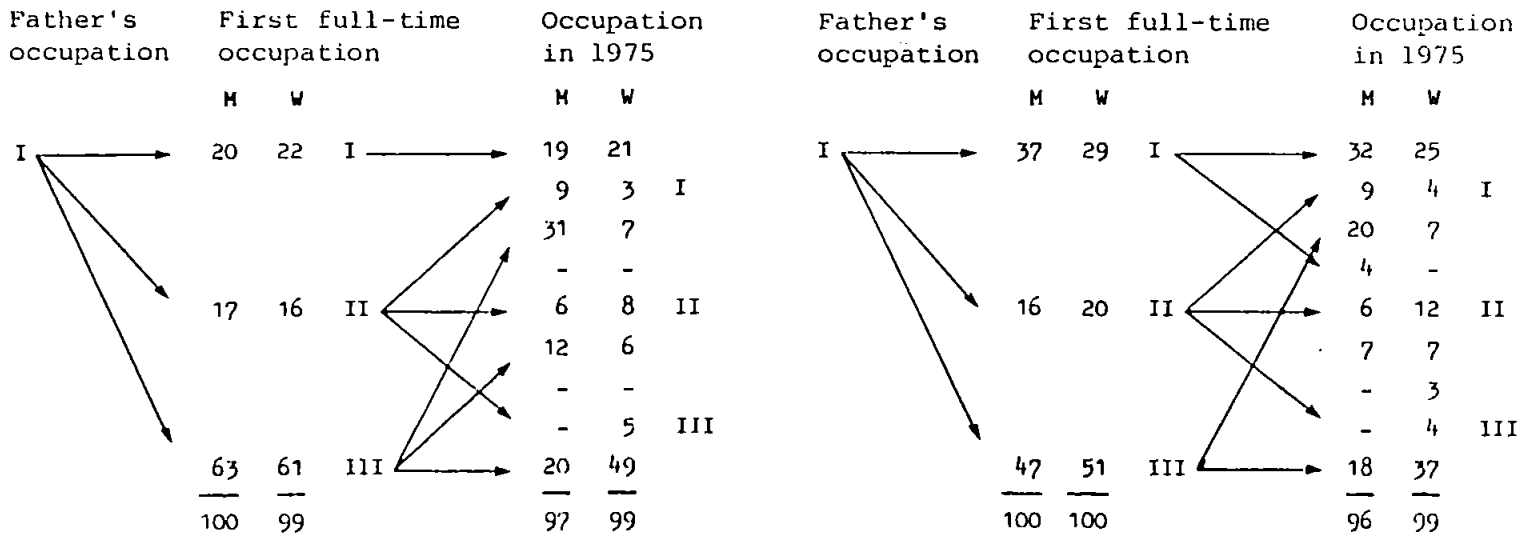
which does not take into full account the effect of change in an historical context. It is difficult, in terms of these constraints the size of the sample imposes, to reduce the size of the cohorts too much, although, in Figure 5.2. two broad cohorts are distinguished. What becomes obvious through this process of disaggregation is that the similarities observed for men and women on entry into the labour market gave something of a false impression, although in terms of their present occupations the patterns observed in Figure 5.1. seem to be supported. By observing the differences over the two cohorts it becomes apparent that both for men and women the chances of upward mobility on entry into the labour market increase in the later period. It is evident, therefore, that the respondents aged between 26 and 45 have experienced greater opportunities for upward occupational mobility than those respondents who are aged between 46 and 65, even though the younger respondents have been in the labour market for a shorter time.

Although it is fairly clear from the evidence presented in Figure 5.2. that the opportunities for upward movement for both men and women in comparison to their father's occupational status in the latter period are increased, it is important to look in more detail at the changes in the opportunity structure for men and women upon entry into the labour market. Bearing in mind the reservations expressed about the use of a three category scale, Figure 5.3. demonstrates

FIGURE 5.2

Three point occupational mobility patterns - flows representing three-percent of more of all in class of origin, men and women: 1910-1929 and 1930-1949

(a) Men and women from professional origins



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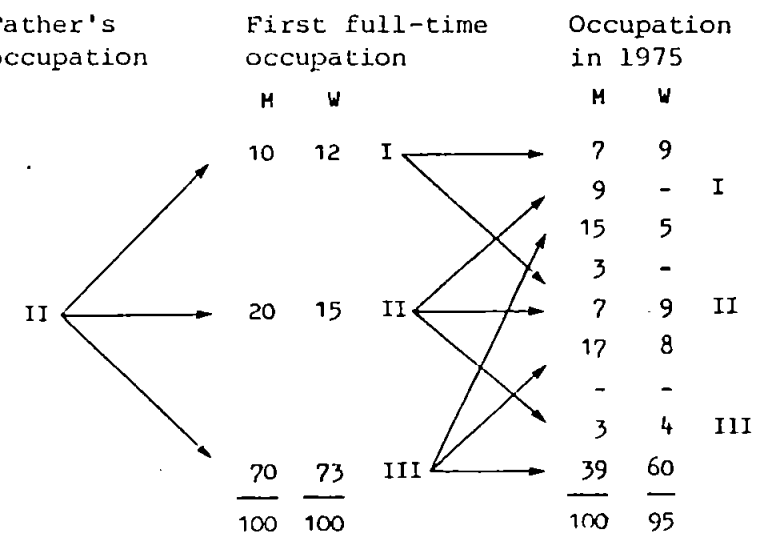
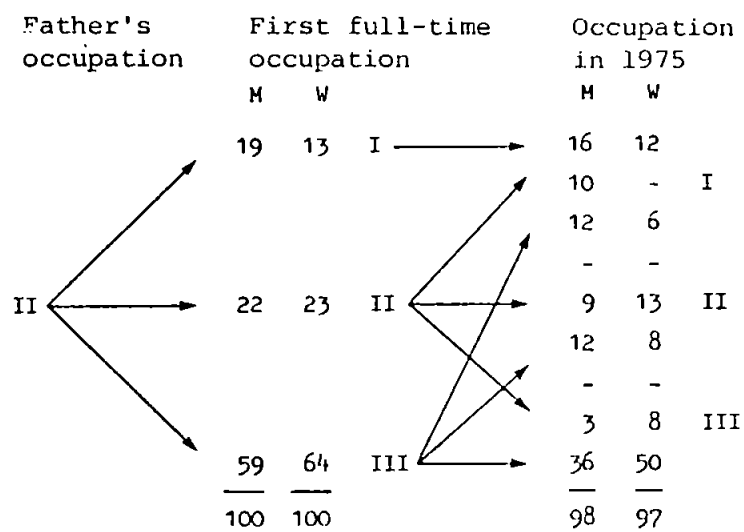
(b) Men and women from intermediate status origins

Men and Women born between 1910-1929
Men=308 Women=214



Men and women born between 1930-1949
Men=329 Women=289



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(c) Men and women from manual status origins

Men and women born between 1910-1939
Men 1316 Women=905

Father's occupation	First full-time occupation M	First full-time occupation W		Occupation in 1975 M	Occupation in 1975 W	
	5	3	I	3	-	
				4	-	I
				9	6	
				-	-	
	10	9	II	4	4	II
				14	7	
				-	-	
				3	3	III
III	85	88	III	62	76	
	100	100		99	96	

Men and women born between 1930-1949
Men=1370 Women=1250

Father's occupation	First full-time occupation M	First full-time occupation W		Occupation in 1975 M	Occupation in 1975 W	
	8	7	I	6	5	
				3	-	I
				8	5	
				-	-	
	13	19	II	6	10	II
				13	7	
				-	-	
				4	7	IIII
III	79	74	III	57	62	
	100	100		97	96	

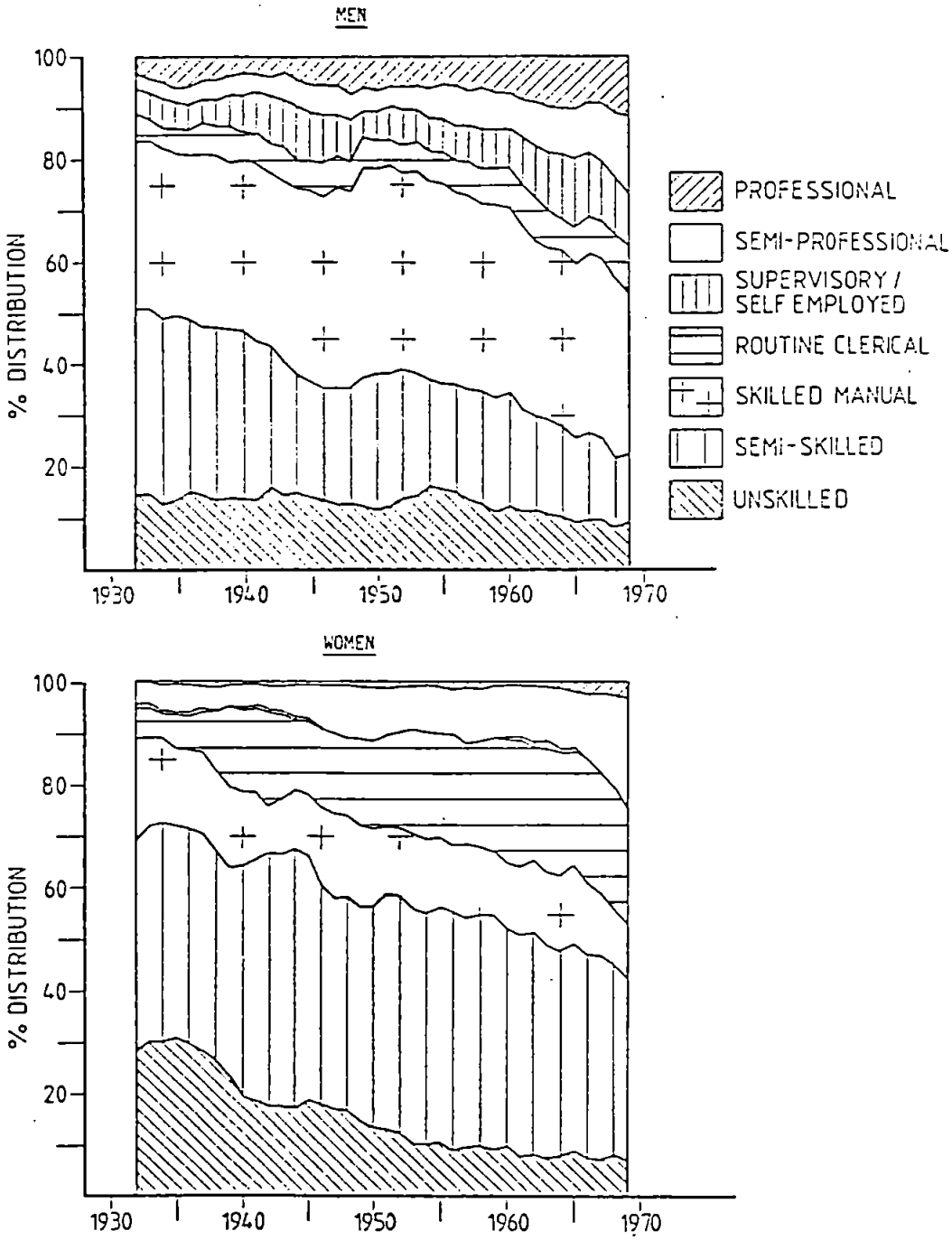
how opportunities have changed for men and women on entry into the labour market between 1930 and 1970.[6]

Turning attention first to manual employment, it is clear that the availability of occupations in this sector has diminished considerably since the 1930s for men and women by about 15%. For women, as would be expected, there was a general reduction in manual employment in the mid to late 1930s as the level of routine non-manual work increased; this process was temporarily held back in the war years. During the war there was a considerable expansion in semi-skilled opportunities for full-time working women, whilst the level of unskilled employment remained stable both throughout, and for a few years after the war ended. In the war years, the number of women introduced into skilled work slowly increased, yet, unlike semi-skilled occupations, this slow trend continued up until 1950. After 1950 the patterns of recruitment into manual work for women showed no remarkable fluctuations, although a slow decline in all three categories is evident.

For men, the patterns of recruitment into manual occupations are less well defined. In the skilled category, there was only a marginal increase in opportunities in the 1950s, later followed by an equally unspectacular decline in the late 'fifties and 'sixties. A similar pattern is also observed in the unskilled category. It is in the semi-skilled category that the most marked reduction in opportunities can be identified, an overall contraction from just less than 20%

FIG 5.3

Occupational distribution of Men and Women over seven occupational categories by year of entry into the labour market: five year moving averages.



of all first-time employment to less than 10%.

This decline in manual opportunities is matched by an increase in non-manual employment. The patterns which emerge are very different within this sector for men and women. The fairly equal distribution of men across the four non-manual occupational categories remains throughout the period; although, the increase in routine non-manual opportunities shows a less strong incline than the others. The only abatement in this trend occured after the war when the proportion of new opportunities in non-manual work reached almost as low a proportion of all new jobs as in the early 1930s; the overall trend was resumed in the early 1950s however.

Recruitment into professional and supervisory occupations for women has, throughout the period, been minimal. In 1970, not even 5% of women obtained professional status for their first occupation compared with over 10% of men. Recruitment into supervisory and technical occupations was non-existent for much of the period. In the remaining categories, lower professional and routine non-manual, there have been significant increases in the level of opportunities. For the lower professional occupations the most significant period of growth was in the mid to late 1940s and after about 1965. In the routine non-manual sector, the proportion of opportunities grew steadily up until 1960, after which the situation has remained fairly constant.

Only during the war years was the pattern of growth exaggerated, although this was checked after the war.

The evidence presented in Figure 5.3. strongly supports the conclusions reached from the cohort analysis of Figure 5.2., and is, in turn, reinforced by the census data analysis presented in Chapter Two. Further conclusions may now be drawn in view of the new evidence which could not previously have been substantiated. Firstly, it has become obvious that in terms of recruitment in the three broad categories, men have always occupied a higher proportion of those jobs which provide higher pay, better working conditions, employment security and career prospects; ie skilled manual work, technician and supervisory employment or professional work.

Women on the other hand have been employed predominantly in the less prestigious occupations within the three broad categories: semi and unskilled work, routine non-manual work, and lower professional occupations. From this it is possible to conclude that even if women are upwardly mobile according to the three category schema adopted, they are less likely to be employed in high status occupations. Furthermore, for men who appear to be downwardly mobile or immobile when employed in manual work, there is, in fact, a strong likelihood that they will be able to secure employment in a skilled capacity. This is of considerable importance in

terms of the interpretation of Figures 5.1. and 5.2., in that those women who appear to be upwardly mobile into the intermediate category will almost certainly be employed in routine non-manual work, which can hardly be compared with skilled manual work in terms of financial remuneration and, most probably, status.

Secondly, for those men who do obtain higher occupational status than their fathers according to the three category scale adopted in Figures 5.1. and 5.2. for their first job, it is far more likely that they will have made a genuinely upward movement. As Figure 5.3. clearly shows, there are simply more high status occupations into which men are recruited than there are for women.

Thirdly, as the evidence presented in the first section of this Chapter demonstrates, even if men are at first recruited into the less prestigious occupations in the three broad occupational categories, they will have a very good chance of achieving a higher status either within that occupational category or in the next, later in their careers. Whilst for women, on the other hand, there is only a fraction of the opportunities for later advancement in either the intermediate or professional category as compared to men.

Finally, in the case of downward mobility, it has become clear that women are more likely to make no advances at all but to make negative progress during their working lives. Indeed, in the later cohort adopted in Figure 5.2., evidence suggests that women are not only more likely to be

downwardly mobile than men, but more than the women in the earlier cohort also.

5.4. Husbands and wives: social origins and occupational destinations

The evidence presented in this Chapter so far, has strongly supported those theoretical views expressed in Chapter Three which stated that women's upward occupational mobility (or, indeed, stability, if their father was employed in professional, supervisory/technical, or skilled work) would be far more limited than for males. Central to the explanation of women's occupational position in Chapter Three was the consideration of the role of trade unions, employers and the state. Each of these institutions, it was argued contributed to the secondary labour market position of women because of the commonly accepted view amongst decision makers (who are predominantly male) that a 'woman's place' was in the home, and if they were in paid employment, their contribution to the family income was secondary to the husband's income. The marriage contract, therefore, is of considerable importance in understanding women's occupational position.(7) Marriage is not only important in the consideration of married women's employment but also with single women for whom there is a likely prospect of marriage. Because single women are likely to be married; the state, employers and trade unions also treat their case differently from married or single men who either are (in the terms of the institutions) already responsible for a family, or will be in due course.

It is, of course, very difficult to assess the relative importance of such factors on women's employment opportunities; as, indeed, it is equally problematic to ascertain the effect of such factors on women's orientations to work. There are no data available in the Scottish Mobility Study which can contribute to a clear understanding of this. However, data are available which consider the match in occupational status of husbands and wives.

Although these data can explain nothing (directly at least) about women's orientation to work, they may contribute to an understanding of how women can maintain (or improve upon) the living standards to which they have become accustomed whilst dependent on their parents without achieving equivalent occupational status themselves. In parentheses, it should be noted that the father's occupational position is taken to be the most useful indicator of that family's style of life; although it should not, as was argued in Chapter One, be regarded as the only means of explaining respondent's own mobility potential.

In Table 5.8. the occupational positions of husbands and wives in 1975 are compared. The percentages represent the proportion of women who are employed in each of the seven occupational categories by their husband's occupational status. Turning attention firstly to professional women, it is evident that a very large proportion, almost 65%, are married to professional or semi-professional men; if

women who are married to supervisors and technicians the proportion rises to nearly 74%. Women who are employed as semi-professionals are less likely to be married to men in Categories I, II and III; nevertheless, 70% of these women are married to men who have non-manual occupations. Those women who are employed as supervisors and technicians, and as routine non-manual workers are distributed relatively evenly. However, in the case of manual working women the majority seem to be married to men who are themselves manual workers or supervisors and technicians. On average, about 64% of manual working women are married to manual working men.

If the level of upward mobility by marriage is calculated from these data it becomes apparent that 24% of women marry men of a higher occupational status than themselves, whilst 20% marry men of equivalent status. Such a finding is relatively surprising given the findings presented earlier in this chapter which suggested that women's occupational opportunities are rather more limited than men's. It is useful, therefore, to draw comparisons between men and women's status in another way: by comparing the woman's status as drawn from her family by origin by her husband's occupation.

In Table 5.9. it appears that a very high proportion of women whose father had a professional occupation would marry professional men (or at least men who had become professionals in 1975). Indeed, over 65% of women from such

TABLE 5.8

Relationship between occupational status of married men and women in 1975: column percentages

Husband's occupation in 1975	Wife's occupation in 1975							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	%
I	35.1	24.1	15.7	16.2	5.9	11.1	4.5	11.9
II	29.8	29.3	12.9	19.2	11.1	13.8	5.7	14.7
III	8.8	12.1	17.1	14.0	13.7	25.3	14.8	14.3
IV	1.8	4.7	2.9	9.8	3.3	6.2	3.3	5.4
V	8.8	10.3	20.0	18.8	23.1	22.1	25.1	20.6
VI	7.0	13.3	18.6	12.6	24.3	19.0	27.1	19.7
VII	8.8	6.3	12.9	9.3	18.6	12.4	19.6	13.5
Overall %	1.4	13.9	1.8	14.5	10.6	32.2	24.6	100.0
								3998

TABLE 5.9

Relationship between husband's occupational status (1975) and wife's father's occupational status at wife's age fourteen: row percentages

Wife's father's occupation	Husband's occupation in 1975							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	%
I	41.3	24.8	9.7	6.8	8.3	6.3	2.9	5.5
II	18.5	32.1	10.2	5.5	10.6	12.5	10.6	11.6
III	11.8	17.7	19.9	4.6	14.9	18.6	12.5	12.2
IV	22.0	23.4	12.1	8.5	14.2	11.3	8.5	3.8
V	10.7	9.9	15.1	6.4	25.0	18.9	14.1	28.1
VI	6.1	10.7	15.2	4.7	22.1	27.0	14.2	20.9
VII	6.4	10.4	14.3	3.9	26.6	22.7	15.7	17.9
Overall %	12.1	15.0	14.6	5.4	20.4	19.5	13.0	100.0
								3745

an origin married men of at least semi-professional status. Oddly, only 18% of women from professional origins married men from manual backgrounds, whilst 25% of women who became professionals themselves married manual working males.

The proportion of women from semi-professional origins marrying professional males and semi-professional males is also high: numbering about 43%. A similar percentage of women whose father had a rountine non-manual occupation married men of professional or semi-professional origin. Overall, such findings would be expected, ie that women from non-manual backgrounds would marry men of non-manual occupations: preferably professionals and semi-professionals. However, when those women from manual backgrounds are considered it appears that a relatively large proportion of women marry men of professional and semi-professional status. In the case of women whose father was a skilled manual worker, 20% married professional or semi-professional men compared with about 16% from semi-skilled and unskilled backgrounds.

Overall, it becomes evident that a very large proportion of women from manual backgrounds marry men who are manual workers; on average, about 62%. Around 15% of women in each of the manual backgrounds are married to men who are supervisors or technicians. These findings lend further support to the view that 'like-marry-like', or that women 'marry-up'.

When the rate of mobility between married women's origin to husbands' occupational status are calculated, it

becomes clear that there is a much higher level of upward mobility by marriage than was identified when women's own occupations were compared with their husbands' occupations. These mobility rates are compared in Table 5.10.

TABLE 5.10.

Relationships between husbands' and wives' occupations and origins

Mobility	Husband's occupation by wife's occupation	Wife's father's occupation by husband's occupation	
		Absolute mobility	Relative mobility*
Upward	24.4	47.2	42.3
Stable	19.9	24.2	23.6
Downward	58.7	28.3	36.7

* See note (1) Table 5.5.

When the rates of mobility are compared in the first two columns of Table 5.10, it becomes apparent that a very much larger number of women obtain higher status through marriage if comparisons between their father's status is compared with their husband. Indeed, this method of testing mobility would appear to be more useful because the former rate is diminished on account of the limited range of occupational opportunities women have in comparison with their husband.

When comparisons are made between the rates of mobility between women's origins and their husband's occupational

status, a problem arises: that is, differing occupational profiles of women's fathers and male respondents appear. Consequently, the level of 'relative' mobility has been calculated to show how much mobility there would be once the effect of a differing occupational distribution is removed. It is evident that the level of upward 'social' mobility amongst women decreases slightly as would be expected, but the rate of mobility still remains very high at 42%.

From this analysis of the relationship between married women's occupational match, and the relationship between the wife's origin to the husband's occupational status, it has become apparent that more women do obtain higher status by marriage than they can achieve in the occupational structure themselves.

5.5. Conclusion

In this Chapter a number of important findings have been presented which are valuable in two ways. Firstly, because the substantive evidence forwarded has offered considerable support to the theoretical arguments presented in Chapter Three. Secondly, because the actual methods of analysis used have thrown up some perculiarities when the occupational mobility of women and men are compared.

Turning attention firstly to the substantive conclusions. It has been shown that women are distributed in the labour market in a different way to men in the sense that they tend to be employed in the lower bands of the three broad classes widely operationalised in this Chapter. In terms of intergenerational mobility, it has been observed that women are much less likely to obtain an equivalent occupational status to their father if he was a professional, supervisor/technician, or a skilled manual worker, although a fairly high proportion of women from all backgrounds tend to obtain non-manual work, either as routine non-manual workers or as semi-professionals. Indeed, there appears to be a less strong relationship between origin and destination amongst women than men. This is particularly evident when patterns of intragenerational and intergenerational mobility are compared, where it seems that on entry into the labour market women are about as likely as men to be upwardly mobile, but

as the period of employment in the labour market is lengthened, men obtain much higher occupational status. Over the period 1930-1970, it is clear that women have become more likely to obtain non-manual work, however, the proportion of women in unskilled manual work and semi-skilled work remained high throughout.

Interpretation of these data has been problematic because men and women were being considered. The most important reason for which is that the occupational distribution of women is so strikingly different from that of men. It has been necessary, therefore, to remain aware of these dissimilarities whilst interpreting all tables. One particularly useful outcome of the analysis has been the recognition of the problems associated with comparing women's occupational status with that of their fathers. The use of percentage tables which are based on absolute mobility rates, it has been shown, is permissible providing that care is taken in interpretation through detailed consideration of marginal percentages. However, it has been demonstrated that the alteration of these absolute frequencies into relative frequencies produces spurious results. In the analysis which will follow in Chapters Six and Seven, therefore, interpretation of the data will be based on absolute frequencies only.

This Chapter has been concerned with the overall patterns of employment of men and women in the Scottish industrial structure between 1930 and 1970. In the following

Chapters more specialised discussions will be presented; in Chapter Six on patterns of occupational mobility in rural and urban areas of Scotland, and in Chapter Seven, on employment and mobility in industrial sectors.

NOTES

(1) As was pointed out in Chapter Four, the SMS sample consisted of men, although data were collected for their wives if they were married or living as married. The female data refers, therefore, only to married women, or women living with the men in the sample, and so no information is given for women who have never married. Although the data for women are not given first hand, for the sake of convenience only, both men and women will be referred to as 'respondents'.

(2) The level of upward mobility is calculated by simply adding the percentages in the lower part of the table beneath the main diagonal (running form top left to bottom right). The level of downward mobility is found by adding the percentages above the diagonal, and the immobile on the diagonal itself.

(3) The percentages in 'inflow' and 'outflow' tables are completely different, however, both tables are drawn from exactly the same frequency table. It should also be noted that in these tables the percentages may not always add up to the marginal or overall totals exactly; this is due to rounding error.

(4) There are more straight forward methods of testing 'relative' mobility, ie to demonstrate what level of mobility appears if father's occupational status had no effect on the respondent's life chances. (Goldthorpe, 1982:29,45,64). There are a number of problems with such an approach however, in that a ceiling effect comes into play for those respondents from lower status origins, from which relative upward mobility rates can never match those in higher status origin categories thus giving the impression that there is less rigidity in lower status groups than there might actually be. (Heath, 1981:260).

(5) This scale is a collapsed version of Payne's seven category scale, see Chapter Four for details of this scale's construction.

(6) Five year moving average show the mean of a five year distribution of respondents. A plot for 1940, therefore, represents the average count of respondents between 1938 and 1942. The advantage of using this procedure is that the line graphs are rounded off instead of being extremely angular, thus making the diagram easy to interpret.

(7) Sorokin (1927) pointed out that there were many routes of social mobility, he regarded marriage as of great importance.

CHAPTER SIX

DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL PARTICIPATION AND MOBILITY AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS OF SCOTLAND: 1930-1970

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two it was shown that Scotland's occupational structure developed in a similar way to that of England once the early phase of industrialisation was complete. It was shown also, however, that the process of industrialisation in Scotland was unusual because nearly all manufacturing, commerce and administration was concentrated in only one relatively small area: the Central Lowlands - around 80% of the population was located in this area of Scotland in 1970. Given that this study is concerned with patterns of occupational mobility in the whole of Scotland.[1] It is obviously important to consider how levels of occupational mobility might vary in those areas which are geographically isolated. Until recently, (Payne, Payne and Chapman, 1982, 1984) no evidence had been presented on the differential patterns of social and occupational mobility in either Scotland or other areas of Britain. The following analysis will add further evidence to this very much under researched area of sociology.

If the concept of peripherality is to be adopted as a way of explaining differential patterns of occupational mobility it is important not only to state what is understood by peripherality, but also to outline how individuals employment opportunities might be affected if they do not live in close proximity to major urban centres.

One essential characteristic of peripheral areas is that they are not completely independent social formations or societies, even though they may be physically isolated from the key economic and political decision making centres of a society; there is, therefore, what Pahl (1968) defines as an 'urban-rural continuum'. Clearly, areas will be peripheral in the sense that the individuals who live in them will not have access to certain goods and services, nor to occupational opportunities as readily as their counterparts who live either in or near to cities. Nevertheless, given the State's mandate to provide certain services to individuals throughout the nation, such as health and welfare provision, education, postal and telecommunication services and so on, it is clear that even the most peripheral areas cannot take on a character which is entirely independent from others. An important consequence of this, of course, is that if such services are to be provided, they must bring with them a number of occupational opportunities in the public sector which may be taken by individuals living in that area. A further important point must be raised as a result of these

observations, this is that many of these services may well have to be located in a relatively centralised settlement within the rural or peripheral areas: in the case of Scotland, towns such as Inverness, Fort William, Wick and Dumfries. Although these towns may resemble urban centres because they provide similar services, they will also display certain characteristics which are related more to their rural environment than distant cities.

Indeed, rural settlements will be strongly influenced by the types of productive activity in their immediate vicinity, such as agriculture, forestry, fishing and perhaps mining. As a consequence the industrial concerns in the towns might well be very closely related to these interests: ancillary industries such as distributive services and centres, machinery retailers and maintenance firms, and so on, will develop.

The term 'peripherality' therefore, is being employed in order to refer to isolated rural environments within which towns have developed. This is not to say, of course, that there is no rural productive activity in and around the urban centres. Indeed, in the 'central region' which has been isolated for analysis in this Chapter there are numerous smaller settlements and rural areas. These areas have been included in the central region because a high proportion of individuals living in them actually work in the towns and cities. (Pacione, 1983).

In this Chapter the terms 'rural' and 'urban' are simply being adopted to refer to areas within which different occupational and industrial patterns are found. It is not, of course, being suggested that these areas display entirely different characteristics; but that they are useful heuristic devices.[2]

The analysis which will follow will be divided into two parts. In the first, patterns of intergenerational and intragenerational occupational mobility amongst men and women in rural and urban areas of Scotland will be discussed in detail. In the second section, explanations for the different patterns of occupational mobility in rural and urban areas will be forwarded through an analysis of the differential patterns of occupational participation of men and women in industrial sectors.

6.2. Patterns of intergenerational and intragenerational occupational mobility in rural and urban areas

As was the practice in Chapter Five, the first step in analysing the levels of occupational mobility is to examine the proportion of men and women in each occupational category in comparison with their father's occupation when the respondent was fourteen. Table 6.1. presents this data for urban and rural areas as defined above. Before a discussion of the patterns of occupational participation of men and women is attempted, it is interesting to note the similarity between men and women's father's occupational distribution in both the urban and rural areas, only on one occasion does the difference approach 3%. Such a finding is, of course, what would be expected, as there would seem to be no reason to expect fathers with sons as opposed to fathers with daughters to have different occupational distributions. The point is worth making however, in that it demonstrates at what level percentage differences seem to be significant.

Turning attention firstly, then, to the distribution of men and women in urban areas, it is evident that there are few differences of note over the figures for Scotland as a whole, certainly none exceeding 3%. For fathers also, there are minimal variations except that the Skilled occupational category is about 5% larger than in the national data. A discrepancy which might be explained in terms of the large

TABLE 6.1

Occupational distribution of men and women over seven occupational categories by that of their father: in urban and rural areas[1]

MEN N= Rural=527 Urban=2490

	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Father's occupation	6.9	5.5	9.8	22.6	10.8	18.6	3.4	2.7	34.0	10.2	17.4	26.0	17.7	14.4
Respondent's occupation 1975	13.4	8.5	13.6	19.4	13.1	14.8	6.7	3.6	21.0	14.2	17.6	25.6	14.7	13.9

WOMEN N= Rural=399 Urban=1938

Father's occupation	5.9	4.3	8.8	21.8	10.3	16.8	4.3	2.0	33.8	10.8	18.6	28.8	18.3	15.5
Respondent's occupation 1975	1.8	1.5	13.5	17.8	1.4	3.3	16.0	10.3	10.5	11.3	32.7	28.3	24.0	27.6

Note

(1) These data are derived from the marginal totals of a seven by seven occupational category crosstabulation; father's occupational position when the respondent was fourteen years old by the respondent's occupation in 1975.

proportion of skilled workers in the staple industries prior to general decline after the war. It is possible to conclude then, that there are generally few variations of note between the urban and the general national data, and this allows the analysis to proceed with special emphasis on the rural areas, which, from only a brief inspection are clearly different from the urban, and also of the National data.

For men, in the rural areas, it can be seen that there has been considerably less growth in the professions (category I) than in urban areas, and a decrease in the lower professions (category II) and in technician/supervisory employment (category III) both of which were areas of growth in the urban areas. For women, the situation is more complexed. As was shown above in Chapter Five, the distribution of women is far less even over the first four categories, few being concentrated in Categories I and III. However, in rural areas these differences are more pronounced, with around 5% more women in the semi-professions, and around 5% less in the routine clerical category. Such findings are not particularly surprising, given the limited number of opportunities in say routine clerical work in rural areas, (although even here, 10% of women workers are thus employed) and perhaps the exaggerated need for women in the semi-professions in, say, nursing and teaching relatively defined in terms of the population size. For men also, there seem to be considerably

more in the semi-professions.

In the manual occupational categories, there seem to be broad similarities between urban and rural areas for women, variations not exceeding 5%. For men, on the other hand, there are quite considerable differences in the skilled and semi-skilled categories, with almost 8% fewer skilled workers, and about the same percentage more of semi-skilled workers. It would seem reasonable to assert that this can be attributed to the limited number of skilled manual jobs available in rural areas due to the lack of industrial concerns within which skilled training is necessary. The increase in semi-skilled work is less easy to interpret, although it is likely that this increase has been at the expense of skilled work. It is possible to say, however, that for men there are more limited opportunities for movement into the professions, technician/supervisory and skilled occupations than in the urban areas. Whereas for women, the situation is improved marginally because of the larger number of women working in the semi-professions.

Clearly, it would not be particularly useful to embark on a thorough analysis of the seven by seven category mobility matrix given the difficulties outlined in Chapter Five comparing women with their fathers, and also given the small number of respondents in the rural areas. Nevertheless, it is useful to make some brief comparisons between the levels of mobility in this table. Table 6.2. presents the mobility

data drawn from the urban, rural and all Scotland seven category intergenerational mobility matrices.

TABLE 6.2.

Rates of occupational mobility over seven occupational categories and two occupational categories in urban and rural areas, and for all Scotland, for men and women's present occupation (1975) by that of their father at respondent's age fourteen

MEN	Seven occupational categories			Two occupational categories		
	Urban	Rural	Scotland	Urban	Rural	Scotland[a]
Upward	44.9	33.8	42.5	25.1	15.6	23.0
Stable	25.1	32.3	27.4	65.8	65.8	65.7
Downward	29.7	34.2	30.4	9.2	18.6	11.2

WOMEN	Seven occupational categories			Two occupational categories		
	Urban	Rural	Scotland	Urban	Rural	Scotland[a]
Upward	32.4	29.0	32.2	18.6	14.3	17.3
Stable	19.5	20.9	19.9	65.5	60.6	64.8
Downward	48.4	51.0	48.8	15.0	25.1	17.8

Note

(a) The percentages here, differ slightly from those in Table 5.2., as in Table 5.2. rounding errors account for columns not always adding to 100%, further variation is caused as these figures were not calculated from the seven by seven table, but from an independent computer run.

What becomes immediately apparent is that for men there are lower levels of upward occupational mobility in the rural

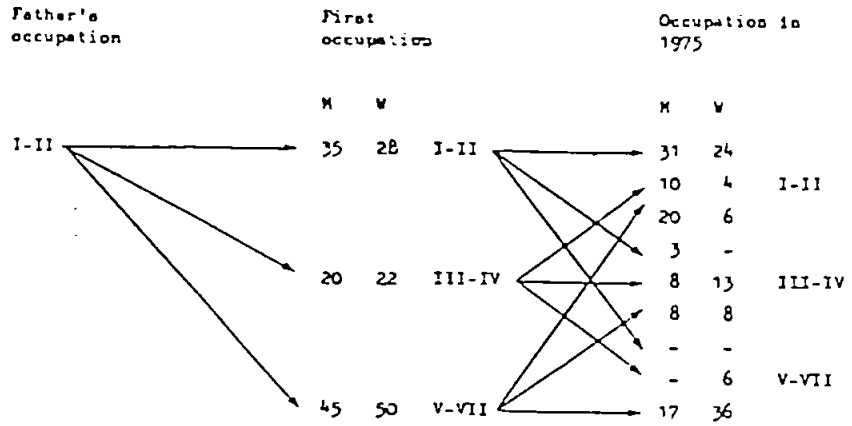
areas if measured by either seven classes, or over a simple manual/non-manual categorisation. For women also, there are lower levels of upward mobility although the differences are rather less pronounced. Such a finding is not particularly surprising given that it is generally thought that people living in rural areas have fewer opportunities. What might be of interest, however, is that there is still a large proportion of individuals who are upwardly mobile in peripheral areas where it is often assumed there might be greater stability. In fact, for men there are more who do not move in either direction that in the urban areas if measured by seven categories; women, on the other hand, display a greater propensity to move from their father's occupational status group than in urban areas.

Following the practice of Chapter Five, it is useful here to look at mobility routes for men and women over their careers, based on their father's occupational status. Figures 6.1. and 6.2. differ from that presented in Chapter Five in one important way - the respondents included are not aged over thirty-five. Although it is recognised that this may have a detrimental effect on the analysis, in that some of the respondents will only have recently started work, it is unavoidable given the small number of respondents in rural areas aged over thirty-five. Consequently, the discussion of these data will be brief, and the conclusions drawn, must be treated with caution.

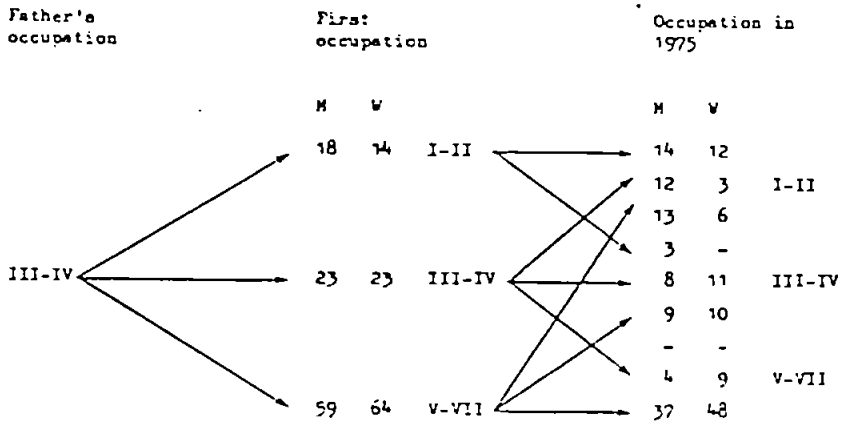
FIGURE 6.1

Three point occupational mobility patterns: flows representing three percent or more of all in class of origin: men and women aged twenty or over: living in urban areas

(a) Class I & II origins (men=415 women=281)



(b) Class III & IV origins (men=354 women=279)



(c) Class V - VII origins (men=1721 women=1360)

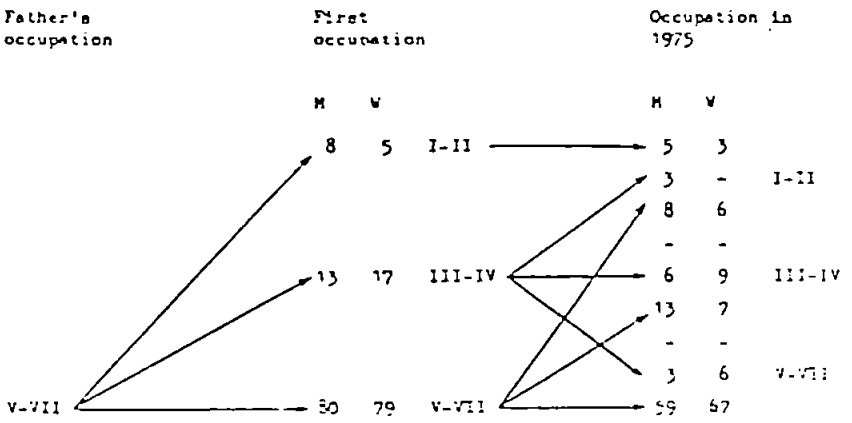
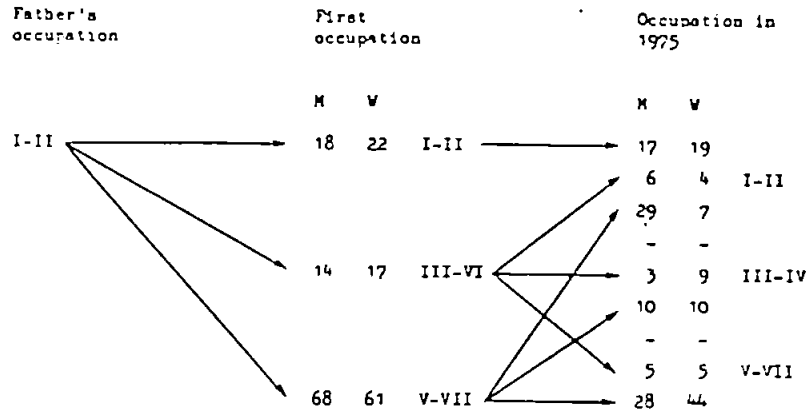


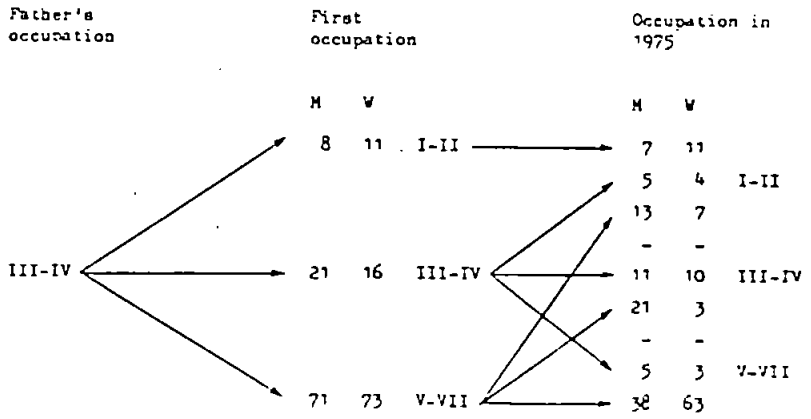
TABLE 6.2

Three point occupational mobility patterns: flows representing three percent or more of all in class or origin, men and women aged twenty or over: living in rural areas

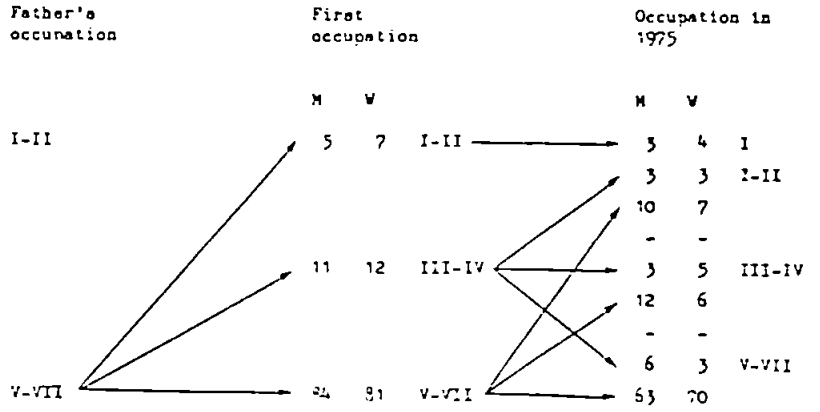
(a) Class I & II origin (men=148 women=104)



(b) Class III & IV origins (men=148 women=73)



(c) Class V - VII origins (men=267 women=215)



Looking first at the mobility routes of men and women in both urban and rural areas from professional backgrounds, (Section (a) of Figures 6.1. and 6.2.) it can be seen that both men and women have a much better chance of obtaining professional or semi-professional work in urban areas for their first job, although some 35% of men obtain such status later in their careers in rural areas. The level of downward mobility is highly pronounced for men in rural areas for their first job, and yet this early disadvantage does seem to be overcome later in their careers. A similar effect can be observed for women also, although about 45% remain in manual work later in their careers.

For those respondents from intermediate status occupational origins, a similar pattern is found, except that for men, there is a higher propensity to move out of the manual categories in the rural areas later in their careers; women, on the other hand are very likely to be located in manual work either for their first job or their present job. Once again, it is evident that the chances of obtaining professional or semi-professional status are somewhat diminished if the respondent lives in a rural environment.

Turning lastly to those men and women whose father was a manual worker, it is clear that the differences between urban and rural areas are not very great, although men in urban areas have better chances of achieving Category I status than their rural counterparts. In both rural and urban

areas, it is clear that women from manual backgrounds are very likely to stay in such work themselves over their careers, whilst about twenty percent of males do raise their occupational status in both urban and rural areas.

One further point of note, relating to the differential patterns of mobility of men and women, it is clear that in both rural and urban areas women and men are distributed in a similar way over these three broad categories (but they are not in the same types of work in each) for their first job, but after a period of time, it is clear that men are much more likely to be upwardly mobile than women. If women are upwardly mobile, it is worth re-stating, it is likely that they will be recruited into those occupations which offer lower status, prospects, pay and satisfaction. One possible explanation for these differential patterns of occupational mobility in rural and urban areas might be the level of employment in agricultural work. It might be presumed that if a high proportion of respondents were working on farms, (a type of employment which offers little or no opportunities for occupational advancement in the case of farm labourers, and employment stability in the case of farm owners) this may lead to an explanation of lower levels of mobility.

Table 6.3. shows the proportion of men and women employed as farmers and farm managers, smallholders, and agricultural workers. In the case of men, there are a considerably larger proportion employed in the rural areas in

all three occupations, although in the whole sample, farmers and farmworkers only account for around 6% of male respondents. Even fewer women are recorded as agriculturally employed, constituting less than 1.5% of the sample. Only in agricultural labour are there enough women employed to make a comparison between the rural and urban area; as would be expected, many more are employed in rural areas.

TABLE 6.3.

Percentages and frequencies of men and women in farming occupations in urban and rural areas

MEN	Urban	Rural	Other areas	N	As % of all respondents
Farmers and farm managers	10.5	38.4	51.2	86	1.8
Smallholders without employees	8.3	50.0	41.7	48	1.0
Agricultural workers	10.6	43.2	46.2	132	2.7
					N = 4809

WOMEN	Urban	Rural	Other areas	N	As % of all respondents
Farmers and farm managers	33.3	33.3	33.3	3	0.1
Smallholders without employees	0.0	0.0	100.0	2	0.1
Agricultural workers	10.0	32.5	57.5	40	1.2
					N = 3275

In light of the low levels of employment amongst men and women in agricultural occupations, it is clear that some other explanation needs to be sought as to why there are lower levels of occupational mobility in rural areas than in urban areas.

6.3. Occupational participation of men and women in rural and urban industrial sectors

In the preceding analysis of occupational mobility in urban and rural areas it was demonstrated that there are lower levels of mobility amongst both men and women in rural areas. This finding might have been expected given that employment opportunities are more limited in rural areas. However, the levels of mobility were not so small in rural areas that it might be asserted that individuals are more likely to be occupationally stable than mobile. Consequently, it is important now to extend the analysis by investigating the patterns of occupational participation in industrial sectors in order to assess the possible impact of varying industrial composition on mobility. Such a program of work is especially useful if a fuller explanation of the differential patterns of mobility of men and women is to be forwarded: both within and between rural and urban areas.

Table 6.4. shows what proportion of men and women are employed in each of five industrial sectors and the occupational composition of each in both urban and rural areas at the time of enquiry.(3) Turning attention firstly to the overall percentages of men and women in each of these sectors, it becomes clear that there is a much greater concentration of both men and women in primary industries in the rural areas. Indeed around 27% of men in rural areas are employed

TABLE 6.4

Occupational distribution of men and women in five industrial sectors in rural and urban areas of Scotland: 1975.

MEN N= Rural=513 Urban=2430

Respondent's occupation in 1975	Primary industries		Basic manufacture		Other manufacture		Basic services		Other services		%	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
I	3.2	0.7	6.2	2.9	12.4	8.3	8.8	9.2	32.0	23.3	12.7	8.0
II	29.6	23.6	4.1	5.7	8.6	11.1	11.9	16.3	32.9	35.0	13.1	19.1
III	9.7	24.3	11.5	11.4	11.5	12.5	17.6	12.6	4.0	5.0	13.0	14.8
IV	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	6.6	6.9	6.2	2.9	11.2	11.7	6.7	3.5
V	0.0	2.1	40.1	28.6	30.1	29.2	16.5	18.4	5.5	6.7	21.9	14.8
VI	51.6	45.0	23.6	37.1	20.5	19.4	18.1	21.4	4.6	6.7	18.0	26.9
VII	6.5	4.3	10.3	14.3	10.2	12.5	21.0	18.5	9.8	11.7	14.7	12.9
%	1.2	27.3	14.0	6.8	28.3	14.0	42.1	40.2	40.2	11.7	100.0	100.0

WOMEN N= Rural=402 Urban=1971

I	4.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.2	1.8	5.7	3.9	1.7	1.5
II	8.7	15.4	7.6	13.0	11.0	17.2	10.1	14.5	33.5	31.4	13.1	17.2
III	0.0	4.8	1.4	4.3	1.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	1.9	0.0	1.5	2.7
IV	1.1	6.7	9.9	8.7	34.1	12.1	37.4	12.0	17.5	11.8	15.3	10.4
V	8.7	9.6	12.4	13.0	11.4	15.5	11.4	13.3	3.8	5.9	10.5	17.7
VI	39.1	33.3	36.4	5.0	32.3	13.3	34.8	36.7	23.2	11.7	32.8	29.9
VII	26.1	24.0	33.1	34.8	24.8	27.6	27.5	28.9	11.8	19.6	25.1	26.6
%	1.2	25.9	14.8	5.7	29.9	14.4	40.8	41.3	13.3	12.7	100.0	100.0

in primary industries (ie farming, forestry and fishing) whilst only just over 1% are employed in these industries in urban areas. A very large proportion of women also are employed in primary industry, comprising nearly 26% of the female respondents in rural areas compared with only a little over 1% in the urban areas.

These findings are not, of course, surprising given that agriculture is a major economic concern in rural areas. However, it is interesting to note the actual distribution of individuals in primary industries in rural and urban areas. In the case of male respondents, it is evident that a considerably lower proportion of men are employed in manual capacity in rural areas: 51%, compared with over 58% in urban areas. In the rural areas there are a considerably higher proportion of men employed as higher grade technicians and supervisors (category III), only around 10% are employed as such in urban areas compared with over 24% in the rural areas. There are, however, a lower proportion of men in Category II which includes farmers and farm managers in rural areas: comprising less than 24% of all male respondents in primary industry in rural areas compared with nearly 30% in urban areas. This does not, of course, suggest that there are a higher proportion of farmers in urban areas; indeed, as Table 6.3. has shown, there are many more men employed as farm managers or farmers in rural areas. This point is worth elaborating because conventional conceptions of

primary industry, in rural areas especially, assert that most people are directly involved in either farming, forestry or fishing. Clearly, as in any industrial sector, other occupational positions will be created, especially in large organisations where supervisors, technicians, auditors, business managers and so on will be employed. Consequently, there will be opportunities for occupational mobility in primary industry as there will be in other industrial sectors.[4]

Bearing these comments in mind, it is possible to offer some explanation for the relatively high level of female employment in Category II which includes farmers and farm managers. In rural areas 15% of women are employed as semi-professionals, whilst in urban areas nearly 9% are thus employed in primary industry. Obviously a minute proportion of female respondents are recorded as being farmers or farm managers, (as Table 6.3, has shown, only three female respondents were employed as such) it is reasonable to assume then, that most of these women are involved with service functions in the capacity of white collar support staff. As was the case with men, the majority of women are employed in manual jobs in primary industry. Indeed, almost 67% of women in rural areas are employed in manual work in the primary sector and in urban areas almost 74% are employed in manual work. A final point of note is the relatively large proportion of women in routine clerical work who are employed in primary

industry. The fact that nearly 7% of women respondents were employed in such a capacity in rural areas compared with 1% in urban areas is significant because it demonstrates the importance of a variety of occupational requirements in rural areas. Such diversity, which is evident in primary industry (which might have been expected to show a more concentrated employment distribution) is very important in explaining the high levels of mobility recorded.

Moving on to discuss the distribution of male and female respondents in the other industrial sectors, it becomes clear that in rural areas there are relatively limited opportunities for employment in manufacturing industries. Combining both manufacturing sectors it is evident that only 20% of women in rural areas as compared with over 45% in the urban areas are employed in manufacturing industry. Similarly, 23% of men work in manufacturing in the rural areas compared with 42% in the urban region.

The relatively low level of employment in manufacturing is not unexpected given that most manufacturers are concentrated in the urban region as was shown in Chapter Two. However, the proportions of men and women employed in the service sectors are not strikingly dissimilar. In basic services (construction, utilities, transport, and communications, distribution and so on) and in other services (insurance, banking and business services, professional and scientific services, public administration and so on) a similar proportion of men and women are employed in rural and

urban areas. Overall, 54% of women workers in rural areas work in service industries compared with just less than 54% in urban areas: compared with 52% of men in rural areas and nearly 56% of men in urban areas.

These findings may appear to be surprising given that most service industries are concentrated in urban centres. However, when the rural labour market is considered independently of urban areas it becomes clear, as was suggested in the introduction to this Chapter, that a fairly large proportion of people would be employed in service industries in rural areas given that administrative, health, educational, communication and transport services are provided. Even though these services may be limited in comparison to central urban areas, the proportion of individuals employed in relation to the actual rural working population is high.

Given the relative diversity of occupational participation amongst both men and women in rural areas, the relatively high levels of occupational mobility reported earlier in this Chapter can be more easily explained. However, the actual levels of mobility in rural areas are lower than in urban areas. This can be partially explained by the relatively limited scope for occupational advancement in primary industries which employ more than a quarter of male and female respondents in rural areas. And also by the lower proportion of individuals in the professions in rural areas in nearly all of the industrial sectors for both men and women. Furthermore, the fact that there is a generally

higher proportion of unskilled workers men and women respondents in the rural areas contribute towards an explanation of lower mobility rates.

6.4. Conclusion

In this Chapter, it has been shown that for women and men there are lower levels of occupational mobility in rural areas than in urban areas. These differences were explained in part by the limited occupational opportunities in the rural areas, especially in primary industries where a large proportion of both men and women were employed. It was also shown that the labour market participation of women in rural and urban areas displayed strong similarities in that women were still rarely employed in the professions and as supervisors and technicians. Although there were differences in mobility and employment for women, therefore, it appeared that those factors which affect women's labour market position in urban areas, or in Scotland as a whole seem to apply to rural areas also.

In the preceding analysis it was also noted that although there were lower levels of occupational mobility in rural areas, these differences were not so marked that it might be asserted that there was a high degree of social closure in rural areas. Given that occupational stability, either intergenerationally or intragenerationally, was not substantially higher in rural areas it is tempting to discount the idea that rural communities might have some effect on occupational mobility. Although it is not, of course, possible to infer from the data presented above that rural

communities definitely do restrict individuals' occupational mobility potential; it will be tentatively suggested here that this might be the case. There are a number of reasons for supposing that mobility might be restricted in rural areas.

Firstly, it was shown above that more than 5% of male respondents were employed in agriculture as farmers, farm managers, small holders or farm labourers. Although these occupations are not located in the same occupational category, it can be assumed that for most respondents there will be little mobility within them. In the case of women, fewer were recorded as being employed in farming, however, this may be accounted for by the way in which the data were collected. For those women who are married to farmers, farm managers, small holders and farm labourers, it would not seem unreasonable to assert that their 'present or most recent job' may refer to employment which was curtailed some time before the inquiry, and that they subsequently worked unpaid on the farm. This is not, of course, to suggest that these women are not indirectly economically active as farmers wives. Indeed, it has been demonstrated elsewhere that farmers wives do play a significant role in the economic welfare of farms; not only in terms of domestic labour, but also in more general farm labour, book keeping, providing further income on other economic ventures such as holiday letting, catering and so on. (Bradley, 1983; Bradley _et al_, 1984).

Mobility might be restricted also due to the high levels of seasonal employment in many rural areas. Such seasonal labour is not restricted to farming, forestry and fishing of course, but is also found in other industries: especially tourism. Because there is a high degree of seasonal employment in rural areas it is likely that this will actively restrict occupational mobility to a greater extent than in urban areas. There are a number of reasons for these potential restrictions: firstly, because there are in rural areas limited opportunities for alternative types of permanent employment, partly because of low labour turnover in certain employment, especially farming. Secondly, because much of the productive activity in rural areas is seasonally based the local economy cannot support a full-time labour force in certain occupations simply because it is not financially realistic. Thirdly, full-time employment is a feature of towns in peripheral areas, nevertheless, in those areas which have a tourist trade seasonal employment will be created. This type of temporary work is more likely to affect women's employment position than men given that much of the work will be in retailing, hotels and catering and so on.[5]

If employment patterns are affected by these factors, it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that the levels of occupational mobility recorded for women intra-generationally may be exaggerated. At the same time, it is

not possible to make generalisations for all peripheral areas in Scotland because many areas may not have such employment characteristics. What the above discussion does reveal is the need for further research into local rural labour markets and the types of and extent of occupational and social mobility in these areas.

In the above analysis it has not been possible to discuss in detail the effect of migration on individuals' occupational careers. Although attention has been given to the importance of migration on men's occupational mobility and social mobility elsewhere (Payne, Payne and Chapman, 1982) a consideration of the effect of migration on women's occupational participation and mobility is highly problematic. The most important reason for which is that it cannot be determined from the Scottish Mobility Study's data whether women's geographical migration was led by their husband's occupational migration or if it was a consequence of their own occupational career. It would seem very likely that the former is the case, consequently, it would be meaningless to consider women's migration independently as though they were not married. Furthermore, a consideration of migration between rural and urban areas is equally likely to create more confusion than contribute towards an understanding of the patterns of females' occupational mobility because there will be migration both within and between rural and urban areas. Not only would it be impossible to distinguish who was

leading who, but also to assess in any meaningful way why these respondents were moving. This is not of course to suggest that future research projects cannot consider these issues empirically - in Chapter Eight, a consideration of possible lines of enquiry in this area will be forwarded.

One further area of enquiry which relates specifically to the study of occupational and social mobility in peripheral areas is the effect of peripherality on individuals' orientations to work. Although no data are available from the Scottish Mobility Study which could explain the impact of community relationships on employment orientations, it is possible that an individual's aspirations may be affected by peripherality. There are a number of reasons why this might be the case; firstly, because in peripheral areas there may be a lower level of consciousness of the possibility of gaining certain types of employment. In other words, people who have grown up in rural areas may come to identify with only a limited number of jobs. Such identification may derive from the recognition that such occupations exist, ie they are visible; and also, because in local communities certain value may be attached to certain kinds of work which will perhaps encourage people actively to seek similar work themselves. Clearly, similar arguments may also be applied to working and middle class communities in urban areas; indeed there is much evidence to support the view that such factors do affect men and women's orientations to work. Obviously

there is a need to undertake further research on these issues in rural areas; a discussion of which is presented in the concluding Chapter.

Although it has not been possible in this Chapter to assess the impact of migration, seasonal labour demand and of the impact of community relationships on individuals' mobility, the findings presented in this Chapter have made a significant contribution to the understanding of occupational mobility in peripheral areas.

Most importantly it has been demonstrated that although occupational opportunities are more limited in rural areas they are not so limited as to diminish the possibilities of upward mobility to a great extent. The relatively high levels of occupational mobility of both men and women in rural areas, it has been shown, derive from the availability of occupational opportunities which are not limited only to primary industries, but in other sectors also. Furthermore, of those occupational opportunities in primary industries, many are not directly associated with agricultural production. This is particularly important for those women who are recorded as being employed in primary industry, most of whom are distributed in a wide variety of occupations.

In this Chapter, relatively little detailed attention has been directed to patterns of mobility in industrial sectors. In the next Chapter, which will return to an analysis of occupational mobility for the whole of Scotland, an analysis of occupational mobility in industrial sectors will be forwarded.

NOTES

(1) The SMS Sample was drawn from sampling points throughout Scotland with the exception of the Outer Islands, see Chapter Four for further details.

(2) In Chapter Four, a full discussion of how these areas have been defined for the purposes of analysis has been presented. See Section 4.3.(b).

(3) Full definitions of the industries in each of these sectors can be found in the methodology chapter, Section 4.3.(c).

(4) It is not possible here to analyse the patterns of mobility in primary industries in rural and urban areas because there are too few respondents in the sample from which reasonable generalisations might be made. However, a discussion of mobility within all respondents in primary industry will be forwarded in the next Chapter.

(5) See for a further discussion of the importance of seasonal labour created by tourism, Dunkerley and Faerden (1984).

CHAPTER SEVEN

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND LABOUR MARKET EMPLOYMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN IN SCOTLAND: 1930-1970

7.1. Introduction

In the preceding empirical analyses, it has been demonstrated that women are distributed in the occupational structure in a different way from men. Women, it has become apparent, are much less likely to be employed in those occupations which afford the highest pay, employment security, career prospects and so on both at a National level and in urban and rural areas. In this Chapter, the analysis will be extended through an examination of the patterns of occupational participation and mobility of men and women across industrial sectors.

It was shown in Chapter Two that industrial change in Scotland had a marked effect on employment in the period 1930-1970; firstly, in the sense that many new employment opportunities were created in certain industrial sectors which were expanding: the service sectors. Secondly, that the change in the industrial structure had an important impact on the occupational composition of the labour market; especially in terms of the increasing number of jobs in non-

manual work.

It was not possible, however, to explain fully the divisions in occupational employment by gender from the available published census data. Although it is possible to discuss the patterns of employment in Scottish industrial sectors with reference to the Scottish Mobility Study's data, explanations for these differential patterns of occupational participation and mobility must be based on the theoretical work forwarded in Chapter Three. In Chapter Three it was argued that differences in employment opportunities of men and women did not derive from an essential unsuitability of some work for individuals of different gender. Indeed, it was demonstrated that under certain historical circumstances women have been employed in work which was normally thought to be suitable for males only. The fact that women are generally excluded from such employment is a consequence, it was argued, of the actions of the state, trade unions and employers; institutions in which decisions are generally made by males.

In this Chapter which will include a detailed consideration of the patterns of mobility in industrial sectors, evidence will be presented which supports the view that males have continued to dominate the professions, technical and supervisory occupations, and skilled manual work in each of the industrial sectors. Furthermore, it will be shown that the commonly accepted view which stresses that women have gained

better opportunities for obtaining higher status occupations in the service sectors as these industries have expanded is generally over-exaggerated.

The analysis will be forwarded in two parts. Firstly, the patterns of occupational mobility, intergenerationally and intragenerationally will be analysed in five industrial sectors[1] in the period 1930-1970. In the second section the patterns of occupational participation and employment of men and women in a much larger number of occupational categories will be discussed. From this analysis it will be demonstrated that women are employed quite differently from men over thirty-six occupational categories; consequently, the later discussion of occupational participation will concentrate on women only in order to show the extent of female employment concentration without the constraints of conventional occupational scales as operationalised by social and occupational mobility researchers.

7.2. Employment and occupational mobility of men and women in Scottish industrial sectors: 1930-1970

In the last two Chapters considerable support was given to the view that women occupy a less favourable position to that of men in the labour market as a whole and in rural and urban areas of Scotland. In this section a more detailed analysis of the occupational distribution and mobility of men and women in industrial sectors will be forwarded.

Five industrial sectors have been defined for this purpose which have been specifically formulated to reflect the industrial structure of Scotland. These can be broadly defined as follows. Primary industries, comprising farming, forestry and fishing. Old Staple Manufacturing and Mining Industries, composed of mining, coal and petroleum production and refining, metal manufacturing, shipbuilding and textiles. The third sector, Other Manufacturing Industries, includes lighter industrial manufacturing concerns, many of which have a shorter history as established Scottish industrial concerns. These include: food, drink and tobacco refinement and production; chemicals; instrument, electrical and mechanical engineering; vehicle manufacture, metal manufacturing; leather and clothing manufacture; construction materials; paper production, printing and publishing; and other manufacturing. The service industries have been split into two

sectors, the first, Basic Services, include: construction; utilities, transport and communication; distribution: and miscellaneous services. The second, Other Services, consists of insurance, banking and business services, professional and scientific services, public administration and defence.[2]

Table 7.1. presents data on the occupational distribution of men and women in each of the industrial sectors according to seven occupational categories.[3] From these, it becomes apparent that men and women are distributed in each of the sectors as a whole in a very similar way. Basic services are by far the largest sector, occupying over forty percent of the male and female sample for their occupational position in 1975. Other manufacturing is the second largest with about a quarter of the sample. Primary industry, as would be expected, is the smallest industrial sector, whilst staple industries and Other Services each include about twelve percent of the sample.

When the occupational distribution of men and women is considered however, it can be seen that there are significant differences in the distribution of respondents according to the industrial sector within which they are employed. Turning attention to males first, it is clear that in the manufacturing sectors (Staple Industries and Manufacturing Industries) a very high proportion of men are concentrated in manual occupations, and especially in skilled

TABLE 7.1.

Occupational distribution over seven occupational categories of men and women for their present occupation (1975) in five industrial sectors

	Occupational distribution (1975)															
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		%	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Primary	1.2	1.2	26.7	14.1	20.4	3.1	0.0	9.8	2.1	8.6	46.2	37.9	3.3	25.4	7.4	7.0
Staples	7.9	0.6	4.2	6.8	10.8	1.6	3.5	11.1	40.7	14.8	21.9	35.3	11.0	30.5	12.8	13.2
Manufac-turing	11.4	0.8	8.0	11.9	11.4	1.6	6.4	15.8	29.6	11.6	21.7	33.0	11.4	25.3	24.6	25.8
Basic Services	8.7	1.1	12.2	11.5	17.8	1.5	5.0	13.9	18.1	11.6	19.0	34.0	19.2	26.4	41.5	40.8
Other Services	28.0	4.8	35.9	32.3	4.3	1.5	12.7	19.6	5.1	4.2	4.3	25.4	9.7	12.3	13.6	13.1
															4470	3662

and semi-skilled employment. It might also be noted that there are limited opportunities in professional and semi-professional employment in the Staple Industries, although in Other Manufacturing, the proportion of men in each of these categories does not differ a great deal from the overall distribution of all industries. In Other Services, as would be expected, there are considerably larger numbers of men employed in a professional and semi-professional capacity, almost 60% of all respondents in this category, whilst numbers in manual jobs are very much below average. In Basic Services it is noted that there are only relatively small variations from the overall averages; this, in itself, is important to bear in mind, as often it is tempting to assume that in all service industries there is a very high proportion of non-manual work.

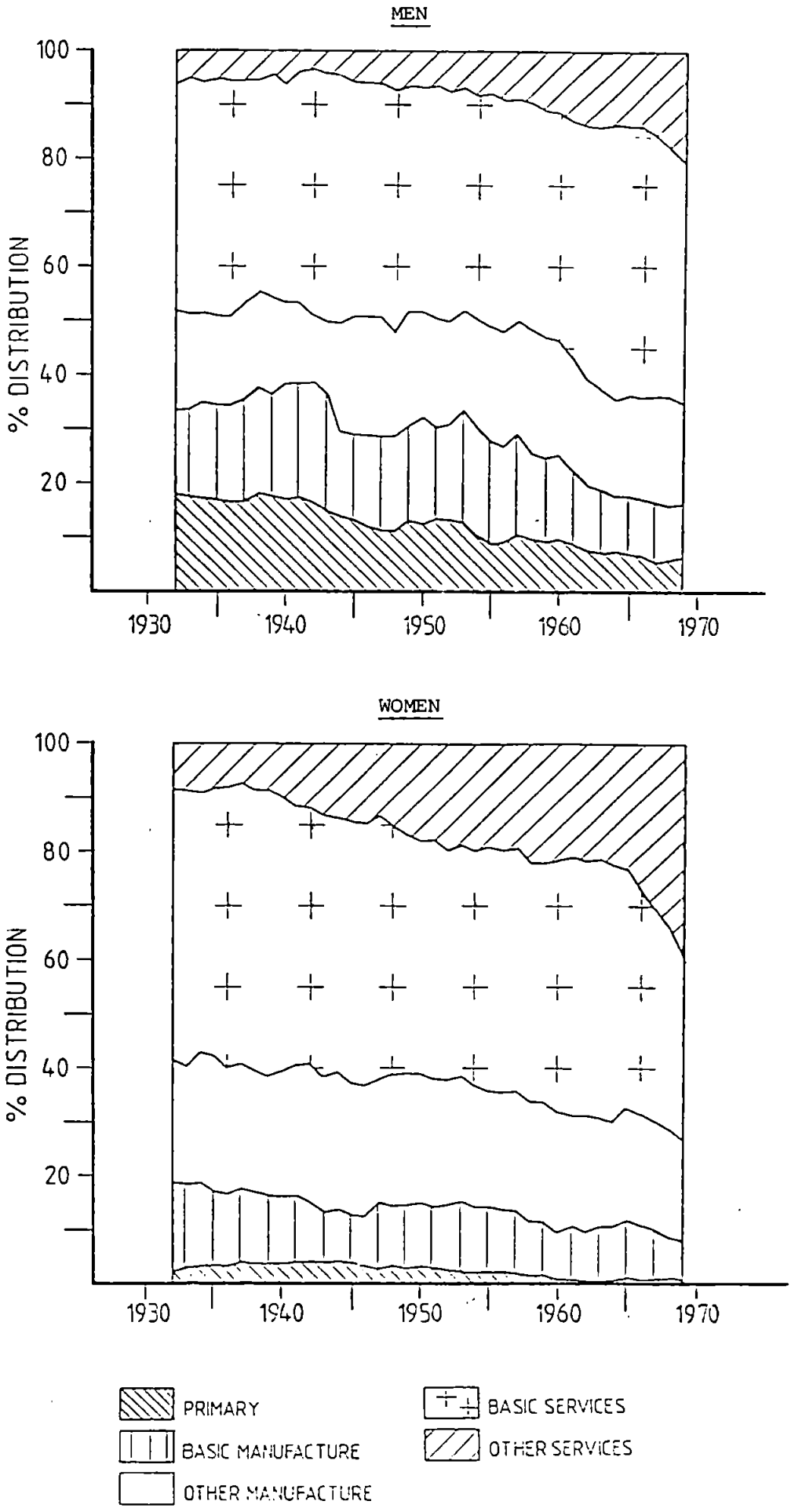
For women, the situation is rather less complicated, the occupational distribution in all four sectors resembles the overall distribution for all industries quite closely. Only in Other Services are marked variations found. Here there are more than twice as many women employed in the semi-professions than on average, also there is a considerably higher proportion of professional women, although there are five times as many male professionals in the same sector. Notwithstanding the above, there are still more than 40% of women employed in manual work in this sector compared with only about 20% of males.

It would seem, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the industrial sector in which men are employed could have some effect on their opportunities in career advancement, either in a manual or non-manual capacity. For women, on the other hand, the sector of employment seems to make less difference, adding support to the view that in all sectors of employment, women are likely to be working in lower status occupations. In professional, supervisory and technical occupations, and in skilled work, men still dominate in all sectors.

The evidence presented in Table 7.1. relates only to the occupational distribution of respondents in 1975 and given that a primary concern of this study is to look at changing pattern of opportunities for men and women over time, it is important to turn attention now to the changing patterns of employment in each of these sectors. Figure 7.1. shows graphically how the proportions of men and women employed in their first occupation has changed between 1930 and 1970. By scanning both graphs first of all, it is clear that for both men and women, the proportion of first time employment in manufacturing and primary industries has declined steadily over the period, reflecting a general decline in manufacturing in Scotland as a whole. This is especially evident in primary industries for men, whilst for women there have always been a limited number of opportunities for first time employment.

FIGURE 7.1

Proportions of men and women employed in five industrial sectors on entry into the labour market: five year moving averages



In the Staple Industries there have been heavy fluctuations in recruitment for males, during the war years and the years before the war, there is a gradual increase in employment. This growth was met with considerable contraction in the later war years. Although the number of males recruited into the Staple Industries did increase in the late 'fifties, there has been steady decline since. The employment of women in the Staple Industries has remained more constant, although a slow decline is illustrated between 1930-45, and after a brief increase in employment in the late 'forties and early 'fifties, the employment of women in this sector has continued to decrease. In the other manufacturing industries the recruitment of men and women has remained fairly constant throughout, only in the war years was there a contraction in male employment, matched by a concomitant rise in female recruitment.

In the service industries there has been a considerable increase in the proportion of women employed in the business, commercial and administrative/public services, this growth accelerated very quickly after a decade of relative stability in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties.

The rise in opportunities in Other Services for women is not, however indicative of a marked increase in opportunities in the more lucrative occupations, although more opportunities are found here than elsewhere as Table 7.2. illustrates, whereas for men, the domination of such occupations

TABLE 7.2.

Proportions of men and women starting work in four ten year cohorts employed in each of five industrial sectors by three occupational categories

Industrial sector and Occupational Status	MEN Year started working 1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69	WOMEN Year started working 1930-39	1940049	1950-59	1960-69
PRIMARY INDUSTRIES								
I	1.2	5.5	1.8	4.2				
II	1.2	1.6	0.0	1.4				
III	97.7	93.0	98.2	94.4				
	(17.3)	(14.1)	(12.0)	(6.5)				
STAPLE INDUSTRIES								
I	2.3	5.1	6.7	17.2	4.4	4.3	10.4	7.5
II	6.9	9.6	8.6	14.1	5.3	12.0	12.3	10.0
III	90.8	85.4	84.7	68.8	90.3	83.7	77.6	82.5
	(17.3)	(17.3)	(17.8)	(11.6)	(14.8)	(10.5)	(11.9)	(9.2)
OTHER MANUFACTURE								
I	3.9	10.2	7.0	15.7	5.7	8.1	5.4	6.7
II	8.3	10.7	5.9	10.2	11.4	12.4	16.8	15.0
III	87.8	79.1	87.0	74.1	83.0	79.0	77.7	78.3
	(18.0)	(19.5)	(20.2)	(19.7)	(23.0)	(23.9)	(22.6)	(20.8)
BASIC SERVICES								
I	6.5	6.7	9.7	8.0	8.9	13.7	11.7	10.6
II	12.8	20.0	16.6	23.5	12.2	14.2	19.4	20.5
III	80.7	73.3	73.7	68.5	78.8	72.2	68.9	68.9
	(41.4)	(44.4)	(41.6)	(47.7)	(51.2)	(48.2)	(43.8)	(43.5)
OTHER SERVICES								
I	50.8	51.2	60.5	63.1	47.5	44.2	45.1	44.1
II	37.3	39.5	36.8	29.4	12.5	20.8	23.1	26.6
III	11.9	9.3	2.6	7.5	33.9	35.0	31.8	29.3
	(5.9)	(4.7)	(8.3)	(14.6)	(7.7)	(13.7)	(19.4)	(25.7)
	(N= 999)	(N= 909)	(N= 914)	(N=1099)	(N= 766)	(N= 879)	(N= 894)	(N= 865)

has not only been maintained throughout but has improved. Indeed, in all the industrial sectors there seems not to have been any significant pattern of growth of female employment; whereas for men, recruitment into professional and semi-professional occupations has shown a steady pattern of increase in all sectors. For all the sectors, the most significant change throughout the period is the steady increase in the number of women recruited into routine non-manual occupations, which has, in turn, led to a decrease in the number of women employed in manual work. For men, the pattern is more complicated. In manual occupations, there have been fewer men recruited: over the whole period, a decrease of about 10% is observed over each of the sectors. In the supervisory, technician and routine non-manual occupations, however, the pattern is less clear. In all the sectors, there was a slight increase after the first decade. Whilst in the 1950s, as women were increasingly being employed in routine non-manual occupations, there was a decrease in the number of men who started work in such occupations. This pattern was then reversed in all but Other Services in the 1960s.

Before attention is turned to the rates of occupational mobility in each of these sectors, it is worth reiterating that the number of women in each cateogry does not give an indication of an even spread throughout each of the occupational categories within this collapsed scale. Indeed, throughout the period, women have continued to be concentrated in the semi-professional, routine non-manual work and in semi-skilled

and unskilled work. It is important, therefore, to be cautious in making comparisons between rates of mobility for men and women, as for men, there is a far greater chance of being occupationally mobile into professional jobs or supervisory and technical occupations. Also, it must be borne in mind that many of the men who do not appear to be upwardly mobile are occupied in skilled manual occupations which present their incumbents with greater job security, higher pay, work satisfaction and prospects than other manual occupations, and also many routine-non-manual occupations.

Table 7.3., which compares the levels of inter-generational occupational mobility of men and women for their first job by that of their father when the respondent was fourteen years old, shows that there have been quite considerable increases in the level of women's upward mobility throughout the period; whereas for men, the pattern across the industrial sectors is less clear. Over the first two decades, there is a clear increase in upward mobility for men recruited into all sectors. In the 1950s, however, the previous increase in opportunities falls off in all but the staple industries; only to increase again in all sectors, with the exception of Other Services in the 1960s.

Although there is a high level of upward mobility for women, on entry into the labour market there is also a fairly constant pattern of downward mobility in each of the sectors over the four decades under scrutiny, except in the staple industries which is slightly lower, although this

TABLE 7.3

Levels of occupational mobility over three occupational categories for men and women in their present occupation by their father's occupation at respondent's age fourteen.

	Year of entry into the labour market							
	1930-1939		1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary industries								
Upward	0.0	-	2.4	-	1.9	-	0.0	-
Stable	58.5	-	61.0	-	49.5	-	50.7	-
Downward	41.5	-	36.6	-	48.6	-	48.3	-
N=	164	-	123	-	105	-	71	-
Basic manufacture								
Upward	5.1	0.0	8.1	7.1	13.2	10.2	17.6	13.0
Stable	84.5	81.6	77.3	80.0	69.2	75.5	68.8	71.4
Downward	10.3	18.4	14.3	12.9	17.6	14.3	13.6	15.6
N=	155	98	150	85	159	98	125	77
Other manufacture								
Upward	7.8	3.1	14.6	7.9	8.7	10.3	17.1	13.0
Stable	74.9	77.5	66.8	75.0	69.8	68.1	65.3	66.3
Downward	17.4	19.4	18.6	17.0	21.4	21.4	17.6	20.7
N=	167	160	172	188	182	182	216	169
Basic services								
Upward	11.5	5.9	18.3	13.9	17.3	13.9	19.2	16.1
Stable	62.0	67.4	61.6	61.4	63.3	61.6	56.0	60.2
Downward	26.4	26.6	20.1	24.8	19.4	24.6	24.8	23.7
N=	401	356	389	391	371	367	516	354
Other services								
Upward	26.0	32.1	45.0	35.1	37.9	44.8	37.4	39.2
Stable	46.4	45.3	45.0	43.8	46.0	32.5	44.3	41.7
Downward	27.8	22.6	10.0	21.1	16.2	22.7	18.3	19.1
N=	54	53	40	114	74	163	158	209

Note

(1) The number of female respondents in primary industries are too small for reliable data to be presented.

may be explained by the limited number of manual occupations available for women in these industries. The high level of downward mobility in the service industries is surprising however, as it is often assumed that nearly all female occupations in such industries would be white collar; as Table 7.2. indicated, this is not in fact the case, with about a third of women recruited into manual occupations in the administrative, commercial and professional services, and over two thirds in Basic Services. In the case of upward mobility, as noted above, it is probable that women do not obtain a great deal more status than their father's, if any - given that most women in the intermediate occupational status group are routine office workers or shop workers.

In Table 7.4. the level of occupational mobility refers to the respondents' present or most recent job in comparison with their fathers' occupation when the respondent was fourteen years old. The cohorts illustrate the level of intergenerational mobility according to the year in which the respondent began working with reference to the industrial sector within which the respondent was employed in 1975.

Turning attention firstly to men, it is clear that in all cases, the level of intergenerational occupational mobility is higher than recorded for first full-time employment (shown in Table 7.3.). For men who have been working for between 25 and 45 years (shown in the first two cohorts of the Table) levels of upward occupational mobility are in all

TABLE 7.4

Levels of occupational mobility over three occupational categories for men and women in their first occupation by their father's occupation at respondents age fourteen.

	1930-1939		1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary industry								
Upward	8.0	-	13.7	-	13.3	-	88.4	-
Stable	70.9	-	60.2	-	63.1	-	56.7	-
Downward	20.3	-	26.0	-	24.6	-	35.0	-
N=	79		73		57		60	
Basic manufacture								
Upward	15.2	4.8	25.0	10.0	21.7	11.6	26.7	7.7
Stable	77.5	81.0	60.6	72.0	68.1	70.0	60.9	78.8
Downward	7.2	14.3	14.4	18.0	10.3	18.3	12.5	13.5
N=	138	63	104	50	97	60	120	52
Other manufacture								
Upward	27.5	10.3	29.2	13.6	27.5	9.6	17.5	10.3
Stable	62.8	72.3	61.3	73.3	60.2	70.5	61.2	74.3
Downward	9.8	17.5	9.4	13.0	12.4	19.8	21.2	15.4
N=	215	126	212	161	251	166	268	214
Basic services								
Upward	29.2	12.9	36.6	18.0	31.7	21.0	23.8	19.5
Stable	56.4	61.9	52.4	58.3	56.8	57.2	56.6	53.0
Downward	14.3	25.6	11.0	23.6	11.6	21.9	19.5	27.5
N=	360	312	374	343	373	334	482	283
Other services								
Upward	37.8	26.0	48.4	34.3	47.4	40.4	40.4	39.8
Stable	51.0	52.7	93.3	52.3	43.5	40.4	48.1	40.6
Downward	11.3	21.4	8.2	12.4	9.2	19.2	11.4	19.5
N=	106	150	97	214	108	245	166	246

Notes

(1) The number of female respondentes in primary industries are too small fro reliable data to be presented.

but one case more than 10% higher than on entry into the labour market. Indeed, for men who have only been working between 15 and 25 years (shown in the third cohort) levels of mobility are substantially higher.

Although the highest levels of upward intergenerational occupational mobility are recorded for those men who work in Other Services, (commerce, banking and insurance; public administration; professional and scientific services and so on) age seniority seems to have the greatest impact in Other Manufacturing where levels of upward occupational mobility are recorded up to 20% higher than on entry into the labour market.

For women, the pattern of career development is less clear. In fact, in many cases in all industrial sectors, it seems that the period of employment makes little difference to levels of upward occupational mobility; in many cases there are lower levels of mobility. In the professional, commercial and administrative services, for example, where it might be expected that women would be given opportunities to improve their occupational status, it is clear that fewer women from manual and intermediate status origins actually achieve upward mobility.

It is not, of course, possible to read too much into this evidence as it is, as yet, unclear whether the men and women in these industrial sectors are the same respondents as in Table 7.3. Consequently, it is important to explore

the extent to which men and women have moved between sectors; and further, to examine different patterns of occupational mobility amongst respondents who have remained in, or moved between industrial sectors.

Table 7.5. provides some evidence to support the view that men are more likely to be mobile between industrial sectors than women, however, these variations are neither consistent nor pronounced.(4) Similarly, for men and women who have moved between industrial sectors, there are no easily identifiable differences, or trends, from which it might be possible to explain why men are more likely to improve their occupational status than women. In other services, for example, it is clear that a large proportion of men and women have moved into this sector from others. For women, there has been movement out of all sectors other than Other Services; whilst for men, there has been movement into both Other Manufacturing and Other Services.

One explanation for the movement between sectors might be that respondents who move between industrial sectors are seeking an improvement in occupational status. In Tables 7.6. and 7.7. data are presented to examine the effect of movement across sectors on respondents' mobility. In Section (a) of each table, levels of upward occupational mobility intergenerationally are given for respondents who have moved from the sector within which they were employed on entry into the labour market. From this it becomes clear

TABLE 7.5.

Mobility between industrial sectors, men and women aged thirty-five years or over: first full-time industrial occupation by present industrial occupation.

(A) MEN (N= 2797)

First full-time occupation	Present Occupation (1975)					
	Primary Industries	Staple Industries	Other Manufacture	Basic Services	Other Services	Overall %
Primary Industries	84.9	8.8	7.0	11.0	7.2	15.7
Staple Industries	0.8	50.5	18.6	12.3	10.4	17.9
Other Manufacture	4.1	14.7	35.5	13.5	15.3	18.4
Basic Services	9.4	25.3	35.2	60.7	28.9	41.2
Other Services	0.8	0.8	3.7	2.5	38.2	6.9
Overall %	8.8	13.9	24.2	40.8	12.4	100.0

(B) WOMEN (N = 2415)

First full-time occupation	Present Occupation (1975)					
Primary Industries	63.4	1.6	1.0	1.8	1.0	3.5
Staple Industries	1.2	58.6	10.5	9.6	7.4	12.9
Other Manufacture	6.1	13.5	50.8	16.7	16.0	22.7
Basic Services	26.8	20.8	34.1	66.9	35.2	47.0
Other Services	2.4	5.2	3.5	5.1	40.3	13.9
Overall %	3.4	8.0	20.0	42.5	26.1	100.0

TABLE 7.6.

Intergenerational occupational mobility rates for men aged over thirty-five years:[a] industrial sector of first occupation by present industrial sector of occupation

(A) For respondents who have moved from the industrial sector of their first occupation.

Industrial Sector of first occupation	Level of occupational mobility[b]			
	Upward	Stable	Downward	N
Primary Industries	14.1	63.5	22.3	(217)
Staple Industries	28.9	59.7	11.4	(281)
Other Manufacture	35.6	52.8	10.7	(264)
Basic Services	28.5	59.0	12.5	(435)
Other Services	31.4	38.6	9.9	(52)
Overall %	31.7	54.7	13.4	(1249)

(B) For those respondents who have remained in the same industrial sector as their first occupation.

Industrial Sector of first occupation	Level of occupational mobility			
	Upward	Stable	Downward	N
Primary Industries	11.0	63.3	25.7	(202)
Staple Industries	21.3	71.3	7.4	(188)
Other Manufacture	37.6	45.5	16.9	(237)
Basic Services	35.5	51.6	13.0	(677)
Other Services	43.1	52.0	4.9	(123)
Overall %	29.7	56.7	13.6	(1427)

TABLE 7.7.

Intergenerational occupational mobility rates for women aged over thirty-five years:[a] industrial sector of first occupation by present industrial sector of occupation (1975)

(A) For respondents who have moved from the industrial sector of their first occupation.

Industrial sector of first occupation	Level of occupational mobility[b]			
	Upward	Stable	Downward	N
Staple Industries	16.5	70.2	13.1	(175)
Other Manufacture	17.4	64.6	18.7	(273)
Basic Services	24.7	58.7	16.8	(412)
Other Services	16.8	49.7	32.4	(76)
Overall %	18.8	60.8	20.3	(936)

(B) For those respondents who have remained in the same industrial sector as their first occupation

Industrial sector of first occupation	Level of occupational mobility			
	Upward	Stable	Downward	N
Staple Industries	7.0	80.0	13.0	(100)
Other Manufacture	6.9	73.3	19.8	(217)
Basic Services	15.7	58.1	26.2	(632)
Other Services	37.6	45.5	16.9	(237)
Overall %	16.8	64.2	19.0	(1186)

that men are more likely to achieve higher occupational status according to their father's occupational status than women, and that women in all industrial sectors are more likely to be downwardly mobile.

In Section (b) of Tables 7.6. and 7.7. which illustrates the level of mobility for men and women who have remained in the same industrial sector as for their first job, or at least returned to that sector at the time of study, the patterns of mobility are considerably different. For men, in all but the staple industries, there is evidence to suggest that they have fared better in their careers than their counterparts who were mobile between sectors: in the service sectors this is particularly marked. For the downwardly mobile, the situation is less clear. In the staple industries, as might be expected, there is a very high degree of stability, possibly due to the nature of the skilled manual work which predominates in this sector; consequently, there is only a limited amount of downward mobility registered in the table. Similarly, as would be expected, the level of upward mobility in the professional, commercial and administrative services is high, as there are good opportunities for movement in an upward direction.

For women, on the other hand, it becomes clear that the reverse is the case in Other Manufacturing and Basic Services, where there is a lower level of upward mobility for those women who have remained in the same industry than for

those who have moved. Only in Other Services does it seem that there are any real opportunities for advancement in careers; in all other sectors, however, the level of upward movement either for women who have changed industrial sector or who have remained in the same sector is still considerably lower than it is for males.

In Other Services, it is clear that there is a lower level of downward mobility for those who remain in the same sector, whilst for those women who have remained in Basic Services, there is an overall increase.

In summary, the following general conclusions can be drawn from the preceding analysis.

Firstly, it is clear that for women, the industrial sector within which they are employed does not seem to have a major effect upon their opportunities in obtaining occupations of a higher status such as professional, supervisory/ technician, and skilled manual employment. Whilst men appear to have much greater chance of obtaining certain kinds of employment in specific sectors, in all sectors, men are far more likely to be employed as professionals, technicians and supervisors, and skilled manual workers.

Secondly, it has been shown that women seem to be disproportionately employed in manual work; even in the service industries where it is often assumed that women are occupied mainly in non-manual work (albeit routine) it has been shown

that this is not the case.

Thirdly, it has become evident that there have been overall increases over the period of study in the number of occupations for women in the service sectors, and that this has been matched with an increase in the level of non-manual opportunities, especially in the semi-professions and in routine non-manual work. Furthermore, there are increases over the period in the level of intergenerational mobility for women into their first occupations, although, in comparison with men, these might seem to be exaggerated given the nature of work women are recruited into. However, in terms of mobility after having worked for a period of not less than fifteen years, it becomes clear that women are not likely to advance their careers in the way men do; indeed, the evidence suggests that any gains made in first time employment are lost: there is, in other words, a considerable degree of downward mobility.

Finally, it has been shown that women are less mobile between industrial sectors than men, although the pattern of movement is neither consistent nor pronounced. In terms of occupational mobility it is evident that for women who do not appear to change their sector of occupation, they are more likely to be able to advance their career if they stay in Other Services. In the other sectors movement seems to lead to better opportunities. Nevertheless, men are more likely to be occupationally mobile than women regardless of whether they change their sector of employment or not.

7.3. Occupational participation of men and women in industrial sectors

The foregoing analysis has been of considerable value in obtaining an understanding of the differential patterns of occupational mobility of men and women in industrial sectors of Scotland between 1930 and 1970. Interpretation of these data has remained probematic however, because the occupational scales used, especially the three category scale, do not fully explain the type of work men and women are doing. It has been demonstrated that the occupational distribution of women is quite different over seven categories, which has aided interpretation in the sense that it is clear that women are very much under represented in certain occupations: notably, professional jobs, supervisory and technician employment, and in skilled manual work. The analysis, therefore, has been useful in the sense that it has highlighted a number of problems with imposing conventional occupational scales (which were devised with men specifically in mind) onto data which refer to women.

The major problem with occupational scales is that they assume certain occupational groups to be of higher status for some individuals than others. As women are hardly represented at all in two of these categories, ie, professional, and supervisory and technician status (categories I and III), and poorly represented in a third - skilled manual labour,

it would seem fruitless to push the analysis any further whilst adopting such a scale.

Two options are therefore left open. Firstly, to return to the theoretical ideas introduced in the earlier chapters of the thesis and attempt to interpret the data already put forward accordingly; or, to take the radical step of revising the scale and analysing the occupational careers of women according to the new scale. Obviously, the latter option is the most useful as it will allow for a more detailed analysis of women's employment and careers; and further, will offer considerably more evidence from which informed conclusions might be made in Chapter Eight.

In the analysis which will follow, the practice of comparing men's and women's occupational distribution will only be retained in the early stage of analysis when the occupations within which women are predominantly employed are disaggregated from the conventional scale. Clearly, it would be of little use to compare men and women respondents on a scale in which many of the occupational positions within which men have been employed are removed. Data which refer to women's fathers will be used however in order to compare women's own occupational position with their family of origin.

In order to disaggregate women's occupations the Hope Goldthorpe thirty-six category scale will be adopted. This is not because it is identified as having a more accurate schema which reflects status however, but simply because

there are more categories than in Payne's scale, thus allowing for more detailed analysis.[5]

The first step in this analysis must, of course, be to detail the number of women in each of these categories in order to find out which areas of employment are most important. Only in this table will men and women be compared.

The data in Table 7.8. push forward the analysis in two important ways. Firstly, it shows that men are distributed much more evenly over the thirty-six occupational categories than women; and secondly, that women are over-represented in certain occupational categories which afford lower status, pay and opportunities for career advancement. Using crude analytical measurement,[6] it is evident that women are under represented in Categories 1 - 9, 11 - 20, 22 - 24, 27, 29, 31 and 32. In these occupations, of which almost all might be regarded as of relatively high status, (if the view offered above that there are higher levels of status in each of the three broad categories widely adopted in the thesis is accepted) almost 60% of men as compared with only 6% of women are recruited into the labour market for their first occupation. The percentages for men and women respondents for their jobs in 1975 are, approximately 56% and 9% respectively. If the semi-skilled categories and farm workers categories are removed, due to the lower status, opportunities, and pay they offer, the percentages for women are reduced by about 2%, whilst for men they are around 60%

TABLE 7.8

Frequencies of men and women in selected occupational categories drawn from the Hope-Goldthorpe thirty-six category scale: for their first job and present job.

	MEN		WOMEN		
H-G Cat	First job	Job in 1975	First job	Job in 1975	Occupation
1	1	35	2	1	Self-employed professional
2	210	214	16	17	Salaried professionals higher grade
3	64	127	8	9	Administrators and officials higher grade
4	22	72	-	4	Industrial managers in large enterprises
5	14	54	3	7	Administrators and officials lower grade
6	103	124	36	21	Technicians higher grade
7	2	17	-	-	Large proprietors
8	1	42	-	1	Industrial and business enterprise small managers
9	2	5	1	0	Self-employed professionals lower grade
10	107	193	312	367	Salaried professionals lower grade
11	13	86	1	3	Farmers and farm managers
12	1	33	-	7	Supervisors of non-manual employees higher grade
13	2	146	1	30	Small proprietors
14	15	104	6	51	Managers in services and small administrative units
15	389	205	2	6	Technicans lower grade
16	-	10	-	10	Supervisors of non-manual employees lower grade
17	1	209	-	4	Supervisors of manual employees higher grade
18	418	259	17	24	Skilled manual workers in manufacturing higher grade

.../Continued

.../Continued

H-G Cat	First job	Job in 1975	First job	Job in 1975	Occupation
19	2	65	1	9	Self-employed workers higher grade
20	-	120	1	21	Supervisors of manual workers lower grade
21	329	271	656	479	Non-manual employees in administration and defence
22	200	122	51	31	Skilled manual workers in manufacturing intermediate
23	493	265	6	3	Skilled manual workers in construction
24	9	48	1	2	Smallholders without employees
25	41	17	108	93	Service workers higher grade
26	167	305	420	307	Semi-skilled manual workers in manufacturing
27	105	184	1	1	Skilled manual workers in transport and communication
28	177	50	1162	667	Service workers intermediate grade
29	-	32	-	3	Self employed workers intermediate grade
30	419	216	395	172	Skilled manual workers in manufacturing intermediate
31	511	132	84	40	Agricultural workers
32	177	121	9	2	Semi-skilled workers in construction and extraction
33	442	523	212	221	Semi-skilled manual workers in trans. and communication
34	49	96	328	347	Service workers lower grade
35	321	294	115	313	Unskilled manual workers
36	3	15	-	2	Self-employed lower grade
N=	4809	4809	3955	3275	

for their first job, and 56% for all men in their occupations in 1975.

If those occupations in which women are over-represented are considered, categories 10, 21, 25, 28 and 34 can be isolated. In these occupations, which include the semi-professions (nursing, schoolteaching, social welfare workers, etc.) service workers and routine non-manual office workers; it is evident that 65% of women are recruited into such occupations on entry into the labour market, and 60% of women overall in 1975. For men, on the other hand, these figures are only 15% and 13% for first occupations and occupation of all men in 1975. Although it is not, of course, possible to label all of the occupations in these five categories as being unrewarding, providing poor prospects and offering poor levels of pay, it is possible to say that they provide less opportunities, status and pay than many of the occupations within which women are poorly represented. Certainly, when the other four categories of major female employment are added; (categories 26, 30, 33 and 35) namely: semi-skilled manufacturing workers; lower grade skilled manufacturing workers; semi-skilled manual workers in transport, communication and services; and unskilled manual workers, the picture is less promising. In all nine categories for first time employment 94% of women are concentrated in these occupations, and for women's present employment (in 1975) 90%. For men on entry into the labour market the percentage occupied in these nine categories is 44% and in

all cases in 1975, 40%; more than half of that of women in both cases.

These imporrant findings lend further support for the idea of a dual labour market, or of a secondary labour market's existence. Before any broader conclusions are drawn, however, it is useful to push the analysis one stage further and identify which industrial sectors these women are occupied in.

Table 7.9 presents data on women's occupational participation over only sixteen of the thirty-six occupational categories defined in the Hope-Goldthorpe scale. The ordering of these categories does not have any hierarchical schema imposed upon it, instead, it is organised in broad categories; namely, professionals and semi-professionals (categories 2, 6, 14, 10, 13 and 20), routine non-manual workers, (category 21) service workers, (categories 25, 28 and 34) skilled manual workers (categories 18, 22 and 30) and other manual workers (categories 26, 33 and 35). In the first of these broad categories, the professional, semi-professional and supervisory/managerial, the numbers in all but Category 10 are too small to warrant detailed discussion. It is worth noting, however, that for the Small Managers category, the majority of women are occupied in Basic Services. It is clear that the vast majority of women are employed in the semi-professions, accounting for over 12% of the entire sample. These women, as would be expected, are

almost entirely located in Other Services; ie in public administration; education; professional and scientific services; banking, insurance and commerce; the health service and other social services. From the evidence presented in Chapter Two it is likely that the majority of semi-professional women will be employed in teaching and nursing.[7]

The second occupational category under inspection is that of routine non-manual work. Here, it is evident that the majority of women are employed in the Service sectors, it is worth noting that the women employed in this sector are not concentrated in the professional, commercial and administrative services. This is slightly surprising given the emphasis in the sociological literature as seen in Chapter Three stressing that most women in routine non-manual work owe their employment position to growth in this sector after the war.

Of the other service work categories defined in the Hope-Goldthorpe scale a similar pattern is observed, with over 65% of women in each of the service categories (Categories 25, 28 and 34) employed in Other Services. Of those women who are employed as Higher Grade Service Workers (ie cooks, stewards, hairdressers and so on) it is not surprising to find that nearly all are employed in the service sector; although there are, of course, such employment opportunities within large industrial organisations in other sectors. The majority of Higher Grade Service Workers are employed in

TABLE 7.9

Percentages of women in selected occupational categories chosen from the Hope-Goldthorpe scale over four industrial sectors for their present job

H-G[1] Cat	Staple Industries	Other manufacture	Basic services	Other services	N=[3]	Occupation
2	0.0	7.1	14.3	78.6	14	Salaried professionals higher grade
6	30.0	30.0	10.0	30.0	20	Technicians higher grade
14	0.0	3.9	90.2	5.9	51	Small managers
10	0.6	1.9	5.8	91.7	362	Lower professional
13	0.0	3.3	90.0	6.7	30	Technicians lower grade
20	15.8	52.6	26.3	5.3	19	Supervisors of manual employees
21	4.2	15.5	44.2	36.0	425	Non-manual workers in administration
25	1.1	1.1	75.6	22.2	90	Service workers higher grade
28	3.0	7.7	73.0	16.3	633	Service workers intermediate grade
34	1.6	5.6	66.3	26.5	306	Service workers lower grade
18	17.4	69.6	13.0	0.0	23	Skilled manual workers higher grade
22	0.0	80.8	0.0	19.2	26	Skilled manual workers intermediate grade
30	39.6	51.2	8.5	0.6	164	Skilled manual workers lower grade
26	17.5	77.3	4.1	1.0	291	Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing
33	3.8	46.2	40.9	9.1	208	Semi-skilled workers in trans. and communication
35	4.3	13.7	38.3	43.7	277	Unskilled manual workers
N=	194	640	1244	861	2939[2]	

Notes

(1) A full description of the Hop-Goldthorpe Occupational Scale can be found in Goldthorpe and Hope (1974)

(2) Other respondents who either worked in Primary Industries or in other occupational categories are not included and for those for whom no occupation or industrial sector is recorded are also excluded.

(3) Occupational categories with less than 10 respondents are excluded.

Basic Services (which includes all independent catering organisations, and all independent hairdressing businesses. Of the remaining 24% of women in such employment, all but 2% are located in Other Services, where it would seem reasonable to suppose that the majority will be employed in the catering departments in commercial, administrative, educational, health and welfare, and other institutions.

Intermediate Grade Service Workers are employed primarily in retailing as shop assistants,[8] almost three quarters of women employed in this category are employed in Basic Services which includes all retailing businesses. Lower Grade Service Workers are also employed mainly in Basic Services. Many of these women workers are employed in catering as low skilled workers such as table clearers, snack bar attendants, barstaff and so on, which would account for the high proportion of women in Basic Services (66%) and in Other Services (26%), whilst relatively few are employed in manufacturing industries.

Turning attention finally to manual working women, it is clear across all skilled categories (categories 18, 20 and 30) that the majority of women are employed in Other Manufacturing. The women who do work in the higher grade and intermediate grade skilled professions are outnumbered considerably by women in Lower Grade Skilled Work by about three to one.

For Semi-skilled Workers in Manufacturing (category 26) over 77% are employed in Other Manufacturing which includes

all light engineering, textile manufacture, clothing and footwear manufacture, food processing and so on; as was shown in Chapter Two, are industries dominated by female workers. For those semi-skilled workers employed in transport, communication and services (category 33) it would seem reasonable to assume that few women are employed in those occupations which involve the driving of Heavy Goods Vehicles, on either long-distance or in local delivery; or in dockwork and related occupations as was shown in Chapter Two. The remaining occupations in this category also seem to be primarily male jobs: including British Rail track maintenance workers, dockhands, warehouse porters, lock-keepers, milkmen, ambulance drivers and so on.[9] It would seem, therefore, that the majority of women who work in this category are employed in services such as in laundries.

Turning attention finally to the unskilled category it is evident that about 40% of women are employed in each of the service sectors. From the analysis of the Scottish Labour market in Chapter Two, which demonstrated that almost 12% of women workers were employed as maids, chars, and office cleaners, it is not surprising to find that the majority of unskilled women workers are employed in the service sectors. Indeed, over 80% of unskilled women are employed in such a capacity in the service sectors; of the remaining 19%, almost 14% are employed in Other Services: presumably, also mainly as cleaners.

Before any general conclusions are drawn from the above discussion, it is important to move for the last time to an analysis of the origins of women in these occupational categories. Table 7.10. illustrates the percentages of women in each of the employment categories discussed above from Professional, Intermediate and Manual backgrounds.[10] In the nine occupational categories identified above within which women are most strongly concentrated,(Categories 10, 21, 25, 28, 34, 30, 26, 33 and 35) only in the lower professional occupations is there an indication that family origin might offer positive advantage for employment. Indeed, almost 33% of women from professional and semi-professional origins, and nearly 20% from intermediate status backgrounds obtain semi-professional status. If the assertion that all service worker and manual worker categories offer relatively poor status occupations for women (as supported above) it is clear that there are relatively high levels of downward mobility throughout, never reaching below 1% (Category 30) and over 35% for intermediate grade service workers (category 28). Perhaps the most striking point which can be drawn from these data is that there is a strong relationship between manual origin and manual occupation, an eventuality which is hardly surprising given the large number of women who work in manul and service occupations. A similar pattern is observed also for routine non-manual workers, an occupational category for which there

TABLE 7.10

Percentages of women in selected occupational categories drawn from the Hope Goldthorpe Scale: by their father's job at respondent's age fourteen

H-G[1] Cat	Father's occupation[2] Professional	Intermediate	Manual	N=[3]	Occupation
2	68.9	18.0	12.5	16	Salaried professionals higher grade
6	33.3	14.3	52.4	21	Technicians higher grade
14	25.0	10.4	64.6	48	Small managers
10	32.8	19.6	47.4	344	Lower professionals
13	29.6	25.9	44.4	27	Technicians lower grade
20	10.0	20.0	70.0	20	Supervisors of manual employees
21	17.7	20.3	62.0	453	Non-manual workers in administration
25	18.4	16.1	65.5	87	Service workers higher grade
28	16.3	18.6	64.7	621	Service workers intermediate grade
34	11.1	17.3	71.5	323	Service workers lower grade
18	4.8	19.0	76.2	21	Skilled manual workers higher grade
22	21.2	7.1	71.4	28	Skilled manual workers intermediate grade
30	3.7	9.3	87.0	161	Skilled manual workers lower grade
26	2.6	10.6	86.8	273	Semi-skilled workers in manufacturing
33	7.3	11.2	81.5	205	Semi-skilled workers in trans. and communication
35	5.8	10.1	84.1	276	Unskilled manual workers
N=	437	470	2017	2924[4]	

Notes

(1) A full description of the Hope-Goldthorpe Occupational Scale can be found in Goldthorpe and Hope (1974)

(2) Refers to the respondent's father's occupation when the respondent was aged 14.

(3) Occupational categories with less than 10 respondents are excluded

(4) Other respondents who were located in other occupations or for whom there is no data on their father are excluded.

is strong evidence to support the view that these occupations also provide women with poor opportunities of career advancement, job security and pay.

7.4. Conclusion

In this Chapter it has been shown that the level of labour market segregation is far more extensive than it appeared from the analyses presented in Chapters Five and Six which used a seven category occupational scale only. Clearly, even within the four employment categories which were regarded as offering poor pay, employment security, prospects for promotion and so on there is also a high degree of concentration of women into certain types of work.

Although there is a good deal of evidence to support the view that the growth in the service industries has offered new occupational opportunities for women, it is clear that the majority of women are employed as routine non-manual workers (in either office work or in retailing) whilst men continue to dominate the professions and supervisory and technician grade work. Furthermore, the evidence shows that even in these sectors which have a high proportion of non-manual work, women are employed as manual workers; indeed, over two thirds of women are employed as such in the Basic Service sector.

In manual work, women dominate the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs; and those women who are employed as skilled workers, the majority seem to be in lower grade skilled employment. This pattern of employment is particularly evident in the manufacturing industries where men continue

to dominate higher grade skilled work, especially in the heavy manufacturing industries.

In terms of occupational mobility, it has been shown that in the case of men there is evidence in all industrial sectors of career development (or at least stability); whilst for women, no clear pattern emerges. Indeed, the evidence presented in the last section of this chapter seems to support the view that women's career potential is severely limited. Given that there is little evidence to support the view that women could not do certain jobs if they were given the opportunity, as was shown in Chapter Three, it is clear that the observed inequality of opportunity on entry into the labour market and in later career development must be explained by the actions of those institutions which have control over patterns of employment: ie the state, trade unions and the employers.

This assertion can be supported also through a consideration of the patterns of intergenerational mobility. It is clear that men are much more likely to obtain the same status or a higher occupational status than their father's. However, there seems to be little relationship between women's work and their father's.

NOTES

(1) In the analysis which will follow, women's participation in primary industries will not be included because so few women respondents are employed in this sector.

(2) Full details of the construction of these industrial sectors is provided in Chapter Four, Section 4.3.(c).

(3) All the occupational scales used in this chapter are drawn from Payne's seven category occupational scale, or the three category collapsed version. Full description of the scales' content and construction is provided in Chapter Four, Section 4.3.(a).

(4) Table 7.5. is an 'inflow' matrix - in other words they represent the number of people who are now in a specific industrial sector, and they show what proportion of these people have come from each of the other industrial sectors.

(5) See Chapter Four, Section 4.3.(a) for a further discussion of this.

(6) If there are less than half the number of women, they are classified as under representative, and if around twice as many - over represented.

(7) These occupations are stated in the Hope Goldthorpe scale (1974:136) however, it must be remembered that they are the occupations 'of greatest numerical importance' for men, and not women. To use such a schema is obviously lending itself to criticism, however, it is not possible to disaggregate the entire scale unless highly detailed information were available for the sample. Such data are not coded in the SMS computerised data set.

(8) It has been shown elsewhere (Payne, Payne and Chapman, 1982) that over two-thirds of all women employed in routine non-manual work are employed as shopworkers.

(9) These are a sample of the occupations recorded by Hope and Goldthorpe drawn from the OCPS Categories. (1974:28-46).

(10) These categories are those conventionally used throughout Chapters Five to Seven utilising Payne's SMS collapsed occupational scaling.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

8.1. Introduction

In this thesis, the patterns of occupational mobility of men and women in Scotland between 1930 and 1970 have been compared using empirical evidence drawn from the Scottish Mobility Study. The analytical work which has been undertaken has not, however, followed the conventions of most quantitative social mobility research. This is especially evident because of the specific theoretical and methodological problems which arise when women's and men's occupational mobility patterns are compared. In this conclusion further consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of using conventional approaches to the study of social and occupational mobility will be presented.

The chapter will be divided into three parts. In the first section a review of the main findings of the empirical work undertaken in this research is presented. Particular attention will be paid to the interpretation of these data based on the theoretical discussions of Chapters One, Two and Three in order to assess the suitability of using quantitative data of this sort for comparing men's and women's occupational mobility.

In the following section, the concept of 'career' will be reconsidered. It will be argued here that women's careers are much more difficult to research than men's if conventional occupational mobility research methodology is adopted.

In the last section of this Cahpter it will be argued that discussion of women's occupations cannot be divorced from a study of the family also. It appears from much of the literature on social mobility that men's careers can be studied relatively independently from the family. However, as shown below, this is also problematic. Furthermore, the problems identified in studying occupational mobility also apply to the study of 'social mobility'. If the aim of social mobility research is to assess the impact of changes in family's class status on individuals' class consciousness it is clear that women's influences of family life must also be considered.

8.2. Women's employment and careers in the labour market

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, empirical evidence was presented which indicated that there is labour market segmentation by gender. Segmentation was identified at a national level, in urban and rural areas, and in industrial sectors. It was shown, using a seven category occupational scale, that women were concentrated much more heavily in certain types of occupations; notably, semi-professional, routine non-manual and semi-skilled or unskilled work. A very much lower proportion of women were employed as skilled workers in comparison with men. In the non-manual occupations men were fairly evenly distributed, yet women were hardly represented at all in the professional occupations or as technicians or supervisors.

These differences in the occupational distribution of men and women in the Scottish labour market were shown to have existed throughout the period of study. In terms of recruitment into occupations from 1930 to 1970, shifts in the distribution of men and women in the labour market were identified. In the case of women, substantial increases in the number of women beginning work as non-manual employees were identified. Almost all of these women were employed as routine non-manual workers or semi-professionals. Men on the other hand became increasingly likely to work as professionals, semi-professionals and technicians or supervisors, whilst the proportion of men entering the labour

market as routine non-manual workers remained about the same.

Between 1930 and 1970, a high proportion of men began work as skilled manual workers, whilst the proportion of men in semi-skilled work diminished considerably. Women, on the other hand, continued to be under represented in skilled work. Most women manual workers were employed in semi-skilled occupations, although the proportion of unskilled manual workers had fallen considerably by the 1960s.

In the analysis of employment in the five industrial sectors used in this thesis, it was shown that men and women were distributed quite differently. Between 1930 and 1970 it became clear that the proportion of women working in the professional, commercial and administrative services increased a great deal, although fewer women worked in the other service industries towards the end of the period. Altogether, around 60% of women were recruited into service sector occupations. The remaining 40% were employed mainly in the lighter manufacturing industries such as food and drink production, textiles, clothing and footwear manufacturing and so on. Very few women were employed in the primary industries throughout the period.

The proportion of men employed in the professional, commercial and administrative services also increased a great deal from 1930 to 1970; although with the exception of primary industries, the distribution of men in the other sectors remained fairly even. Men continued to be employed in

large numbers in the heavy manufacturing industries, although a similar proportion was also employed in the lighter manufacturing industries.

When the occupational distributions of men and women in each of these industries were analysed it became apparent that men were much more likely to obtain the professional, technician/ supervisory and skilled manual occupations than women.

Indeed, women were employed in small numbers in each of these occupational categories in all sectors. Such a finding was relatively surprising in the service industries where it might have been expected that women would have better opportunities of obtaining higher grade non-manual work or professional employment. A slightly larger proportion of women were employed in such occupations in the professional, commercial and administrative service industries but in the other service industries most women were employed as manual workers; few of these were skilled.

In the manufacturing industries men dominated the skilled jobs whilst women were concentrated in semi-skilled work and in unskilled work. In these industries, however, many men obtained higher grade non-manual employment or professional jobs, whilst women were conspicuously absent in such jobs.

Similar patterns of employment were observed in rural and urban areas; although there were, of course, higher levels of employment in the primary industries in the rural

areas. A relatively large proportion of women were employed in these industries although they were not generally employed as farmers or farm labourers but as semi-professionals, routine non-manual workers and semi-skilled workers. Almost all of the farming occupations were taken by men, although agricultural work was not the most common occupation. Many men were employed as professionals, semi-professionals, as technicians and supervisors, and as skilled manual workers also.

In the rural areas a very much smaller proportion of men and women were employed in manufacturing industries, although such evidence would have been expected given the heavy concentration of manufacturing industries in the Central Lowlands. The proportion of men and women employed in the service sectors were, however, not very different. Although it is clear that the largest concentration of service industries (in terms of the size of the organisations) is in the towns, it was argued in Chapter Six that such services had also to be provided in rural areas. Indeed, the high level of public sector employment accounted for a large proportion of men and women in professional and semi-professional jobs in the rural areas. The majority of non-manual women workers were employed as semi-professionals and routine non-manual workers whilst men dominated the professions.

From these analyses of labour market participation of men and women in Scotland at a national level - both in rural and urban areas and in industrial sectors - it has been

demonstrated that men are more likely to obtain those occupations which offer the highest degree of job security, the highest pay and the highest prospects. Women on the other hand, seem to be employed in occupations which offer fewer opportunities. Segmentation in the labour market was not observed as a clear divide between 'good' and 'bad' jobs. Clearly, a large proportion of women were employed as semi-professionals in all sectors of the labour market: it could not be suggested that these women shared a similar employment position to unskilled women employees in terms of job security and pay. From the analysis of the distribution of men and women in each of the seven occupational categories it could be seen that semi-professional women were unlikely to obtain professional work in the same way that unskilled and semi-skilled women were unlikely to obtain skilled occupations. It can be concluded, therefore, that although women are well represented in, say, semi-professional work the opportunities of intragenerational occupational mobility are restricted because of the limited number of places available for women in the professions.

In the three broad occupational categories used in the empirical chapters of this thesis, it is clear that women are employed at the lower levels of each category in large numbers whilst only a small proportion obtain employment in the higher status employment of each category. With reference to this finding it can be stated that a high degree of labour market segmentation has been identified

which is based on gender.

This finding is of considerable importance when the second aim of the thesis is considered - to assess the differential patterns of occupational mobility amongst men and women - since this provides a strong base upon which interpretation of mobility rates can proceed. Conventionally, mobility researchers have concentrated a good deal of attention on the percentage of their respondents who are recorded as upwardly mobile. This practice has been followed in this thesis, although attention has also been directed to the number of men and women who are downwardly mobile - an issue of some importance when women are considered.

When the levels of intergenerational occupational mobility for men and women were calculated for the whole of Scotland it became apparent that a very high percentage of women were upwardly occupationally mobile. Such a finding was surprising given the theoretical arguments presented in Chapter Three which asserted that women's opportunities for occupational advancement were restricted in comparison with men. Over 42% of men appeared to be upwardly occupationally mobile compared with about 32% of women in the seven-by-seven intergenerational occupational mobility matrix.

Interpretation of these mobility rates is problematic because, at face value, it would appear that there is a greater degree of equality of occupational opportunity than expected. However, the high rates of occupational mobility amongst women can be explained, in part,

by the earlier discussion of women's occupational distribution. Clearly, a large proportion of women are employed in routine non-manual work. Consequently, a large percentage of women appear to be upwardly occupationally mobile from families with a manual working class father. It is questionable if those women who have obtained jobs as routine non-manual workers (ie shopworkers and routine clerical and secretarial employees) have made a significant advance on their father's occupational status, especially if their father was a skilled manual worker.

It would not seem unreasonable to assert, therefore, that such occupational scales are necessarily inadequate for the purpose of comparison of mobility rates. Firstly, because women are almost completely absent from certain occupational categories; and secondly, because the hierarchical structure of the scales do not adequately reflect the status ordering of females' occupations.

Returning to the discussion of non-manual working women, it was evident from the theoretical analysis forwarded in Chapter Three that generally there were limited opportunities for career advancement. Whereas men who were recruited into lower grade non-manual occupations were more likely to be using such employment as a stepping stone to further their career. Nevertheless, providing that such anomalies are borne in mind when interpreting mobility rates the analytical exercise is a useful one.

A more useful way of comparing women's and men's

occupational mobility if conventional occupational mobility data are being used is simply to consider the percentages of individuals moving from a particular origin to specific destinations. Such an approach is useful for exploring patterns of intergenerational and intragenerational mobility because it provides the researcher with detailed information on the origins and destinations of respondents rather than presenting summary statistics. Such an approach does not, of course, solve the interpretive problems outlined above because women and men will still be distributed in different ways in the occupational categories. Furthermore, the ordering of occupations in these scales is still open to criticism. Indeed, as was shown in Chapter Seven, it is very unlikely for these reasons that one scale could be devised from which accurate comparisons between men's and women's occupational mobility might be drawn.

Despite these reservations, it is possible to draw from conventional social mobility data a more detailed understanding of the occupational mobility of men and women in Scotland than has been previously attempted. The following general conclusions can be forwarded.

Firstly, that there is a much stronger relationship between fathers and sons occupational mobility than there is between fathers and daughters. This is particularly clear if male respondents are from professional origins and skilled manual origins. It is true that women respondents who obtained professional status are more likely to have fathers

who are themselves professionals. Nevertheless, the number of women achieving professional status was minimal. Generally, female respondents' destinations appeared to be relatively unrelated to their father's status.

Secondly, it has become clear that men are more likely to pursue occupational careers than women in the sense that men commonly obtain higher occupational status later in their careers whilst women often appear to be downwardly mobile or move between occupations of similar status. Between 1930 and 1970 it appears that men have become more likely to be upwardly occupationally mobile as new occupational opportunities in the service industries and the professions have developed. Although more women are employed as service workers, it is clear that the proportion employed in routine non-manual and semi-professional work accounts for these increases.

Thirdly, it is evident that men are more likely to be upwardly occupationally mobile through moving between industrial sectors. They are especially likely to be mobile over a long range if they are employed in the service industries. For women, on the other hand, no clear pattern emerges. Similar patterns emerge in rural and urban regions although there are lower rates of upward mobility for both men and women in rural regions overall.

Finally, it has been shown that a large proportion of men are intragenerationally occupationally stable in the professions, supervisory/technician jobs and in skilled manual

work. Clearly, there are opportunities for developing careers within each of these categories. For example, in the medical profession there are established routes for upward mobility as there are in academia, the civil service and so on. It might also be asserted that careers can be developed within single occupations in the sense that individuals can obtain seniority over other employees through informally accepted mechanisms; such methods of improving occupational status are as likely to be found in professional occupations as in skilled manual jobs.

Women also obtain seniority within single occupations as well as developing careers through formal channels. Given that women are generally excluded from many professional, supervisory/technical and skilled manual occupations it can be argued that the benefits of such advancements are more limited than for males. The evidence suggests, however, that women, are less likely to remain in the same occupational category over a long period of time or to make genuine upward movements.

8.3. Researching women's occupations and careers

From the summary of findings presented in the last section of this chapter, it is evident that women's careers develop in a way that is significantly different from that of men. In Chapter Three it was argued that women's occupational opportunities were limited, *inter alia*, by the actions of the trade unions, the state and employers.

The trade unions, it was argued, encouraged labour market segmentation by gender, in order to maintain high levels of pay, job security and good working conditions for males. In the nineteenth century the unions consolidated control over most skilled occupations and excluded women where possible from such employment. Professional associations also limited the occupational opportunities of women by barring them from many professions, and in other cases restricting the possibility of career advancement of those women who did gain professional status.

Employers have also contributed to labour market segmentation by recruiting women into those occupations which require limited training and are low paid. A common explanation for such discrimination in recruitment practices is that women tend not to make the same commitment to work that men do. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that women do not remain in certain types of work since a lack of commitment may derive, in part, from the poor employment conditions imposed on them.

A further reason why women do not make the same commitment to occupational careers, is that they are assumed to have a greater responsibility to the family than men in terms of childrearing, maintaining a household and so on. The state has continued to reinforce these attitudes through different treatment of girls and boys in the education system: socialising girls into a domestic role whilst preparing boys for paid labour. Also, the opportunities for women who wish to work who have children, have been limited because of the state's refusal to provide nurseries for working mothers on a sufficiently large scale (except, of course, in war time or in other periods of labour shortage). Furthermore, the state has actively encouraged women to stay at home (or at least only engage in part-time work) by providing financial incentives such as Family Income Supplements and so on. Single women are also likely to be affected by the actions of these institutions, in the sense that it is generally 'expected' that they will be married eventually and will not, as a consequence, make a full commitment to work.

Indeed, it might be argued that the trade unions and employers also consider the accepted family role of women as the main reason for excluding women from many types of employment. In the case of the trade unions, there have in the past been claims for the 'family wage' and appeals to male members to fight against female employment so that wage differentials are maintained. Employers on the other hand,

continue to sponsor males in those occupations that have the greatest career opportunities; because, it is claimed, women will leave work to have families and will not be a viable economic investment in terms of training.

The actions of these institutions have undoubtedly affected women's employment opportunities on entry into the labour market and in later career development. As a consequence women have a contingent relationship to the labour market. The fact that women's career opportunities are restricted because of a commonly accepted view that they should make the greatest commitment to the family, helps to explain why patterns of career development are stronger amongst men, as has been demonstrated in this thesis.

It has not, however, been possible fully to illustrate these differential patterns because conventional social mobility research data are oriented almost completely to the consideration of upward mobility patterns. Clearly, if comparative data were to be more effective, it is necessary to collect much more detailed information on individuals' career profiles. In the case of women, such an approach is essential in order to explain what factors affect women's decisions to take on certain jobs; and also what sort of factors influence men's orientations to work.

In the case of men, more detailed information on career development is important, especially at the present time when men's careers are also affected by the actions of the state, ie, in abandoning a commitment to full employment

and in consequence interrupting, or even destroying occupational careers. Similarly, mobility researchers in the past have concentrated a great deal of attention on the idea of 'career development' which is defined in terms of movement between occupations. Clearly, movements between occupations may no longer be indicative of a conscious decision to change job in order to further a career. It is possible, for example that skilled manual workers who have been made redundant are forced to take employment in a very different type of occupation: perhpas in routine non-manual work. It is a moot point, however, whether skilled workers would regard this as a career advancement. Such a move would, of course, be regarded as 'upwardly mobile' in the terminology of conventional social mobility researchers. For the ex-skilled manual worker, who has perhaps served a long apprenticeship, it might be regarded as the end of his/her career.

If occupational mobility researchers did attempt to collect more detailed information on men's and women's occupational histories, it would not be possible to collect information on as many respondents as has been the case in the past (when only three or four occupational positions have been recorded), given the enormous financial costs. Even, if such finance were available the completion of several thousands of questionnaires would not be an advantage as it would be necessary to simplify the data in order to proceed with analysis. Furthermore, as has been noted above,

the construction of an occupational scale from which accurate comparisons between men's and women's occupations could be drawn would be almost impossible.

These criticisms of the conventional approach to occupational mobility research are, of course, based on the principle adopted in this thesis that occupational research ought to consider the issue of inequality of opportunity in the labour market. Consequently, it might be argued that these criticisms should be thrown out on the grounds that most occupational mobility researchers, in Britain at least, are more interested in class mobility than occupational careers. Such an argument could only be convincing, if it were accepted that the study of men's occupational mobility contributed an adequate explanation for the class mobility of families.

8.4. Husbands and Wives: the study of social and occupational mobility

In Chapter One, it was argued that the use of the male 'head of household's' occupational status was a useful indicator of that family's class position at one time. However, it was also pointed out that the husband's occupational status did not necessarily explain the class mobility potential of that family: neither can the mobility potential of the children born of that family be explained without a prior consideration of the mother's own family background, education and occupational position. These are factors which might also shape the attitudes of the family members. Furthermore, the association of the husband's occupational position with class status is also problematic if it is used as an indicator of class identification. Clearly, the class identification of individuals stems in part from the social and economic conditions of a family unit, which might seem to support the view that the husband's occupation will provide information about this condition. However, many married women do work and make a valuable, if not essential, contribution to their family's economic situation. Such a contribution should not be ignored. Class identification is not related solely to the male 'head of household's' occupational position. Women's own family and educational background, together with occupational experience will affect both their own class attitudes and that of their

family's. To regard the woman's contribution to the family as irrelevant is, therefore, quite unacceptable.

It has also been shown in Chapter One that the construction of a 'cross-class' schema is problematic because it is very difficult to weight the relative importance of women's and men's contribution to the family's class position. An alternative methodology, or at least a complementary methodology, might usefully be sought in order to assess the relative importance of women's role in determining the class mobility potential of a family and children born of it.

Such an approach may be rather less problematic than generally asserted by many mobility researchers who appear to have confidence only in large quantitative data sets. Indeed, the completion of perhaps a few hundred questionnaires from men and women on their occupational, educational and family backgrounds together with a detailed exploration of the reasons for changing jobs would offer a great deal to the understanding of those factors that affect class mobility or stability.

Such an approach was in fact adopted by Goldthorpe in the Nuffield study of England and Wales. However, the use of such a quantitative methodological approach (which convinced the researchers that women could not be included) precluded the possibility of exploring women's contribution to the family's mobility at any level.

The collection of such evidence would, though, enrich sociological explanations for occupational mobility because data could show why men are more likely to develop careers whilst women tended to move between occupations without as strong career considerations. The importance of women's roles in furthering men's occupational careers could also be explored, especially in cases where that career demanded geographical mobility. It would not seem unreasonable to suggest, for example, that women from urban middle class origins who marry men of middle class origins might be less unwilling to move from one area should their husbands need to do so for career reasons than say women who had always lived in a rural community who valued community relations above economic considerations. Similarly, it would seem most improper to assert that a woman from a middle class family who married a life long manual worker might not have some effect on her children's educational, economic, occupational or even political attitudes.

Social mobility researchers surely should not deny the importance of such factors at a theoretical level. Perhaps, therefore, the only explanation for the exclusion of women in most mobility research is that their inclusion would be methodologically inconvenient.

By employing a methodology which does not demand that large scale quantitative research is the only way of dealing with the issue of social mobility sociologically,

therefore, many new insights might be produced. This is not, of course, to deny that conventional social mobility research does not produce a great deal of evidence from which descriptions of those factors which affect individual's life chances can be forwarded. However, the quantitative approach adopted has earned the study of social mobility a reputation of dryness - a reputation which ought not to be preserved.

APPENDIX

STATISTICAL PACKAGE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES PRGRAMME

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RUN NAME        DIFFERENTIAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY
                AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN IN SCOTLAND: 1930-1970
                SPSS PROJECT FILE.
GET FILE        [TC.FILE]TC.FILE
VAR LABELS      V52  FEMALE'S FIRST JOB R-K 36/
                V55  FEMALE'S JOB AT MARRIAGE R-K 36/
                V58  FEMALE'S JOB NOW/
                V54  FEMALE'S FIRST JOB R-K 7/
                V57  FEMALE'S JOB AT MARRIAGE R-K 7/
                V60  FEMALE'S JOB NOW R-K 7/
                V65  FEMALE'S FATHER'S JOB AT 14 R-K 7/
                V42  FEMALE'S FIRST INDUSTRY/
                V45  FEMALE'S INDUSTRY AT MARRIAGE/
                V49  FEMALE'S INDUSTRY NOW/
                V69  FEMALE'S DATE OF BIRTH/
                V12  DATE FEMALE'S STARTED WORK/
                V18  MALE'S FIRST JOB R-K 36/
                V21  MALE'S JOB 10 YEARS LATER R-K 36/
                V24  MALE'S JOB NOW R-K 36/
                V20  MALE'S FIRST JOB R-K 7/
                V23  MALE'S JOB 10 YEARS LATER R-K 7/
                V26  MALE'S JOB NOW R-K 7/
                V37  MALE'S FATHER'S JOB AT 14 R-K 36/
                V5   MALE'S FIRST INDUSTRY/
                V8   MALE'S 10 YEAR LATER INDUSTRY/
                V9   MALE'S INDUSTRY NOW/
                V4   MALE'S DATE OF BIRTH/
                V12  DATE MALE'S STARTED WORK/
                V16  SIZE OF TOWN RESPONDENTS LIVE IN/
                V17  COUNTY WITHIN WHICH RESPONDENTS LIVE/
                V13  EASTINGS/
                V14  NORTHINGS/
COMMENT         WOMEN > 7-RK
IF              (V60 EQ 0 AND V57 GE 0)V60=V57
IF              (V60 EQ 0 AND V57 EQ 0)V60=V54
IF              (V57 EQ 0)V57=V54
COMMENT         WOMEN > 36-RK [H-Q]
IF              (V58 EQ 0 AND V55 GE 0)V58=V55
IF              (V58 EQ 0 AND V55 EQ 0)V58=V52
IF              (V55 EQ 0)V55=V52
COMMENT         WOMEN > INDUSTRIAL RECODE: 5
IF              (V49 LE 0 AND V45 GT 0)V49=V45
IF              (V49 LE 0 AND V45 LE 0)V49=V42
IF              (V45 LE 0)V45=V42
COMMENT         MEN > INDUSTRIAL RECODE: 5
IF              (V9 LE 0 AND V8 GT 0)V9=V8
IF              (V9 LE 0 AND V8 LE 0)V9=V5
IF              (V5 LE 0)V8=V5
COMMENT         MEN AND WOMEN > INDUSTRIAL RECODES: 5
COMPUTE         WISTIND=V42
COMPUTE         WINDNOW=V49
COMPUTE         MISTIND=V5
COMPUTE         MINDNOW=V9
RECODE          WISTIND,WINDNOW,MISTIND,MINDNOW,
                (001 THRU 003=1)
                (101 THRU 109,261 THRU 263=2)
                (311 THRU 323,370,411 THRU 429=2)
                (211 THRU 240,271 THRU 279=3)
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                    (331 THRU 349,351 THRU 354=3)
                    (361 THRU 369,380 THRU 385=3)
                    (500 THRU 709,810 THRU 832=4)
                    (881 THRU 899=4)
                    (860 THRU 866,871 THRU 902=5)
                    (ELSE=99)
VALUE LABELS        WISTIND,MISTIND,WINDNOW,MINDNOW
                    (1)PRIMARY(2)STAPLES(3)MANUFACT
                    (4)BASCSERV(5)COMSERV
COMMENT             WOMEN AGE RECODE >20+
RECODE              V69(1900 THRU 1955=1)(ELSE=99)
VALUE LABELS        V69(1)OVER 20
COMMENT             WOMEN AGE RECODE >35+
COMPUTE             OVER35=V69
RECODE              OVER35(1900 THRU 1940=1)(ELSE=99)
VALUE LABELS        OVER35(1)OVER35(2)OTHER
COMMENT             WOMEN AGE RECODE > V69 4 COHORTS
COMPUTE             FIVEAGE=V69
RECODE              FIVEAGE(1900 THRU 1915=1)
                           (1916 THRU 1925=2)
                           (1926 THRU 1935=3)
                           (1936 THRU 1945=4)
                           (1946 THRU 1955=5)
                           (ELSE=99)
VALUE LABELS        FIVEAGE(1)OVER 60(2)50-59(3)40-49
                           (4)30-39(5)20-29
COMMENT             MEN AGE RECODE >35+
RECODE              V4(1900 THRU 1940=1)(ELSE=99)
VALUE LABELS        V4(1)OVER35
COMMENT             TOWNSIZE > ORIG GP VALS
VALUE LABELS        V16
                    (1)0-999(2)1-3.9(3)4-9.9(4)10-19.9
                    (5)20-9.9(6)50-74.9(7)75-99.9
                    (8)100-19.9(9)150+
COMMENT             REGIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS
COMPUTE             COUNTY=V17
IF                  (V17 EQ 12 AND V13 EQ 37 AND V15 LT 80)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 16 AND V13 EQ 47 AND V15 LT 05)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 22 AND V13 EQ 37 AND V15 GT 50)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 22 AND V13 EQ 47 AND V15 GT 50)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 22 AND V13 EQ 37 AND V15 LT 40)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 22 AND V13 EQ 47 AND V15 LT 40)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 23 AND V13 EQ 47 AND V15 LT 60)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 23 AND V13 EQ 47 AND V15 GT 60)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 33 AND V13 EQ 37 AND V15 LT 90)COUNTY=17
IF                  (V17 EQ 28 AND V13 EQ 38 AND V15 GT 50)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 28 AND V13 EQ 48 AND V15 GT 50)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 28 AND V13 EQ 38 AND V14 LT 70)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 03 AND V13 EQ 48 AND V15 GT 50)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 05 AND V13 EQ 37 AND V15 LT 05)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 01 AND V13 EQ 49 AND V14 LT 85)COUNTY=18
IF                  (V17 EQ 19 AND V13 EQ 48 AND V14 LT 85)COUNTY=18
RECODE              COUNTY
                    (14,15,17,29,35=1)
                    (4,6,7,9,11,18,21,24,25,27,30,31,32,34,36=2)
                    (ELSE=3)
VALUE LABELS        COUNTY(1)URBAN(2)RURAL(3)OTHER
COMMENT             WOMENS IST JOB AGE RECODE FOR 5YR AVERAGES
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IF                  (V12 GE 1930 AND LE 1934)AYEAR=1
IF                  (V12 GE 1935 AND LE 1939)AYEAR=2
IF                  (V12 GE 1940 AND LE 1944)AYEAR=3
IF                  (V12 GE 1945 AND LE 1949)AYEAR=4
IF                  (V12 GE 1950 AND LE 1954)AYEAR=5
IF                  (V12 GE 1955 AND LE 1959)AYEAR=6
IF                  (V12 GE 1960 AND LE 1964)AYEAR=7
IF                  (V12 GE 1965 AND LE 1969)AYEAR=8
IF                  (V12 GE 1970 AND LE 1974)AYEAR=9
IF                  (V12 GE 1931 AND LE 1935)BYEAR=1
IF                  (V12 GE 1936 AND LE 1940)BYEAR=2
IF                  (V12 GE 1941 AND LE 1945)BYEAR=3
IF                  (V12 GE 1946 AND LE 1950)BYEAR=4
IF                  (V12 GE 1951 AND LE 1955)BYEAR=5
IF                  (V12 GE 1956 AND LE 1960)BYEAR=6
IF                  (V12 GE 1961 AND LE 1965)BYEAR=7
IF                  (V12 GE 1966 AND LE 1970)BYEAR=8
IF                  (V12 GE 1971 AND LE 1975)BYEAR=9
IF                  (V12 GE 1932 AND LE 1936)CYEAR=1
IF                  (V12 GE 1937 AND LE 1941)CYEAR=2
IF                  (V12 GE 1942 AND LE 1946)CYEAR=3
IF                  (V12 GE 1947 AND LE 1951)CYEAR=4
IF                  (V12 GE 1952 AND LE 1956)CYEAR=5
IF                  (V12 GE 1957 AND LE 1961)CYEAR=6
IF                  (V12 GE 1962 AND LE 1966)CYEAR=7
IF                  (V12 GE 1967 AND LE 1971)CYEAR=8
IF                  (V12 GE 1972 AND LE 1976)CYEAR=9
IF                  (V12 GE 1933 AND LE 1937)DYEAR=1
IF                  (V12 GE 1938 AND LE 1942)DYEAR=2
IF                  (V12 GE 1943 AND LE 1947)DYEAR=3
IF                  (V12 GE 1948 AND LE 1952)DYEAR=4
IF                  (V12 GE 1953 AND LE 1957)DYEAR=5
IF                  (V12 GE 1958 AND LE 1962)DYEAR=6
IF                  (V12 GE 1963 AND LE 1967)DYEAR=7
IF                  (V12 GE 1968 AND LE 1972)DYEAR=8
IF                  (V12 GE 1934 AND LE 1938)EYEAR=1
IF                  (V12 GE 1939 AND LE 1943)EYEAR=2
IF                  (V12 GE 1944 AND LE 1948)EYEAR=3
IF                  (V12 GE 1949 AND LE 1953)EYEAR=4
IF                  (V12 GE 1954 AND LE 1958)EYEAR=5
IF                  (V12 GE 1959 AND LE 1963)EYEAR=6
IF                  (V12 GE 1964 AND LE 1968)EYEAR=7
IF                  (V12 GE 1969 AND LE 1973)EYEAR=8
COMMENT             MENS IST JOB AGE RECODE FOR 5YR AVERAGES
IF                  (V7 GE 1930 AND LE 1934)AYEAR=1
IF                  (V7 GE 1935 AND LE 1939)AYEAR=2
IF                  (V7 GE 1940 AND LE 1944)AYEAR=3
IF                  (V7 GE 1945 AND LE 1949)AYEAR=4
IF                  (V7 GE 1950 AND LE 1954)AYEAR=5
IF                  (V7 GE 1955 AND LE 1959)AYEAR=6
IF                  (V7 GE 1960 AND LE 1964)AYEAR=7
IF                  (V7 GE 1965 AND LE 1969)AYEAR=8
IF                  (V7 GE 1970 AND LE 1974)AYEAR=9
IF                  (V7 GE 1931 AND LE 1935)BYEAR=1
IF                  (V7 GE 1936 AND LE 1940)BYEAR=2
IF                  (V7 GE 1941 AND LE 1945)BYEAR=3
IF                  (V7 GE 1946 AND LE 1950)BYEAR=4
IF                  (V7 GE 1951 AND LE 1955)BYEAR=5
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IF              (V7 GE 1956 AND LE 1960)BYEAR=6
IF              (V7 GE 1961 AND LE 1965)BYEAR=7
IF              (V7 GE 1966 AND LE 1970)BYEAR=8
IF              (V7 GE 1971 AND LE 1975)BYEAR=9
IF              (V7 GE 1932 AND LE 1936)CYEAR=1
IF              (V7 GE 1937 AND LE 1941)CYEAR=2
IF              (V7 GE 1942 AND LE 1946)CYEAR=3
IF              (V7 GE 1947 AND LE 1951)CYEAR=4
IF              (V7 GE 1952 AND LE 1956)CYEAR=5
IF              (V7 GE 1957 AND LE 1961)CYEAR=6
IF              (V7 GE 1962 AND LE 1966)CYEAR=7
IF              (V7 GE 1967 AND LE 1971)CYEAR=8
IF              (V7 GE 1972 AND LE 1976)CYEAR=9
IF              (V7 GE 1933 AND LE 1937)DYEAR=1
IF              (V7 GE 1938 AND LE 1942)DYEAR=2
IF              (V7 GE 1943 AND LE 1947)DYEAR=3
IF              (V7 GE 1948 AND LE 1952)DYEAR=4
IF              (V7 GE 1953 AND LE 1957)DYEAR=5
IF              (V7 GE 1958 AND LE 1962)DYEAR=6
IF              (V7 GE 1963 AND LE 1967)DYEAR=7
IF              (V7 GE 1968 AND LE 1972)DYEAR=8
IF              (V7 GE 1934 AND LE 1938)EYEAR=1
IF              (V7 GE 1939 AND LE 1943)EYEAR=2
IF              (V7 GE 1944 AND LE 1948)EYEAR=3
IF              (V7 GE 1949 AND LE 1953)EYEAR=4
IF              (V7 GE 1954 AND LE 1958)EYEAR=5
IF              (V7 GE 1959 AND LE 1963)EYEAR=6
IF              (V7 GE 1964 AND LE 1968)EYEAR=7
IF              (V7 GE 1969 AND LE 1973)EYEAR=8
COMMENT         MEN AND WOMEN > 36-RK [H-G] VALUES
VALUE LABELS    V18,V21,V24,V27,V52,V55,V58
                (1)SELFPROF(2)SALRPROF(3)ADMNHIGH(4)INDUSMAN
                (5)ADMINLOW(6)TECHHIGH(7)LRGEPROP(8)SMINDMAN
                (9)SLFPROPL(10)SALPROPL(11)FARMERS(12)N-MSUPER
                (13)SMALPROP(14)MANSERV(15)LOWTECHS(16)N-MSUPERL
                (17)MANSUP-H(18)SKILMANF(19)SELFHIGH(20)MANSUPL
                (21)N-MADMIN(22)SKILMANFL(23)SKILCNST(24)SMLHOLDS
                (25)SERVHIGH(26)SEMSKMNF(27)SKLTRANS(28)SERVINTR
                (29)SELFINRE(30)SKILMANL(31)AGRIFARM(32)SEMSKCNST
                (33)SEMSKTRS(34)SERVWRKL(35)UNSKLMAN(36)SELFLOWER
COMMENT         WOMEN RECODE > 36-RK/16-RK [H-G]
COMPUTE         JOBNOW=V58
COMPUTE         JOBMAR=V55
COMPUTE         ISTJOB=V52
RECODE          JOBMAR,JOBNOW,ISTJOB
                (2=1)(6=2)(14=3)(10=4)(13=5)(20=6)(21=7)
                (25=8)(28=9)(34=10)(18=11)(22=12)(30=13)
                (26=14)(33=15)(35=16)(ELSE=17)
VALUE LABELS    JOBMAR,ISTJOB,JOBNOW
                (1)SALARIEDPROFESS(2)HIGHER  TECHNICS
                (3)SMALL   MANAGER(4)LOWER   PROFESS
                (5)LOWGRADETECHNICS(6)MANUAL  SUPERVIS
                (7)NON-MAN IN ADMIN(8)SERVICE HIGHER
                (9)SERVICE INTER(10)SERVICE LOWER
                (11)SKILLED HIGH MAN(12)SKILLED INTER MN
                (13)SKILLED LOW MAN(14)SEMI-SKLMANUFACT
                (15)SEMI-SKLCONSTRCT(16)UNSKILL MANUAL
                (17)OTHER
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COMMENT            RECODE > 7-RK TO 3-RK [P]
COMPUTE            V320=V20
COMPUTE            V323=V23
COMPUTE            V326=V26
COMPUTE            V337=V37
COMPUTE            V354=V54
COMPUTE            V357=V57
COMPUTE            V360=V60
COMPUTE            V365=V65
RECODE             V320,V323,V326,V337,V354,V357,V360,V365
                   (1,2=1)(3,4=2)(5 THRU 7=3)
VALUE LABELS       V320,V323,V326,V337,V354,V357,V360,V365
                   (1)PROF(2)INTER(3)MANUAL
VALUE LABELS       V20,V23,V26,V37,V54,V57,V60,V65
                   (1)PROF(2)SEMIPROF(3)SUPTECH(4)ROUT N-M
                   (5)SKILLED(6)SEMISKIL(7)UNSKILL
COMMENT            RECODE > 10-YR COHORTS > ENTRY
IF                 (V12 GE 1930 AND LE 1939)FOURYEAR=1
IF                 (V12 GE 1940 AND LE 1949)FOURYEAR=2
IF                 (V12 GE 1950 AND LE 1959)FOURYEAR=3
IF                 (V12 GE 1960 AND LE 1969)FOURYEAR=4
VALUE LABELS       FOURYEAR(1)30-39(2)40-49
                            (3)50-59(4)60-69
MISSING VALUES     ALL(BLANK,0,99)
CROSSTABS          TABLES=
OPTIONS            9
FINISH
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