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CONFLICTING LIVES: WOMEN'S WORK IN PLANNED COMMUNITIES

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October 1990

Thesis submitted for PhD,
Faculty of Social Science,
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CONFLICTING LIVES: WOMEN'S WORK IN PLANNED COMMUNITIES

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the period of researching and writing this thesis the feminist questions in urban and regional studies have changed and evolved. At the beginning women were more often than not absent from research altogether. Where they were mentioned they were included only in relation to their assumed gender role (as housewives, mothers or consumers) or considered as secondary and therefore unimportant. Since then, however, women have become an object of analysis in their own right as have the processes underlying their continued subordinate social position. The reflection in spatial structure of gender roles and gender relations have therefore directed both explicitly feminist research and more general questioning of the relationship between social relations and spatial structure. And currently the historically and spatially specific nature of gender relations themselves is being re-examined. During this time the number of feminist studies and feminist influenced research projects in urban and regional studies has also increased. Indeed, it has not been possible to adequately cover here many very recent interesting developments in the debates on the nature of patriarchy and gender relations and on class and gender. Gender is now therefore no longer out in the cold. It is on the agenda for current and future research.

One other outcome of the increasing influence of feminist questioning which can be seen in this thesis is the assumed definition of 'work'. When starting this study the assumption that 'work' was only waged was being challenged by feminist analyses of domestic labour. Hence in the title and throughout this thesis 'work' is assumed to imply both the waged and unwaged work undertaken by women, unless explicitly described as waged work or as employment.

I have many people to thank for their parts in helping me conduct the research, write and re-write this thesis. For help with the original research for this thesis I would like to thank: the women interviewees for their time and stories; the employers and their representatives for giving me so much information; officers from the Planning Departments of both East Kilbride and Cumbernauld for interviews and for gathering together statistical and other information. I would also like to acknowledge the help and information I received from the representatives of women's organisations in the new towns, Glasgow Women's Centre, Women's Aid and the Scottish Pre-school Playgroups Association, but which was not used directly in the final thesis. I also owe a debt to the members of the Women and Geography Study Group with whom, individually and as a group, many of the issues contained in this thesis were discussed. In particular I wish to acknowledge and thank Nicky Gregson for debating (and writing on) the nature of patriarchy with me. Sophie Bowlby, Jane Lewis and Linda McDowell have also all been invaluable and important sources of indirect assistance. Sophie also provided tea and comfort at times of stress. Thanks also to Ian Gordon who, as my supervisor, gave advice, persistent encouragement and practical help. I would also like to acknowledge the support I have received from many of my friends and from my parents who have all at different times housed and fed me. Last but not least I wish to thank John for being a tower of strength in the final years for doing more than his share of the domestic work and for looking after Jack while I could work. Tasks which he had to undertake for far longer than he originally agreed.

CONFLICTING LIVES: WOMEN'S WORK IN PLANNED COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

The research reported in this thesis is concerned with the relationship between spatial organisation and gender divisions. It is suggested that gender is the basis of an unequal social division between men and women which integrally affects spatial structure. It is also argued that this inter-relationship raises questions about the kind of explanations which are given for spatial change. The importance of the growth in feminist research in social science as a whole in providing the context and direction for questioning the relationship between space and gender is acknowledged as is the influence of the theoretical and political debates within the wider Women's Movement.

In Part I the relationship between gender divisions and spatial structure is explored at the urban scale. Drawing on the feminist literature in urban studies, geography and women's studies the social and spatial separation of women in the domestic arena of reproduction is outlined. The impact of this segregation on women's lives and opportunities is discussed. Explanations for the separation of reproduction from production are linked to the emergence of industrial capitalism and to crises in both social and biological reproduction. Social and spatial segregation is then discussed in relation to the incorporation of stereotyped assumptions of gender into the ideals and practices of post-war British planning. It is argued that post-war planning, particularly the development of new towns, provides a clear example of the inter-action between dominant social assumptions of gender divisions and the active organisation of urban space. An empirical focus is provided through a study of the impact of segregation on women's lives in two post-war Scottish new towns - East Kilbride and Cumbernauld. This uses the results of 90 interviews with women in their own homes. These highlighted the inadequacies of the planned segregated environment for women in the domestic sphere and the problems faced by women who cross the divide by taking on paid employment.

In Part II the inter-relationship of gender divisions and spatial organisation at the regional scale is examined. Here the growth in women's employment in the new locations of the peripheral regions is discussed. The role of regional and new town policy are highlighted. Explanations for the emergence of a gender division of labour are outlined and the place of women's labour in regional change are discussed. It is argued that the restructuring debate provides a framework for examining the relationship between gender divisions of labour and spatial organisation. Thus the inter-dependence of gender relations and spatial organisation and the creation of particular local settings for economic and social change are stressed. The local economic context for the two study new towns in the Clyde Valley is outlined. The nature of women's employment in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld is described through employment data and case studies major local employers of women. Changes in the nature of women's employment and the composition of the female labour force are indicated.

Finally this thesis is drawn together through re-examining the research questions on how and why gender divisions are incorporated into spatial organisation. This is done with reference to the empirical and theoretical discussions of earlier chapters. Future areas of research are suggested as is the need to reconsider the basis of gender relations and patriarchy as explanatory tools.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: QUESTIONS ON SPATIAL ORGANISATION AND GENDER

DIVISIONS

The research reported in this thesis is concerned with the relationship between spatial organisation and the gender division of labour. The work set out to investigate how unequal social relations between men and women integrally affects spatial structure and vice versa, how spatial structure influences the relationships between men and women. There appeared to be two overlapping geographical scales at which this intersection of social relations and spatial structures could be examined: the urban and the regional.

At both scales feminist informed questions about the ways in which space and gender meshed had been raised through re-examinations of post war world in Britian and America. This work suggested that at the urban scale the geographical separation of home from work had been linked to the isolation of women in domestic labour and the dominance of men in the public world of paid work. It was then argued that (The separation of home and work, which had begun in the nineteenth century city, became a pivot around which post war urban cities and towns, in both Britian and North America were constructed.

Indeed in post war Britain and North America suburban living became the ideal, and reality, for many nuclear families.

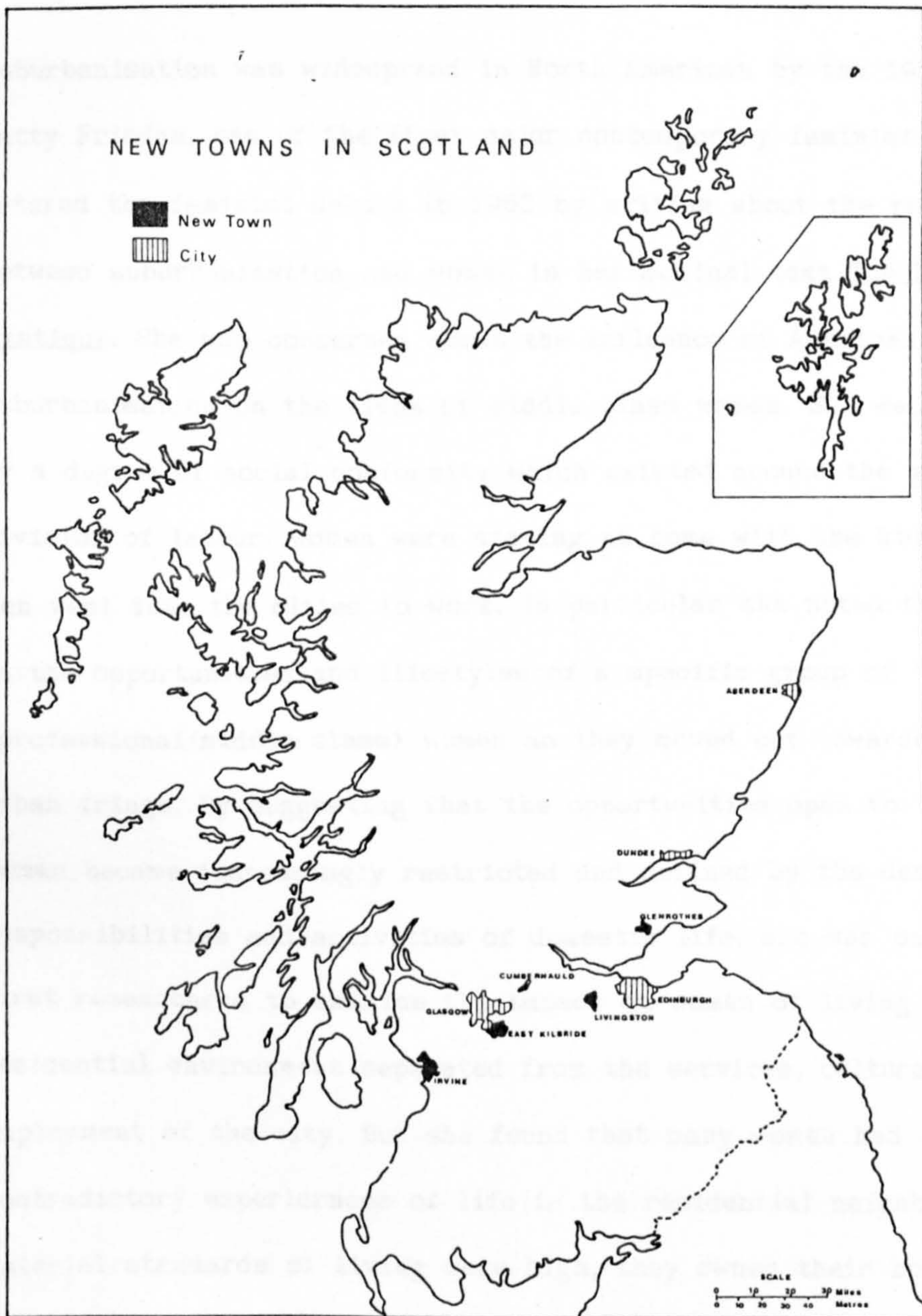
However at the regional scale something was happening which appeared to contradict the separation of home and work, and this too raised questions about the relationship between gender divisions and spatial structures. Since the 1950s, women, especially married women, had been drawn into the labour force in large numbers. In particular their labour force participation had increased most in regions and areas which had had comparatively low rates of female economic activity before the war. The entry of women into paid work, especially in areas where men were losing jobs, brought questions about the desirability of women's employment to the forefront of social and academic debate. In particular the growing employment of married women and women with young children appeared to cause particular concern (Wilson 1980). The level and nature of women's work also featured in debates about the effectiveness of regional policy. Many of the jobs created through regional policy incentives appeared to be 'only low paid, low skilled jobs for women' and not replacement jobs in new stable sectors for men. The gender division of labour in the workplace was therefore affecting the regional distribution of employment, income generation and therefore the regional economic geography of Britain.

These broad questions about the relationship between gender and space were the context for four more specific questions on which the empirical and theoretical work for this thesis was based. These were:

1. How and why are gender divisions of labour incorporated into urban spatial structure ?
2. Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' work ?
3. What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?
4. How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?

In the empirical and theoretical examination of these questions this thesis falls into two parts. Part I (Chapters 2 and 3) takes up Question 1, and Part II (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) takes up question 2. Both Parts I and II make some contribution towards answering Questions 3 and 4. The empirical work is based on an examination of women's lives in two new towns - Cumbernauld and East Kilbride - in the Clyde Valley, Scotland (Figure 1). The settings for this research - two new towns in a peripheral region - were chosen because the questions address different geographical scales and these could both be tackled in these places with equal validity.

FIGURE 1



Questions about spatial separation and gender segregation: suburbia

Suburbanisation was widespread in North America by the 1950s and Betty Friedan, one of the first major contemporary feminist writers, entered the feminist debate in 1963 by writing about the relationship between suburbanisation and women in her seminal text The Feminine Mystique. She was concerned about the influence of American suburbanisation on the lives of middle class women. She was struck by a degree of social conformity which existed around the gender division of labour: women were staying at home with the kids while men went into the cities to work. In particular she noted the changes in the opportunities and lifestyles of a specific group of 'educated' (professional/middle class) women as they moved out towards the urban fringe. By suggesting that the opportunities open to these women became increasingly restricted and defined by the demands, responsibilities and activities of domestic life, she was one of the first researchers to examine the impact on women of living in a residential environment separated from the services, culture and employment of the city. But she found that many women had contradictory experiences of life in the residential neighbourhood: material standards of living were high, they owned their homes, it was a safe environment for the children. Yet many women were inexplicably unhappy.

In the 1950s nobody could adequately describe (or name) what the problem was. Friedan called these experiences the 'problem that has no name' (p15-32). It presented itself in the unhappy dissatisfaction and frustration of many women and in 'mental illness' (Chesler 1974). The condition of the American suburban housewife has entered contemporary popular culture through, for example, the novels of Marilyn French (The Woman's Room) and Marge Piercy (Braided Lives) and the lyrics of Marianne Faithfull who sang about the suicide of Lucy Jordan.

It was with the revival of feminist politics and the Women's Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s, of which Friedan was an important part, that the 'problem' could begin to be defined and challenged. The 'problem with no name' was the unequal relationship between men and women and one of its consequences had appeared in the segregated urban environment. Feminist debate suggested that the 'problem', or more accurately the 'problems', encountered by women living on the city outskirts were the products of unrecognised and unrewarded domestic labour and an outward manifestation of the unequal division of labour between the genders: an inequality which somehow had been embodied in the particular social and spatial organisation of post war American (and British) urban areas.

In suburbia a gender division of labour between home and work appeared to become more fixed and set as the social pattern; in the

city this ~~rigidity~~ did not seem so all encompassing. The concurrent trends towards suburban residence and early post war women's 'return' to the home and domesticity caused Friedan to question which came first - the social or the spatial form. She wrote:

"At first glance, one might suspect that the very growth and existence of the suburbs causes educated American women to become and remain full-time housewives. Or did the post war suburban explosion come, at least in part, as a result of the coincidental choice of millions of American women to 'seek fulfillment in the home' ?"

(Friedan 1963, p243)

It is problematic to assumed that an observed pattern of behaviour amongst a group of people can be 'read-off' from a particular spatial setting and Friedan is in danger of doing just this. Nevertheless her observations did raise important questions about the underlying social relationships which placed women in social and spatial situations with limited their options and opportunities. And her findings also raised wider important questions which were beyond the scope of her enquiry: these concerned the conjunction of private investment in suburbia with the changing structure of households and the expansion in white collar employment. Subsequently research in the 1970s demonstrated the growing heterogeneity of women's lives in the suburbs. This grew out of the increasing availability of employment in decentralised locations, changes in household structure and different class and ethnic compositions in the suburbs (Fava 1980; Nelson 1986).

The link between spatial structure and social organisation, and particularly, between urban structures and gender divisions was the initial starting point for the research reported within this thesis. This was an area which, at the time of starting this project, was attracting growing attention from feminist influenced writers in urban and regional studies including geography, architecture and planning (see for example; Bowlby 1981; Breugel 1979; Burnett 1973; Gamarnikow 1978a; Hayford 1974; Loyd 1975; Mackenzie 1980; Mackenzie et al 1984; McDowell 1980; Palm and Pred 1978; Signs 1980; Women and Planning 1982). Their work was beginning to suggest that the way in which gender divisions were incorporated into spatial structure actively maintained the inequality between women and men.

In this initial work, space was largely conceptualised as a socially constructed 'constraint'. The analysis suggested that the 'gender roles' ascribed to women and men in modern western society prescribed differential activities within, use of and movement across space. In this way gender roles were reflected in a gender division of labour which was transposed into spatial separation. Spatial divisions were created between the locations where different gender-typed activities took place. The geographical distribution of resources reflected, in general, the differential activities of women and men. This geographical distribution thus predominantly 'confined' women and men to their own spheres and 'spaces' (see Women and Geography Study Group 1984). The broad physical separation of home

and work (women's and men's places) was assumed to reflect the divisions within the organisation of social and biological reproduction ('the family'). This spatial division between the spheres was perceived as a component in reproducing (and a barrier to altering) unequal gender divisions of labour. Causal supremacy in determining the spatial division of gender-typed activities was therefore claimed for the gender division of labour in reproduction. (See Tivers 1985 and Women and Geography Study Group 1984 for two different uses of this assumption.)

Developments in this area of work questioned this emphasis on the social relations of reproduction. It was subsequently proposed that the organisation of production was an influential factor in altering spatial structures and maintaining gender inequality (Mackenzie 1980; 1981). Mackenzie and Rose (1983), for example, illustrate this argument by proposing that a crisis in reproduction emerged in nineteenth century British industrial cities because of the particular spatial and social organisation of production.

Their argument suggests that this nineteenth century reproductive crisis derived from the labour intensive form of factory production. The factory system employed men, women and children for long shifts and drew rural migrants into inadequate, overcrowded and squalid housing conditions in urban areas which were polluted by industrial and domestic effluent. Biological reproduction was threatened through

disease and ill health and social reproduction by the disruption to the existing social order (family and class structure). The spatial separation of reproduction from production - of housing and residence from industry and commerce - they proposed was part of a 'solution' to this crisis. And this spatial division required and solidified a gender division of labour between the spheres. Thus Mackenzie and Rose's analysis suggests that space is socially constructed through a dynamic interaction of the social relations of production and reproduction.

Other authors, for example Foster (1979), have however argued that this conceptualisation of intervention in the spatial organisation of urban areas is too narrow. He re-examines the growing nineteenth century housing and reproduction crisis and argues that its origins lie more in the ownership structure and political power of landlords. This was particularly evident in London where a rentier class was both numerically and socially more powerful than in the industrial cities where industrial capital dominated. Furthermore he argues that most of the Victorian policy was introduced to protect their interests (p95). Indeed housing legislation, combined with large scale developments in the railway networks connecting the city with the suburbs, only increased the overcrowding and destitution. The suburbs may have been a partial solution to the housing crisis for some, but this was at a cost. He writes:

"The featureless dormitories, constructed by speculative builders along the main transport routes to the north, east and south, did offer low rents - but rents which were matched with slide rule accuracy by the higher costs of travel to work. Here too, therefore, the same market forces were in operation, rents rose in line with those in the city centre and overcrowding was beginning to become a problem by the end of the century."

(Foster, 1979, p96)

Foster does tie the organisation of production to the form of the housing crisis. In London during the mid nineteenth century there was a collapse of the basic shipbuilding and textile industries depressing the labour market. In the industrial cities the new industries depended on unskilled labour, but labour supply outstripped labour demand and kept wages low. The flow of 'economic refugees' from agrarian reforms across Britain and Europe arrived to unemployment or inadequate wages: in both situations reproduction could not be sustained satisfactorily. But the form of intervention in reproduction through housing policy also reflected the different forms of capital interests and the abilities of labour to organise and demand change. For example in Clydeside where the interests of industrial capital were stronger than those of the rentier class there was some provision of housing, education and welfare services for workers by the larger industrialists. But more significantly in Clydeside, by the early twentieth century, workplace organisation amongst an industrialised workforce was strong and concerted political unrest allied to the organisation of tenants produced

significant change in State policy towards the housing of working people.

The complex and conflict ridden relationships between local class interests were therefore the underlying forces which structured the form of interventions in reproduction. The strength of Mackenzie and Rose's argument within geography lies elsewhere: they suggested an analysis of the inter-relationship between production and reproduction but link this to a proposed analysis of gender divisions and spatial structure.

In a somewhat different way Davidoff et al (1976) also look at the relationship between social divisions, including gender divisions, and the spatial structure of nineteenth century cities. They emphasise the centrality of new forms of family ideology in the Victorian middle classes, the allocation of different and unequal social positions to men and women within a stratified social hierarchy, and the creation of a rural idyll in suburbia. In this idyll they argue, the social meanings attached to class position and gender are transposed into the organisation of space.

A wide discussion of the links between gender divisions and urban spatial structure has taken place within feminist informed literature in geography and urban studies and in associated work from women's studies on the built environment. It has drawn material from

historical explorations of changing social and urban spatial organisation and more contemporary studies of women's activities in and problems deriving from the segregation of the urban environment. In Chapter 2 (*Gender Divisions in the Urban Environment*) this literature is examined in more depth. Chapter 2 therefore addresses the first of the four research questions (*How and why are gender divisions of labour incorporated into urban spatial structure ?*) It also illustrates how 'space' and 'gender' have been conceptualised in this work and shows different analyses of their relationship. In this it responds to the fourth research question (*How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?*).

Focus on planning

To provide an empirical focus for these two research questions and therefore an examination of the incorporation of gender divisions into urban spatial structure I chose to study more specifically the impact of spatial separation on women's lives. The incorporation of stereotyped assumptions of gender-typed activities and roles into the ideals and practices of post war urban and regional planning provided the background for this investigation.

Post war planning, particularly the development of new towns, appeared to provide a unique and clear example of the interface

between dominant social assumptions of gender divisions and the organisation of urban space in contemporary Britain. Immediately after the second war, as Wilson (1980) vividly describes, a 'new ideal' for a 'better future' was prevalent in both official legislation and popular culture. This new post-war ideology emerged from a rejection of the conditions of the 1930s (class division, unemployment, deprivation and the poor law) and the complex but fragile act of reconciliation which supposedly occurred between the working class and the middle/upper classes during the conflict (p17-19). The future was to bring full employment (for men not women), decent housing, free education and a complete package of welfare support from the cradle to the grave (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954). The family, and women's position within it, was central to this post-war vision (Rose 1981).

This envisaged social reconstruction was paralleled by widespread plans for the physical rebuilding of Britain: the family was to be reunited in the new and reconstructed communities of Britain in which a clean, healthy environment plus full employment (for men) and democracy would end any residue of class conflict (Beveridge 1952). The pre-war Town Planning Movement had already suggested spatial reorganisation as a means of achieving such social goals (Benevelo 1967; Cherry 1972; Cullingworth 1975; Hall 1973; Ravetz 1986). Early planners' responses to the social and economic problems of the nineteenth century (such as proposals for slum clearance; setting

density criteria; building model settlements; and the planned movement of industry and population) drew on several sources including the essentially anti-urbanist writings and designs of William Morris and his contemporaries, the earlier experimental model communities of Robert Owen and Titus Salt, the industrial 'villages' built through patronage at Bournville by Cadbury and at Port Sunlight by Lever (Benevelo 1967; Cullingworth 1975, 1979). These early ideas fused a romantic ideal of rural life with assumptions of a harmonic, if hierarchical, social order in the English country village. Implicit in this was a gender division of labour (Davidoff et al 1976).

One of the other most influential sources of 'planning ideals' came from Ebenezer Howard's (1902) reinterpretation and combination of these spatial solutions. His proposal for a 'social city', comprising a group of interlinked 'garden cities' each containing a centre, decentralised industry and separate residential areas surrounded by green belts, was presented as an economically viable spatial solution to the rising cost of bad health and poor housing in urban areas. Industry he suggested would follow cheap labour and private finance could be raised to underwrite the initial costs of building.

Howard was not, however, anti-urban. His model (presented graphically in the form of 'Three Magnets') relied on recognising both the advantages and disadvantages of the town and the country and combining the best of each: from the town opportunities for work,

high wages, entertainment, 'modern' amenities and from the country clean, fresh air and an open environment. In his plan, housing and population densities did not have to be low, as he advocated plenty of open space in between residential and industrial areas. Nor were the towns to be isolated. The linchpin of Howard's 'social city' was accessibility. The transport links between centres and across open space were to be effective and efficient.

Nevertheless later interpretations by influential inter- and post-war planners, such as Frederick Osborn, Raymond Unwin, Montague Barlow, Patrick Geddes and Patrick Abercrombie of Howard's 'garden city' idea, superimposed the anti-urban bias of earlier reformers by introducing ideas of 'self-containment' and 'social balance'. They stressed the negative aspects of contemporary urban life and few of the benefits (Thomas 1986). The interconnection between centres, the expectation that the poly-centred 'social city' would be self-expanding and the emphasis on internal accessibility were therefore lost. These losses, I would argue, accentuated the isolation and division between spheres of activity rather than, as Howard's thesis implied, integration. Thus, the post-war interpretation of Howard's work appears to have reinforced the conditions under which the separation of gender-typed activities could take place.

Wartime and immediate post-war planning legislation (Town and Country Planning Acts 1943, 1944 and 1947; Distribution of Industry

Act, 1945; New towns Act 1946; National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949) also incorporated a hierarichal social/class order. Popular aspirations for a 'classless' Britian were not part of the legislative practice. For example, 'social balance' in new communities did not imply obliterating class differences, only providing the infrastructure within which it was assumed class conflict would be erased. Thus, although the order implied a hierarchy, it was one in which there was to be co-operation rather than conflict between social groups.

In a similar way, Wilson (1980) notes the failure of post-war legislation and practice to challenge unequal gender divisions. Any potential uncertainty over the place of women in society which could have arisen because of women's employment and activism during the war, was overridden by hopes for a 'better future' for all. Riley (1979, 1983) suggests that it was compromise and confusion, rather than conspiracy which underlay women's return to family and domesticity. For although assumptions of unequal gender divisions were incorporated within the structures and practices of the new Welfare State institutions, many of the provisions around health, education and social services were welcomed by women as responses to genuine concerns and longstanding needs (Wilson 1977; Rose 1981). Thus the links between 'women-family-community' and the creation of the physical environment for the new Britian were made. The new towns, in particular, were the experimental ground for this form of

physical and social engineering. As Wilson (1980) writes: "The post war experiment of the New Towns was a conscious attempt at community building." (p18). And building the 'community' was implicitly 'women's work'..

Case studies in the Clyde Valley

In order to look at the outcome of this post-war 'experiment' in terms of the reproduction of gender divisions I undertook 'case studies' of women's lives at home and at work in two post-war new towns: East Kilbride and Cumbernauld, both located within the Clyde Valley (Figure 1). Since the 1930s this area has experienced a variety of economic and physical planning strategies directed at alleviating chronic economic decline and social deprivation (see Hood and Young 1984; Lever and Moore 1986; McCrone 1969). In the immediate post war years, in line with the aspirations of reconstruction, a more co-ordinated approach appears to have been suggested. Social, economic and physical objectives were combined at both urban and regional scales in the Clyde Valley Regional Plan (HMSO 1946). To this end four new towns were proposed for the Valley as part of the 'solution' to the region's many infrastructural, economic and social problems. These were to be the central loci of new industrial and residential development. But East Kilbride was the only new town to be built within the framework of this plan. The designation of Cumbernauld was delayed until the mid 1950s and by

then it had a different objective: to primarily provide 'overspill' housing for Glasgow's major urban redevelopment schemes (Smith 1979).

At the beginning of Chapter 3 (*Women's Lives in the Post War New Towns: Some Evidence from East Kilbride and Cumbernauld*) some of the underlying local historical conditions which resulted in such policy intervention in the Clyde Valley are outlined. It is also argued here, following the point made by Mackenzie and Rose (1983), that the segregated environments found in these new towns were part of a 'solution' to a crisis in social and biological reproduction. A 'solution' which nevertheless was, following Foster, created as much through concerted local and, by the 1940s, national working class demands for improved social conditions. It is also emphasised that, although ^{use} ~~this~~ economic and social crises were partly the result of general processes of change in the economy and social structure of British industrial areas, they emerged in a unique form in the Clyde Valley because of the prevailing, particularly local social, economic and physical conditions.

The remaining text in Chapter 3 reports on the results of a Household Survey of Women carried out in the two study towns (see Appendix 1 on Methodology and Appendix 2 for the survey questions). Based on structured and semi-structured interviews, the objectives of the survey were to examine some of the issues raised by the

discussion of women's relationship to the urban environment discussed in Chapter 2. And to engage with questions one and four above.

Therefore the first task was to establish the gender division of labour in the towns and related this to women's use of the local built environment.

In response to the third research question (*What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?*), the Household Survey sought to find out about about and demonstrate any contradictions the women respondents faced in living and working in these particular segregated environments. In doing this I hoped to illustrate how the spatial segregation which emerged as part of a planned 'solution' to threatened social unrest and economic crisis in the Clyde Valley, gave rise to a different set of problems.

The post war planning and provision of services in the towns were based on segregation and a given gender division of labour between home and paid work. This however became wholly inadequate for women's needs as new demands arose with their entry into paid labour. With the increase in women's employment during the 1960s and 1970s, especially married women's employment, most adult women living in the two towns were undertaking a 'dual role' of paid work as well as domestic labour. In the Household Survey of Women the impact of paid work on the domestic division of labour was raised with

respondents thus directly responding the the third research question. The discussion revealed that complex 'coping strategies' were devised by individual women to deal with the contradictions and conflicts by straddling the separated spheres. The way in which these problems manifest themselves as private issues for individual women, I subsequently suggest, is a means by which gender divisions and therefore gender inequality is maintained. Coote and Campbell (1982) make this same point by writing:

"Women were not expected to combine employment and motherhood. Some did, out of preference or necessity, yet this was never recognised as something that "real" women did: the two had to be combined almost covertly and at the individual's own peril"

(Coote and Campbell, 1982 p56)

During the 1960s and 1970s, the economic role of these two new towns took a higher profile in regional policy initiatives for the Clyde Valley (Scottish Council 1973; Scottish Development Department 1963; Toothill 1961; see also Hood and Young 1984; Lever and Moore 1986). This reflected a renewed emphasis on the industrial role of new towns in peripheral regions. The post war 'vision' of classlessness and harmonic family based community in greenfield settings had been left by the wayside as male unemployment in the regions persisted and the decline of their 'traditional' staple industries intensified (McCrone 1969). Regional policy, at this time, however converged with a newly developing economic position for these new towns (regionally,

nationally and internationally). This introduces Part II of the research.

The local economies of the two new towns were increasingly drawing women into the manufacturing and service sectors. Nationally and internationally this appeared to represent a new division of labour. And, in some way, this seemed to be linked to the particular kinds of labour markets found in this region.

Women's employment in peripheral locations

The second research question (*Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' work*) forms the basis of Part II of this thesis. Women's paid employment was not only said to be a major feature of local new town economies but it also seemed to contradict the gender assumptions of the immediate post-war planning policy. As discussed in Chapter 3, both the study new towns, despite widely differing designs, were built 'for the family'. But, by the time this project had begun, research on industrial and employment location was noting the dramatic growth in women's employment and in the number of female employing manufacturing firms in these kind of towns in the 'peripheral regions' and Development Areas of Britain (Firn 1975; Friend and Metcalf 1981; Hudson 1980a and b, 1983; Massey 1979).

In order to tackle the second research question, the nature of women's paid work in the two towns and thus the gender division of labour in the sphere of production had to be established. This was approached through a general analysis of women's employment in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld, using employment data provided by the Development Corporations and published sources, and through case studies of Major Employers of Women in the two towns (see Appendix 1 and 2).

Addressing this second question, like the first, involved questioning the relationship between social and spatial organisation. Here supplementary questions concerned the nature of women's employment in general, the location of women's employment and economic activity, and the way in which the specific conditions for particular economic activities and employment are generated in given places at specific times.

The importance of discussing the general question about why women are employed to do certain jobs, developed through the writing of this thesis. Consequently Part II includes a chapter which outlines the pattern of women's work, discusses the emergence of a gender division of labour and reviews the aspatial literature which tries to explain why these have developed (Chapter 4 (*Women's Employment: The Aspatial Debates*)).

Chapter 5 (*Women's Employment: The Spatial Debates*) looks at the way in which women's employment has been incorporated into discussions of spatial change and particularly the changing regional geography of economic activity. This chapter therefore engages directly with the objectives of the second and fourth research questions - *Why* were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' work ? and *How* does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?

Social-spatial relations

This fourth research question raises complex issues surrounding the conceptualisation of space. Some of these issues are raised in Chapter 5. At the time of starting this project, social-spatial relations were a relatively new element of the debate in industrial geography. The cause of regional differences and the role of regional policy were central issues which directed much of the new debate (Rees and Lambert 1985). The theme of social-spatial relations was re-emerging, largely through critical work which followed both the 1960's preoccupation with generalisable and quantifiable 'spatial regularities' and the 1970's rejection by radical geographers of the importance of space altogether (see Massey 1985 p9-11). The work of local Community Development Projects, which challenged the social pathology of policy, was particularly important in instigating this change (Community Development Project 1977).

Explanations for regional differentiation and the particular location decisions of manufacturing employers had largely relied on the assumed autonomy of the spatial distribution of certain observable and quantifiable 'factors of production'. These included labour and other infrastructural conditions, such as availability and condition of vacant land or premises, transport and access to markets. The constraints of distance and time were incorporated into the distributional map and therefore formed part of the explanation while inequality between regions was presented in terms of the abundance or lack of 'locational factors' (for example, Keeble 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980; McCrone 1969; Moore and Rhodes 1973; Moore et al 1977). Thus, explanations for regional differences and problems were derived from the characteristics of the region itself: lack of entrepreneurial talent; labour militancy; poor transport links; decaying urban infrastructure; lack of appropriate skills.

This kind of explanatory framework formed the basis for Britain's post war regional policy. The characteristics of the region became the targets for policy initiatives. This strongly underlies the Barlow Report (1940) and subsequent initiatives directed at areas such as the Clyde Valley (Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946; Scottish Council 1973; Scottish Development Department 1963; Toothill 1961). Emphasis was placed on increasing the region's chances by improving the distributional factors. The financial and material incentives of regional policy eventually became 'distributional factors' in their

own right since they were the means of making particular 'problem' areas more 'attractive' to industrial location (Diamond and Spence 1983; Keeble 1977; McCrone 1969). Thus the regional policy of the 1960s (which presented and supported new towns as economic 'growth poles' (Scottish Development Department 1963; Toothill 1961) fitted into this model. 'Spatial solutions' were advocated for assumed 'spatial problems'. The social processes underlying the uneven distribution of economic activity were left unexamined.

The inadequacy of this form of explanation in either establishing the nature of regional differentiation or producing long term solutions lead some researchers, a decade or so ago, to look at the changing characteristics of production and not those of the 'region': for example the increasing size of firms (Dunford 1977); the separation into a hierarchy of different technical and managerial functions and employment (Westaway 1974); the growth of external control of enterprises (Firn 1975); the division of production into separate activities (Lipietz 1980). Additional processes which appear to be changing both the form of economic activity and the geography of production were also being explored: for example, the intensification of competition; the standardisation of products and processes; the application of new technology; deskilling of the labour process; and the role of the state in changing the balance between 'old' and 'new' sectors of the economy (Community Development Project 1977; Carney, Hudson and Lewis 1980).

This work incorporated a different conceptualisation of space and its relationship to social process. It was asserted that space was 'socially constructed'. Regional problems derived directly from changes in industry and production. But though this work added considerably to our understanding of the mechanisms of geographically uneven development, there was no suggestion that there were any impacts deriving directly from the spatial organisation of social and economic structures in local areas. The role spatial organisation might play in influencing past, present or future changes in local economies was not recognised. Regions and areas were deemed to differ, experience decline or new investment, because of the structure of national and international economic relations. Space was conceptualised as a 'container' for social change.

Massey's influential early paper "In what sense a regional problem?" (1979) did however present a conceptualisation of the relationship between society and space in which both had causal powers. In this she asserts that relations of production incorporate distance, difference, spatial separation and most importantly of all unevenness in their formation. In her paper she outlines an explanation based on changing 'spatial divisions of labour'. (This is developed at much greater length in Massey (1984) and has subsequently been adopted by others undertaking studies of social-spatial relations within the industrial restructuring of particular local areas (see for example, Lancaster Regionalism Group 1985; Cooke 1986b). This work suggests

that there has always been and always will be geographical unevenness in the distribution of the conditions necessary for profitable and competitive production stating that it is a necessary component of capitalist forms of production.

This geographical unevenness is visible in different forms of spatial divisions of labour - sectoral specialisation in particular areas; spatial separation of managerial control from direct production; spatial separation of operations within production processes.

Different sectors may exhibit different forms of spatial divisions and these will vary over time. Thus it is stressed that geographical unevenness is used by different sectors and industries in different ways at different times and in so doing, geographical unevenness - regional inequality - is reproduced. The processes underlying differential change in spatial divisions of labour will also vary.

Similar outcomes may occur as a result of sectors adopting different strategies in order to change the organisation of production. For example Massey and Meegan (1982) have explored this 'restructuring processes' in relation to the geography job loss. They isolate three different processes within production change ('rationalisation'; 'intensification' and investment and technical change') which involved spatial change in production organisation and gave rise to regional job loss during the 1970s.

So the form of geographical unevenness changes through different process of production change. Regional differentiation, at any one time, is the product of a combination of both local and wider national or international historical and contemporary events (see Massey 1979; 1984; Massey and Meegan 1982; Massey and Allen 1984). And though at any one time several different forms of spatial division of labour may be found between and within sectors, Massey's concern is with establishing the form of spatial division of labour which, at any one time, is a major factor in influencing the shape of the international, national and regional economies (Massey 1988). This approach, now labelled the 'restructuring debate', has been adopted and adapted by many authors concerned with the impacts of economic change (Lovering 1989).

One aspect of restructuring during the 1960s and 1970s (a period of major importance in the economies of both the study new towns) was the employment of women. Another was the externalisation of control in these areas as branch plants of multi-national enterprises came to dominate local economies. This appeared to be an example of the way in which certain, increasingly dominant, industries used existing geographical unevenness and recreated inequality in a different form. By separating out specific production activities (namely assembly and other routine processing), enterprises producing consumer goods used new cheap female labour sources in new areas. Their availability, it was argued, derived from the past sectoral specialisation of heavy

male employing industries (Massey 1984, p194-226; see also McDowell and Massey 1984). Regional inequality was reproduced in a different form by the creation of a local economy reliant on low waged, low skilled and insecure jobs. Thus in the mid 1970s Firn wrote the following about contemporary events:

"The nature of the new jobs provided by external plants has been principally orientated towards female, semi-skilled assembly operations in, for example, electronics plants whereas the jobs lost have been mainly of male, highly paid, skilled craftsmen. Therefore there seems to have been a net wage reduction per new job, as well as deskilling, although this assertion remains to be proved."

(Firn 1975, p165)

Within the context of this debate on the nature of social-spatial, Chapter 5 addresses the growing discussion within the 'restructuring debate' on the place of gender in explaining regional change. It argues that, although protagonists of this approach have not produced conclusive explanations for the growth of women's employment in the 1960s and 1970s, the 'restructuring framework' does offer a useful approach to the issue. Its strength lies in the suggestion that both local (particular) and global (general) processes of economic and social change contribute to the geographical reorganisation of economic activity. Thus explanations for women's employment in the 1960s and 1970s in the peripheral regions would benefit from a sensitivity to the uniqueness of local areas.

Regional policy

The influence of regional policy has been re-evaluated in the light of this re-conceptualisation of social-spatial relations. Women's employment in the Development Areas has also necessitated a re-examination. The implicit objective of regional policy was to create 'real jobs' for men but many argued that it established 'secondary jobs' - low paid and sometimes part time - for women. During the 1960s and 1970s many claims were made about the powers of regional policy to alter the geography of the economy (see for example, Diamond and Spence 1983; Hall 1976; Keeble 1976, 1977, 1981; McCrone 1969; Moore and Rhodes 1973, 1974). Yet, other authors have questioned the ability of regional policy to alleviate the problems created by unequal regional differentiation (for example, Cooke 1980, 1986a; Cooke and Rees 1981; Massey 1979; Massey and Meegan, 1985; Rees and Lambert 1985). The policy, deriving from notions of geographical imbalance in the distribution of factors necessary for economic activity, failed to recognise the way in which imbalances are a necessary part of the processes of capitalist accumulation. Thus, Massey (1979) wrote in one of the first expositions of this critical analysis:

"Perhaps the major point to be made is that questions of regional problems and policy are normally analysed as problems solely of geographical distribution. The previous framework and examples, however, emphasised their basis in the form and level of the process of *production*, and its relation to the existing pattern of geographical

inequality. The normal emphasis simply on geographical distributional outcome goes along with a predisposition for analysis to concentrate only on space, spatial differentiation and on changes in the spatial surface. In fact, while spatial changes are most certainly important, the foregoing discussion has indicated that one should not assume that the rest of the relevant world remains constant over time. The requirements of production also change - in response to the pressures of the international and national economic system - and, therefore, so does the relevance to production of any given form of spatial differentiation."

(Massey 1979, p239)

But the impact of regional policy is not altogether dismissed. Indeed the argument suggests that the financial and material incentives which, for example, were a central component[^] of regional policy during its height in the 1960s and 1970s, became part of the particular local structures of Development Areas. As the 1960s and 1970s 'new' regional policy coincided with changes in the spatial organisation of production in certain 'leading' sectors of industry (namely the consumer goods sector) it was able to 'successfully' contribute to the creation of the right conditions for the location of 'footloose' industries employing women. Expanding women's employment opportunities could be claimed as an 'achievement' of regional policy. Exacerbating inequality through promotion of a low wage, branch plant economy was one of its less successful outcomes (Massey and Meegan 1985 p130).

Gender and Space

Women's employment been seen as contributing to the problems in Development Areas. This was not limited to the post war era. In the 1930s and 1940s some commentators were raising questions about the sort of jobs regional policy was generating (Abercrombie and Matthew 1946). The marginalisation of women's paid work, the lack of concern with their conditions of employment and little acknowledgement of the dual role they undertake was commonplace. But a critique by feminist informed writers in regional studies posed different questions. They asked about the kind of work women were doing and about the conditions under which they were employed. They questioned why it was women's labour which was sought for low paid work in these areas and why it was regarded as semi-skilled or unskilled. They also asked why union representation was often poor, despite rising membership amongst women and if women were first to suffer job loss as industry restructured (see for example Brietenbach 1982; Breugel 1979; Friend and Metcalf 1981; Lewis 1982, 1983, 1984; Mark-Lawson 1985; Price 1984; Walby 1985a, 1985b).

For the research project reported here, this feminist informed critique combined with the 'restructuring framework' discussed in Chapter 5, suggested that it was important to look at how the unequal social division between men and women becomes one of the local factors in the geographical unevenness used and created by the organisation of

production under capitalism. With the discussion still addressing the first and fourth research questions *Why were women employed in the peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' jobs ? and How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?*), a chapter was included on the local economic context of women's employment in a peripheral region (Chapter 6 *The Clyde Valley: Local Economic context*). Here the pattern of divisions between men and women at work is traced for the local Clyde Valley area from early industrialisation until the post-war designation of the new towns. It also outlines the local context in which post war urban and regional policy was implemented. This chapter demonstrates that women had a long history of employment in the west of Scotland and that through particular circumstances relating to the social and economic structure of the Clyde Valley area, they were confined to a very limited range of jobs and were in particularly subservient positions with very low pay. It is then argued that this local history of employment, though bounded by global changes in economic relations, influenced post war investment and the pattern of women's post war employment.

The post war employment of women in the two study new towns is outlined in detail in Chapter 7 (*Women's Post War Employment: Some Evidence From Two New Towns*). The history of divisions within the women's labour market are illustrated and these are linked to the development of the new town economies. This chapter draws on

employment data provided by the two new town Development Corporations and on the results of a Survey of Employers of Women undertaken as part of this research in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld (see Appendices 1 and 2). This empirical chapter contributes to the discussions of the second and third research questions (*Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do unskilled work ? and What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?*).

The final chapter (Chapter 8 *Conclusion: Conflicting Lives*) draws together the empirical material from Parts I and II of the thesis. In this it discusses the inter-relationship between general processes of economic and social change and particular sets of relations within a local areas. It also re-addresses the fourth question (*How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?*). It is argued that the re-conceptualisation of social-spatial relations which is apparent in the 'restructuring framework' and which informs Massey's 'spatial divisions of labour' thesis is useful, if currently flawed.

Massey (1985) asserts the importance of 'spatially-organised locational opportunities' (p13) by showing how space, distance and geographical inequality influence production and how the social relations of production under capitalism (re-)create unequal spatial difference. The processes underlying this inter-relationship are

historically specific and, though they may share general features (for example, the location in peripheral regions of certain industries in the 1960s and 1970s and their employment of women as part of a process of maximising profit through minimising labour costs) the way in which these combine with existing local structures is unique to each area. This therefore (re)creates local particularity (Lovering 1989; Massey and Allen 1984; Murgatroyd and Urry 1984; Urry 1981).

But it is concluded, on the basis of the work reviewed in the thesis, that the 'restructuring framework' itself would benefit from a more considered conceptualisation of gender relations. To date, 'gender' in this debate on social-spatial relations has been conceptualised in terms of 'gender-typed activities', 'gender roles' and women's unequal access to geographically distributed goods and resources. It has been suggested that the gender divisions of labour in production and reproduction are causally linked (McDowell, 1983 p62 ; Mackenzie 1980; Mackenzie and Rose 1983). But, the research reported here concludes that the full potential of the restructuring framework may only be realised through a reconceptualisation of the place of gender relations in the analysis of economic and social change. It also suggests that for future research the conceptualisation of gender relations themselves requires some further thought.

Feminist influence

An understated influence on the questions and content of the research outlined above and reported in the rest of this thesis has been the development of feminist politics, theory and research in Britain since the 1970s. So, although primarily interested in the inter-relationship of society and space, my study has implicitly drawn on debates across the social sciences, and in the Women's Movement, concerning the aspatial reproduction of gender inequality.

An initial outcome of the re-emergence of feminism was to put 'women' and their invisibility in public spheres of activity onto the political and research agenda. This spawned the growth of 'women's studies' both in the formal education system and within ad hoc groups attached to women's centres and networks (Bowles and Duelli-Klien 1980; Kelly and Pearson 1983; Stanley and Wise 1983; Tobias 1978). Through this medium, the common experiences of women (as different from those of men) were explored and presented as legitimate and important areas of study. The institution of women's studies thus enabled the collection of material and promotion of research into the nature and origins of women's subordination. So, though the study reported here falls broadly within the field of urban and regional studies, it was partly made possible by the emergence of women's studies *per se*.

'Putting women first' also underlay the forms of organisation which characterised the early women's movement: non-hierarchical and collective structures which emphasised the validity of every individual woman's contribution (Allen, Danders and Wallis 1974; Feminist Anthology Collective 1981; Wandor 1972). In this way the personal was defined as political (Morgan 1970; Rowbotham 1973; Rowbotham et al 1979). This principle directed attempts to institute different research methods through which feminist informed work could be undertaken (Graham 1983; Roberts 1981). Priority was attached to interactive methods and to women's participation in research (Morgan 1981; Oakley 1979; 1981 a, 1981b; Spender 1980, 1981). The aim was to encourage women's involvement as active subjects, with whom research was done rather than as passive objects of investigation (McKee and O'Brien 1983; Roberts 1981). Allowing women 'to speak for themselves' in this way was presented as a challenge to men's academic hegemony. The collective approach was also attempted in academic writing (see for example in urban and regional studies, Garmarnikow 1978b; Matrix 1984; Women and Geography Study Group 1984). Notwithstanding these developments, there is, however, a continuing debate over whether or not there is a uniquely 'feminist methodology' in social science (Evans 1982). Furthermore, differences of opinion about the relationship between 'academic' research and the practical activities of women's groups and campaigns in the community has been a recurrent unresolved issue (Kelly and Pearson 1982; Stanley and Wise 1983)

The equal rights campaigns in the 1970s on, for example, health and welfare, employment, education, and the law also grew with bids to make 'women' and 'women's issues' the political priority of feminism (Feminist Anthology Collective 1981; Coote and Campbell 1982). Some of these campaigns, including notably much of the work of the Equal Opportunities Commission, encompassed liberal demands for 'equal access' to existing opportunities in employment and resource distribution. Others, such as Rights of Women, the National Childcare Campaign, the Reproductive Rights and National Abortion Campaigns, argued for changes in the structure of the law and the practices of social and economic institutions (see also the discussions in Mayo 1977). The adoption of policies on equal opportunities for women, the creation of Women's Committees, and the employment of women's officers in local authorities, trades unions and educational establishments during the 1980s combined early challenges to institutional structures with calls for positive action to improve women's access to decision making, jobs and service provision (London Strategic Policy Unit 1987).

The numerous women only organisations that provide services for women run by women again emerged out of this political prioritisation of women. Many came directly from feminist recognition of a particular pressing need which had been ignored by the statutory services: for example Women's Aid and Rape Crisis providing for abused women. Others plugged gaps in services, for example Well

Woman Clinics and women's health projects, Women's Centres and alternative entertainment or provide a safer alternative for women for example, Women's Safe Transport or opportunities for women to develop skills in 'non-traditional' areas of work, for example Women into Manual Trades and the Women and Computing Network. These were some practical results of women's challenge to the orthodoxy of a 'woman's place' and therefore to the physical, material and financial power of men (Rose 1978).

Many women-only services were underpinned by radical feminist politics and emphasised separate provision and organisation. The specific needs of lesbians to create safe spaces where they can be open and self-determining have developed into distinct lifestyle and cultural politics (Ettore 1978, 1980). This has overlapped with many other feminist activities - including academic research - and has helped to the maintain specialisation and importance of woman-centred work.

The direction of feminist empirical research within mainstream social science has been influenced by and has overlapped with the activities and debates of the wider Women's Movement. In constructing a research agenda, a priority was therefore drawing attention to women, women's inequality and women's politics. In most social science disciplines there has been, at some point, comment on the invisibility of and lack of information on women (Oakley 1981b). This often coincided

with an analysis of the number of women students, teaching staff and researchers and calls for positive action on recruitment (Spender 1981). A wealth of new material documenting every aspect of women's lives - past and present - was also generated by the necessity to re-write history, sociology, political science, economics.... 'adding in' women. This documentation of activities lent itself to an explanation of women's inequality based on defined 'gender roles' - the socially constructed stereotypes of men and women's different activities and positions in society (Ardener 1975, 1979). This conceptualisation, as noted above, has subsequently been criticised for its lack of explanatory substance (Connell 1985).

In making women and women's inequality 'visible', the object of analysis was therefore women themselves, their lives and activities (even as subjective entities). This lent itself to an 'academic division of labour' and the creation of 'women's studies ghettos' within disciplines and social science as a whole (Evans 1982; Bristol Women's Studies Group 1979). Yet this specialisation was necessary when little was formally and publically acknowledged about the nature of women's lives and while there was active exclusion by the academic establishment. The need to emphasise 'women' was a strong influence on the study reported in this thesis. Yet I would now argue that there is a fine dividing line between separation for politically expedient reasons and separation which leads to intellectual

isolation. This, it appears is one of the factors in 'doing feminist research'.

Parallel questions about the different and complex ways in which women's inequality is reproduced suggested different objects of analysis for feminist research. Thus the structures surrounding and the practices of everyday life have been added to the feminist research agenda: the educational system, employment and the labour market, social policy, welfare and health services, the legal system and government all came under feminist scrutiny. The separation of public and private spheres and therefore the specific gender divisions of labour between domestic and paid work have become distinct objects of analysis in their own right (Barker and Allen 1976a and b; Gamarnikow et al 1983; Redclift and Mingione 1985; Pahl 1984). Yet explanations of women's inequality arising out of this work have centred mainly on the 'separation' or 'division' alone, suggesting that the fact of separation or division creates and maintains gender inequality. Yet the processes giving rise to the separation and division are left largely unexamined.

The revival of theoretical discussions of the origins and processes contributing to and underlying women's subordination has therefore been influential in (re-)directing feminist research. Several different avenues have been taken, again widening the objects of feminist analysis. (These are not mutually exclusive. Influences and

insights have been traded between them. What follows is therefore a schematic description of different emphases in feminist enquiry.)

In the first avenue, attention has been directed at the relations of biological reproduction. The organisation of biological reproduction became an object of analysis in its own right. 'Patriarchy' - male dominance of women - appeared to be most evident in this sphere. Radical feminist debate in particular implied the inevitability of women's subordination because of their biological role in pregnancy, childbirth and childcare. (Firestone 1971; Organising Collective 1979). Subsequent radical feminist writings have concentrated on describing the complex ways in which patriarchal control of reproduction is expressed, including - sexuality, violence against women and children, abortion politics, childcare and legal rights to custody - have received particular attention (Rich 1977, 1980). The priorities which have directed such work are therefore separation from men and arresting control over fertility and biological reproduction.

Others, predominantly within liberal and socialist feminist traditions, took a second avenue. Their analyses concerned the structures of social reproduction, for example, in the family (Barrett and McIntosh 1982; Rowbotham 1973; Young et al 1981), in the divisions between unpaid and paid work (Barker and Allen 1976b), in the organisation of domestic labour (Gardiner 1975; Harrison 1974;

Himmelweit and Mohun 1977; Middleton 1983), in the material conditions of housework (Gavron 1968; Malos 1980; Oakley 1974), in the organisation of childcare (Jackson and Jackson 1981; New and David 1985) and in the social policies of the welfare state (London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group 1979). Each one of these has been examined individually and in relation to each other, as sites of women's subordination.

The third avenue of feminist theoretical debate prioritised the interconnections between production and reproduction. The possibility of a 'marriage' between marxism and feminism has preoccupied many authors (Barrett 1980; CSE Sex and Class Group 1982; Eisenstein 1979; Hartmann 1976, 1979; Kuhn and Wolpe 1978; Rowbotham et al 1979; Vogel 1983) and has been translated into discussions of how 'capitalism' and 'patriarchy'/class and gender intertwine. Three stances have been taken.

First that one or other (capitalism or patriarchy) is dominant in determining the basis and structure of women's oppression. Engels (1884) argued most clearly that the social relations of production, as found in property and class relations, were the origin of women's subordination. Contemporary protagonists of the view that class relations are dominant, argue that women's position in the labour market is the site of exploitation and therefore the arena of both conflict and change (Vogel 1983; Weir and Wilson 1984; Zaretzky

1976). Young, Wolkowitz and McCullagh (1981) argue that the social organisation of reproduction is dominant in defining women's position in production. Using analyses of the women in developing countries they suggest that the sphere of reproduction can be broken down into three arenas: 'social', 'biological' and 'economic'. They suggest that women have challenged, and should continue to challenge, their subordination at each level. Similarly the large body of work which examines divisions between production and reproduction (public and private spheres) implies that the origin of these divisions derives from the prevailing relations of reproduction (CSE Sex and Class Group 1982).

Second that the relations of production and reproduction form separate independent 'systems' of oppression both of which generate 'subordinated classes' (respectively 'working class' and 'women'). Here it is suggested that these systems exist in parallel, both underlying a divided social organisation. Delphy (1977, 1980, 1984) is the most influential writer to suggest this independence of the two spheres. This has been challenged by writers working with a third interpretation of the relationship between production and reproduction. This argues that both sets of relations are interdependent.

Finally then, the material and ideological relations of reproduction and production are argued to be inseparably intertwined, though one

arena may dominate at a particular time and setting. Thus women's subordination is the result of a 'sex-gender system' which is part of class relations and *visa versa*. Hartman (1979) has summarised this approach as one in which the material basis of men's power, their control over women's labour power, criss-crosses with capital's control of labour. This approach has been used in examinations of the gender laden processes which enter into the negotiation of job demarcations. (Cockburn 1977, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1986). Thus explanation for women's subordination is given in terms of the 'sex-gender' system (alternatively 'patriarchy'), which is both material and ideological, operating within the workplace itself. The strengths of this approach are the duality of cause (gender and class relations) and recognition of the historically specific but changing nature of the relations between gender and class. To date however the combination has only been examined in the context of the waged workplace. It has not been used in the context of unwaged work.

Throughout the feminist debates different emphases have been placed on women's inequality, women's activities (role), reproduction, patriarchy and gender relations as objects of analysis and explanations for women's subordination. Within socialist feminism passing reference has been made to the power of patriarchy in defining the nature of relations between men and women. The links between production and reproduction have been variously described. Considerable evidence has also been produced to document the

different gender-typed activities and divisions of labour between and within them but only relatively few authors have begun to examine the processes which fuse the two in everyday life.

But most importantly the growth of feminist research and politics during the 1970s served therefore to establish gender as a major social division in contemporary Western society. This provided the necessary background for the latent interest in gender in urban and regional studies. Thus the place of space in gender relations and the place of gender relations in spatial organisation are on both the feminist and geographical research agendas.

CONFLICTING LIVES: WOMEN'S WORK IN PLANNED COMMUNITIES

PART I

CHAPTER 2

GENDER DIVISIONS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

This chapter takes up the first research question (How and why are gender divisions incorporated into urban spatial structure?). Feminist literature in urban studies is explored alongside work on the built environment from women's studies. Several points emerge from this review. First, in line with the priorities of early feminist politics, the dominant focus has been women's lives. A considerable proportion of this work has therefore focussed on the nature and location of women's activities. It has also drawn on women's experiences of urban space. Second, the difference between the nature and location of men and women's activities has been observed as an unequal division of labour and as a spatial separation of productive and reproductive spheres. Third, several explanations of the observed gender and spatial divisions have been explored. These have relied variously on 'gender role' stereotyping, on the division of labour in reproduction, on the material and ideological separation of reproduction and production (private and public spheres, home and work), and on a more complex inter-dependence of the relations of production and reproduction. Finally, throughout this work 'patriarchy' - which is generally presumed to be 'male domination of women' - has been assumed to be

a major factor in ensuring the divisions are unequal and in men's favour. 'Patriarchy' itself, however, has been left unexamined.

In this literature space has been predominantly conceptualised as socially constructed, reflecting the unequal division of labour. The resulting spatial separation is presented as a 'constraint' to women's opportunities in the public sphere thus confining them to the domestic arena. But recent debate on social-spatial relations, which suggests historical and locational specificity and the influence of unique places, has coincided with feminist questions about the links between production and reproduction. Through reviewing this body of work I argue that a combination of these latter two approaches offers the best explanation for the relationship between gender divisions and spatial structure. Nevertheless I also stress that such an explanation would benefit from a reintroduction (and reinterpretation) of the feminist concept of 'patriarchy'.

Women and the Urban Environment

"Human environments reflect far more than the stylistic intention of their designers or the functional uses for which they were intended. To the acute observer they display a mass of social images and symbols that suggest the character of the people who will be likely to use a particular space - their age, class, racial origins, and their sex... This social stereotyping of people and environments also has the effect of reinforcing the social order, with all its inherent prejudices and discriminatory practices"

(Wekerle et al, 1980 p4, authors' own emphasis)

Observation of the social construction of space and the role of spatial forms in reinforcing social divisions is not unique to feminist authors. These have been long established by those writing in both Weberian and Marxist traditions within urban sociology and geography (Johnston 1983). Nevertheless the introduction of 'sex' as a factor in both creating urban environments and as an arena of inequality is a relatively recent permutation. By the late 1970s and early 1980s feminist writing on the built/urban environment was beginning to emerge. Authors approached this area by focussing on several different, though overlapping, issues: for example on suburban development, on the ideology of the home, on design and architecture, on domestic divisions of labour, on the role of male dominated urban 'professions', and on women's intervention in the built environment.

Suburbia

One starting point in this discussion was therefore a re-evaluation of post-war suburbia, notably in North America, and its influence on the lives of women. Suburbanisation was the dominant trend in post-war urban American development (Mumford, 1966). It was therefore not surprising that feminists took up this particular issue. They suggested that the spread of low density residential housing on the periphery of city centres epitomised a spatial division between (middle class) homes and work and a gender division of labour between women and men.

Consequently feminist writers argued that suburbia represented different things to men and women. For men it was a place of rest and recreation, a haven from the 'harsh brutalities' of the commercial and industrial world. But it formed the isolated location for domestic work and childcare, both done by women (Wekerle et al 1980). Thus Fava (1980) declared that: "As geographic extensions of our male-centred society, suburban environments offer a secondary place to women, a place inhibiting the full expression of the range of women's roles, activities and interests." (p129). And this form of suburbia seemed to allow only one role for women: that of housewife and mother. So it was argued that low density 'single-family' housing, long distances between shopping and other facilities, poor public transport, lower access to private car ownership and segregation from employment opportunities 'constrained' (Tivers 1984) women to the limited spaces immediately surrounding the home and to social contact and activities related only to their domestic and childcare responsibilities (Cichocki 1980; Fava 1980; Rotheblatt et al 1979). Much of this work implied that an unequal power relationship between men and women, both on an individual and social level, lay behind these social and spatial divisions. However this was rarely explicitly examined. Reference was however made to other authors (notably Gavron 1968; and Oakley 1974) who did explore the power relationships within domestic work.

One point which is omitted from this work is its historical and spatial specificity. I would argue that it was a particular form

of the housewife and mother role, and therefore of the gender division of labour, which was incorporated into the design of the 1940s and 1950s and North American suburban environments.

'Housewifery', this particular form of women's role, was born in this decade (Friedan 1963). The end of domestic service and the increased number of individual nuclear families who were socially and spatially separated from extended networks of family and community, left the bulk of domestic labour in the hands of a new generation of American women.

The movement of educated women from the city to the suburbs and into a full time housewife role coincided with the rise in commercial production of many of the goods and services required by the household and family. Thus these middle class women were left with a nebulous, though strongly ideological role, as creators of home and domestic bliss - the 'feminine mystique' of Friedan's study. The emptiness of this role Friedan claimed "often drives the housewife to even more effort, more frantic housework ... And the choices the housewife makes to fill that emptiness - though she seems to make them for logical and necessary reasons - traps her further in trivial domestic routine." (p242-243)

Ironically then, the amount of time women spent on household and childcare tasks dramatically increased. The open-plan design of "ranch" houses made their work public, denied them private space away from the kitchen and living room and intensified the

association of modern efficient domesticity and femininity. Women also became the managers of household consumption in this period of growth in domestic commodities. This role, Galbraith (1974) argues, was critical not only in the organisation and division of labour in individual households but also for the expansion of consumption within the economy as a whole. A particular form of the gender division of labour was therefore created in this spatially separate environment.

Fava's (1980) discussion of suburbia highlights modifications to these particular gender and spatial divisions. She focuses on changes in social composition of suburbia in the 1960s and 1970s suggesting that they represented an increasing "discrepancy between the suburban setting and the needs of women" (p129). Suburbia post 1960 was not the domain of the middle class or relatively wealthy family. Peripheral neighbourhoods had an increasingly wide variety of household structures - single people, the elderly, women headed households - as well as a different race composition. The relocation of commercial and industrial activities to the urban periphery had also altered the exclusively dormitory function of residential suburbs. Concurrently women's increased participation in the labour force challenged the homogeneity of suburban housewifery.

Nevertheless, despite such changes, the dominant gender division of labour and the spatially segregated form of suburban living, continued to 'constrain' women. But these 'constraints' were

experienced in different ways. The crisis of isolation and boredom reported in Friedan's study persisted. But by the 1960s this was overlain by the relatively new problems faced by an increasing number of women: how to combine waged and domestic labour across low density suburban sprawl. Wekerle et al (1980) suggest that 'women pay a high price' for such urban design.

Women's lower incomes and relatively poor access to privatised transport and their dependency on public transport or on other car users in the household are self reinforcing. Both Fava (1980) and Cichocki (1980) link this vicious circle with the inability of married women, especially those with young children, to take full advantage of the opportunities offered in the 'new' suburbia. These included a wider range of employment opportunities arising from industrial and commercial decentralisation and from a wider range of recreational facilities in out-of-town development. Tivers (1980), writing about Britain, stresses the lack of appropriate employment opportunities for women: jobs which could be combined with the demands of domestic labour. She suggests in her paper the 'Plight of Suburban Women' that, despite significant decentralisation of employment in Britain, much of this work was for full time workers and the predominance of 'traditional gender roles', militated against married women with young children.

Women's and men's different experiences of the urban environment are discussed in a comparative study of 'urban' and 'suburban'

households by Saegert and Winkel (1980). The 'retreat and recreational' aspect of suburban homes, the quality of the suburban environment for children, plus the status of financial investment were all expressed by men as superior qualities in comparison with the lack of environmental amenities and the hustle and bustle of urban residential living. For women the evaluation was somewhat different. Though expressing satisfaction with the improved quality of recreation for men and children in the suburbs and with the greater space and safety standards of the dwellings and their immediate surroundings, the majority of women questioned also missed the opportunities they had in an urban environment for their own wider social contact and employment. Notably men's involvement in childcare and domestic work appears, from this study, to be less in the suburban than in the urban environment. The authors conclude that a choice between home and the outside world was not necessary for men when moving from the urban to the suburban residential environment. But the choice was obligatory for women. In addition men retreated from domestic chores as their journeys to work increased thus reinforcing a division of labour by gender.

House and Home

Many authors in geography and sociology have focused on 'gender roles' - in the sense of the different groups of activities ascribed at any one time to men and to women - while looking at the gender divisions that separate work and home. The social and

physical construction of the 'home' and the 'house' as spatial forms in which women undertake their gender-typed activities has been stressed. Saegert and Winkel (1980) identify two dimensions to the home as it specifically relates to women: the physical place of practical day to day domestic tasks and the ideological association of both tasks and place with women. (The interaction of the ideological association of house and home with women and the reality of women's responsibilities for domestic tasks is complex. This is addressed more fully in the next section).

Saegert and Winkel's work does imply, however, that both the ideological meaning and material reality of domestic work in women's lives is reflected in and reproduced by the separation of a place called 'home'. They write:

"The home is both a physical space where certain activities are performed and a value-laden symbol. Both meanings of the word "home" are closely linked to definitions of the female sex role in our culture. Physically and symbolically the home is a private place, away from the public world of work....The activities that go on in the home differ from those in the outside world in many ways. Work in the home is generally not conducted on a wage basis and most of it is done by women. In fact we would suggest that it is almost impossible to imagine a "home" in both senses of the word without imagining a caretaking woman in the setting"

(Saegert and Winkel, 1980 p41)

They develop the second point by examining differences between men and women in what they call the 'meaning of the home'. From interview material with heterosexual couples, they suggest that

for women the home represents a part of their identity; a place to take care of; a place in which to take care of others; and the centre of their world. For men the home is more likely to represent a place which belongs to them; to be bricks and mortar; and the place they spent their childhood. The emotional significance of the home to adult women is, they suggest, more immediate than it is for adult men. The men in their study divorced and distanced themselves from the home as a place contributing to their self-identity. The ownership and/or control of a home and the status its size and/or design represents were deemed more important than any personal identification with the home *per se*. The association of men with home centred 'do-it-yourself' activities would tend to reinforce this finding. Home improvements add to the material fabric of the home and may be linked to increasing its value. It is less likely, though not impossible, that home improvements form a strong home centred identity. However the labour involved - digging out foundations, mixing cement, plastering, plumbing, painting and decorating - does without doubt reinforce a masculine identity. The male respondents Saegert and Wilson's study were more likely to associate any personal identification with childhood and their parental home rather than with their current home.

In another article Saegert (1980) argues that this association of women with the home is a source of conflict. It has been generally assumed and emphasised that for women the home (and by implication the needs of other members of the household) should come first and

foremost regardless of all other activities and aspirations. Yet, Western culture is ambivalent towards and often devalues home based and domestic activities. Saegert comments : "Thus women are, on the one hand, committing themselves to and taking responsibility for the home, and, on the other, being denigrated when they are "nothing but a housewife." (p99). Devaluing the activities predominately done by women devalues women themselves, thus reinforcing an unequal social division between men and women.

One important achievement of feminist debate in the 1970s, especially around the domestic labour debate, was the recognition of household tasks as labour and therefore unpaid work (Harrison 1974; Malos 1980). This suggested a different analytical approach to the physical aspects of the 'home': one in which it was seen as a productive workplace for women performing the tasks of their ascribed gender role (Berk 1980; Ravetz 1984). Thus in an empirical study of the 'household division of labour', Berk (1980) lists the content of 'household work' and attempts to measure the proportion of each task done by individual members of the household. What she confirms is that women undertake the vast majority of domestic tasks and assume primary responsibility for organising and ensuring tasks are done whether or not they also do paid work outside the home. Despite many changes in the nature of housework arising from the application of domestic technology and alterations to the interior configuration of modern homes, the association of home and household work with women's social role is perpetuated. The domestic division of labour by gender shapes

house and home, and *vice versa*. Thus she concludes that the predominant demands of household labour located within and necessary to the maintenance of 'the home', define women. This underlies their differential experience of the physical world.

The link between housing design and women's gender role has been explored by Rock et al (1980). Their starting point is that : "The standard spatial layout of houses, kitchens and even closets does indeed reflect the dominant, long standing roles of women, men and children in our society." (p83) They then explore three influences which, they suggest, have perpetuated this 'reflection of roles' - architectural precedents, the emergence of 'media experts' in household management, and the rise of domestic consumerism. The role of women's magazines, since the last century, in publicising 'appropriate' layouts and ways of running the American home is also noted. By the 1930s, urban expansion in North America incorporated the standardisation of suburban housing. The division of space within these houses coincided with the separation of different activities carried out in the home. It strengthened the separation of the kitchen and women's work from the relatively 'public' spaces used by the rest of the household members. Nevertheless the kitchen remained the hub of the house and the 'housewife' became responsible for both the material and emotional needs of all household members. The authors note the resistance of the architectural and housing establishments to nineteenth and twentieth century feminist challenges to the layout and functions of the American home and the attempts of women, both in the past

and contemporarily, to redefine their roles through altering the spaces of domestic labour. Haydon^e (1982) has also re-discovered feminist campaigns for collectivised housework from the last century. These linked the spatial arrangement of houses and communities with the privatised labour of women and some advocated communal buildings for laundries and bakeries surrounded by 'kitchenless' houses. (Taylor (1983) has similarly rediscovered the campaigns for socialised domestic labour in the nineteenth century utopian socialist communities in Britain.)

From the 1930s onwards the media promotion of the 'ideal home' made use of the prescriptions of scientific management as applied to the domestic arena. These presented the 'best ways' of doing each and every household task - from decorating the living room and efficiently arranging the kitchen cupboards to bringing up children. The physical settings of domestic work, the processes, and time required for its execution were widely described in the magazine media and incorporated into the advertising campaigns for domestic appliances and consumer durables. The ideology of 'women's place' as home based was pervasive (Rock et al 1980; see also Coward 1984; White 1970)

The association of a particular role for women and the design of housing is a theme also taken up in Matrix (1984 Chapter 5). By taking eight 'housing types' found in Britain from the eighteenth century to the present day the authors document the historical variety of patterns of household, including women's roles within

them, and the changing physical layout of the home. They show a gradual exclusion of productive work from the home; an increased privatisation of the nuclear family; and changes to the functional distinctions of areas within the home. These they put in historical and economic context, and associate with class position of the household. In relation to this last point the separation of 'public' activities', such as entertainment, from 'private' ones, of sleeping and keeping clean, and from the domestic chores of preparing food and clearing away the debris of the household were important determining factors in the design of upper and middle class homes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century housing. The physical distinctions between eating and living spaces and to some degree of kitchens decreased in importance in the late twentieth century as open plans and integration of eating and living increasingly became the norm.

A change in the status and visibility of domestic work occurred concurrently with these alterations to housing layout. Mechanisation of domestic work and the decline of middle and upper class employment of servants increased the 'respectability' of household tasks. These have become increasingly the responsibility of individual women in each household. Furthermore, the association of house with family has led to a confusion of domestic drudgery with familial nurturing. Domestic drudgery implies the hard physical and emotional work of providing food, clean clothing and a clean house. It is repetitive and endless. Familial nurturing on the other hand is the love and care that goes

into the bringing up of children and the sustaining of relationships within the household (Barrett and McIntosh 1982). The transition to privatised individualised domestic work in twentieth century Britain was predicated on the view that 'modern' housing should be 'labour saving'. Ravetz (1984) writes:

"For the mistress about to become servantless and for the poor woman alike, it appeared self-evident that labour-saving electrical apparatus was the magical remedy required. With very few dissenting voices, it was assumed that this should be placed in an ever more compact kitchen. The 'working kitchen' was promoted by most progressive architects between the wars and, for a period at least, women appeared to agree..."
(Ravetz 1984 p15)

Contemporary housing therefore came to symbolise the importance of individuality and to stress the self-containment of the family, both of which relied on the hidden labour of women. Yet this 'high value - low cost' labour did not diminish with the so called 'labour saving' house nor with married women's entry into the waged labour market. As both Gavron (1968) and Oakley (1974) graphically demonstrate, this labour not only increased but also continued to be repetative, arduous, boring and isolating. Even so a contradiction also emerged: the home and proficiency in housework, household management and childcare were increasingly important new areas of pride and self expression for many thousands of women.

Creating the separation: underlying processes

"...men prefer residential environments that militate against the possibility of changing sex roles."

(Saegert and Winkel, 1980 p59)

In demonstrating how the home and housing design reflects and reproduces a defined role for women, the literature discussed above relies largely on an explanation of self-fulfilling constraint with passing references to behavioural assumptions and to symbolic meanings. Thus Saegert and Winkel (1980) conclude that the construction of the 'socio-physical' environment of the house and home severely curtails the ability of women to be involved in 'the world beyond' (p43). Women's gender role is therefore elevated to causal status in creating both gender divisions and spatial separation. But this interpretation of the links between gender divisions and spatial structure does not begin to question why or how such constraint has emerged. The power relations this 'constraint' embodies and processes which underly changes in its form are not fully recognised.

Boys (1984) does recognise underlying processes and argues that the material restrictions experienced by women in the urban environment are only one dimension of a whole set of social and economic relations which become expressed in physical space. Understanding the ideological processes by which gender becomes expressed in architectural and spatial form therefore requires a different kind of analysis. She writes:

"This form of analysis can then begin to deal with three levels at once. First the way in which the physical arrangement of the built environment can reinforce women's differential access to resources; secondly the way in which the built

environment simultaneously legitimizes and naturalizes that inequality; and thirdly, the way in which designers of the built environment consistently construct their own socialised experience as 'the norm'....The aim of a feminist analysis of architecture is then to unlock the male-dominated, male-as-norm patterning of the built environment; by showing how the physical fabric contains one particular set of ideas of social relations at the expense of others, by showing the mechanisms by which it perpetuates itself in this pattern by making it appear obvious and unproblematic, and by firmly revealing the problems for women, both of the discrepancies and contradictions of this male-defined world and in women's every experience in it."

(Boys 1984 p28-29)

Central to Boys' argument is not just that the decision-makers and designers of the physical world are men but that they take with them into their work a particular ideology which defines the appropriate form and use of buildings. Wrapped up in this ideology is a 'distancing' of the activities of production and those of reproduction. This incorporates notions of appropriate activities and behaviour in particular spaces which are infused with what is meant by, and understood to be, male or female. Boys' approach concerns the contradictory ideas which inform people's everyday actions and which become part of social, political and economic relations. These relations, which include gender divisions, she argues, are the basis of the built structures of cities.

The role of ideology in creating gender divisions and spatial separation is a theme addressed more systematically by Davidoff et al (1976) in their original paper "Landscape with figures: home and community in English society". 'Ideals' of home and community were evoked during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. These were significant in imposing a particular hierarchical social order during the unsettling transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism. The combined 'idylls' of rurality and domesticity were transferred to the built environment and, in turn, were reinforced themselves by that spatial form. However, the importance and power of these twin 'idylls', which together the authors call the Beau Ideal, was in the social relations they embodied. These were the ordered relations of dominance and subordination which manifest themselves within the roles of household and community members and in local geographies. So:

"The ideology of the home increased the traditional authority of the household head, emphasising a solidarity of place while identifying the husband's personal authority over wife and children and servants. Similar ideologies of community were, consciously or unconsciously, put forward to promote integration between various classes and status groups which made up a particular locality. In each the symbolic - and often substantive - boundaries could be maintained.... Within the home and within the community, subordinates 'know their place' because their self contained situation allows them only limited access to alternative conceptions of their 'place' from outside."

(Davidoff et al 1976, p143)

The transfer of the Beau Ideal into physical form (in the domestic architecture, model villages, suburban developments and new towns of the nineteenth century) was executed by the middle and upper classes in their creation of the 'necessary infrastructure' for the social relations of dominance and subordination to persist.

Within each physical setting the social order of the Beau Ideal was encouraged, using both 'separation' (for example, of working, middle and upper classes/children and adults/women and men) and 'privacy' (for example, through interior and exterior boundaries and design). Both legitimised the power of those in dominant positions, enabling them to continue to exert control.

The 'natural' or 'organic' state of these social relations of dominance and subordination was suggested by the 'idylls'. In the home this allowed men to be tyrants over other household members without interference from outside, further legitimating their domestic power. In the community it assumed a precedence of a social order in which every person knew their 'place' and the role they played. Thus : "...the home and the village community were not merely geographical expressions, since the physical boundaries were also cognitive boundaries, limiting aspirations and ideas about what was possible and desirable." (p143).

The divided social order of each in their 'place' thus defined the role of women in relation to men in the patriarchal family and in the community. The ideal of domesticity enveloped this order and the home became both a powerful symbol and physical place. The 'house mistress', who was ideally 'the wife', was the focus of this physical and social setting. Thus, in contemporary nineteenth century literature, "... the wife-mother-housemistress image often merged with the physical symbol of the house so that it became difficult to visualise the woman as having a separate identity

from the house ; in a sense she became the house." (p155 authors' emphasis). Her role was to create an order in the household which reflected the assumed 'timelessness' and 'continuity' of family life. This was to be set in contrast to the 'disjuncture' of industrial capitalism. (p153-156).

Defining gender divisions was also done through definitions of women who were outside the moral and economic control of the 'patriarchal family'. The threat of unattached single or working woman to the social order created a backlash against all women unwilling or unable to conform to the 'gentility' of the middle class domestic idyll. This included working class women who were being drawn into industrialised wage labour. Their independence and 'respectability' were questioned by reformers through whom the Beau Ideal was taken into working class communities. This effectively defined the problems of working women out of existence while reinforcing two of their most pressing problems - occupational segregation and low wages.

The continuity of the Beau Ideal and its prescriptions for social relations can be seen in the physical fabric of Britain's twentieth century cities and towns. Desire to order (and therefore control) the social world, Davidoff et al argue, stimulated the construction of nineteenth century model villages such as New Lanark, Saltaire, Port Sunlight and Bournville and contributed to Ebenezer Howard's 'garden city' plan. This had a lasting effect on the British Town Planning Movement; an effect

which still has its influence today. Post-war planning goals of self-containment and self-regulation in particular implied a harmony of co-existence but obscured the reality of inequality in the prescribed social relationships. Thus:

"..the Beau Ideal was a model, a way of composing reality that helped to create that reality in a very concrete way, often embalmed in the bricks and mortar of houses, the layout of roads and services with which we are still living. Both the village and home sectors of this ideal represented a defence against various attacks on the social structure which made, particularly members of the middle class, fearful of disorder in every sphere of social life. The model was seen to stress consensus and effective ties. It thus shifted attention away from exploitation of groups and emphasised individual relationships. It denied the reality of, and thus made less viable, the existence of households with other structures namely without male heads, with working wives and mothers."

(Davidoff et al 1976, p173)

The suburbia of the early twentieth century became the main repository for the Beau Ideal in Britain. And, as noted earlier in this chapter, at the heart of the 'suburban dream' was the housewife. During the Second World War the twin images of the suburban house with its garden and of the housewife with her family were powerful symbols used to promote social stability during the upheavals of call-up, evacuation, women's employment and labour mobility (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954; Madge 1945).

Of the many points raised in Davidoff et al's paper, there are two which are especially relevant in a discussion of the relationship between gender divisions and spatial structure.

First, the separation of women/family from public (economic, social and political) life through the spatial organisation of the urban environment has, of itself, maintained the control and power of the upper and middle classes and of men. The second is their demonstration that the social-spatial division of men and women is not a natural nor timeless phenomenon but a result of the playing out through history of complex unequal social relations.

From ideology to policy

The role of contemporary urban policy - especially housing and planning policy - in translating the ideology of separate spheres into material (spatial) form and thus reinforcing the divisions between women and men has attracted feminists' attention (for example Austerberry and Watson 1981; Cockburn 1977; Greater London Council 1986; Markusen 1980; Matrix 1984; Watson 1986; Women and Planning Group 1982; Wyatt 1978). The significance of who makes up the 'urban' professions - white middle class men - has also been stressed (Greater London Council 1986; Leavitt 1980; London Strategic Policy Unit, 1987).

In discussing an early period of planning intervention in the United States Wagner (1984) points out that the suburban expansion of American cities was a result of many processes including profiteering and land speculation. However the government funded slum clearance programmes of the 1930s also advocated new development on the suburban fringe. These became known as the

'Greenbelt Towns' and, argues Wagner, put the federal government in a new role of "codifying a wide range of social values, including those concerning the family and particularly women's role in the family." (p35).

A powerful and explicit element of the rhetoric which underlay the actions of the Resettlement Administration (the body designated to devise and commission the building of these developments) was the assumption that men would commute to the parent city to work while women remained in the pedestrian orientated environment of the new residential dormitory neighbourhoods. Pictures of women doing housework, waving goodbye to men at the garden gates of single family homes, engaged in childcare and tending allotments figured prominently in the publicity leaflets for the towns. The allocations policies also reflected this ideal conception of new town residency. Various criteria were set including one of 'family integration': the ideal family was to be "a well integrated family group - normal, home loving, self respecting" (p36). Any 'deviance' from this standard which might suggest a 'social problem' excluded applicants. Social and spatial engineering coincided through the assumptions of what was 'normal'.

The criteria of housekeeping standards and cleanliness were also used in post-war Britain in the allocation of council and new town housing (Ungerson 1971). The history of housing management and allocations policy, dating back to the early reformers such as Octavia Hill, also demonstrates the particular role of middle and

upper middle class women in imparting and policing the ideology of domesticity to working class women (Brion and Tinker 1980). These policies gave rise to increasing inequality in the location of those households which did not 'fit' the norm prescribed by middle class housing managers (McDowell 1983). The following paternalistic and unrealistic advice of a housing manager, working in Britain the 1950s, noted by Ward (1974) and quoted by McDowell (1983), was not only commonplace but accepted as desirable by policy makers:

"Keep your home clean and tidy. Endeavour to have some method of cleaning as you go along, do not try to clean the whole house in one day. Regular bedtimes for children and adults except on special occasions. Sit down properly at the table. Hang up your pots and pans or put them on a shelf....."

(Ward 1974, p12)

The assumptions of men and women's correct roles were inculcated into the official guidelines for state and private sector house builders in Britain. Since the 1950s prescriptive documents have been successively produced by government. Many of these have been widely issued and used in private architectural practice as well as in local authorities. Matrix (1984 Chapter 6) have reconsidered some of these publications and demonstrated how they reinforce the nuclear family norm through their suggestions for the internal spatial arrangement of housing. Many of these guidelines were based on detailed questioning of how family members used the spaces within and immediately surrounding the home. Nevertheless the questions asked already assumed a division of labour between

men and women. For example, answers to queries about the length of time women spent washing up and watching over children's outdoor play resulted, in the 1960s, in a suggested 'best' location for kitchen sinks - at a window overlooking the access corridor, yard or garden. The questions did not ask why women spent so much time washing up or minding children. Nor whether there were any alternatives.

Flow charts of the daily lives of "Mr and Mrs Average" in the home have been included in some manuals: women prepare food, clean and mind 'baby'; men leave for work; eat and do 'repairs'. (Housing the Family 1974 quoted in Matrix 1984). Standardised internal spatial arrangements of rooms were calculated and optimum usage of space inside the house suggested for different family types - distinguishing between those with older children and those with young babies and toddlers. These assumed domestic work took place in isolation - divorced from the family by gender and space. Solitary women were described preparing meals and doing housework with scientific precision. Emphasis was laid on the use of 'labour saving' layout, surfaces and appliances as well as on increasing the efficiency of domestic work. But this was not presented alongside images of women engaged in non-domestic activities; for example in either paid work or recreation. Women were just doing more of the same. In addition, an expressed objective of creating 'private' space for each family member, was not extended to private space for women - children and husbands had bedrooms and worksheds, women had 'their' kitchen!

Post-war reconstruction: the context of social and spatial policy

"..there was compromise and confusion rather than conspiracy. .. Few doubted that full employment (for men) and better social services (for women and children) should be priorities; and there was anxiety about the family. The welfare state was certainly perceived as supportive of family life, and was intended both to ease the lot of the breadwinner and to improve the situation of his dependents. Yet it supported this particular form of family life - a breadwinner and dependents - simply because no-one thought of any other way of doing things. The return of the soldier from the battle front was the return of the Father to hearth and home, but - whatever else could it have been? In any case, hopes for a better world for men, women and children masked, to some extent the conflict, uncertainty and division over women's place."

(Wilson 1980, p16)

The power of domestic ideology in the immediate post-war period has been of particular interest amongst British feminists (Riley 1983; Wilson 1977, 1980; Wilson with Weir 1986). There has been curiosity about the particular circumstances of war-time and of post-war life that led to the entrenchment of gender divisions - including the changes in women's labour force participation.

One group of writers, the Birmingham Feminist History Group (1979), note that the dominant ideology of the post-war period was one which obscured differences and divisions (between classes and genders) and presented a gloss of unity and co-operation. The nuclear family with its prescription for 'harmonious living' was the cornerstone of this new society. They comment that:

"The fifties was a period characterised by consensus that the family was the central unit in society. It was a period when the after effects of the war combined with affluence and the boom to spread an aura of confidence and optimism, a belief in the future and in the possibility of solving the problems that remained in society. ...The war, the post war reconstruction and the rapid development of the cold war, all contributed in different ways to a diminished emphasis on class divisions and an increased emphasis on areas of agreement. The way forward was open to a new and better society..."

(Birmingham Feminist History Group, 1979 p48-49)

But poverty, conflict and division did still exist and the tensions they generated - particularly between men and women - were excluded from public political debate until well into the 1960s (Wilson with Weir 1986). Post-war social and spatial reconstruction was inevitably founded on precepts which did not directly reflect the daily reality of peoples' lives.

An explanation for this mismatch can be derived from Davidoff et al's (1976) analysis of social and spatial divisions outlined above. They conclude that the construction of the Beau Ideal, with its gender divisions and spatial separation, was a means of mitigating the social chaos evolving with industrialisation. Many of the post-war social and spatial policies also drew on past 'idylls' of family and social organisation. And they too were directed at defusing potential class conflict and facilitating social stability.

The post-war reinforcement of 'family life' was particularly evident in the abolition of some of the wartime childcare and

catering provisions. Riley (1979; 1983) for example, documents and analyses one such area of provision: under fives nurseries. There was a rapid increase in care for the under 5s between 1938 and 1944. Originally this was linked to the welfare needs of evacuated mothers and children but by 1940 the emphasis had reluctantly changed from providing "emergency welfare, a safety valve for stress, to nurseries as indispensable in facilitating the flow of female labour." (p84). It was a reluctant change because the mobilisation of mothers for the labour force was still ideologically unacceptable (Lewis, J.E 1984 pp185-195).

The justification for Treasury subsidy to local authorities for nursery provision was however the maintenance of essential war time production. Provision was first directed at women munitions workers, then other essential 'war workers', in an attempt to curb absenteeism and turnover. In 1945 the subsidy was cut by half and many nurseries were forced to close. This was despite deputations emphasising that working women needed nurseries and that women were still required as labour for the new service sector. Nurseries were also needed while housing and environmental conditions remained inadequate. Nevertheless a consensus supporting the closure of nurseries had emerged in trades union and academic circles and in popular culture. This consensus assumed mothers needed to be at home full-time 'for the children', and this, Riley argues, prevented a concerted and flexible response to provision of childcare outside the home.

Between 1940 and 1950 meals were also provided outside the home by local authorities on a non-profit making basis. A Community Feeding policy was devised by the Ministry of Food. This not only included school meals and factory canteens but also a number of British Restaurants which were designed to cater for working people and their families. These restaurants served well cooked and balanced meals in convenient locations (Roberts 1984). There was considerable support for continuing this provision after the war. This service was still needed because of the poor and overcrowded housing conditions of large numbers of the population. But the counter view, of their 'threat' to family life, was too strongly supported and ultimately all the British Restaurants were closed. Roberts (1984) quotes a report written in 1946 by the National Council for Social Services which summarises the power of this view:

"It would seem that if a wife does not cook her husband's main meal she (sic) loses an important function in his life: there is a fear that the extension of these restaurants would disrupt family life."

(Roberts 1984 p114)

Arguments for the retention of public meal provision were included in a post-war campaign for the socialisation of many aspects of domestic work. This small campaign also wanted community play rooms, communal kitchens, nurseries and sewing centres. But, as Riley (1983) suggests demands for the socialisation of domestic work did not grow into a mass movement because of the unacceptable 'danger' it posed to the privatised family.

The social foundations of the 'new community' in post war Britain, were therefore laid well before the end of the war. Indeed in their volume in the official history of the war, Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954) note that the social changes causing concern were already underway prior to war. For example, the increased number of smaller more mobile families; rises in birth, illegitimacy and divorce rates; and the growing trend for both the young and the elderly to live independently. These were simply accelerated by the social disruption of evacuation, call up and labour mobility. The popularity of marriage and a dramatic rise in birth rates during the war (from 14 per 1000 people in 1941 to 17.5 per 1000 in 1945) was paralleled by a labour shortage. By 1943 approximately 80 per cent of single women, 41 per cent of married women without young children and 13 per cent of with young children were working in some capacity outside the home (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954, p127).

As women were mobilised, the very young and the elderly were left behind in the home. Social provision for these groups far from being reduced, was in fact increased by wartime necessity. Evacuation of pregnant women and of children and the hospitalisation of confinement were two of the first social policies to be introduced (Oakley 1980). They were followed by the nursery and catering provision, communal laundries, domestic help for the elderly and the rationing of most goods and services (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954). The 1942 Beveridge provisions for guaranteed income, commitments to public infrastructural

investment and full male employment, as well as a nationalised health service established the depth of social policy intervention.

Titmuss, writing in 1950, directly links this wholesale increase of State intervention in the hitherto 'private' arena of family life with the intensification of pre-war social change. He writes:

"The dispersal of families and the mobilisation of women were the two main reasons why families were less self reliant in war-time than in peace-time....What the family and neighbourhood could now no longer do for themselves, the State had to help them do.."

(Titmuss 1950, p6-7)

Titmuss also introduces another issue. He argues that the State had a 'moral obligation' to intervene as a consequence of its role in exacerbating some 'social problems'. For example, by linking the rise in illegitimacy with the enforced labour mobility of young single women, he suggests that there was a 'moral responsibility', recognised at the time, for the State to provide for these women and their children. However, others (see Rose 1981) have implied a more complex process. They argue that this social provision evolved in response to, on the one hand, the establishment's fears of class unrest and, on the other, the demands of the Labour Movement for material improvement in the living conditions of the working class. This combination then provided the impetus for intervention in motherhood and the family and then (after the war) in the environmental fabric of urban areas (Lambert and Rees 1985; Wilson 1977, 1980). Social stability

and a perception of classlessness were engendered first through the material and ideological support of the family (via social policy) and then subsequently in environmental improvement.

During this period of war-time and immediate post-war provision, there was an acknowledgement of the arduous nature of women's domestic work amongst those concerned with the urban environment and social policy (McDowell 1983; Ungerson 1985). For example, in the Reith Committee Report (1946), which was the forerunner of the New Towns Act, a recommendation for the continued provision of 24 hour nursery care and catering services is supported by the comment that : "War time experiences have strengthened the impulse to escape from the necessity of preparing and clearing up every meal in the week" (quoted by McDowell, 1983 p63). In the earlier Beveridge Report (1942) there is a similar recommendation for the communal servicing of individual homes. It contains the following passage:

"The housewife's job with a large family is frankly impossible and will remain so, unless some of what now has to be done separately in every home - washing all clothes, cooking every meal, being in charge of every child every moment when it is not at school - can be done communally outside the home"

(Beveridge Report, 1942 p264; quote by McDowell 1983 p63)

Yet these precedents for communal provision in the post war new town and town planning movements were lost, despite respectable support for the idea of co-operative housekeeping in the Garden City and Town Planning Movements (Haydon 1982). One reason for

this lack of practical support was the rise of individualism in the boom years as consumerism and owner occupation expanded (Galbraith 1974; Saunders and Williams 1987).

One important issue must, however, be raised here. Many of the more radical ideas about communal provision were not universally welcomed by women. Promotion of socialised domestic work did not necessarily challenge the gender division of labour. It did, nevertheless, threaten individual women's autonomy and identity with the home. Without offering much in return, socialisation of domestic work could undermine what little status women attained through their own domestic proficiency (Gavron 1968; Oakley 1974; Malos 1980).

Putting the spheres back together

Most of the work discussed so far in this chapter has been concerned with the separation of spheres in space, and gender divisions within society. The emphasis has been on demonstrating the existence of spatial separation and of gender divisions. Their incorporation into policy has been noted and this related to the maintenance of women's inequality. Within feminist urban studies literature, however, attempts have also been made at synthesising the analysis of the separated spheres.

Markusen (1980) was one of the first to suggest an analytical synthesis of the separated spheres. Her framework thus suggested a

combined analysis of the social relations of production and reproduction. She pointed to omissions in contemporary analyses of urban space (for example in Castells (1977) and Harvey (1973)) which relied solely on the relations of production for causality and argued that to understand urban spatial structure account must be taken of the gender divisions which it embodies. She argues that 'social reproduction', organised in the 'patriarchal household' on the basis of an unequal division of labour between women and men, also forms an essential part of the explanation of urban spatial structure. Drawing examples from the spatial organisation of contemporary North American cities, she argues that the dominance of single family detached dwellings, segregation of workplace from residence, and decentralisation of housing are the result of both the patriarchal organisation of household reproduction and the capitalist organisation of production. Decentralised segregated single family dwelling houses are, she suggests, only profitable products for the construction, finance and real estate sectors because of the dominance of the individualised patriarchal nuclear family form. Without this particular organisation of reproductive social relations, profitable housing would have taken a completely different shape.

Markusen's definition of the patriarchal organisation of household reproduction draws on the analysis of social reproduction first presented by Hartmann (1979). This argues that the labour power of women expended within the households of capitalist societies is used in the service of men. The economic return for women's labour

is subsumed within the 'family wage' which is paid to men and controlled by men (The role of protective legislation and unionisation on establishing the family wage is discussed by Barrett and McIntosh (1980)). In this analysis the basic form of domestic labour is considered to be the same as labour expended in the sphere of production. In other words labour in both cases is exploited in production of goods and services for exchange. What differs is its 'organisation'. In the domestic sphere, the 'productivity and efficiency' of labour are not tested by the market as they are in the sphere of production. But, Markusen suggests, 'household members' satisfaction' and the level of household expenditure on the 'raw materials' operate as equivalents to the market. (These two indicators are left unsatisfactorily vague as undefined indicators). Nevertheless on the basis of this argument she states that current spatial patterns are 'inefficient' for women because they result in "wasted labor time and curtail access to jobs and other facets of urban life" (p29).

Given such 'inefficiency' Markusen asks why do women continue to 'choose' to remain in household based reproduction. Her answers focus on the lack of choice which she observes within 'patriarchal' and 'capitalist' social relations. Primarily this lack of choice is related to women's position within production: lack of access to the full range of jobs for women is due not solely to physical distance but also to the occupational segregation characteristic of the patriarchal/capitalist

organisation of production. But the 'family wage', paid to men and the low pay received by women when they do work for wages, reinforces women's place as secondary breadwinners. Meanwhile the primary responsibility for household tasks still falling to women - thus restricting occupational choice and maintaining their position in reproduction.

This analysis is used to outline the 'functional (economic) benefits' and 'disbenefits' for capitalism and patriarchy of the North American segregated urban form. The conclusion is that the current spatial form exhibits both 'efficiencies' and 'inefficiencies' for capitalism and patriarchy. This forces Markusen to conclude that there are other causal processes, such as ideology, within the social relations of capitalism and patriarchy which cannot be reduced to assumed 'functional efficiencies' (the economic relations) of production or reproduction. For example, Markusen modifies her argument by reference to a secondary reason for women 'choosing' to remain in household based reproduction: women may, in practice be able to exert more control over their working conditions in the home than in production workplaces. This is not necessarily a universal condition, as coercion, and the expectations of male members of the patriarchal household, can and do set the boundaries of a woman's control. However the apparent 'inefficiency' of household reproduction often does give women more discretionary power over their lives and activities than the 'efficiency' of a factory or

office. So the details of these 'non-economic relations are left unexplored.

Nevertheless Markusen's paper is important as it attempts to look beneath the constraints of distance and time to the social relations which create the spatial surface. There are, however, some problems in her analysis. First there is an over-reliance on economic relations of production and therefore women's poor position in waged labour as the means by which patriarchal forms of reproduction are maintained. Second her economic functionalism, expressed in the focus on what is not 'efficient' for profitability, obscures the complexities and contradictions (and the operation of ideology) which are apparent in the social relations of both production and of reproduction. She also leaves the 'patriarchal family' unexamined, implicitly assuming a universal form. Finally she does not acknowledge the historical and spatial specificity of either her analysis or of her categories - production and reproduction. Fortunately, some of these points have been indirectly addressed and developed by other authors.

For example, Mackenzie and Rose (1983) have also advocated an analytical synthesis of the spheres of production and reproduction in explanation of gender divisions and spatial structuring in urban environments. They comment on the disciplinary separation within research and academic debate which has fostered the divisions between home and work - between things

social and things economic. And, they suggest, it will only be when the analytical bridge between these concerns is made that a full understanding of the processes, both capitalist and patriarchal, which shape urban areas can be achieved. They also point out that the contradictions and tensions, for women, of the separate spheres intensified in Britain in the boom years after the Second World War when the number of competing demands on women's time (at home and in the workplace) was multiplying yet the "...different spheres remained writ large in the relatively fixed spatial structure of the city and suburban milieux." (p157). Married women were entering the labour force yet they were also providing an increasingly 'professional' home management and childcare service at home and entering community and political life. (These contradictions and tensions were often identified as the 'problems of constraint' in the research discussed in the first part of this chapter).

In order to begin their analytical synthesis of the spheres of production and reproduction, Mackenzie and Rose present an historical review of the inter-related changes in the form of industrial activity and in the domestic economy of the household from feudalism to late capitalism. They note that within the changing relations between the spheres of production and reproduction, a causal influence was the conflict and struggles between classes and genders. At their starting point in feudal Europe they suggest there was a spatial unity of production and reproduction in the household, though they acknowledge a

'patriarchal' division of labour based on gender and age. Thus they write that: "...the spatial proximity or identity of workplace and home minimised both the necessity and the possibility of separate blocks of space and time whose role was defined in terms of escape and recovery from working life." (Mackenzie and Rose, 1983 p160; authors own emphasis).

The transition to capitalism destroyed this spatial unity of production and domestic life. Over several hundred years a distinction between domestic production for household use and workshop production for market exchange was established. Although this division of labour first occurred within the same place - the home - with industrialisation it became entrenched in a spatial division between 'workplace' and home. But, with the rapid growth of industrial capitalism, domestic labour for reproduction at home became impossible as both women's and children's labour was drawn into production on a large scale. The housing conditions also often prevented even a minimal domestic life. A crisis in the reproduction of labour (both at the daily and generational levels) emerged out of these changes in both production and reproduction. Mackenzie and Rose (1983) note that a struggle for a separate 'domestic sphere' therefore developed.

This struggle led to alliances across class and gender boundaries and to a variety of new demands - from space in cities for allotments, to shorter working hours, a 'family wage', slum clearance and building of individual 'family' dwellings, and the

exclusion of women and children from the mines and factories (Lewis, J.E. 1984) All these demands underpinned the creation of a separate domestic sphere. But this sphere was not simply a place in which the reproduction of the labour force for capitalist production could take place: where capital's 'need' for labour was fulfilled. Mackenzie and Rose demonstrated that the separate domestic sphere was also argued for by working class activists as a place to escape to, away from the demands of production and as a place in which there was some autonomy for individual working people. This, however was increasingly a male understanding of the domestic sphere. For women it was turning into an arena of domestic work. They write:

"Crucially, however, such a home was far more a haven for men than for women for whom it was a domestic workplace. In this way a new polarisation between men and women was set up; the needs and desires of alienated male workers contributed to the oppression of domestic workers and enabled the household to function as the "ideal" mode of reproduction of labour."

(Mackenzie and Rose, 1983 p166)

The important analytical point raised by Mackenzie and Rose's paper is that the separation of the home from the workplace in Britain occurred in a particular way from a combination of historical circumstances in the organisation of work and domestic economy. They also recognise (as did Davidoff et al, 1976) the power of particular ideologies in creating or suggesting possible options for change and for justifying their form once adopted. By the twentieth century, in Britain, the spatial separation of home and work and the gender divisions of labour within and between the

spheres, therefore appeared to be the 'natural' order of urban life. Suburbanisation entrenched this separation while the identification of house/home with women enabled the specific role of 'housewife' to be extended and elaborated. Thus the gender division of labour was updated with increasingly sophisticated 'home economics' and management of household consumption by women for the family (Pahl 1984). Meanwhile the organisation and location of production were also changing. The spatial separation administration from fabrication, for example, led to the growth of particular manufacturing activities on purpose built industrial estates in peripheral locations.

Changing lives, conflicting spaces ?

The work reviewed above clearly demonstrates that, in western capitalist societies, gender divisions in the contemporary urban environment are expressed through the spatial separation of home and work. Many issues have been raised about the nature and quality of women's lives by documenting this separation - for example in their undervalued domestic responsibilities, the ideology and material reality of 'homemaking' and their lack of access to employment. Differences in the specific spatial form of suburbia have been noted and differential impacts on women's employment opportunities suggested.

There are examples of the segregated environment, where women, despite domestic responsibility appear not to be restricted or

hampered in their combination of domestic and paid work. Popenoe (1980) has argued that the form of segregated suburbia found in North America is specific to that continent. In a comparative study of America and Sweden he suggests that the sprawling, single family dwelling and dormitory form of suburbs in the United States was strongly influenced by the dominance of the nuclear family and privatised transportation. The compact structure of Swedish suburbs with apartment blocks which are inter-linked socially and spatially closely with the city reflects the predominance of multi-generation households and the integrated transportation and public utilities provision. From this description he suggests that the American suburb is 'not congruent' with the needs of contemporary women - especially women who do paid work. The Swedish suburb is however, in Popenoe's estimation, highly 'congruent' He writes:

"One reason so many Swedish women work is because the suburb is exceptionally well designed from the point of view of working women; it is highly congruent with their needs and behaviour patterns. Swedish women have access to a large job market, easily reached by public transportation, and they have necessary public facilities, such as day-care centres, play parks and youth centres. Moreover, they have a safe environment for their children, a low maintenance dwelling un it, and a husband who has a reasonably short journey to work and hence can be home more.

In contrast, American suburban women have a more limited job market, a virtual lack of public transportation, and few day-care facilities (having to rely on friends, relatives or neighbours), a hard to maintain home, and a husband who is away from home for a longer period each day."

(Popenoe 1980, p169-170)

This is instructive in reminding us that places are different both in social structure and in social provision. This, however, does not explain why the different physical arrangements and social provisions emerged in these particular places. Nor does it look at the different demands for women's paid labour. In Sweden there has been a labour shortage. There has also been different and unique post-war pattern of economic development and interventionist welfare policy.

Various other interpretations of the processes underlying the separation and of the subsequent relationship between the spheres have been put forward. One influence of aspatial feminist research and politics has been a reliance on women's gender role and on the social relations of reproduction as explanations for gender divisions and spatial separation. Thus, the argument goes because women give birth, raise children and do household tasks this has been used to limit their access to the 'public world' of production.

The interdependence of reproduction and production in shaping urban structure has nevertheless been demonstrated. The organisation of production can influence the organisation of reproduction, as in nineteenth century Britain and North America (Mackenzie and Rose 1983; Miller 1983) or in the coal mining areas of the north east (McDowell and Massey 1984) or in the company towns of Canada (Luxton 1980; Mackenzie 1986). And it has been suggested that the organisation of domestic work can influence the

organisation and location of industry and employment, for example, as in 1960s and 1970s decentralisation of routine manufacturing in Britain (Lewis 1984) or the contemporary growth of homebased economic activity (Mackenzie 1986). The relationship between production and reproduction does therefore change over time and vary between places. The structure of the urban environment also varies over time and space. McDowell (1983) summarises this approach in the following way:

"...the division of urban space both reflects and influences the sexual division of labour, women's role in the family, and the separation of home life from work that developed in the period of capitalist industrialisation. Gender divisions are made concrete and further strengthened by land-use policies that segregate 'non-conforming' uses. However the particular form of these divisions and the consequences for social relations between men and women are neither inevitable nor constant. The relations between production and reproduction vary over time and in space, as does the social construction of gender and patriarchal domination."

(McDowell 1983, p62-63)

But, change in urban structure lags behind reorganisation of production and reproduction. Thus, the suburban spatial form and the divisions of labour it incorporated and reflected turned into arenas of contradiction and conflict. It was shown through this chapter that suburbia was built on early twentieth century assumptions of middle class divisions of labour (high earning male breadwinner and non-earning female housewife) (see also Miller 1983) and, though the spatial form persists, the social composition (Fava 1980) and the organisation of production (including its geography) have changed. (Nelson (1986) details

some up to date shifts in this trend in her examination of the re-location of offices and clerical employment to lower middle and middle class suburban areas in North America.)

Suburbs did not remain exclusively upper income and middle class. In Britain and North America there was large scale peripheral development for working class households through public sector housing development and private investment respectively (see for example Ball 1984). The location of black and other ethnic minority households in peripheral estates also contributed to social change in the North American suburbs. And in both Britain and America, the heterogeneity of residential areas was increased by general trends towards more single person households (young and old) and the rise in women headed households. The post-war entry of married women into the labour force to produce the goods the household consumed led to, but also arose out of, general changes in both the form and content of domestic work and that of waged work. Yet the 'problems' which arose for women from the contradictions of bridging the social and spatial divide were individualised. These problems were most acute for working class women whose economic resources were low and black women who faced racial discrimination by the 'new suburban employers' (Fava 1980). Middle class women, though sharing many of the problems, had more resources to alleviate the worst symptoms. This places the pertinent issue of the inter-relationship of class, race, gender and space onto the feminist agenda for those working in this area.

These complex inter-relationships have, to date, hardly been recognised.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN LIVING IN THE POST WAR NEW TOWNS

"The clearest exposition of the principles of community planning is made by a new town laid out on an original site. Here, unhindered by existing property, the well grouped residential units interwoven with public open spaces focus upon the civic centre, correctly related to a clearly defined and segregated industrial area."

(Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, p269).

In the previous chapter the argument was made, following Mackenzie and Rose (1983), that the emergence of a spatially segregated urban form in Britain was a 'solution' to a particular crisis in the reproduction of labour at the height of nineteenth century industrialisation. The consequences of changes in the organisation of production and the demise of domestic life were the urban squalor and overcrowding of the major industrial centres, falling birth rates and social disorder. The spatial separation of productive and reproductive spheres was vigorously advocated by many on both sides of the capital-labour equation (see D. Rose 1980, 1981). Furthermore the imposition of a gender division of labour across this spatial separation derived from patriarchal forms of household structure (Davidoff et al 1976).

This chapter is in two parts. In the first, the particular way in which gender divisions and spatial segregation became incorporated

into the local post-war 'solutions' adopted in the Clyde Valley are examined briefly. In this region, new towns were overtly proposed as 'solutions' to the particular urban problems of Glasgow; legacies of the specific form of industrialisation which took place in the West of Scotland. In the second part of this chapter the links between this 'solution' and some of the problems faced by women living the tensions and 'contradictions' which the separated spheres of home and work had generated by the early 1980s, are described and discussed. It is therefore concerned with women's own experiences of living and working in the two study new towns.

The material on women's conflicting lives is based on the empirical results of an intensive semi-structured interview survey undertaken between 1982-1983 with 90 women in their own homes (50 women living in East Kilbride and 40 in Cumbernauld) (see Appendix 1 for a discussion of the methodology used and Appendix 2 for the questionnaire). These results are used to illustrate the gender division of labour in a segregated urban environment.

One of the main underlying themes of this chapter is the intersection of general process of change with unique social and spatial situations. The separation of spheres was a general process (a product in itself of general processes of change in social and economic relations) yet why and how it was achieved in the Clyde Valley had a specific local impetus. There was a reaction to a particularly volatile set of class relations which

combined with strongly interventionist spatial and industrial policies.

Segregated environments vary in their particular form and the form discussed here is the new towns of the Clyde Valley. The combination of events which come together in the women's lives documented below also share both general and unique properties. The gender division of labour is common in most households across Britain, so are many of the problems faced by women who combine waged and domestic labour. However, the circumstances in which women face these problems, how they emerged and what form they take, are specific to each place, including these new towns.

PART I

A solution required: housing crisis and social unrest

A major factor contributing to the form of urban problems of the Clyde Valley in the nineteenth century was that the inward migrations were also fuelled by rural poverty, the systematic clearances and subsequent famine in the Highland areas of Scotland and by famine in Ireland. Many of the newcomers were therefore already destitute on their arrival (Handley 1945; Kellas 1966). Fourth, the work available to the in-migrants was largely unskilled, casual and seasonal in the textiles, coalmining and construction industries, and did not usually provide either stability of employment or adequate payment for the basics of

food, clothing and shelter (Lenman 1977; Slaven 1975). Fifth, the relatively young age range of the in migrants also contributed to the rapid increase in population density through exceptionally high birth rates (Checkland 1976).

These were compounded by the way in which housing was produced, controlled and rented by the private sector (Damer 1974, 1976, 1980; Melling 1980). In 1881 25 per cent of Glasgow's population lived in 'single ends' - one roomed dwellings - and more than 50 per cent lived in a 'room-and-kitchen'. Lodging houses and multi-occupation dwellings sheltered many of the remaining 25 per cent. Housing was constructed in warrens of 4-5 storey tenement blocks with little space in between (Gordon and Dicks 1983). Melling (1980) notes the imperfection and speculative, cyclical nature of Glasgow's private housing sector. He demonstrates the inability of the sector to build enough houses when demanded yet with an over-supply when demand lagged due to downward swings in the staple industries of the city (shipbuilding, locomotive engineering and textiles). Rent levels were also erratic and were often raised at times of increasing supply as well as peaks of demand (p141). In addition Damer (1980) argues that, contrary to popular belief, rent levels in Victorian Glasgow were no lower than those in comparable English cities. Indeed they were higher for worse accommodation in equivalent dwellings in other cities (p89).

Damer (1976; 1980) illustrates the power of local landlords, their representation on the City Corporation, and their reluctance to

see any form of intervention by the State in housing provision. He describes the particular system of collecting rents in advance for 'long lets', the corrupt system of collecting different lump sum city taxes through private sector 'factors' (rent collectors and landlords' agents) and the use of 'sanitary police' to harass and evict tenants. (The sanitary police enforce local bye-laws on the levels of occupancy in dwellings.) 'Long leases' of a year, payable often in advance, were a peculiarity of the 'better' tenement houses in the region. This practice produced inflexibility in the market and maintained the control of the stock in the hands of a very few landlords. It also denied access to this marginally 'better' housing for most of the labour force who were employed week by week in a volatile casualised labour market.

The physical condition of speculative housing development and the pernicious local landlord-tenant relation not only contributed to a recognisable crisis in reproduction but also eventually fostered unrest. That this discontent could be mobilised was, as Foster (1979) suggests, not unrelated to the degree of labour organisation which already existed within the shipbuilding and engineering industries. In addition it has been suggested that the local working population, made up largely of rural immigrants forced off the land by clearances and famine, were already predisposed to anti-landlordism (Handley 1945).

These particularly local class relations were consolidated during the early part of the first world war by the influx of munitions workers into the industrial and dock areas of the city and surrounding districts. This put further increased pressure on the cheaper end of the housing market. Despite some 13,000 empty properties in the city, created by the high rent and long let system, these new mostly casual workers were unable to gain access to these dwellings and were therefore forced into already overcrowded conditions of the cheaper areas. In October 1915 after a summer of mounting disquiet, 15,000 households were on rent strike over new increases imposed by the landlord's factors (Damer 1980). Women, organised through the Glasgow Women's Housing Association as part of a growing local Labour Movement, played a crucial role in initiating and maintaining the action. Gallagher (1978) graphically describes the women's involvement in one area:

"In Govan, Mrs Barbour, a typical working class housewife, became the leader of a movement such as had never been seen before, or since for that matter. Street meetings, back court meetings, drums, bells trumpets - every method was used to bring the women out and organise them for the struggle. Notices were printed by the thousand and put up in the windows: wherever you went you could see them. In street after street, scarcely a window without one: WE ARE NOT PAYING INCREASED RENT."

(Gallagher 1978, p52-53; author's emphasis)

The protest gained the support of shipyard workers and escalated. After several court cases, blockades and a government inquiry a Rent Restrictions Bill (initially for the duration of the war but which in fact lasted far longer) was introduced and passed. The

implications of the rent strike Damer (1980) argues were far reaching. Most importantly it created the precedent for the state's involvement in housing as an arena of reproduction. He comments:

"...its (the rent strike's) ramifications in terms of the state's housing policies were profound. It sparked off a series of crises which the state had not theorised and for which it had no articulated policies. These crises were essentially to do *both* with the reproduction of labour power, *and* of the relations of production. In other words, it was a period of crisis of reproduction.In terms of the reproduction of labour power, the Victorian state had only a glimmering of the awful human costs of poor housing, and with the exception of a handful of its intellectuals, had certainly not grasped the centrality of housing in the reproduction process. The events of the war in general, and rent strikes in particular, changed all that."

(Damer 1980, p101; author's emphasis)

The unprecedented labour unrest that the rent increases had elicited - uniting home and workplace organisation - was, it has been argued, the main impetus for governmental concern (McHugh, 1978; Melling, 1978). The need for stability and certainty to guarantee production, especially during wartime, could not be ignored. The Report of the Royal Commission into Scottish Housing (1918) noted the appalling nature of working class housing, the cost in terms of health and 'morale' and the potential future disquiet that could be expected if no remedy was put in train. It also recognised that the scale of the problem was so huge and most importantly, that the declining profitability of speculative house building meant that only state intervention was in any way likely

to make an impact. Melling (1980) outlines in some detail the collapse of speculative housing finance and stagnation in the building industry during the first world war. These, the war time influx of unskilled labour, and the wide discrepancies in rent and lease types by area of the city exacerbated the problems and the conflict.

Forced to instigate some change the Cabinet instituted a Committee on Housing Policy and the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act followed to compel local authorities to provide 'homes fit for heroes' from a penny rate increase (Crammond 1966). Although the subsequent level and form of intervention at the local level in the Clyde Valley consistently failed to provide decent housing for all working people, from then until the present day, Damer (1980) does argue that an important precedent was set largely (though not exclusively) because of the particular set of events in Glasgow - "that workers would be housed by the state as of right" (p103).

Melling (1980) makes reference again, however, to the particular state of private housing finance in Scotland and the collapse of speculative building due to local economic stagnation and instability from the turn of the twentieth century onwards. The housing market he suggests, closely followed the fortunes of the local economy such that whereas in more prosperous areas of Britain, such as the South and Midlands, the private sector was able to build for sale, in Scotland and especially the Clyde Valley, the levels of profitability between the wars were



considered too low. The maintenance of rent controls beyond wartime further limited private investment. The future predominance of public sector over private sector housing in Scotland was thus created.

Under the 1924 'Wheatley' Housing Act 75,000 homes were built by local authorities in Scotland during the interwar years, the majority on Clydeside. But, as Crammond (1966) points out, those who benefitted most from this intervention were the more affluent clerical and skilled workers and not the lowest paid and worst housed. Financial constraints on local authority house building required the charging of 'economic rents'. As a result desperate overcrowding (six times that found amongst equivalent English urban residents (Melling 1980, p156)) and insanitary conditions were perpetuated for the majority of Glasgow's working population well into the period of the second world war. With local reflation of the economy through rearmament after 1939, there was some improvement for these worst 'casualties of the housing market' as employment opportunities and wages increased. But another new influx of migrant labour and the consequences of earlier stagnation in the house building industry recreated acute housing shortages (Melling 1980, p158). Thus the longstanding 'crisis of reproduction', inability of the private sector to provide for the majority of the working population and labour unrest formed part of the background for the renewed discussions about post war (1939-45) housing solutions. Other notable issues influencing these debates were the economic collapse, high unemployment and

increasing levels of emigration from the region during the 1920s and 1930s (Cameron 1980).

So the scale of the housing and economic problems in the Clyde Valley, the degree of population density and level of overcrowding arose from several inter-related factors. Each reflecting the way industrialisation and urbanisation developed in the region during the mid-nineteenth century. The particular structure of the housing market was one factor. Another was speed of industrialisation. At the turn of the century industrial activity was limited to a few local communities in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire producing textiles, coal and iron ore. Commercial activity was centred on Glasgow. But within 50 years the whole of the Clyde Valley was enmeshed in the industrial production of ships, steel and locomotive engines. (This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6). Furthermore there was an intense demand for labour. At the turn of the nineteenth century it has been estimated that Glasgow's total population was only 77,000 but by 1891 this had increased seven times to 566,000 (Cameron 1980, p102-103). During the century the demand for labour was fulfilled largely by waves of in-migration from Ireland and the Highlands.

By the end of the Second World War 1.75 million people lived in the wider Clydeside conurbation including 1.1 million people living inside the City of Glasgow boundary (Cameron 1980). The average population density in central Glasgow was 400 people per acre. In some specific areas the density was as high as 700 per

acre. Housing was mixed with industry further adding to the congestion and environmental confusion. And, as described above this dense population lived in very poor housing and environmental conditions across large areas of the conurbation. There was chronic overcrowding at individual household level and the health of the people was cause for some concern (Scottish Housing Advisory Group 1944).

Solutions proposed

The problems were long recognised. In the nineteenth century some of the major industrialists did build model housing and recreational facilities for their skilled workforces (Adams 1979). However such projects were very limited. And as has just been noted, inter-war state housing programmes were also limited in scope and scale.

In Scotland there were several influential local groupings of professionals, union activists and people who supported the introduction of economic and urban planning (Harvie 1981). During the inter-war period there had been several central government funded schemes to alleviate the worst excesses of nineteenth century industrialisation. These were contradictory and include measures to both remove people from the region (assisted migration to the South) and retain them (policies for industrial diversification) (Harvie 1981 p49).

By 1930 the Scottish National Development Council had been established through a convention of local Burghs. This Development Council also drew membership from the commercial sector (especially from the shipyard owners) and from the Scottish Trades Union Congress. It lobbied for government action on the regions economic and infrastructural problems. An informal investigation into health and nutrition amongst the unemployed by Boyd Orr and others helped establish the Special Areas measures (direct aid for public works and assistance to small firms through the Special Areas Reconstruction Association) and the appointment of an (unpaid) Scottish Commissioner (Rose 1935).

During the interwar period the Scottish Economic Committee, initially a sub-committee of the Scottish National Development Council, gave evidence to the Barlow Commission (1934-39). Their report (Scotland's Economic Future (1934)) summed up the inter-war trends of decline: high unemployment, falling output in the stable industries, lack of investment from the 'new' light industries and increasing emmigration. The Committee advocated joint action by the state and local business; it promoted the activities of Scottish Industrial Estates and the Special Scottish Housing Association, thus linking problems of production with reproductive issues. Again these activities were limited in scope and financial backing. The Committee was disbanded at the outbreak of war although not before it had drawn together Keynesian economists and physical planners. This was to form the basis of post war policy and intervention. Harvie (1981) writes:

"But it (the Scottish Economic Committee) had, for a few years, focussed Scottish 'middle opinion' approaches to economic and social reconstruction.

It drew on Boyd Orr, whose Rowett Research Station extended its influence from agriculture into welfare, science policy and propaganda.....It rejected the somewhat abstract neo-classical economics..in favour of the Keynesian ideas.. Finally it linked up with the planning movement. Inaugurated by Sir Patrick Geddes, this had been strengthened by the creation of the National Trust for Scotland in 1931 and of the Saltire Society in 1936, by William Power, Boyd Orr, Bowie and Thomas Johnston, and transformed into an influential advocate of economic and physical planning."

(Harvie, 1981 p51)

By 1946 the two main issues addressed by the Clyde Valley Regional Plan were the physical condition of the housing stock and the level of residential densities throughout the region: both issues directly related to the reproduction and condition of the local working population. (The 1946 Plan was an advisory document commissioned by a joint Committee of Local Authorities in the Clyde Valley. It was adopted in 1949 as the Development Plan for the region). The Plan estimated that over 700,000 people living in the region would have to be moved - including 550,000 from the Glasgow city area. This constituted half the city's population. For the smaller industrial and mining towns outside the city area, the Plan advised placing the 'displaced' households in local peripheral housing developments or 'schemes'.

The Plan also suggested that one quarter of a million people from inner Glasgow could be relocated in housing estates on the outskirts of the existing urban development (mostly within the

city's boundaries and on the Glasgow side of the Green Belt). The remaining quarter to one third of a million people from the 'lower income areas' (working class districts) of the city could be decanted into four purpose built new towns beyond the Green Belt (at Cumbernauld, East Kilbride, Bishopton and Houston).

Decentralisation was therefore a major theme of this first Plan for the Clyde Valley.

Glasgow Corporation believed it could (and should) solve the overcrowding and housing crisis within its boundaries thus protecting the city from erosion in size and status. An alternative to the Clyde Valley Regional Plan, the 'Bruce Plan' (Glasgow Corporation 1954), was therefore commissioned by the Corporation. This argued that redevelopment, in carefully phased stages with rebuilding at a higher density on some selected estates and on limited sections of the Green Belt land, could achieve the desired result of housing all the City's population within its own area (Gibb 1982).

The eventual form of redevelopment in the Clyde Valley in the immediate post-war years, of which the designation of East Kilbride, a Green Belt and several large peripheral housing schemes including Castlemilk, Easterhouse and Drumchapel were part, was the result of ill arrived at compromise between the City Corporation and the Scottish Office (Carter 1986; Smith 1979). The later designation of Cumbernauld was resisted less as, by the mid 1950s, the inability to rehouse slum clearance population within

the city boundaries had become more evident (Gibb 1983). This history of disagreement, however, set part of the local context for the development of both new towns and the purposes for each town. These were different from each other: East Kilbride as the Scottish Office's self-contained shop window for new industrial and community rebuilding, and Cumbernauld as the well designed 'overspill' town for Glasgow. Both were also different from their original planned purpose as part an integrated regional-urban-industrial infrastructure for the post war era (Gibb 1982).

The decentralised 'new towns' proposed in the Plan for the Clyde Valley conformed to many of the contemporary prescriptions for industrial promotion and an ideal urban environment. These 'new towns' were to be 'self-contained' in terms of employment and services (following Frederick Osborn's prescription (Thomas, 1985)) and to provide the separate neighbourhood infrastructure for 'family life'. This is summarise in the following passage from a contemporary report:

"Neighbourhood planning means that children will be able to go to and from school in safety, the worker can live reasonable near his work, the housewife has her shopping nearby and facilities for recreation and enjoyment for everyone in the family are easily accessible.The job of the planner then is to work hand in hand with industry and ensure that new factories are built in the places where they are needed, near the workers home but not on his doorstep, supplied with proper services and amenities, well laid out in pleasant surroundings....."

(Westwood 1947, p6)

Although the problems associated with overcrowding, poor housing, and ill health were common to all major Victorian industrial cities in Britain, their scale and the particular way they emerged in this region were unique. As such the solutions which were adopted in the region (including slum clearance, decentralisation, greenbelt and new town policies) had taken a particular local form. The form and degree of the housing crisis in the Clyde Valley at the end of the Second World War and the unrest that this had stimulated in the past, set a precedent for the scale of local state intervention in this area of reproduction. Housing had by this time become a dominant political issue: different proposals for its reform were therefore important topics in local politics (Gordon and Dicks 1983), including municipal resistance to central government policies for decentralisation and new town development in the area (Checkland 1976; Lever and Moore 1986).

PART II

The segregated solution: questions for women

There were two main objectives in approaching women living in the two study new towns and engaging them in semi-structured interviews. These were:

1. To gain information about who they were and how they used the new town environment.
2. To find out about and demonstrate any problems or contradictions the women faced in living and working in the segregated environment

In this way this empirical material contributed to two of the main research questions outline in Chapter 1 (*How and why are gender divisions of labour incorporated into urban spatial structure ? and What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?*).

Information on the division of labour and the new town environment was gained mostly through the numerous closed questions in the Household Questionnaire (Appendix 2). This was partially analysed using SPSS (see Appendix 1). Information on the tensions and conflicts of living in these new towns was illicited through open questions and discussion. In the end far more background information on the daily patterns of women's lives was gained than could possibly be used in the space and scope of this thesis. This raised questions about the applicabilty of the formal questionnaire methodology for the type of question posed in the project.

In presenting these research results there is a sub-division between a general introduction to the women respondents and their experiences of living and working in these new towns. These experiences are organised according to a number of different activities undertaken by the women within (and across) the segregated spaces of the new towns.

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

FIGURE 1:
EAST KILBRIDE

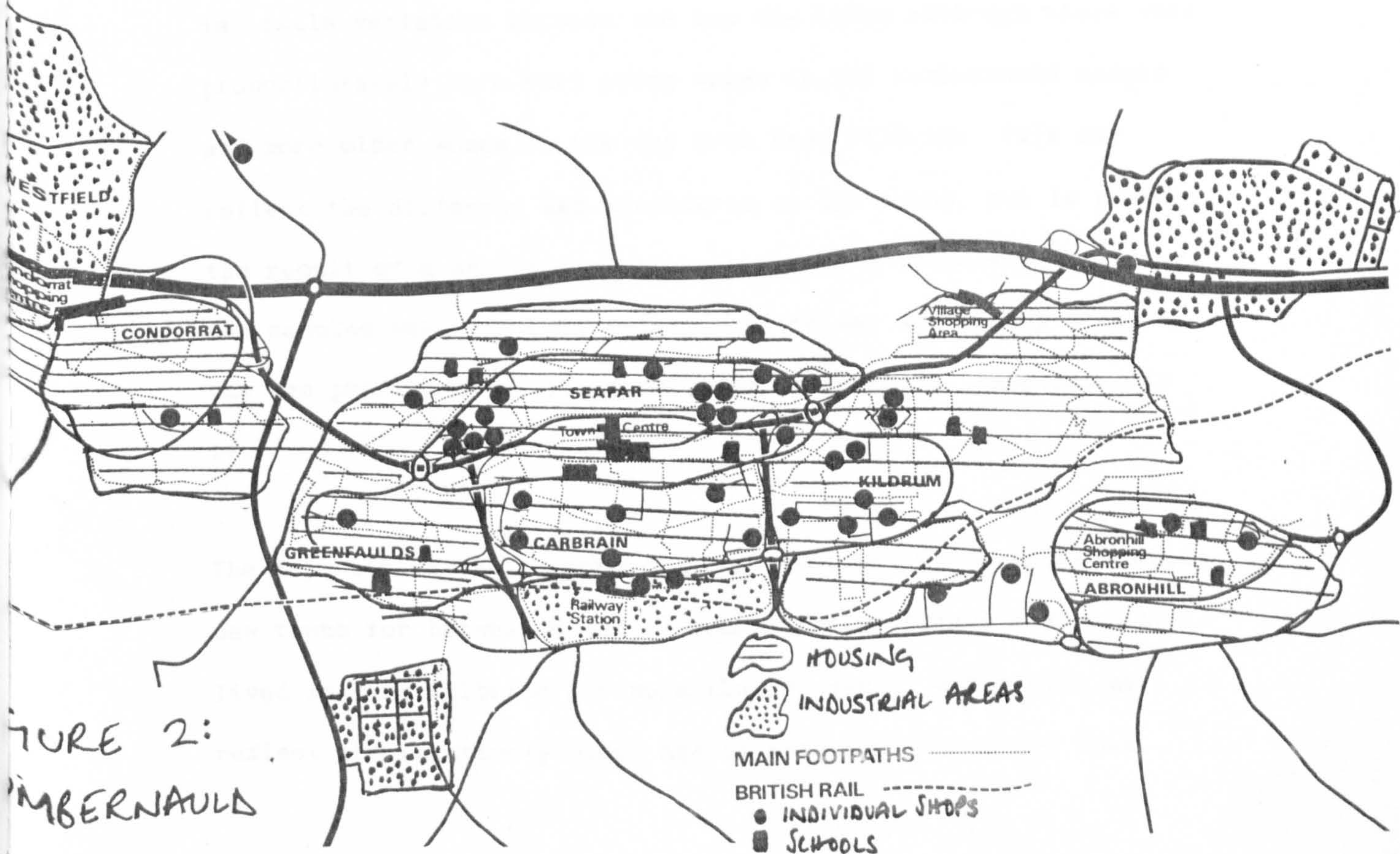
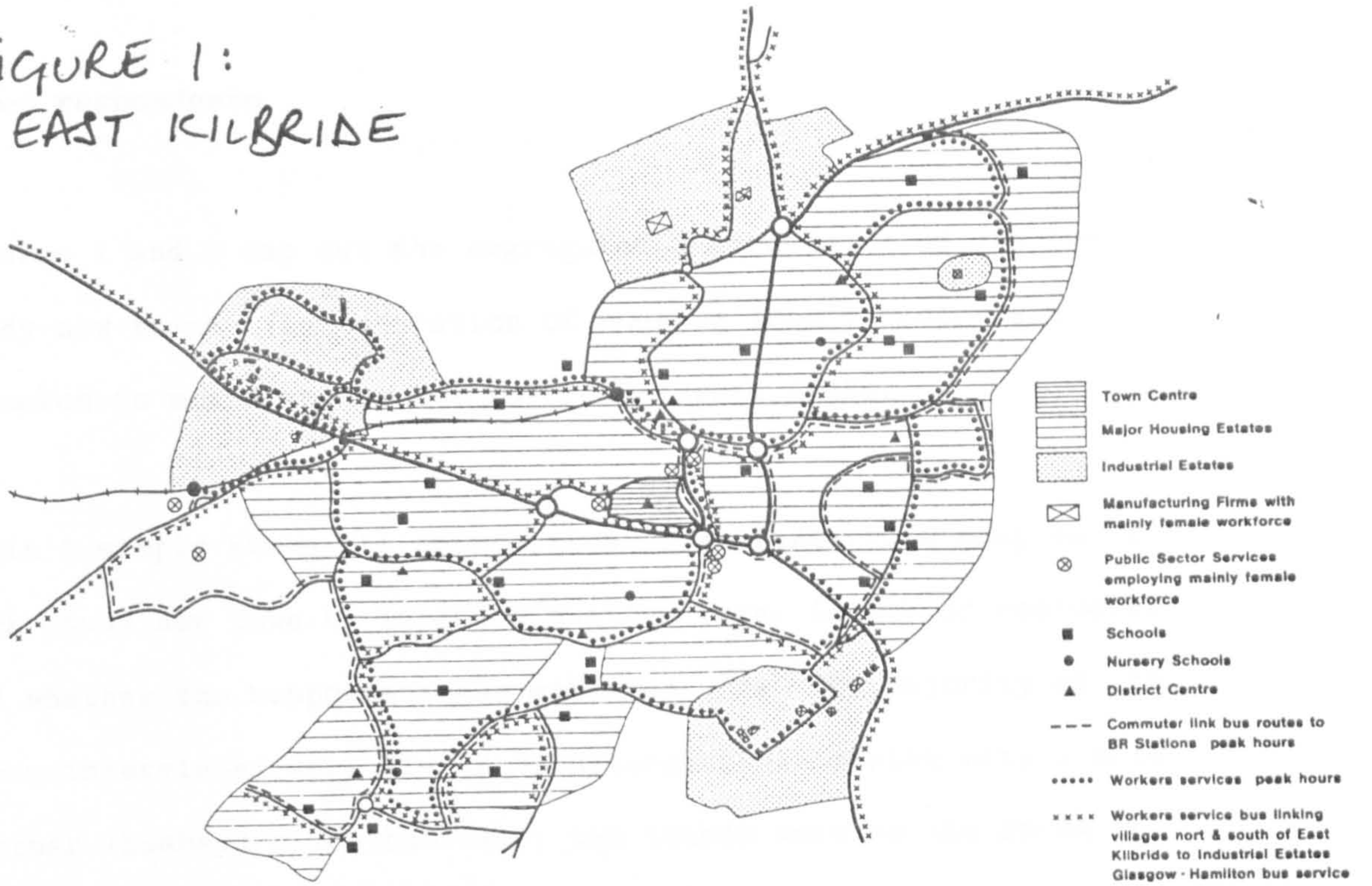


FIGURE 2:
CAMBARNAULD

Women respondents

Figures 1 and 2 map out the segregated environments of the two study new towns. The separation of housing from industry and commerce is noted as are the major transport links.

Table 1 simply shows the composition of the interview samples in each study new town by living situation, age, length of residence and whether the respondent was employed. The vast majority of the women interviewed were living as heterosexual couples with a male partner (husband or co-habitee); two thirds were in the 25-44 age range; and well over half were engaged in paid employment. There is little variation between the two new towns although there were proportionately more very young women in the Cumbernauld sample and more older women in the one from East Kilbride. This may reflect the different age structures of the towns, but is probably the result of an uncorrected bias in the data collection. Although the samples were randomly selected there was no running check on the age profile of willing/unwilling respondents. (see Appendix 1).

The majority of the respondents had lived in the respective study new towns for between 6 and 15 years. A significant number had lived in East Kilbride for more than 21 years. Again this may reflect the relatively older age of this particular new town.

TABLE 1: WOMEN'S PROFILE

	East Kilbride		Cumbernauld		Total	
	No.	%EK	No.	%CUM	No.	%
Living as Couple(3).	44	88	35	88	79	88
Living Alone(4)	6	12	5	13	11	12
Age:						
16-24	3	6	4	10	7	8
25-34	15	30	12	30	27	30
35-44	16	32	15	38	31	34
45-54	12	24	7	18	19	21
55+	4	8	2	5	6	6
Length of Residence.						
less 1 yr	1	2	-	-	1	1
1-5 yrs	6	12	8	20	14	16
6-15 yrs	22	44	20	50	44	47
16-20 yrs	11	22	12	30	23	26
21+ yrs	10	20	-	-	10	11
Employed.						
Yes	33	66	24	62	57	63

From a reading of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 it appears that one of the most significant factors affecting women's experience and use of urban space is their continued primary responsibility for children as part of the gender division of labour. The respondents were therefore asked about the number and ages of their children. The results of these questions, outlined in Table 2, show that all but one of the respondents had children. Most had between one and three children although a significant number (16 in total) had more than four. A higher proportion of the women in the East Kilbride sample had only one child while the Cumbernauld sample revealed a slightly larger number of women with three children.

Respondents were also asked the ages of their children. Two particular age ranges (0-5 years old and 6-12 years old) were considered for analysis. These were chosen because, it can be argued that, at these ages, children exert the most influence on women's activities. It is within these two age ranges that children require most in terms of women's domestic labour and supervision. The two bands were selected to reflect the differences in the demands of pre-school and primary school age children. Across the whole sample 18 per cent of the respondents had one child under 5; 10 per cent had 2 children under 5. One third of the respondents had either 1 or 2 children between the ages of 6 and 12. In comparing the two study new towns a slightly higher proportion of respondents with children in the youngest age range can be noted for Cumbernauld.

TABLE 2: CHILDREN

<u>No. of children</u>	East Kilbride		Cumbernauld		Total	
	No.	%EK	No.	%CUM	No.	%
0	1	2	0	0	10	1
1	12	24	5	12.5	29	2
2	18	36	15	37.5	33	36
3	11	22	13	32.5	24	26
4	6	12	4	10	10	11
5+	3	6	3	7.5	6	7

No. of children by selected age groups (3)

	East Kilbride				Cumbernauld				Total			
	0-5	%EK	6-12	%EK	0-5	%CUM	6-12	%CUM	0-5	%	6-12	%
0	37	74	29	58	26	65	24	60	63	70	53	59
1	10	20	10	20	6	15	5	12.5	16	18	15	17
2	3	6	10	20	6	15	5	12.5	9	10	15	17
3	-	-	1	2	2	5	3	8	2	2	4	4
4+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	8	-	-	3	3

Disabled Child

	East Kilbride		Cumbernauld		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	2	4	3	7.5	5	5.6

The additional demands on women's caring labour of a disabled child was considered important. A supplementary question revealed that over 5 per cent of the respondents were caring for a disabled child at the time of the interview. Caring for dependent adults was also a subject for discussion. Nationally, this task has increasingly fallen to women through a combination of an aging population, cuts in public expenditure and the gender division of domestic labour (Ungerson 1985; Finch and Groves 1983). Through the Household Survey it was found that 27 per cent of respondents were engaged in some kind of support for a dependent adult. The proportion of women thus involved in East Kilbride was somewhat higher at 32 per cent than in Cumbernauld 20 per cent. This may reflect a combination of the more mature population structure of the town and the positive allocations policy of the Development Corporation in the late 1970s towards older applicants wishing to join younger members of families already living in the town (East Kilbride Development Corporation, Annual Report 1980).

The 'constraints' of the segregated environment on women's employment opportunities was another major theme of the literature on gender divisions and urban environments. But in these two new towns the percentage of women engaged in paid work outside the home was found to be higher than the national average (see Chapter 7). This is also reflected in the Household Survey sample in which 66 per cent of the women interviewed in East Kilbride and 62 per cent of those in Cumbernauld were, at the time of interview,

engaged in paid work. Most women worked in the new towns, so the physical segregation within these new towns did not appear to be preventing women from going out to work. However, as is discussed later in this chapter, it did generate a new set of problems for this majority of women combining the two supposedly 'non-conforming' activities of domestic and paid work.

A series of questions were posed about the type, location and hours worked by the women both at the time of interview and in the past. A summary of the findings are presented in Tables 3 and 4. For the women engaged in paid work at the time of interview (Table 3) it was clear that most were employed in skilled non-manual work (including clerical and office work) and semi-skilled employment (largely manual occupations in both manufacturing and service industries).

There were however a few more women in semi-professional and supervisory jobs in East Kilbride than in Cumbernauld. This may reflect the wider range of white collar employment opportunities available in this town (see Chapter 7). More of the respondents in East Kilbride worked part time and more women in full time employment in Cumbernauld work on a shift system. Both, again it could be suggested, reflect the specific type of work available to women in each town. In both towns the majority of women who worked for money were employed relatively locally on the new town industrial estates. Few women worked outside either new town.

TABLE 3 : CURRENT PAID WORK

	East Kilbride		Cumbernauld		Total	
	No.	%EK	No.	%CUM	No.	%
<u>Type of work</u>						
No paid work	17	34	16	40	33	37
Professional/managerial	-	-	-	-	-	-
Semi-professional/s'visry	7	14	2	5	9	10
Skilled non-manual	9	18	6	15	15	17
Skilled manual	2	4	1	2.5	3	3
Semi-skilled	12	24	9	22	21	23
Unskilled	3	6	6	15	9	10
<u>Hours</u>						
Not Applicable	17	34	16	40	33	37
Full time	13	26	10	25	23	26
Part time	14	28	4	10	18	20
Full time shift	4	8	3	8	7	8
Part time shift	2	4	4	10	6	7
Homeworking	-	-	1	2.5	1	1
<u>Location</u>						
Not Applicable	17	34	16	40	33	37
New town industrial este	19	38	14	35	33	37
New town centre	9	18	6	15	15	17
Glasgow	4	8	4	10	8	9

Of all the women interviewed 81 per cent had had a previous job (within the last 5 years) and 69 per cent had been employed by local employers in the new towns (Table 4). This indicates two points: first that the majority of women combined domestic and paid work at some time and second the high degree of 'flexibility' or turnover within the women's labour force. Most of these respondents had worked full time in their previous job although, as with those employed at the time of the interview, more women in East Kilbride had worked part time. Full time employment - both straight and shift hours - was apparently more usual in

Cumbernauld. Again it can be suggested that this reflected the different local labour market conditions for women in each town.

TABLE 4 : PAST PAID WORK

		East Kilbride		Cumbernauld		Total	
		No.	%EK	No.	%CUM	No.	%
<u>Past paid work</u>	41	82	32	80	73	81	
<u>Hours</u>							
Not Applicable		9	18	8	20	17	19
Full time		24	48	16	40	40	44
Part time		11	22	4	10	15	17
Full time shift		3	6	9	23	12	13
Part time shift		1	2	1	2.5	2	2.2
Casual		2	4	2	5	4	4.4
<u>Location</u>							
Not Applicable		9	18	8	20	17	19
New town		37	74	25	63	62	69
Glasgow		3	6	4	10	7	8
Other		1	2	3	7.5	4	4.4

By cross-tabulating the results of questions on women's employment and the age ranges of the respondents' children, the frequency of women combining caring for small children with paid employment can be seen. This could be said to illustrate the extreme in women's contradictory unification of the 'separate spheres'. In the East Kilbride sample, 13 women had either 1 or 2 children aged under 5 years. Of these women five (or 38 per cent) also had paid employment. In the same town 21 of the women respondents had primary school age children (6-12 years old). Sixteen (or 76 per cent) of these women also worked for money. In Cumbernauld a similar pattern was found. Fourteen women respondents had between 1 and 3 children under 5 years old. Six of

these women (43 per cent) also had jobs. Sixteen respondents in Cumbernauld had children in the older age group. Eleven (69 per cent) had jobs.

In summary: the Household Survey demonstrates that, contrary to the assumptions of post-war reconstruction and much of the practice of the contemporary planning movement, the majority of women by the 1980s bridged the segregation of home and work, for part or all of their lives. Furthermore a considerable number did this while engaged in the demanding and time consuming activity of caring for small children and dependent adults.

Living in the new towns: house and home

The women respondents were asked a group of questions about their housing type and local environment. These questions were aimed at establishing a general snap-shot of the respondents' everyday living environments. They were also asked why they had moved into a new town, where they had moved from and whether or not they were satisfied with the move and with particular aspects of the new towns' environment, design, service provision and employment opportunities. For a number of the respondents, questions about why they had moved referred to a time long past, as they had lived in the towns for many years. Some had already brought up families in the towns and a small minority, four respondents, were second generation residents. This again, raised questions for the methods

used to obtain the survey samples and about the targetting of particular groups of respondents (Appendix 1).

In East Kilbride 70 per cent of the respondents lived in houses, the remaining 30 per cent occupied flats and 72 per cent had sole use of a garden. In Cumbernauld the variation in the types of housing was greater and consequently 43 per cent of the women respondents lived in houses, 33 per cent in flats and 25 per cent in maisonettes. Proportionately less of the respondents in Cumbernauld had sole use of a garden (53 per cent) yet there was a greater availability of garage space in Cumbernauld - 50 per cent of respondent households as opposed to 32 per cent in East Kilbride. This, it can be argued, reflected the greater emphasis on high density residential development and car usage in the design of Cumbernauld (Carter 1983; Cullingworth 1979). For most of the East Kilbride respondents the design image of a post war reconstruction new town, dominated by houses with gardens was in fact largely true. But for Cumbernauld respondents this particular image had not been reproduced. The design concept used here was somewhat different in its emphasis on a new 'urban' rather than 'suburban' way of life (Thomas 1969). Nevertheless, as is shown below, this has not prevented a gender division of labour similar to that found in the more suburban type neighbourhoods, developing. This differs from the results of the Saegart and Winkel (1981) study discussed in the previous chapter.

When the respondents were asked their reasons for moving to the new towns, access to better housing was given as a main reason in 95 per cent of cases in the Cumbernauld group. In addition 18 per cent of the Cumbernauld group specifically noted the importance of a house and garden in their decision to move. In the East Kilbride group housing and gardens were both considered primary factors by smaller proportions of the sample (64 per cent selected housing and 10 per cent a garden). Within the whole sample across both new towns the immediate home environment was apparently most important to women with children under the age of 12 living in Cumbernauld. Amongst this group of 30 women, all considered the possibility of eventually being allocated a ground floor maisonette or house with a garden as the best feature of moving into the town. One of this group of respondents illustrated this point by saying: "There was no chance of getting moved there (Glasgow) to a place with my own garden. There just weren't any in our area. This was the only way to get one..." (Mary, Cumbernauld respondent). However a frequent complaint was the time it often took to move from a flat to such a property when there was an increase in the size of the household or change in family circumstances. Another respondent told of her two year wait for a transfer:

"I waited two year before I got this - with the three kids in a second floor flat. I went down to the office nearly every week to see what was going on. Nothing! I only got this through a swap - and I had to get that all together myself"

(Betty, Cumbernauld respondent)

Another main reason for relocating to a new town was employment opportunities. A job offer *for a partner* was noted as the main reason by 58 per cent of respondents in East Kilbride but only 30 per cent of those in the Cumbernauld sample. Only 7 per cent of the East Kilbride respondents and none of those from Cumbernauld said *their own* employment was a factor influencing the household's decision to move. This is an interesting finding given the importance of women's employment to individual households noted above and elsewhere in this chapter.

In the two towns, a mix of housing and employment factors appear to have been the major influences on the sample household relocation decisions. However the emphasis was slightly different in each town. This was in some ways to be expected given the different reasons for their designation and methods of attracting new residents. Cumbernauld was primarily a housing 'overspill' for Glasgow in which housing need was the first criterion for allocation (Checkland 1977; Cumbernauld Development Corporation Annual Reports 1956-60). Indeed 90 per cent of the respondents from Cumbernauld had moved to the new town from the Glasgow city area. In the older new town of East Kilbride economic criteria were more apparent and employment (in practice for men) preceded housing allocation (East Kilbride Development Corporation Annual Reports 1950-1954). An older respondent from the East Kilbride sample put housing as an added extra, after her husband had got a job with a major engineering firm. She said:

"Good jobs were going at the time. He applied and got in with Rolls Royce. Even then you'd not turn your back on work with prospects. The house all laid on just made it easier."

(Jessie, East Kilbride respondent).

The respondents in East Kilbride had also been drawn from a wider geographical area with only 58 per cent from Glasgow, 30 per cent from other Scottish locations and 12 per cent from outside Scotland altogether.

A preliminary conclusion therefore could be that women moved to these new towns, not specifically on their own accounts, but because of the demands of a husband's job or a desire to have better housing and local environment 'for the kids'. That most women in the sample were sooner or later drawn into the local labour force and were required not only to support the increased cost of a new town lifestyle of their families but also to maintain the local economy is a contradictory consequence of the development of these two new towns. The economic development of the towns not only cut across but also made use of the type and availability of women's labour this gender division of labour produced (see also Chapter 7).

Living in the new towns: utopia ?

Respondents were asked if they regretted their move to the new town. This question with hindsight was not worded correctly.

Indeed it prompted respondents to describe dissatisfaction out of context.

However given that respondents answered this question a marked difference was discovered between the two towns: in Cumbernauld 32.5 per cent said that they did regret the move. Reasons given included disappointment with the type and or quality of housing and local facilities including the shopping provision, distance from Glasgow and lack of employment opportunities for various household members. Below are the comments of two Cumbernauld respondents.

"I wouldn't mind (living here) but that the house is damp. It's the flat roof, it's forever being mended but the rain still gets in somewhere"
(Margaret, Cumbernauld respondent)

"Why do I regret it (the move)? Well for one thing the shops aren't very good and they're expensive and for another so are the buses. It isn't cheap to get into town - and it takes ages...."
(Catriona, Cumbernauld respondent)

In the East Kilbride group 18 per cent said they regretted the move. Here unemployment of a partner and teenage sons were most common reasons given. The respondents' own sense of isolation and loneliness, including inability to get local part-time work, was another major factor quoted:

"I sometimes get so bored. I'm not used to being at home all day....I'd like a wee job - part time. But it'd have to be round here - 'cos of the kids - in a shop, cleaning or something. I keep looking at the cards in Ross's (Newsagents) but nothing's come up yet."
(Marie, East Kilbride respondent)

In one particular neighbourhood (Westwood), which was one of the last major housing developments to be undertaken by East Kilbride Development Corporation, isolation was a serious problem. This neighbourhood was built specifically to house 'overspill' families from Glasgow in the 1960s and early 1970s (East Kilbride Development Corporation Annual Reports 1969-70). This was a time when wholesale redevelopment of the inner city was still being undertaken (Smith 1979). The construction of Westwood emerged out of another series of wrangles and compromises in which this time the Development Corporation resisted the allocation of transferred households from Glasgow without jobs. This neighbourhood was however divided from the main town and the centre by a valley zoned as 'recreational open space'. It also had an inadequate public bus service and poor local facilities. Consequently, 4 out of 5 women respondents in this neighbourhood regretted their move. Three wished to transfer to alternative housing in another part of the town while one wished to leave the new town altogether. She said simply:

"If I'd known what it was going to be like I wouldn't have agreed to come here - I thought getting a nice house would make up for being miles from anywhere. But you've got to have more money than us and a car to want to live way up here...."

(Lynn, East Kilbride respondent)

Similar problems faced by respondents living on a peripheral private development in Cumbernauld however did not result in their wish to leave. Their investment in owner occupation was in part a

compensation. The inconvenience of isolation was not considered too high a price to pay.

"It's a choice we made - we knew it wouldn't be the same as living near the centre... We do have to do more things together - like the big shopping - and I have to rely on him more to take me places. But I can't grumble too much - we're putting everything into having our own place now..."

(Bernadette, Cumbernauld respondent)

Living in the new towns: a good place for the kids..

"The kids love it here - they've lots of friends round and about. They're never in - always round at some pal's or other. Or up at the club or the park playing football. I never have to worry about them being on the street..."

(Margaret, East Kilbride respondent)

In each new town 90 per cent or more of the respondents agreed that the new town was a good environment for small children. The immediate local environment in terms of relative privacy and security was considered very important as was the ability to watch children from the house as they played either in a garden or a shared open space.

"I can see them (in the courtyard) from the front room window... I don't even have to go out to get them in for their tea!"

(Sheena, East Kilbride respondent)

The proximity of primary schools was also acknowledged to be a particular benefit of the residential clusters in Cumbernauld. In East Kilbride the distance to some primary schools in the more recent public housing developments created more problems. The

promised expansion in schools had not taken place. Falling birth rates and lowering of the numbers of school age children in some of the older residential estates had led to cross-neighbourhood allocation of school places. Taking and fetching children did, in a minority of cases then become more time consuming and restricting for the women. One respondent commented:

"I have to walk them right across the other side of the estate - it sometimes takes me 40 minutes each way - longer if I have to take the baby. If they'd built the school where they said they would at the top of the road, it'd only take 10 minutes."

(Rene, East Kilbride respondent)

With a few notable exceptions, such as on a new peripheral private housing estate, the respondents in both new towns felt that there were an adequate number of playgrounds, that they were properly equipped and reasonably safe pleasant environments. The only element of disquiet was a suggested increase in vandalism and their misuse by bored older children and teenagers. Many women would only allow their young children to use the open play spaces under their own or another adult's supervision though this was considered a general issue of childcare and not related specifically to either of the new town environments. In Cumbernauld however, a significant proportion of respondents shared fears about the segregated pedestrian walkways within many of the inner town residential areas and those linking housing areas with the town centre shopping and office complex. It was felt that many of the underpasses were dangerous for women and for children and that recent neglect of surrounding park areas, shrubs

and trees increased the danger. As Margaret, from Cumbernauld, remarked: " I don't even use them on my own so I'm not letting the kids ...". Increased supervision of children was a solution adopted by many women while they themselves were selective in their use of pathways, the time of day they used them and often sought company on trips to and from the shopping centre.

Organised sports and leisure facilities for children were used by the children of some respondents although these were more likely to be children in the older age group and related to school activities. The location of sports and leisure facilities was a critical factor in whether or not an individual respondent's children made use of their resources. Transporting children to and from distant facilities was one task often undertaken by the respondent's partner.

"There are several clubs up at the sports centre for the kids. Ours both go to swimming and the older one to judo and gymnastics. They really enjoy it and would be lost without it - so would we! It keeps them occupied all Saturday morning. Bob takes them over there in the car while I get on with the housework."

(Margaret, East Kilbride respondent)

Schooling and health care for small children were rarely considered problems by respondents in either town. A generally high level of satisfaction was noted. Concerns about local entertainment for older teenagers and job opportunities for school leavers in the towns were however repeatedly raised as major issues by respondents with teenage children living at home. At the

other end of the spectrum the lack of adequate nursery school provision and full time childcare was often raised by women with under school age children. In both towns there were established networks of pre-school playgroups and toddlers groups in most of the neighbourhoods. These self-help and voluntary sector run groups were well used and suited the needs of many respondents.

One commented:

"When they're wee you stay at home. That's just what you have to do. There's a Mother and Toddler group and the organised Playgroups to go to and there's a swing park round the corner. It's alright round here for wee ones - there's enough to do with them as well as keeping the house."

(Lindsay, Cumbernauld respondent)

This kind of provision was always part-time and required considerable input from mothers. Mothers often stayed with their children for all or part of the time and were more often than not required to attend regularly to undertake general supervision (Pre-school Playgroups Association, interview). In both towns there were also limited holiday and after school projects. Only 16 per cent of respondents with primary school age children had used holiday projects and 5 per cent had at some time had access to an after school supervision service. These part time provisions rarely release women from childcare for more than enough time to 'rush to the shops and back'. They were totally inadequate for women who wished or had to work. Hence the following:

"I want to work. I need to work - it's hard going on just one wage packet. But there's nowhere proper to leave the baby. The playgroups are great for the wee ones and I like having as chat with

the other mothers but you can't leave them there..."

(Katie, East Kilbride respondent)

In summary: although both the new towns were considered by the women respondents to be 'good environments' for small children it was clear from their responses that the respondents own supervision and time were closely tied in with this conceptualisation. The facilities for the children were there but they require the input of an adult - overwhelmingly the mother - for any advantage to be taken. Over the two new towns 75 per cent of women with children under 5 used one or other form of outside childcare facility but only 10 per cent had access to full time childcare outside the home. Most women with children under 12 years of age, 88 per cent, resorted to informal childcare arrangements for part of the week. These included arrangements with neighbours, friends and relatives other than their partner.

In many respects these benefits *for women* of the new town environments were experienced 'second hand' through their perception of benefits for their children. One notable example was the low usage made by the women respondents in both towns of the formal sports, leisure and recreational facilities for themselves. Their 'recreation' was more commonly tied in with a variety of domestic tasks and child caring, both sometimes done in the company of other women. Only 11 per cent of respondents used or took part in leisure activities organised at local centre. But 20 per cent had at sometime gone with their children to a class or

activity such as swimming. The few reservations about local opportunities for children as they grew up, especially for training and work had little to do with the new towns *per se* and more to do with the impact of economic recession at the beginning of the 1980s on the Clyde Valley economy as a whole.

Living in the new towns: doing the chores

Despite the high level of women doing paid work in the two new town sample groups, the women respondents still took on most of the responsibility for housework and domestic chores. When asked if they got any assistance with housework, only 29 per cent said yes. The household task with the highest incidence of help was washing up. In 66 per cent of cases respondents acknowledged some help with this task, although this seemed to vary from regular responsibility to the occasional helping hand on 'special occasions'. Doing the laundry was the least shared activity, with only 8 per cent of respondents noting some assistance.

Respondents were asked if they had use of a variety of domestic appliances ranging from a vacuum cleaner to a washing machine, fridge freezer and tumble drier. All respondents had access to the first three although fewer, 61 per cent had freezers and only 10 per cent a tumble or other clothes drier. Access to domestic appliances as was noted in the previous Chapter does not necessarily make less work for women doing household chores. Indeed, the contrary has been found where an increase in the

standards of housework has coincided with the 'appliance of science'. The standards of home care and the level of material investment in the home was clearly evident in both the groups of women interviewed. The emphasis on improving and maintaining a high level of decoration and furnishing was notable in the majority of households visited as was the time spent on cleaning and maintenance. In 75 per cent of cases respondents estimated that they spent over 35 hours per week on home based routine domestic chores (excluding shopping) regardless of whether or not they did paid work. Painting and decorating, gardening and doing home improvements were tasks, though largely shared with a partner, which were given a priority allocation of 'leisure' time.

"We like to keep a nice home - I usually do the decorating but my husband does all the other DIY stuff like putting in the units in the kitchen. He also did the shower.. It's a constant job keeping up with what needs doing but we enjoy it.."

(Lindsay, Cumbernauld respondent)

Women's shopping patterns, where they went to shop and the assistance they received from partners or other family members and friends varied according to the type of shopping (for example for groceries, clothing or larger household items). In most cases, 72 per cent, women undertook daily shopping for 'bits and pieces' (including bread, milk, newspapers and other daily requirements). This task they did largely on their own. For women who had paid work this shopping was usually undertaken on their journeys to or from work, although for some women working on the peripheral industrial estates this was not possible and no daily shopping was

possible. Women not engaged in paid work made most use of local neighbourhood shops and the town centres.

Weekly household food shopping at one of the large late opening supermarkets was often done with a partner, after his work hours, as he provided the transport in the 'family car' or help carrying shopping home or to and from a taxi. (Taxis were used for weekly shopping trips in 18 per cent of cases.) In East Kilbride the late night large supermarkets in two particular neighbourhoods (St Leonards and Calderwood) were very popular and a number of respondents with access to a car and/or driver would travel some distance across the town to use them. Jessie was one respondent who organised her shopping like this:

"Every Thursday night we have a quick snack at 4.30 as soon as Sandy gets in from work, then he drives me over to the Fine Fare in St Leonards. He'll come in with me and push the trolley round, then help get it all packed away. We're home by about 7.30 and I get a supper at about 8. It gets it all over and done with and I don't have to carry much in during the week."

(Jessie, East Kilbride respondent)

In Cumbernauld more use appeared to be made of the town centre supermarket and shopping facilities for daily and weekly shopping trips. This was particularly true of respondents living in the older more central residential areas.

The town centres in both new towns were used by all respondents for some of their larger purchases such as clothing, especially childrens clothing, and household items (excluding furniture).

These trips were often done with other family members or friends. East Kilbride shopping centre offered a range of popular high street retail outlets (including British Home Stores, Littlewoods and Marks and Spencers) and was considered adequate for ordinary purchases by 85 per cent of respondents. Nevertheless critical comments were made by several respondents about the quality and breadth of ranges carried in East Kilbride as compared with those in larger centres of Hamilton or Glasgow. Lynn commented:

"Here they carry the everyday lines - ordinary underwear and socks, the cheaper dresses and jumpers. Sometimes it looks a bit dreary. I get cross because you know they do other, better lines. If you want more choice you have to go into Argyll Street (Glasgow)."

(Lynn, East Kilbride respondent)

Cumbernauld town centre had a more limited choice of retail outlets although it had attracted a large hypermarket outlet Woolworths. This even more limited choice appears to have been reflected in a higher proportion of the Cumbernauld respondents (62 per cent as compared to 48 per cent of East Kilbride respondents) visiting Glasgow to shop for quite basic items twice or more times a month. Shopping through mail order catalogues was also common. In 65 per cent of households interviewed use had been made of mail order within the last six months. The convenience of staggered payment and direct delivery to the home made this a popular way of buying clothing and household items. There appeared to be little difference in selecting this form of shopping either between the two towns or between women who had paid work and those who did not.

In both groups of respondents furniture shopping and clothes for special occasions meant trips further afield either to Glasgow or suburban centres on the edge of the city where large furniture and domestic appliance chains had located. These trips were undertaken almost exclusively in the company of others. The choice between Glasgow and out of town locations did seem to vary according to access to private transport. Those respondents with access to a car and /or driver were more likely to shop for furniture at the out of town centres. Those reliant on public transport used the city centre.

In conclusion the responses from the women in both groups demonstrated that they continue to have prime responsibility for organising and carrying out domestic tasks. Assistance from others, especially from partners, consisted largely of chauffeuring services to and from the larger retail outlets and playing with children. The segregated new town environments and the provision and location of both public and private services (including retail investment) did have implications for the journeys women had to make and the time they spent on chores and shopping for their household. The involvement of men in 'fetching and carrying', it can be argued, is a product of several trends - the increased size and peripheral location of retail outlets and the segregation of residential from commercial activities are just two factors. Women's continued poor access to private transport another factor. However, herein lies a contradictory problem. If women do gain access to their own private transport this then

could release men from their existing, usually limited, involvement in domestic labour. This and other contradictory issues around making better provision 'for women' are raised at the end of this chapter. First however the next section considers in more detail how the women respondents moved around the new towns.

Living in the new towns: getting about

Of all the women interviewed only 5 (6 per cent) had sole use of a car and 3 of these respondents were the only adult in the household. In 32 per cent of cases, women respondents did hold current driving licences. But regular access to 'the family car' was limited and was often only used to carry out one or other domestic task - for example shopping or fetching and carrying children. When asked about their own leisure use only 9 out of the 28 with licences answered positively citing visiting friends and relatives as the most common activity. This singular lack of private transport had many implications for women living and working in the two new towns. Both towns are highly car orientated, both socially and physically. Contemporary patterns of life in the two towns increasingly assume access to private transport. The distances between neighbourhoods, especially in East Kilbride, are considerable. In Cumbernauld the peripheral residential schemes are particularly poorly serviced with shopping and service facilities yet public transport links with the town centre are limited.

In both sample groups women relied firstly on walking and secondly on public transport for their mobility around the towns. Taxis and transportation by another household member were also relied on for particular tasks such as heavy shopping and trips outside the town. In order to carry out the domestic and caring tasks required of them, most women had to walk. They walked in order to accompany children, visit others in their care (for example elderly relatives), shop and, often, to get to their paid jobs. The distances and time taken were considerable. Though walking may be considered good exercise it is not much fun when weighed down by toddlers, shopping and when it is pouring with rain ! Catriona from Cumbernauld commented that : "One day I'll grow webbed feet they get soaked that often !" In addition and more seriously, it was a very laborious use of the women's time. It limited their abilities to take up opportunities outside the domestic sphere and restricted where and what sort of jobs they could get (see below). This is an observation made by other researchers looking at gender divisions and spatial structure (see Chapter 2).

A similar point about the ineffective use of women's time was evident in the level of public transport which was available in both new towns. The emphasis of local buses and British Rail services in both towns was on transport to and from places of work (industrial estates, the town centres and Glasgow) at 'peak' times of early morning and late afternoon. During the day infrequent services were operated on circuitous routes - often advertised as 'shoppers' routes - but which wound round the neighbourhoods

making some journeys to and from the outer neighbourhoods very long and tedious. The routing and timings of these services limited their use often to older people with more time available. They were not suitable for the combined tasks of shopping, fetching and carrying children, visiting, and getting to and from work that most of the women interviewed had to undertake. The journeys undertaken by women, between and within neighbourhoods, were the poorest served by public transport.

For many women, especially those in the Cumbernauld group, the cost of public transport, particularly to and from Glasgow, was an issue. In this group the frequency of trips to and from Glasgow for social and domestic reasons was higher than in the East Kilbride sample. The cost, at the time of interview, was nearly £2 per adult return on the bus and exactly £2 by British Rail. This was considered very high and restricted the number of trips individual women were able to make, thus reinforcing their reliance on inadequate local services and isolating them from networks of family and friends in Glasgow.

Conflicting lives: planning for domesticity ?

So far the discussion has drawn predominantly on the women's use and experience of the local urban environments in relation to their domestic and caring responsibilities. The new town plans and provisions were supposed to be adequately attuned to women's work in the gender division of labour. Indeed the main criticism of

urban planning found in the existing literature on gender divisions the urban environment is that the social and physical environments of such 'planned communities' assumed this gender division of labour and provided only for womens domestic responsibilities.

However, the collective experience of the women interviewed in this study appears to put a somewhat different light on this provision. It is correct that the social and physical construction of both the new towns assumed a gender division of labour. But the degree to which the needs of women in their domestic roles were catered for is questionable. Even where women were solely engaged in domestic labour for their families, the inadequacies of the location and provision of amenities and services, the segregation of activities and the inadequate transport links made this work more labourious than necessary. I would argue therefore that poor provision for domestic life reinforced the privatisation of domestic labour in individual homes and increased the demands on women's labour. Thus 'trapping' women in domestic labour by the inadequacies built into these 'planned new communities'. This has reinforced not only a domestic division of labour but also the social inequality which goes with it.

Yet there are contradictions which should not and cannot be ignored. The importance of the home and local environment for many of the women interviewed cannot be ignored. They had pride in maintaining and improving their immediate surroundings and peace

of mind because of relatively good schooling and proximity of playmates and open spaces for their children. They willingly and skilfully undertook the tasks socially ascribed to them, however time consuming and tiring. The new town for the overwhelming majority of the interviewees was considered a 'good place to live'. The inadequacies of support for domestic labour were outweighed by the compensations of living in a 'nice home and safe neighbourhood'.

Conflicting lives: going out to work

"Rush, rush, rush - it's all I ever do! It's a miracle it all gets done..... I do the hoovering before I get the breakfast while the others are getting up. The washing up waits til I get home. I get out of the house by 7.45. Lunchtimes I pick up any bits and pieces I need for that night - bread, extra milk things like that. I'm home by a quarter to five most nights, a quick cuppa and on with the meal.... I do the dishes after as quick as possible before collapsing in front of the telly. I hate the nights when there's a pile of ironing as well!"

(Joan, Cumbernauld respondent)

As has already been shown the majority of the women in the survey went out of the home to work for money. An even higher proportion of the women had at some time worked outside the home while living in the new towns. Of all the areas of discussion in the interviews the desire to have paid work, gaining access to employment and 'fitting everything in' generated the most explicit examples of the contradictory demands made on these women and the compromises they made. Their desire (need) for work was largely unquestioned.

Married women doing paid work was considered normal and acceptable. The only reservations appeared to relate to mothers of young children doing full time work. Women's own experience of new town life therefore included waged work. This was contrary to the social assumptions incorporated into the physical fabric of both these new town environments.

When asked about the reasons for working, 'for the money' was the answer given in 90 per cent of cases. The answer was often given with a degree of surprise as respondents could think of few other reasons why anyone would work. This access to money represented similar things to the women in both sample groups. For 72 per cent it was an essential means of paying the bills including the rent or mortgage and for feeding and clothing the family. A further 21 per cent considered their wages essential for other larger household purchases such as home improvements, furniture and for 'Christmas' and holidays. For only 5 per cent of respondents did all or part of their wages represent an income for themselves to be disposed of as they alone thought fit. In other words women were working for money largely to finance their domestic tasks: feeding, clothing, housing the family. For some their money meant a better domestic lifestyle for the family. Only a relatively few women saw their working for money as a means of financing their own needs for clothing, leisure or for autonomy within the household.

The cost of living in both the new towns was considered relatively high by a majority of respondents (67 per cent). In Cumbernauld this was particularly attributed to rent levels, the expense of shopping at 'local shops' and to bus fares. There was also a desire or 'social pressure' in some neighbourhoods in East Kilbride to maintain a certain material standard of living in terms of furnishing and equipping the home. This was reinforced by one respondent living in an area where owner occupation was increasing through the sale of Development Corporation property. For this woman her employment enabled material investment in the home environment. She said:

"I have to work so that we can live here. We've bought this place and want to do it up - new kitchen first of all. Do it how we want it.... My wages mean we can pay the mortgage and make the improvements....."

(Moirra, East Kilbride respondent)

Many daily contradictions and compromises emerged when women sought paid work. Although, as has already been discussed, the respondents' paid work was necessary to their household's budgets, many organised their paid work so that it caused the minimum disruption to domestic life. For some women this meant part-time hours and working locally. For those with full time jobs, in either offices or factories, it was long hours and a high level of organisation. The availability of reliable part-time work was a main discussion point with a number of respondents. The means of finding such work were often informal and women with regular part time work considered themselves very 'lucky'.

"A girl I knew from before (having children) told me about this morning job going in her office. She put my name forward and I got it - but only because she could speak for me. I was just lucky."
(Jeanette, Cumbernauld respondent).

Amongst the respondents who had part-time paid work (at the time of the interview) the majority worked in the public service sector doing cleaning, catering or clerical work. Some of the jobs considered 'most convenient' were those in the education service as 'dinner ladies' or cleaners as these combined local locations with school terms and short hours. The compromise of lower pay was considered worth making.

A number of the women in both town groups had direct experience of the decline in job opportunities for women in the manufacturing sector. Several had experienced layoffs and redundancies. The days of 'job-hopping' and choice, when women could decide where, when and for how long they remained in a particular job were considered to be over. During the period of expansion in women's employment in the towns, the benefits of women working and bringing money into the household seem to have been established. Some of the compromises were also easier to make as women could work for short periods of time to make money for a fixed purpose (for Christmas or a holiday or to pay of an Higher Purchase agreement). Short term childcare was easier to arrange and housework could be kept 'ticking over' until the job ended. Unemployment, the decline in their own job opportunities and those of other household members, was a matter of considerable concern.

The fall in standards of living and the inability to provide adequately for their children had become everyday worries for two respondents in particular.

"Because I'm not working now it means everthing's very tight. Before I'd just go and get what we fancied from Fine Fare without thinking too much. Now I have to plan out every meal in advance and only get what we really need. It's a bit of a strain and often the kids complain that the food's boring."

(Maureen, Cumbernauld respondent)

"My pay'd go on the kids - clothes and shoes, pocket money. Teenagers are always wanting for something. All their pals are getting this and that so they want it too. I just have to say no. It's not fair on them even if they try to understand...."

(Betty, Cumbernauld respondent)

Only a few of the women interviewed (5 in total), other than those who were working 'heads of households' in their own right (8 respondents), were the sole wage earner in the family. The benefit system largely discouraged women from staying in employment in these circumstances. Consequently the majority of women who had waged work also had employed partners.

In summary: when women did go out to work, 'help' from a partner varied from putting a dinner already prepared by the respondent in the oven to looking after the children while the respondent was at work on, for example, an evening shift. Assistance was more usually forthcoming from other working and non-working women, both friends and relatives. The commonest help sought and given was with childcare. The interviews elicited an example of two part-

time clothing workers sharing childcare, swapping over the children on the way to and from work. Networks to collect and feed children after school were hardest to organise and maintain, and fear of the informal arrangements breaking down was constant. Amongst the 30 women in the survey groups who worked full time the majority (24) spent at least three quarters of their 'weekend' or rest days from paid work on routine household tasks such as cleaning, washing and shopping. Help from older children and from partners with transport, heavier tasks and or routine jobs such as washing and ironing appeared no more common, though considerably more organised and regular, than in households where the women did part-time waged work or none at all.

Elaborate plans for childcare and shopping were often incorporated into the women's equally carefully worked out journeys to and from work. Combinations of bus journeys and walking appeared most common. Only 15 per cent of those working could rely on a regular lift. None shared private transport with other women, a means of transport used more commonly by their male partners. The routes and the times of bus services were given as the main reason for the considerable amount of time women spent walking. The number of buses during the periods of the day when most of the part-time women worked (between 9 and 3 or in the evenings) were inadequate. And for full time workers on some of the industrial estates the routes were poor, leaving women sometimes up to a mile and a half from their place of work.

The particular location of women's work in the towns also had implications for their strategies of combining paid and unpaid labour. For those working near local or neighbourhood shops and schools or in the town centres the problems were less overt. Lunch times were used to 'pick up bits of shopping' and children were more easily dropped and collected on the way to and from home. But for women working on the peripheral industrial estates, especially those working full time factory hours, such opportunities to combine domestic tasks with the waged working day were less. For these women the 'double burden' of domestic and paid work was managed by working long hours on domestic chores after paid work, in the evenings or on days off.

Living divided lives

There are several points which emerged out of these findings. First, gender divisions have been incorporated into these urban environments through the separation of presumed 'non-conforming' land uses. This has been expressed differently in the design of the two towns and has given rise to some variation in the patterns of daily use by women. Second, it is very evident that women were undertaking the bulk of domestic labour and doing so in unsuitable environments. This was despite planning objectives of designating areas and linking services for this purpose. This clearly illustrates how the nature and complexities of domestic labour were underestimated (or misunderstood completely) in the construction of these two 'ideal' urban environments. (Contrary to

early recognitions by both Beveridge and Reith and others of the labour involved.)

The labour of combining the separated spheres was the third main point to emerge from the interviews with women. They also showed that the priorities of services and industrial location were orientated towards the demands of the productive sphere and did not support women's combination of domestic and waged work.

Finding such inadequacies in these 'planned communities' serves to further highlight the lack of value placed on the individualised and private domestic work undertaken by women. That reproduction takes place at all in these segregated urban environments is dependent on women continuing to organise and manage domestic work, overcoming the hurdles of spatial organisation and service provision.

The gender division of labour described through these interviews, the problems women faced when going out to work and the strategies they adopted are, in general, common to most households and areas of Britain. However the reasons why they take the particular shape outlined by the women's experiences, derives from their construction as 'new towns' in the Clyde Valley and the towns' subsequent national and international economic position.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT: THE ASPATIAL DEBATES

It became evident in the discussion of women's lives in the two study new towns (Chapter 3) that their employment played a crucial role in their own and their families lives. Yet in this discussion the contradictions women's employment posed for the gender assumptions of post-war 'planned communities' were illustrated. The majority of women interviewed had had waged worked while living in the new towns. There was therefore an implicit demand for women's labour. The importance of women's employment in the study new towns appears to have been threefold: it was central to the women interviewee's lives in that it paid for household necessities; women's wages also played a major role in maintaining the standard of living encouraged by the new towns' culture; and finally the high demand for women's labour implied that it made a significant contribution to the local economies. Two questions in particular seem relevant. Why were women drawn into the labour market ? And what were they employed to do .?

Furthermore the growth of women's employment in these particular new towns was linked, in Chapter 1, to discussions of regional differences and uneven development. This had given rise to the second research which directed the work of this thesis (*Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled work'*). In this arena too, women's employment in the two study new

towns seems to have contradicted the assumptions and outcomes of policy intervention. These new towns played a particularly important role in regional policy. They were the focus of considerable infrastructural investment and were designated as economic 'growth poles'. Regional policy was directed primarily at alleviating male unemployment yet it has been argued that, in the regional policy heyday of the 1960s and 1970s, it facilitated instead the employment of women (Massey and Meegan 1985, p130). An inquiry into the nature of women's employment in the context of regional differences, uneven development and regional policy therefore raises a further question: why were women employed in these particular towns in a peripheral region at this time? Was it because of regional policy incentives or were more general changes going on in the organisation and geography of economic activity which were drawing women into particular local labour markets?

It would seem that there may be many common aspects to the nature of women's post-war employment. However, the particular reasons for their incorporation into a local labour force at a specific time and place deserves some investigation.

These questions surrounding women's employment fall, as a result of academic divisions of labour, into two, not always integrated, camps within the social sciences. The relatively highly developed aspatial debates in sociology and economics have only recently begun to engage with the spatial debates (see for example Walby

and Bagguley 1989; Lancaster Regionalism Group 1985; Walby 1985b, 1986). And the spatial debates, in geography and regional studies, have tended to adopt aspatial interpretations without necessarily examining their internal assumptions. In order to address the questions posed above, it was felt that both debates required some examination. Consequently this chapter (Chapter 4) looks at the aspatial discussion of women's employment and at some of the explanations which have been devised. Chapter 5 considers how women's employment has entered ^{ed} geographical and regional studies debates and questions how explanations for women's employment in particular places have been developed. The empirical work reported in Chapter 6 does not attempt to draw these debates conclusively together. However it does suggest a closer working would be fruitful.

Women's post-war employment

Since 1945, the overall number and variety of jobs available to women in Britain has increased. In 1951, women made up 31 per cent of the total British workforce. This meant that 7.5 million women went out to work. By 1971 the figure had risen to 8.2 million working women, 38 per cent of the workforce.

Table 1 below shows the steady rise in the number of women working during the 1970s. It also shows that women lost jobs in the first half of the 1980s but that by 1985 there was again an upward

movement. This trend continued into 1986 with 9.4 million women back in the labour force.

TABLE 1: EMPLOYMENT TRENDS FOR MEN AND WOMEN, GB 1971-1985

	Employees in Employment (Millions)	Men	Women	Percentage of Women %
1971	21.6	13.4	8.2	38
1972	21.7	13.3	8.3	38
1973	22.2	13.5	8.7	39
1974	22.3	13.4	8.9	40
1975	22.2	13.2	9.0	41
1976	22.0	13.1	9.0	41
1977	22.1	13.1	9.1	41
1978	22.3	13.1	9.2	41
1979	22.6	13.2	9.5	42
1980	22.5	13.0	9.4	42
1981	21.4	12.3	9.1	43
1982	20.9	11.9	9.0	43
1983	20.6	11.7	8.9	43
1984	20.7	11.6	9.1	43
1985	20.8	11.5	9.3	44

Source: Equal Opportunities Commisison (1986) Women and Men in Britian: A Statistical Profile, HMSO, London p22.

The unbroken increase in women's percentage share of employment during the whole period 1971-1985 is shown in the last column of Table 1. But this increasing percentage share was not only due to women's employment gains. Indeed women lost jobs and still gained in percentage terms during the 1980s. The relatively high job losses amongst men was a major contributory factor. This illustrates a gender recompositioning of the labour force. This process began before the 1970s and has continued into the 1990s.

One of the most significant factors in the increase in women's employment during the post-war period has been its own internal social composition. The majority of the women entering the labour force were married women. In 1931 only 4 per cent of married women were working for wages. By 1981 26 per cent of married women went out to work. And, in 1985, of the 9.3 million women working 65 per cent were married. Many of these women had young children. The percentage of working mothers was 15 per cent in 1951; by 1980 54 per cent of mothers had some form of paid work. Table 2 uses data from the Genral Household Survey in 1983 to show a comparatively recent breakdown of the female labour force in terms dependent children. Thirty eight per cent of all working women had dependent children in 1983.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING WOMEN BY DEPENDANT CHILDREN AND BY FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME, GB 1983

	Full time	Part time	All
All women with dependent children	12	27	38
Married women without dependent children	21	14	35
Non-married women without dependent children	23	4	27
All working women	56	44	100

Source: Equal Opportunities Commisison (1986) Women and Men in Britian: A Statistical Profile, HMSO, London p22.

Another major feature of women's post-war employment in Britain is raised by Table 2. Many married women and women with dependent children have worked part-time. Part-time working was practically unheard of before the Second World War. However McDowell (1989) suggests part-time working was positively encouraged by the state during and after the war when women's labour was in demand. The demand came not only from women's war-time substitution for men in factories and farms but also from the expansion of many public sector services in welfare, health and education as well as private and public sector administration. Part-time working, she argues, was a means of attracting married women into the labour force without undermining the institutions of home and family. Little seems to have changed in forty years. Evidence from a national study of women and employment in the early 1980s shows that domestic responsibilities (including, but not solely related to, childcare) are the main reasons why women work part-time (Martin and Roberts 1984).

By 1961 there were 1.7 million women working part-time in Britain and this has continued to increase (Figure 1). In 1986 4.1 million women, 44 per cent of the female work force, worked part-time. Part-time working has been a particularly British post-war phenomenon. In other European countries there are both lower rates of female participation and lower use of part-time hours (Beechey and Perkins 1987).

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TABLE 3: WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE INDUSTRIAL LABOUR FORCE: GB 1985.

	Full time	Part time	Total
Agriculture	8.1	8.9	17.0
Coal and coke	3.0	0.8	3.8
Mineral extraction	17.8	0.8	18.6
Oil processing	15.1	1.7	16.8
Energy and Water	16.5	1.7	20.5
Metals	11.2	2.1	13.3
Other minerals	17.2	2.7	19.9
Chemicals	23.3	3.7	27.0
Man-Made Fibres	28.5	4.1	32.6
Metal Goods*	17.8	3.8	32.6
Mechanical Engineering	11.8	2.5	14.3
Electrical Engineering	27.5	3.8	31.3
Motor Vehicles	10.9	1.5	12.4
Other Transport Goods	9.5	1.3	10.8
Instrument Engineering	24.2	7.3	31.5
Food Drink and Tobacco	25.0	11.4	36.4
Textiles	38.3	7.7	46.0
Footwear, Clothing & Leather	61.7	8.5	70.2
Timber and Wood	12.4	4.0	16.4
Paper, Printing & Publishing	25.2	5.9	31.1
Rubber and Plastics	20.1	5.2	25.3
Other manufacturing	32.7	8.4	41.1
Construction	6.0	2.9	8.9
Wholesale Distribution	22.1	7.2	29.3
Hotels and Catering	22.0	45.1	67.1
Retail Distribution & Repair	28.5	27.1	55.6
Transport & Communications	15.7	3.1	18.8
Banking and Finance	39.2	10.4	49.6
Public Administration	34.2	8.6	42.8
Professional and Scientific	37.9	32.3	70.2
Miscellaneous Services	28.2	33.0	61.2
Total	26.6	15.4	42.0

Source: Equal Opportunities Commission Annual Report, 1986.

* Not elsewhere specified

Tables 3 and 4 show the industrial and occupational distribution of women workers in the British labour force for 1985. There is a distinct pattern showing that there are different areas of work which are done by men and by women. In other words these Tables

illustrate a gender division of labour in the workplace. The balances within this pattern have altered considerably over time as industries, occupations and social contexts of employment have changed. But the designation of separate jobs for men and women in the waged workplace has existed since the Industrial Revolution (Alexander 1978; Bradley 1989). In the post-war years the major shifts affecting women have been the expansion of the service sector and service jobs and the rise, then subsequent decline, of many 'light' manufacturing industries and semi-skilled manual tasks.

From Table 3 it is evident that women are concentrated in a narrow range of manufacturing industries. In at least three manufacturing industrial categories (Food, Drink and Tobacco; Footwear, Clothing and Leather; and Textiles) women workers make up between one third and two-thirds of the workforce. In five other manufacturing sectors (Man-made Fibres; Metal Goods Production (not elsewhere specified); Instrument Engineering; Electrical Engineering; and Paper, Printing and Publishing) women are nearly one third of all employees. Women dominate employment in all the service industries except one (Transport and Communications). In comparison, men are employed across a far greater range of the thirty one industrial categories.

Part time work for women is even more concentrated. In manufacturing most use of part-time hours is made in the three predominately female employing industrial sectors (Food, Drink and

Tobacco; Footwear, Clothing and Leather; and Textiles). The pattern within the service industries is very marked. In four service industry categories there are exceptionally high levels of women's part-time working (Hotels and Catering; Retail Distribution and Repair; Professional and Scientific; and Miscellaneous). However in two service industry categories (Banking and Finance; and Public Administration), where there are overall high rates of women's participation, the levels of part-time working are particularly low. Explanations for this difference probably lie, at least in part, in their specific and different work organisations. The employment practices and work structure of Banking and Finance and of Public Administration has followed, by and large, 'traditional office hours' ('9-5', full time working, 5-day week). These are particularly characteristic of a 'male' pattern of work and indeed these sectors were formerly male dominated (Bradley 1989). The long, variable hours and fragment work organisations in the other, traditionally female dominated, service industries appears to have lent themselves to part-time working. The nature of structural organisation and the changing pattern of working in the service sector are current areas of debate (Wood 1989).

Women are also far more concentrated than men in a limited number of occupational groups (Table 4). Most of these are service jobs: professional and semi-professional caring jobs and teaching in health, education and welfare services; shop work; clerical work; catering and cleaning jobs in both the manufacturing and service

industries and other personal services (for example, hairdressing). In manufacturing processes women also have less varied work than men as they are more likely to do routine assembly and packing jobs rather than a whole range of different 'skilled' and 'semi-skilled' manufacturing tasks. Again part-time work is even more concentrated: most part-time work is in caring and teaching jobs, clerical and shop work or in the personal services category which includes cleaning and catering work. These are some of the lowest paid areas of employment within the labour market (Dex 1985).

TABLE 4: WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE OCCUPATIONAL LABOUR FORCE: GB 1985

	Full time	Part time	Total	Segregation
Managerial	5.8	4.4	10.2	+M
Management Support	17.5	2.1	19.6	+M
Educat'n, Health & Welfare	44.9	23.1	68.0	+W#
Literary, Arts & Sports	21.3	8.8	30.1	+M#
Scientists & Technologists	7.7	1.4	9.1	+M
Management*	14.9	1.3	16.2	+M
Clerical	56.5	17.2	73.7	+W
Selling	26.0	30.6	56.6	NS
Security	6.0	5.0	11.0	+M
Personal Services.	22.3	53.6	75.9	+W
Farming & Fishing	4.8	4.7	9.1	+M
Processing (non-metal)	17.2	6.2	23.4	+M
Repairing	29.5	5.1	34.6	NS
Processing (metal/elect.)	3.9	0.6	4.5	+M
Routine assembly	36.3	9.4	45.7	NS
Construction & Mining	0.3	0.1	0.4	+M
Transport	3.3	1.3	4.6	+M
Miscellaneous	4.5	3.0	7.5	+M
Total	26.6	15.4	42.0	

Source: Equal Opportunities Commission Annual Report, 1986.

* Not elsewhere specified +M Segregated into men's work

+W Segregated into women's work NS No clear segregation

Figures so close to 70% that they have been counted as segregated.

Occupational segregation

The distinct grouping of men and women into different jobs has been analysed in depth by Hakim (1979, 1981). She argues that the degree of women's concentration in certain jobs means that the British labour force takes a significantly segregated form. In other words, women and men, by and large, work separately. This segregation means that there is unequal access to the full spectrum of jobs and incomes available within the national labour market. And it means that wage differentials between jobs and between men and women can be established and maintained (Rubery 1980).

Hakim argues that occupational segregation takes two forms:

'horizontal' and 'vertical' segregation. She explains the difference in the following way:

"Horizontal occupational segregation exists when men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation. Vertical occupational segregation exists when men are working most commonly in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations, or vice versa.

(Hakim 1979, p19)

In making a distinction between these two different kinds of occupational segregation, Hakim is able to suggest the degree to which the labour force and therefore the division of labour in Britain is divided along gender lines. Her suggestion is that horizontal segregation exists when either gender make up 70 per cent or more of the employees in any one occupational group. Using

Table 4 above, horizontal occupational segregation in 1985 can be said to have existed in all but a few occupations (see fourth column). However only occupations within the categories Clerical and Related and Personal Services could be said to be segregated as women's work. In contrast, segregation as men's work existed in all other occupational categories except three and one of these (Routine Assembly) is a fairly marginal case.

Hakim's analysis of more detailed occupational breakdowns looks at changes in horizontal occupational segregation since the 1900s. She argues that the number of occupations in which women make up more than 70 per cent of the labour force has increased while, at the same time, the number of exclusively male occupations has slowly declined. This mirrors changes in the occupational structure of Britain in which the service sector and service jobs have expanded providing many opportunities for women's employment. Nevertheless, in 1971 50 per cent of men were still in occupations where they held nine out of ten jobs and two thirds of men worked in occupations where only one in four jobs were held by women. Hakim concludes that although formal means of excluding women from certain areas of employment have in fact declined, horizontal segregation remains a very strong organisational factor in the British labour force.

Looking at vertical segregation she found that although women have made some gains in higher graded white collar employment and some

professions, this has not counteracted the increasing concentration of women in low graded jobs. She writes:

"Changes have often been in the direction of greater segregation rather than integration of the sexes in the work sphere. In 1911 the proportion of women in clerical occupations, shop assistants and sales work was broadly comparable to their contribution to the labour force as a whole: by 1971 these occupations had become typically feminine. About three-quarters of all clerical workers were women in 1971 compared to only 21 per cent in 1911. The proportion of women in managerial and administrative positions or in lower professional and technical occupations actually declined between 1911 and 1961, although figures for 1971 suggest women are now regaining some of the ground lost. In manual work, the trend is towards greater segregation, with men increasingly over-represented in skilled work and women contributing an increasing share of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. These changes outweigh the gradual, but small, improvements in women's share of higher professional occupations and among employers and proprietors."

(Hakim 1979, p27).

Women have entered the post-war labour force in large numbers and they have been concentrated into particular industries and jobs. Even though women are increasingly represented across a wide range of occupations the overwhelming majority are nevertheless segregated into distinct and limited areas of 'women's' work. The majority are also concentrated into the lower grades of occupational groups. As a consequence women, as a whole, earn less than men (Figure 2).

Explanations for women's employment

Women's, especially married women's, entry into paid labour has just been illustrated. And one of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter (what were women employed to do ?) seems to have been substantially answered. The rest of this chapter addresses the other general question which was raised - why were women employed ? On a superficial level it can be said that they were drawn into the labour market to do particular types of work during a post-war period of expansion and boom. But this does not explain why women do these types of low paid, routine and service jobs: and why, in more recent crises and slumps, women have not only maintained but increased their labour market share. The demand for married women's labour and their exact position within the segregated labour force have been the subject of considerable debate amongst academics and social policy makers. There have been many different attempts at explaining women's employment. A selective discussion of this work now follows. The selection has included examples of work which raise the main themes and issues which have come to dominate a wide ranging debate.

Dual roles

Early studies of married women's employment in the 1950s and 1960s (Jephcott, Sear and Smith 1962; Myrdal and Klien 1956; Klien 1965; Yudkin and Holme 1969) assumed that married women were increasingly going out to work because of a general labour

shortage. This labour shortage was considered to be the inevitable outcome of 'progressive modernisation' of the economy and expansion of social welfare provision. They also assumed that women did particular jobs because 'women were suited to them'. This assumption had two outcomes: first, women's position in the labour force was defined in relation to their 'primary social role' as housewives and mothers. So it was argued that their employment had to fit in with the demands of domestic life. It had to be, by and large, local and relatively undemanding in terms of content and career development. Second, the attributes and characteristics ascribed to women through their domestic role were given primary causal status in making them particularly suitable for the 'new' types of post-war work: caring, teaching, servicing, cleaning and an ability to do repetitive and boring tasks without too much complaint.

The focus of much of this early work was on the conflict which emerged between 'home' and 'work' when individual married women went out to work. Attention was directed towards questions such as when in the life cycle, and under what conditions, married women made the decision to seek work. And the impacts of women working, on marriage, the family, and especially children, were key features. The negative effects of women's preoccupation with domestic demands on paid work were also considered (for example: inability to do overtime, unwillingness to take on job related responsibility or train for a career). Although clearly in favour of women's employment, especially given the assumed labour

shortage, the policies which this work advocated were directed at enabling individual women to perform their new 'dual roles' more effectively (for example, increased childcare provision and more flexible working patterns, including part-time working). The ascription of unequal social roles to men and women, the allocation of different jobs to men and women and the socio-economic inequalities which derived from this were not acknowledged. The social and historical nature of changes in the processes of production which resulted in economic and industrial reorganisation and shifting demands for labour were similarly unexamined.

Dual labour markets

The unsatisfactory nature of 'dual roles' as a full explanation for women's employment was taken up by Barron and Norris (1976). They looked within the structure of the labour market and to the forces which maintained that structure to find an explanation of women's employment in Britain's post-war labour market. They adapted 'dual labour market theory', an approach which had been originally devised to examine the employment position of blacks in the United States, to look at the segregated position of women. Dual labour market theory involves an analysis of the segmentation of the labour market into different and largely self-contained sectors. Barron and Norris used the notion of 'primary' and 'secondary' sectors. They described the jobs in these two sectors in the following way: 'primary sector' jobs are relatively highly

paid; they have good fringe benefits; relatively good working conditions; and opportunities for career advancement. Jobs in the 'secondary sector' are low paid; they have poor working conditions; few, if any, fringe benefits; no career development; and little job security. Access to opportunities for career advancement, the key to 'primary sector' jobs, Barron and Norris linked to the existence of internal labour markets for primary sector workers. They suggested that these internal labour markets are highly structured with jobs falling into an organised hierarchical pattern. Career pathways are developed through this hierarchy and are operated by means of internal promotion. But in the secondary sector they argued that there is no equivalent internal labour market. Recruitment is from an external labour market only, training is minimal and 'on the job' and secondary workers gain few, if any, marketable skills which they can use to advance their labour market position.

Segmentation of jobs therefore leads to segmentation of workers. The authors claimed that there are entry barriers to the primary sector (such as qualifications and/or experience) and therefore restricted movement of workers from the secondary to the primary sector. So whereas primary sector workers tend to have upward progression, secondary workers make horizontal movements between industries, doing unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

Beechey (1978) notes that various authors have put forward different explanations for the creation and maintenance of

segmented labour markets. Some have argued that employers fall into primary and secondary sectors as well as employees. And that primary sector employers use primary labour markets to reinforce monopolistic control over local economies. Barron and Norris, however, assumed that primary and secondary employers existed within all sectors of the economy and that control is exerted within sectors through the use of primary labour markets.

Essentially they argued that the primary/secondary split is a means of employers 'coping' with labour and product market change.

Elsewhere it has been argued that the creation of primary and secondary labour markets are a response to employers need to create employee stability in certain primary sector jobs and to undermine any potential working class solidarity in the secondary sector (Gordon 1972). Indeed Barron and Norris (1976) developed this idea by suggesting that primary labour markets, with their pay offs to employees, are a means of locking skilled and professional workers into individual firms and enabling employers to retain scarce, often firm specific, expertise and to reduce turnover. They also argued that the strategies adopted to create a primary labour market has implications for the secondary labour market and its employees. In order to 'pay' for the primary sector the secondary sector wages bill has to be kept low and jobs kept insecure. Others have suggested that this is made easier if there is already a supply of employees who will accept low pay, low status, job insecurity and poor conditions. Women in post-war

Britain were ready to accept such pre-conditions of employment (Hunt 1968). Why they were willing to do so is another question.

In establishing the nature of a segmented labour market, Barron^o and Norris postulated that women's employment falls within the secondary sector. They looked at some observable characteristics of women's waged work and noted that women's pay is lower than men's; there is a high degree of occupational segmentation between men and women; women are more likely than men to move in and out of the labour market; and, women are less likely than men to have 'career' opportunities, in fact they tend to be downwardly mobile or move horizontally through the job market. These characteristics of women's employment they argued coincided with those of secondary sector employment. Furthermore, Barron and Norris concluded that women are confined to the secondary labour market because, as a group, they exhibit the five designated attributes of secondary workers: easy disposability; easy social differentiation; low motivation to gain training and experience; low 'economism' - they do not rate economic rewards very highly; and low solidarity with other workers. The authors maintained that women continue to have these attributes because of a 'vicious circle' of employer discrimination: discrimination which is based on these ascribed characteristics.

But there are several problems with this analysis. Indeed there are five main areas of criticism (This section owes much to, although it deviates from, Beechey 1978, p177-181). First, there

is a contradiction within the 'dual labour markets' approach over its defined area of analysis. Barron and Norris claimed to be examining mechanisms of the labour market alone in their search for an explanation of women's employment. However in their observations of women's employment patterns and matching of characteristics of secondary workers and women, all five characteristics find their cause as much outside the labour market as within it. Indeed the social division of labour between men and women outside the labour force is given no formal explanatory status. Yet in their work they called upon a gendered division of labour in the family, and its assumptions, to explain the attributes and hinderences with which women enter paid work as secondary workers. In the same way their emphasis on employer's discriminatory strategies of exclusion in the formation and maintenance of segmented labour markets acknowledged, but did not include an analysis of, sexism (and racism). Again Barron and Norris drew on processes which operate outside as well as inside labour market structures.

Second, Barron and Norris argued that it is discriminatory employer strategies which create and maintain segmented labour markets. However such strategies were removed from their wider economic context. So in Barron and Norris's analysis there is no notion of how labour market segmentation relates to changes in the social organisation of production as a whole. As a result their analysis remains descriptive and does not explain why segmented markets have developed.

Third, they ignored the role of worker organisations (trades unions and professional bodies) and the state in forming and maintaining segmentation. Labour market segmentation has been maintained through both formal means (employment legislation and entry or membership rules to trades and professions) and informally (discriminatory custom and practice). J.E. Lewis (1984) outlines how women were excluded from the professions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries thus preventing them from earning higher incomes and gaining access to primary sector jobs. Bradley (1989) shows in detail exclusionary practices within different industries. She demonstrate that the internal divisions of labour and 'sex typing' of tasks evolved in different ways and at different paces within each industry. Laws excluding women from certain occupations and industries therefore had an uneven impact. And Rubery (1980) demonstrates clearly the role of trades unions in the demarcation of occupations and the segmentation of the labour market. Walby (1989) has further illustrated this point in her historical study of employer, union and state collaboration during and after the Second World War to exclude women from training and access to jobs in the engineering and other 'skill' based industry.

Formal exclusion of women may well be declining. But the increased segregation noted by Hakim is being maintained through a variety of covert and powerful means. 'Protective' legislation today still prevents women from gaining access to certain types of work (often better paid work): for example, certain night work, mining and oil

exploration/drilling and from entering certain areas of police, military and coastguard work. And as Snell (1979) has demonstrated the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act have done little to challenge the historic informal exclusion of women from most areas of paid work. It would seem therefore that the social relationships between men and women, and an analysis of the activities of organised (and male dominated) trades unions and the state, are intrinsically important in any explanation of women's employment.

Fourth, in 'dual labour market theory' it is too easy to conflate characteristics of the work with those of the workers. And this means women too easily become stereotyped as 'naturally' secondary workers. This is compounded by Barron and Norris's unquestioned adoption of an assumed and unproblematic division of labour in the family. In this, these authors accepted an unquestioned transference of women's capacities and capabilities from unpaid to paid labour.

Finally, Barron and Norris ignored the heterogeneous nature of women's post-war employment in Britain. They assumed that all women's employment fell into the secondary sector. But, in Britain much of the expansion of women's employment has been in the public sector; a sector which has had (until recently) good, and often protected, conditions of employment. Also women were drawn into many new professional and semi-professional occupations in education, health and welfare: many with primary sector conditions

and status. It is not clear from Barron and Norris's argument how teaching and nursing and semi-professional jobs in welfare services fit into their characterisation of women's employment and of primary and secondary labour markets.

The dual labour market approach offered an accessible description of the position of women in the post-war labour market. It emphasised that many women do work in low paid unskilled or semi-skilled jobs with few perks and limited prospects. But it was unable to give coherent explanations for the creation of gender based segregation, the full spectrum of women's occupations and the long history of women's unequally rewarded involvement in capitalist forms of production. In other words dual labour market theory alone cannot answer the question: why have women been employed ?

In looking for an alternative explanation for women's employment authors working within a socialist-feminist framework have looked elsewhere for an answer to this question. Some have looked more directly at the internal organisation of production and its effect on rates and nature of female participation. In so doing there has been much debate over (re)interpretations of key marxist concepts such as the division of labour, deskilling and the reserve army of labour. Other authors in the socialist-feminist tradition have sought explanations for women's employment outside the sphere of production. They have looked at the organisation of the family and at the sphere of reproduction as arenas which predefine women's

access to and participation in the labour force. These two sets of debate are now looked at in turn.

Division of labour and deskilling

Beechey (1978) has re-examined Marx's writing on the transition to 'modern industry' to establish the original form of women's inclusion in capitalist wage relations. She starts this re-examination at the emergence of manufacture as a dominant form of production. Her outline takes the following form: in manufacture traditional handicrafts were broken down into detail functions. Each specialised task was assigned to a worker (group of workers) and manufacture of a whole commodity took place through the co-operation of all workers. In other words a detailed division of labour emerged. But this division was an unequal one as it was arranged according to a 'hierarchy of concrete labours with a corresponding scale of wages'. At the bottom were unskilled tasks and then the other tasks were arranged according to the varying 'degrees of maturity, strength and development of labour power' amongst specialised craft workers. Beechey notes that such an arrangement should have been conducive to the incorporation of women, however she also notes that Marx acknowledged that women were in fact excluded by men's 'habits and resistance' from the necessary apprenticeship systems. Thus implying that even the unskilled labour was usually undertaken by young male apprentices.

But with the emergence of full capitalist control and mechanised modern industry, a new division of labour emerged in which women's waged participation became possible. The skill of the specialised craft worker was steadily transferred to machinery and Beechey describes how in Marx's analysis of this process there are several points relating this changed organisation of production to the potential employment of women.

First in the transition to 'modern industry', the specialised craft-based differentiations of manufacture were replaced by arbitrary divisions between machine minders in mechanised production. Age and sex instead of craft became possible bases of worker allocation to tasks. But as Beechey (1978) points out, Marx recognised that women did not automatically enter the sphere of production as new divisions were created. Although technically possible the allocation of tasks to workers were overlain by the social traditions which remained within the structure of the working class from craft manufacture (products of men's 'habits and resistance'). Thus male skilled workers, who were in positions of relative power, influenced the allocation of jobs and therefore the patterns of employment. Thus hierarchies based on old craft divisions, which at first excluded women, re-emerged superimposed on new divisions of labour. The point at which women were employed in the new division of labour was when this control was undermined.

Second, mechanisation and the organisation of modern industry intensified production outside the factory system through increased outwork and so Marx observed that unskilled women and children were increasingly used as productive labour in homebased domestic industries. In addition he noted that as the nature of production changed so did its demand for particular types of labour. But in changing the type of labour to women this had a specific consequential for production itself. Marx thus introduced another piece to consider in the incomplete jigsaw puzzle of women's employment. The products and processes of production are themselves altered by the incorporation of women into paid labour. When women worked outside domestic production their ability to produce domestic use values (products and services which are not produce for exchange but for domestic consumption) is reduced. Because of this a commodity market to replace these domestic use values was created. Beechey (1978 p186) takes this quotation from a footnote in Capital Vol. 1:

"..certain family functions, such as nursing and suckling children, cannot be entirely suppressed, the mothers confiscated by capital, must try substitutes of some sort. Domestic work, such as sewing and mending, must be replace by the purchase of ready-made articles. Hence the diminished expenditure of labour in the house is accompanied by an increased expenditure of money."

This is a market into which capitalist enterprise went. Indeed even the 'nursing and sucking of children' has been commodified with commercial childcare and synthetic milk. The commodification of household tasks not only increases the circulation of goods and

capital but also draws more women into the waged workplace. It is women who, often though not always, produce the replacement commodities (clothing, ready made meals) and increasingly in the twentieth century 'labour saving' domestic appliances.

The incorporation of women into capitalist waged labour therefore appears to have required changes in the organisation of production and a new division of labour. However such changes were only a precondition of women's entry. Other shifts had to take place: namely the erosion of male craft control over the labour process.

Finally, there was a tendency within the organisation of mechanised modern industry to substitute unskilled for skilled labour in a processes of deskilling. Drawing on naturalistic assumptions of women's lack of physical strength, Marx assumed women (and children) could replace men as the mechanisation of production dispensed with the need for 'muscular power'.

Contributing to contemporary marxist debates on the organisation of production and the labour process, Braverman (1974) incorporated and developed these particular notions of mechanisation and the substitution of unskilled for skilled labour. He examined these in a discussion of the development of monopoly capitalism and changes in class composition. In this phase of capitalist development he suggested tasks, at various levels in the production process (he examined 'white collar' as well as 'blue collar' areas of work), were further subdivided into

their smallest detailed component parts. The ability of individual workers to complete whole complex production tasks was finally eroded and automation of particular elements in production processes diminished labour's control over production as a whole. The subdivision of labour, simplification of tasks, application of technology, and lowering of wages were part and parcel of rationalisation and deskilling processes. These, Braverman argued, were accompanied by a 'feminisation' of the workforce. Unskilled women were employed, replacing skilled men.

But that there are several problems with the Braverman's use of deskilling and feminisation of labour. Braverman assumed that women automatically fill unskilled jobs. He did not question why women filled unskilled jobs. In this he divorced the social composition of the labour (as women) from the organisation of production (Beechey 1982). Again unquestioned assumptions were made about the transfer of supposed female attributes from 'family' and domestic division of labour to the productive sphere. Nor did Braverman acknowledge the active participation of labour in maintaining and changing the labour process. Consequently he not only omitted the conflicts between labour and capital but also the tensions and battles between male and female labour.

For example, sexism (and racism) are powerful means of allocating jobs to groups within the workforce. Cavendish's (1982) description of 'working on the line' in a car components factory outlines in some detail both the hierarchy of jobs between men and

women in the organisation of a specific production process and the informal ways in which this unequal allocation is maintained. The small differences in tasks performed by groups of women was overlaid by a rigid demarcation between women's and men's jobs.

She writes:

"The women were all in the same grade as semi-skilled assemblers, except for Margaret the training woman, one woman charge hand, and a few women at the lowest levels of quality control. The position of men was totally different....the men were spread through many different grades, from labourer to manager, and were divided from each other by differences of skill and pay, as well as from us. They didn't form a single group like the women"

(Cavendish 1982, p79)

Maintaining this hierarchy however was not just through the formal allocation of men and women workers to different jobs. Within the daily routine, sexism and racism were used to reinforce this unequal allocation. An argument between the women and their male supervisor over what time they could line up to clock off (2 or 5 minutes before the siren at 4.15) is an example of how a relatively trivial dispute brought sexism visibly into play.

"The battles over the clock also showed how sexist their authority was. There was no way Sean Cooney could have told men to go and stand at their benches - men would have taken no notice. The tone of voice was of a man in authority talking down to a woman in a much lower position as if we were a bit stupid for not realising what the punishment would be if our misdemeanours were reported to management. Calling us 'girls' and 'dear' created an air of paternalism that would never have been possible with men."

(Cavendish 1982, p90)

Cavendish also illustrates the importance of race in cross-cutting both class and gender. Race was central to the social relations which enable the division of labour to work in this particular factory. The overwhelming majority women on the shopfloor were 'operators' on the same lowest grades. Most of these women were also from ethnic minority communities - young women from Ireland and older women from the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent. The clerical staff were also largely women but in this case all white British - "If you'd just left school in London and had some CSEs, they might have offered you an office job with higher pay and shorter hours like the personnel manager offered me. If you'd been to school in the West Indies, India or had just come over from Ireland, you had no chance of clerical work" (p78). Amongst the men there were a few Asian maintenance workers but none from Africa or the Caribbean. Most of the chargehands were Irish but above that white British men held all the jobs up and into the office and management hierarchy. Jobs were passed on through informal networks at each grading while gender stereotyping and racism reinforced the social divisions - the allocation of these particular social groups to each kind of job.

Elsewhere Beechey (1978) reminds us that Marx argued that the employment of unskilled women was a strategy used by employers to undermine male craft resistance to mechanisation. Thus the battles for control over an increasingly automated labour process also incorporated battles between women and men. Women's employment is often contingent upon how these battles work out.

Cockburn (1983) has demonstrated this exact processes in a contemporary period of automation in the print industry in which women lost out in conflict over the control of new forms of technology and work. She has looked in detail at the renegotiation of job boundaries in the print industry during the introduction of new technology and at the impact of new technology on women's work in other sectors, such as the office, warehouse and health care (Cockburn 1984). She found that the material and ideological basis of segregated employment is wrapped up in the lived workplace experiences of gendered 'men' and 'women' and the inequality of power between them. Technical 'know-how' has been historically gained by men and contains within it definitions of appropriate sexuality. This confirms men's identity and power and thus structures the subsequent subordinate position of women in the division of labour. Where technology has been used to enable a recomposition of a workforce so that women can be employed, they are often employed as operators of technology rather than the controllers or maintainers of technology. 'Know-how' is not passed on to women but retained in the hands of male technicians and engineers. Cockburn makes the following astute general observation:

"Through the relations of work we are formed and divided - into 'men' who occupy a masculine sphere and 'women' who occupy a feminine one. The gender issue at work is not just a matter of inequality, of unequal pay and unequal chances. It is a matter of the creation and defence of male enclaves among the occupations, where young males learn to be men, and the complementary establishment of dead end female ghettos, with very little crossing the boundaries between"

(Cockburn 1984, p9)

Contemporary uses of the concepts of deskilling and feminisation, including Braverman's, also rely on unquestioned assumptions of biology: for example male strength or female dexterity. But differences in body size, physical strength and abilities also have to be reinterpreted in relation to the social construction of divisions of labour. As Cockburn (1981) succinctly argues the very real difference in strengths and physical capacities which men and women exhibit are developed partly through the types of work which they have historically done.

A further problem with Braverman's deskilling and feminisation thesis is that he assumed a one way process. But there is evidence of change, including technical change, in the organisation of production which has created new skills and high status employment (Gershuny and Miles 1984). The question then becomes one of why women have been largely excluded from from these new, often well paid jobs (Crompton 1986; Game and Pringle 1984).

The notion of 'skill', which was central to Braverman's discussion of deskilling and feminisation was also left unexamined. Braverman made sweeping, and some would suggest rather romantic, assumptions: skill stemmed from the male 'artisan' and this dignified and proud worker's was being eroded by the constant reorganisation of the labour process (Beechey 1982). 'Skill', as several socialist feminist authors have pointed out, is in fact a more complex concept (Beechey 1982; Bradley 1989; Phillips and

Taylor 1980; Phillips 1983). It incorporates at least three elements: first, objective competencies and the possession of particular techniques; second, control over the labour process; and third, conventional definitions of occupational status. These three elements of skill are not necessarily overlapping nor objective. Indeed Phillips and Taylor (1980) demonstrate how the conceptualisation of 'skill' is gendered. They write:

"...the classification of women's jobs as unskilled and men's jobs as skilled or semi-skilled frequently bears little relation to the actual amount of training or ability required for them. Skill definitions are saturated with sexual bias. The work of women is often deemed inferior simply because it is women who do it. Women workers carry into the workplace their status as subordinate individuals, and this status comes to define the value of the work they do. Far from being an objective economic fact, skill is often an ideological category imposed on certain types of work by virtue of the sex and power of the workers who perform it."

(Phillips and Taylor 1980, p79).

Many tasks which women perform inside and outside the paid labour force may combine objective competencies and some, albeit limited, control over the labour process but these do not translate into occupational status. Jobs designated as skilled are, more often than not, seen as men's work. But many of the intrinsic skills attached to women's work, which may have been learned through domestic socialisation (such as sewing, mending, washing, caring), go unrecognised and therefore unrewarded. But most importantly the labelling of jobs as 'men's' and 'women's', 'skilled' and 'unskilled' reinforces the gender division of labour at work. When

looking at divisions of labour in a longer historical perspective it is therefore apt to note, as Bradley (1989) does that:

"...from the beginning of industrial development the labour process was not only 'capitalist' but also 'gendered'. That is, that as capitalists introduced new techniques and reorganised the process of production they in fact created 'men's' and 'women's' jobs, utilising the characteristics that were socially ascribed to men and women as workers: the 'skill' and 'technological expertise' of men, the 'cheapness' and 'adaptability' of women."

(Bradley 1989, p68)

The gendered social construction of 'skill', as part of the organisation of the labour process and the changing demands for different types of labour (including women's labour) therefore has to be included in any explanation of women's employment.

Reserve army of labour

Another area of debate concerning explanations for the entry of women, particularly married women, into employment concerns the nature of the industrial reserve army of labour. This concept is also central to marxist analysis of the labour process and labour market. The reserve army of labour can generally be defined as a flexible population of workers who are drawn into the labour force and disposed of as production requires. It also acts as a competitive force keeping wage levels down. Some authors (see Beechey 1978) use more detailed definitions of the reserve army of labour which suggested that there are different 'types' of reserve labour which come into play in different circumstances. It is

suggested that there is: a 'floating' army which is the result of labour shedding by industries during periods of recession and reorganisation; a 'stagnant' army which is made up of casualised workers who move in and out of agriculture or industry; and a 'latent' army who are workers shed by the modernisation of agriculture. Married women have entered all three categories of reserve army at different times. But it has been suggested that, in particular, the mechanisation of housework has liberated women's labour into a 'latent' army much as mechanisation liberated labour from working the land (see McDowell 1989).

However, it should be noted that, who constitutes the reserve army at a particular time and place is also based on other contingent factors. These include employment and welfare legislation, immigration policies, the employment practices of firms and the role of unions in negotiation entry to jobs and industries. The marriage bar in most areas of pre-war work was, Walby (1989) claims, one of the most significant contingent factors in the creation of a reserve army of labour is married women.

It can also be argued, on a more general level, that there are certain preferred categories of labour in the reserve army and married women fit these criteria well. Married women are preferred because they are not wholly dependent on their wage for their own reproduction. So they can be paid very low wages. They are also extremely flexible as a group. Their domestic position cushions them if expelled from paid work and they are kept (literally) 'on

tap' for periods when extra labour is required. Although in post-war Britain no worker has had to cover the full cost of reproduction, the state has covered many of the costs of education, health, welfare and housing (both state and owner occupied), Beechey (1978), Alexander (1976), Gardiner (1975) and others forcefully argue that women's position in the family and role in reproduction makes them a preferred source of reserve labour.

Breugel (1979) does not dispute that women have provided a 'reservoir' of labour which has been drawn on at times of labour shortage. But she does question the assumption that women are 'disposable' and are returned to the home during periods of slump. Through an empirical study of the 1974-78 recession in Britain she concludes that women as a whole were not disposed of but protected from the recession by the continued growth of employment in the service sector. But she does acknowledge that some women, particularly those in low skilled manufacturing occupations and occupations with high rates of 'natural wastage', were more susceptible to job loss and erosion when compared to men in similar occupational positions. Understanding women's employment in terms of the reserve army of labour requires a parallel exploration of the shifting organisation of production as a whole within and between sectors and the changing relative demands for different types of worker.

So far in this discussion of explanations for women's employment, academic work and debates have been outlined which seek understanding in the structuring of the labour market and in the changing organisation of production. Yet, throughout this work, there have been a number of references to women's family and domestic position as an external though influential component in understanding labour market participation. Indeed above there are some tantalising glimpses at the way in which the capitalist organisation of production and the organisation of domestic labour interact. By interrupting the unpaid work of women in the home, it appears that women's employment has generated changes in the sectoral division of production itself. And *vice versa*, commodification of certain aspects of domestic labour implies an alteration to the form, if not the amount of domestic labour (see Chapters 2 and 3), of much domestic work. The changing form of domestic labour has been the object of a distinct area of academic inquiry. In this work some connections with changing organisation of production are made, though this, as yet, is undeveloped (Bose 1982; Cowan 1974; Davidoff, 1976; Gershuny and Miles 1984; Oakley 1974; Pahl 1980, 1984).

Looking at the structure of the labour force and the organisation of production has not been the only arena of debate over the employment of women. Other authors place some, if not all, the root cause of women's position in the labour market outside the sphere of production. There has been an equally vibrant aspatial literature explicitly debating the role of the family and domestic

labour in influencing the position of women in the wage labour force.

Value of labour and the 'family wage'

Examining in depth the advantage to capital of employing women and especially married women, was a major task of feminist informed writers in the 1970s. Gardiner (1975) for example in a seminal article argued that this advantage must lie in a differential value of men and women's labour. Again following a re-reading of Marx she suggested that the particular differential between the value of men and women's labour in the productive sector is based on the organisation of reproduction and domestic labour within the family. The domestic division of labour she argued is organised within the family (between husbands-wives/breadwinners-housekeepers) such that women are dependent on the family (on men) for part of the costs of producing and reproducing their labour power. The domestic division of labour has been institutionalised in the 'family wage' ("a living wage..on which a man can keep himself, his wife and children at a decent level" (Barrett and McIntosh 1980, p51). And Gardiner suggested that it is the 'family wage' coupled with the use values (goods produce for consumption and not exchange) produced by women's domestic labour which cushions them, and especially if married, from the full cost of their own reproduction. This means that when married women go out to work they can be paid below the level of labour power costs: in

other words less than the amount required to reproduce their own labour.

There is an argument which states that men also have their reproduction cost reduced by women's domestic labour (Harrison 1974). Women's domestic labour reduces as a whole the level of necessary labour time: that is the amount of labour required to be expended in order to reproduce the productive work capacity of individuals, households and the working class. This means that for as long as women do domestic work 'for free' the costs of labour to capital, and therefore the level of the 'family wage' are reduced.

But if, as Gardiner argued, married women can be paid even less than the cost of their own reproduction in a situation of already reduced reproduction cost, this goes some way towards explaining the ability of capital to pay married women very low wages and their relative attractiveness as employees.

But there are some problems with this analysis. First women's employment can not be reduced to relative cost. There are, as has been discussed above, other social processes which structure women's employment (men's powerful hold over skilled work; sexism/racism; gendered assumptions about 'appropriate work'). Second Gardiner claims that domestic labour is the sole means of maintaining "male domination, sexual division within the working

class and women's passivity" (p56). But the material and ideological means by which this is done are left unexamined.

Furthermore, Beechey (1978) has argued that low wages for working class women are not, and never have been, dependent on their actual marital status nor on their level of domestic labour or participation in reproduction. It is the assumption that all women are or will be part of a 'family' and domestic division of labour which contributes to their low wage levels. Young single working class women are assumed to be supported and maintained within the family: their parental family. Older women are assumed to be married. For those working class women who remain single, or become single through divorce or widowhood there is no compensation and they more often than not decline into poverty. If they have children, and therefore have to support the costs of reproducing the next generation of paid and domestic workers, this poverty is often severe. Empirical evidence is now available which demonstrates women's spiralling poverty when they contravene this assumption (Scott 1986).

Barrett and McIntosh (1980) have also argued that the 'family wage', which has been a mainstay of collective trades union demands since the nineteenth century, has rarely operated as its name suggests and as Gardiner implies. Women do not, in the main, have their costs of reproduction covered by the male wage. They cover part of their own costs of reproduction through their own domestic labours. But, Barrett and McIntosh claim using historical

evidence, that women have always work for direct or indirect incomes to maintain themselves and their children. Indeed they suggest that the ideology of the 'family wage' has helped to maintain women's poverty and subordinate position in the workforce. It is therefore in the ideology of the family, particularly the nuclear family, that these authors have sought an explanation for women inferior status in society and in the workplace. They write:

"Part of the ideal model of the family wage and women's peripheral place in the workplace is the idea of women's domestic responsibilities....The need of a man for a clean cheerful home and a meal prepared on his return from work was one of the powerful arguments for restricting the hours and types of paid work women should do. Low wages, dependence and housework for women are a trio of mutually reinforcing ideas, each justifying and reproducing the conditions for the others..."

Barret and McIntosh 1980, p(61?)

The patriarchal household and domestic divisions of labour

A considerable literature has emerged, most of it historical, which examines the nature of women's waged labour in relation to gendered domestic divisions of labour outside the sphere of capitalist production. The domestic division of labour within the family appears to have had a powerful effect on the visibility of women's waged work in the nineteenth century. Hall (1982) argues that domestic labour operated to obscure many areas of women's 'waged' work: work which generated an income either directly or indirectly. Women's employment was often concealed within 'the

home' (her own or somebody else's). Domestic service, outwork, farm work, spinning, sewing, washing and childcare provided incomes without disrupting the family division of labour. Today it has been argued that many different types of 'homeworking' have been similarly obscured (Coyle 1984; Huws 1982). Hall (1982) suggests that it was only when capitalist organisation of production fostered the separation of 'home' and 'work' that certain areas of women's (especially married women's) employment became both visible and of social concern. While it remained behind closed doors women's waged work, and the conditions surrounding it, were unquestioned. She writes:

"It was the separation which took place between work and home, and the fact that women started going out into public places such as mills to work, so that it was no longer possible simply to combine employment with domesticity, that troubled many commentators.....It is noticeable that there was never any public outcry about women's work as domestic servants for, despite what were in many cases appalling exploitative conditions of work, that work was private, carried out in other people's homes and thus not offending against Victorian notions of the woman as the 'angel of the house'. Similarly sweated work caused little concern until later in the nineteenth century. It was the factories and the mines, with their public presence and their mixed labour force, which forced questions about the propriety of married women's paid employment into the forefront of Victorian public life."

(Hall 1982, p18)

In an empirical study of paternalism in the nineteenth century silk industry, Lown (1983) suggests that, regardless of the many activities which women undertook to sustain themselves and their households, their patterns of waged economic involvement denied

them the opportunities to develop 'work identities'. Women's waged labour, including work in the silk mill, was arranged around the demands of childbirth, childcare, nursing the sick and domestic labour. Women moved in and out of the formal labour force and undertook different forms of outwork when the need arose. Men however gained strong continuous 'work identities' through their formalised systems of apprenticeship and the public recognition of their labours. Lown argues that this difference lent itself to the maintenance of 'traditional forms of authority' (patriarchal authority) both inside and outside the workplace. Patriarchal relations of the pre-capitalist household were reconstituted through 'paternalism' in the workplace: in which "the paternalist acts towards dependents as a father does to his wife, his children and his servants" (p34). Paternalism therefore became a primary factor in shaping gender and age hierarchies.

Once women were clearly inside the waged labour force, the influence of the patriarchal family seems nevertheless to have continued. Alexander (1976) argues that the particular way in which women were employed within early capitalist production was derived from the division of labour in the pre-capitalist 'patriarchal family' (in which 'men ruled both women and children). She therefore suggests that capitalism adopted and modified pre-existing unequal gender divisions of labour.

Using an historical analysis of nineteenth century London to substantiate her argument, she suggests that the gender division

of labour within and between pre-capitalist 'trades' was predetermined by the division of labour that had existed within the family when the household had been a unit of production. Her interpretation implies that men were household heads and that women's priority was domestic labour: a priority which derived from their role in biological reproduction. She describes the pre-capitalist family in the following way:

"The pre-industrial family had a patriarchal structure.....The father was the head of the household, his craft or trade most often determined the family's principal source of income, and his authority was sanctioned by both the law of God and the law of Nature. Nevertheless (except among the very wealthy minority), every member of the family participated in production and contributed to the family income. A woman's work in the home was different from her husband's, but no less vital.....Her time was allocated between domestic labour and work in production for sale, according to the family's economic needs. And sometimes a woman's economic contribution to family income was considerable (especially in the rural industries). But a wife's responsibility for the well being of her husband and children always came before her work in social production, and in a patriarchal culture, this was seen to follow naturally from her role in biological reproduction."

(Alexander 1976, p77)

The incursion of capitalist relations into the household mode of production, Alexander goes on to argue, confirmed this economic subordination of women. Production for exchange took precedence over production for use and the latter was increasingly confined to the 'private' world of home, family and female labour. Manufacture provided the conditions for a hierarchy of labour based on the division of detailed tasks (as noted above) but "it

was the transference of the sexual division of labour from the family into social production which ensured that it was women who moved into the subordinate and auxiliary positions within it."

(p78).

The influence of the gendered domestic division of labour is still evident today in explanations of women's employment patterns. In a contemporary study of the division of labour between men and women in the workplace, the priority of domestic over waged work for women is still noted. Crompton and Jones (1984) found in one of their case studies of clerical employment (a bank) that, although men and women were found in the same two clerical grades ('primary' and 'secondary'), the length of time spent at these grades were very different. Men passed through these jobs on their way up the career grade structure whereas women remained in them with few moving on into promoted posts. Crompton and Jones found differences in the reasons why women remained in these jobs: women in the 'secondary' (lower graded) jobs expressed a contentment with their position and said they 'did not want' the responsibility and extra pressure of promotion. Domestic responsibilities and childcare were given as the main reasons for this by both the middle management and women themselves. Women in the 'primary' grades, who were already doing relatively skilled and demanding work, were discouraged and debarred from the promotions ladder by lack of post entry qualifications and an assumed inability to be geographically mobile, again because of domestic demands. Both the women and men in this study, from management and clerical grades,

reinforced the existing gender divisions of labour in the workplace by reference to expectations of the unequal domestic division of labour at home.

Clearly here the authors are arguing that gender divisions are transferred from family to production. Hall (1982), again using historical evidence from the nineteenth century, shows that the transference is not a simple gendered process of task allocation. Using the example of spinning she notes that this was women's work in the household mode of production: a task which could be done alongside and in-between domestic chores and childcare. When textile production was first organised on capitalist lines women and children operated spinning jennies in factories. But with the introduction of the mule their labour was replaced by men. Physical strength and operating skills were used as justifications.

But Hall cites the work of Lazonick who argues that physical strength and acquired skill have to be seen in the context of men's established social (patriarchal) position. In the early factories women and children spun on jennies without assistants. But as the machines (mules) became more complex each spinner required one or two additional hands. The spinner had complete authority over the assistants who were paid by the spinner and not the factory owner. Lazonick claims that it was at this point, when factory spinners became supervisors of others, that the occupation became designated as 'male': thus formally incorporating power over subordinates. Male spinners then employed their wives, children

and other close family members as their assistants. Consequently it was the "the authority of the father carried over from his social position in the family which suited the adult male to the job of mule spinning" (Lazonick 1976, quoted in Hall 1982, p22). Women continued to be excluded from factory spinning first through this direct incorporation of the patriarchal family into the workplace and then through the activities of organised trades unions.

Phillips (1983) argues that there is universal influence of patriarchy: she presents the following argument which reinforces the idea that patriarchy independently influences the division of tasks in productive labour. She argues: in all societies there is (and has been) a 'job hierarchy' in which some tasks have 'counted' for more than others. This has more often than not coincided with a division based on gender in which men do the tasks which carry high status and women the ones with low status. This general pattern varies in its detail between and within particular societies over time. She summarises her points in this extract:

"In 'hunting and gathering societies, for example, hunting (male) has a higher status than gathering (female). Gender divisions are usually quite rigid, and though in many societies young men share the work of women, adult men move on to better things. So building and repairing a house might be men's work; agriculture often women's. Where men and women work together in agriculture there is normally a clear demarcation of tasks; men perhaps responsible for tending the crops that are sold on the market, while women get on with growing the food crops; or the men ploughing the fields while women look after the poultry. Exactly

which jobs fall on men and which on women has varied enormously, but the pattern of segregation runs through all known societies. And where there is a division of labour between the sexes, men's work usually counts for more."

(Phillips 1983, p8-9)

This central role accorded to patriarchy in the allocation of tasks and subsequently employment, differs in emphasis from the work discussed above in which explanation of women's employment is primarily, though not exclusively sought in the organisation of labour markets and production. In much of this production orientated work the role of domestic divisions of labour, the family and patriarchy has taken a subsidiary place.

Conclusion: patriarchy and capitalism

Yet all the work discussed in this chapter has drawn on some sort of idea of a prefigurative set of relations in the family and reproduction which predated capitalist forms of production. The authors do however place different emphasis on its relative importance in shaping women's employment today. This has given rise to a theoretical debate on the relationship between 'capitalism' and 'patriarchy' and on their autonomy (or unity) as analytical concepts. For some this work implies that 'patriarchy' (the unequal set of social relations between men and women in which men dominate women) has some form of independence from the mode of production

There are some authors, deriving analytically from Engels, who do not even go this far and who argue that the specific position of women in the labour force and in society as a whole, is a function of the structure of capitalism (Ehrenreich and English 1979; Vogel 1983). Yet there are others who argue for complete analytical independence of patriarchy stating that it creates a separate arena of exploitation which has only tangential links with the mode of economic production (Delphy 1979, 1984). But others have tried to demonstrate that patriarchy, though analytically and empirically independent, is always modified by the impact of the mode of production and vice versa, patriarchy modifies the mode of production. (Cockburn 1981; Hartmann 1979, 1981; Walby 1986). To complicate this situation even further, Game and Pringle (1984) suggest that patriarchy and capitalism are so enmeshed and intertwined that they cannot, in any practical sense, be separated either empirically or theoretically. For them patriarchy and capitalism are a unitary set of structures and relations.

Yet in the analytical work of Hartmann (1979, 1981) a powerful argument is presented of women's social and economic position. She starts by stating that most marxist feminist analyses have placed too much emphasis on women's relationship to capitalism and have ignored the independent role of patriarchal interests. Patriarchy and capitalism, she claims, are independent structures which have, over time, had such an influence on each other that the interests of capital and interests of patriarchy (and therefore of men) are integrally bound together. In particular she argues that job

segregation and the family wage are demonstrated outcomes of the interaction of patriarchy and capitalism. They have become the material bases of women's subordination. Men have joined together to exclude women from certain areas of paid work, this reinforces women's economic dependence on men and the family wage.

Consequently men and capital benefit from women's unpaid domestic labour.

Yet despite acknowledging the independence of 'patriarchy', Hartmann is somewhat unclear on her definition of the basis of patriarchy. She claims it rests in 'men's control over women's labour power' in the home and in the workplace. Yet the arenas and means of this control are reduced to an unsatisfactory and vague list ranging from men's economic, social and physical control over childbearing and sexuality to men's influence over organised trade unionism and other social institutions of religion, sport, the military, recreation, welfare.... (the list goes on) and work. The analytical independence of patriarchy is therefore lost in the particular, and messy, events of everyday life.

Walby (1986) in her more contemporary attempt at unravelling the interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy clearly identifies the problem of trying to sort out patriarchal relations from capitalist relations. She claims, unlike others (for example Young 1982), that this is possible, although difficult (p46). She argues, that what is at issue is "how to provide the basis of the distinction between patriarchy and capitalism." (p46). Looking for

this in the institutional separation of patriarchy and capitalism (home/workplace, private/public, reproduction/production) is no use, she argues. Instead she states that:

"Rather it is in the distinctiveness of the social relations of patriarchy and capitalism which is the crucial means of separating them. Patriarchy is distinctive in being a system of interrelated structures through which men exploit women, while capitalism is a system in which capital expropriates wage labourers. It is the mode of exploitation which constitutes the central difference between the two systems."

(Walby 1986, p46)

To help analyse her 'system of inter-related structures through which men exploit women', she creates a new analytical category (similar in many ways to Delphy 1984) of the 'patriarchal mode of production'. This encompasses the domestic sphere and it is this analytical tool which, she claims, allows her to focus on the exploitative nature of men's relationship within the domestic division of labour. She declares: "I would suggest that within the patriarchal mode of production the producing class is composed of housewives or domestic labourers, while the non-producing and exploiting class is composed of husbands." (p52-53). Yet in her work she too is unclear as to the precise nature of the social relations which relate such an analysis of 'patriarchy' with the class divisions of capitalism. Consequently she too creates a long and indecisive list of patriarchy's arenas of influence:

"Patriarchy, then, is composed not only of a patriarchal mode of production, but also of sets of patriarchal relations in the workplace, the state, sexuality and other practices of civil

society." (p247). What she does show in her empirical work is that there is a conflict and tension over the control of women's labour (defined in a generic sense) between patriarchy and capital.

Women's labour is in demand 'by capital' and its institutions and 'by men' in the home. The conflict, Walby argues, is played out between groups of men and women as workers and as individuals. It can be added that resolution of the conflict between capitalism and patriarchy is found in the gendered segregation of employment and in individual women's ability to cope and juggle the conflicting demands of home and work.

The problem of analysing the inter-relationship and interdependence of patriarchy and capitalism (or more general 'sex/gender systems and modes of production (Cockburn (1981)), and sorting out whether they can be considered as analytically separate or united is an on-going debate within feminist informed social science. However one author, Cockburn (1984) declares that really it does not matter from which analytical position one starts. She declares that in analysing women's economic subordination, the main 'project' is constructing detailed historical and empirical analyses of how masculine and feminine identities are produced in relation to one another and through 'work' (domestic and paid). Cockburn's work, and that of Game and Pringle (1984), has been central in pointing analysis of women's employment away from the relative positioning of 'patriarchy' or 'capitalism' and redirecting it towards the construction of power laden gender relations inside the workplace.

Feminist informed research on the division of labour has begun to stress therefore that gender relations are not simply imported from the sphere of the home into the workplace to lie over existing capital-labour relations. (Nor to be solely dictated by the organisation of production). Indeed as Cockburn demonstrates above, the gendered identities of men and women, which are bound up with notions of appropriate behaviour and sexuality, incorporating unequal power relations are made equally in the workplace. The gendering of jobs and the making of 'men' and 'women' through divisions of labour at work is paramount in Western economies today. Game and Pringle (1984) have considered this processes in some depth through empirical investigations of reorganisation, often linked to technological change, in workplaces. They make the following general observation:

"Our fundamental identity is as sexed beings, men or women. And in claiming that identities are constructed through social practices such as work, we are also suggesting that sexuality is a fundamental aspect of this. For example, men's sense of self is affronted if they do 'women's' work. They feel they have not only been reduced in status but almost physically degraded....Men who do 'women's' work may be seen as weak, effeminate or even homosexual. Men's work has to be experienced as empowering...If women move into male areas of work they are made to feel awkward in a number of ways. They may be called castrating bitches, or excluded from a pub scene. Sometimes they are accused of 'sleeping their way to the top' or denied their sexuality altogether as asexual 'career women'. Frequently they are subjected to sexual harassment, which is a means of keeping them in their place and ensuring that they stay there."

(Game and Pringle 1984 p16)

Empirical studies by Pollert (1981) of a tobacco factory, Cockburn (1983) of the print industry in London, and Westwood (1984) of a hosiery factory show how in highly segregated work environments women and men develop their own mutually exclusive cultures. These create and reinforce the gendered process of socialisation in which gender identities are produced in the workplace. In white collar office work, Barker and Downing (1980) show, in another empirical study, that although physical segregation is less rigid gender identities and unequal power between men and women structure the relationship between male senior office staff and women secretarial and clerical workers. Here in the office environment gendering is also maintain in work cultures (women talking over family and domestic concerns, men drinking at lunchtime and after work). But it is more overtly maintain in the work relationships between men and women as female staff 'service' and 'support' the work and personal needs of male staff.

This making of 'men' and 'women' through divisions of labour is a powerful argument. And it is becoming clear that this gendering of the division of labour inside the workplace is shaping the nature of gender relations well beyond workplace boundaries. Game and Pringle, in the final chapter of their book Gender and Work, take the analysis full circle and begin to look at the construction of gendered identities in the home in relation to the gendering of identities in the workplace. The gender division of labour at home is principally maintained. But it has changed as many working women take on added responsibilities for household management and

consumption. Protecting their gender identity in the home (of wife, mother, housekeeper) and that of their partners often requires women to adopt new strategies. They divorce home and work more strictly than men. They do not bring work or workmates home. They do not allow work to interrupt the assumed 'harmony' of a separate domestic life. Game and Pringle describe this in the following long, but perceptive, quotation:

"..the separation only really fits the *male* experience. The experience of women who work is qualitatively different. Even if they work in feminised occupations, they are occupying what is defined in capitalist society as a male sphere. Home is not simply the refuge it is for men, but another workplace, although not defined as such. Precisely because there is a danger of blurring, women have to establish the distinction even more strongly than men. Where men can allow the two spheres to encroach on each other, taking the division for granted, women cannot. It is analogous to the situation of women doctors or other women in 'men's' jobs who have to constantly justify themselves because they do not have patriarchal authority. Men have the power to define what is acceptable and thus feel little tension around the home/work dichotomy. Women are placed on the defensive. They are the ones who have to negotiate the two power structures and the relation between them. And ironically, they often do this by making an even sharper distinction between them. This makes each area easier to handle. For example, women making it in a man's world are resentful of employers asking them if they're likely to be having children or assuming that they wouldn't move because they're married; they want to be treated as men would be. But of course they do have domestic and childcare responsibilities, and the consequence of this kind of strategy for survival at work means that their double shift is not confronted head on, if this strategy makes life at work possible, it also is used to keep peace at home by not bringing work home and not taking up home time with work time in any way. Such means of coping have the effect of reproducing the sexual division of labour. The male experience of the public/private split is not disrupted or contradicted by bringing work home,

or workmates or business contacts. On the contrary these are all means of reasserting his position of power and enforcing acceptance of his other more important outside world from his wife."

(Game and Pringle 1984, p138-139).

Explanations for women's employment, its form and content, are now being sought in the complex sets of power relations between men and women as they are played out in the different spheres of private and public life. Here home and work still dominate although the relevance of the 'institutions of civil society' cannot be ignored. Much of the power of this departure in feminist thinking has been derived from empirical investigations. However, despite Cockburn's implication above that this is the priority of work on women's economic and social position, there is a danger of slipping into a heap of empirical detail with no means of sifting and sorting it out. The need for analytical clarity is still there. Consequently the theoretical debate about the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy will continue. But to date, there is only one really conclusive element which can be drawn from work on women's employment and that is that patriarchy (as the unequal power relationship between men and women) makes a difference.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT: THE SPATIAL DEBATES

The aspatial discussion of women's employment in Chapter 4 raised some crucial theoretical and empirical points about the position of women inside (and outside) the workplace. It did not however discuss variations in the spatial pattern of women's involvement in waged. This is the subject of this chapter. As noted at the beginning of Chapter 4, discussion of women's employment has fallen, because of academic divisions of labour, into two not always integrated debates.

The growth of women's employment in post-war Britain has been uneven. One major significant feature has been the convergence of regional participation rates indicating that regions with pre-war low rates of participation have witnessed rapid rates of female incorporation. Another is the employment of women in decentralised locations on the edge of metropolitan centres, in small towns and semi-rural locations.

In Chapter 2 it was noted that the debate on the influence of gender on urban environments started with observations of 'women' and their differential use of space. In regional studies and geographical discussions of gender differences in the spatial

pattern of employment, women too have been the focus of enquiry. In particular, women's employment growth in the post-war assisted regions, and in the two study new towns, drew comment by academics and policy makers. Usually not positive comment. This chapter therefore is guided by two questions: first, why were women employed in these particular towns in a peripheral region at this time? Second, was this because of 'regional policy' incentives or were more general changes going on in the organisation and geography of economic activity? So this chapter considers how women's employment has entered the geographical and regional studies debates and questions how explanations for women's employment in particular places has developed. Given the conclusions of Chapter 4, the particular ways in which social structures outside the organisation of production are used in these explanations are noted. Likewise the role ascribed to 'patriarchy' is observed. It appears that often the spatial debates have adopted superficial readings of aspatial interpretations of women's socio-economic position without examining their internal assumptions or complexities. As in Chapters 2 and 3, the relationship between social relations and spatial structures is once again a central theme.

Women's employment - a spatial issue?

The post-war trends in the national labour force discussed at the beginning of Chapter 4, demonstrated the unmistakable shift in the social composition of the labour market. This gender

recompositioning also had a spatial dimension (see for example, Bowers 1970; Fothergill and Gudgin 1982; Greehalgh 1977, 1980; Molho 1983). Regions where women had not had a history of participation experienced rapid expansion in women's activity rates. Similar patterns were found in decentralised and suburban locations on the periphery of metropolitan areas. The post-war loss of men's jobs in manufacturing in the 'old industrial regions', the recruitment of women to the 'new' assembly industries and the national rise of women's service sector employment raised many questions about who was getting employed to do what kind of jobs in which places (Bruegel 1979; Lewis 1982, 1984; Massey 1979). In the literature the regional pattern of change was linked to wider questions of regional difference and inequality and, as noted in Chapter 1, was related to discussions concerning the nature of the 'regional problem' and regional policy initiatives. Women's employment itself was raised as a 'problem' for the regions and their future prosperity. See, for example, this exchange between Hudson and Keeble (quoted in Walby and Bagguley 1989):

".. the question of the *type* of job may be at least as important, for many new jobs in Development Areas have involved semi-skilled work for women at a time when the pressing social need was for fresh male employment"
(Hudson, 1978 p361)

"Ray Hudson expresses certain doubts about the effects of regional policy, notably... the permanence of the jobs created, and their bias towards semi-skilled female workers. I share his concern over the last point, given all the

evidence that new jobs have been
disproportionately orientated towards low level
production tasks and to female workers"
(Keeble, 1978 p363)

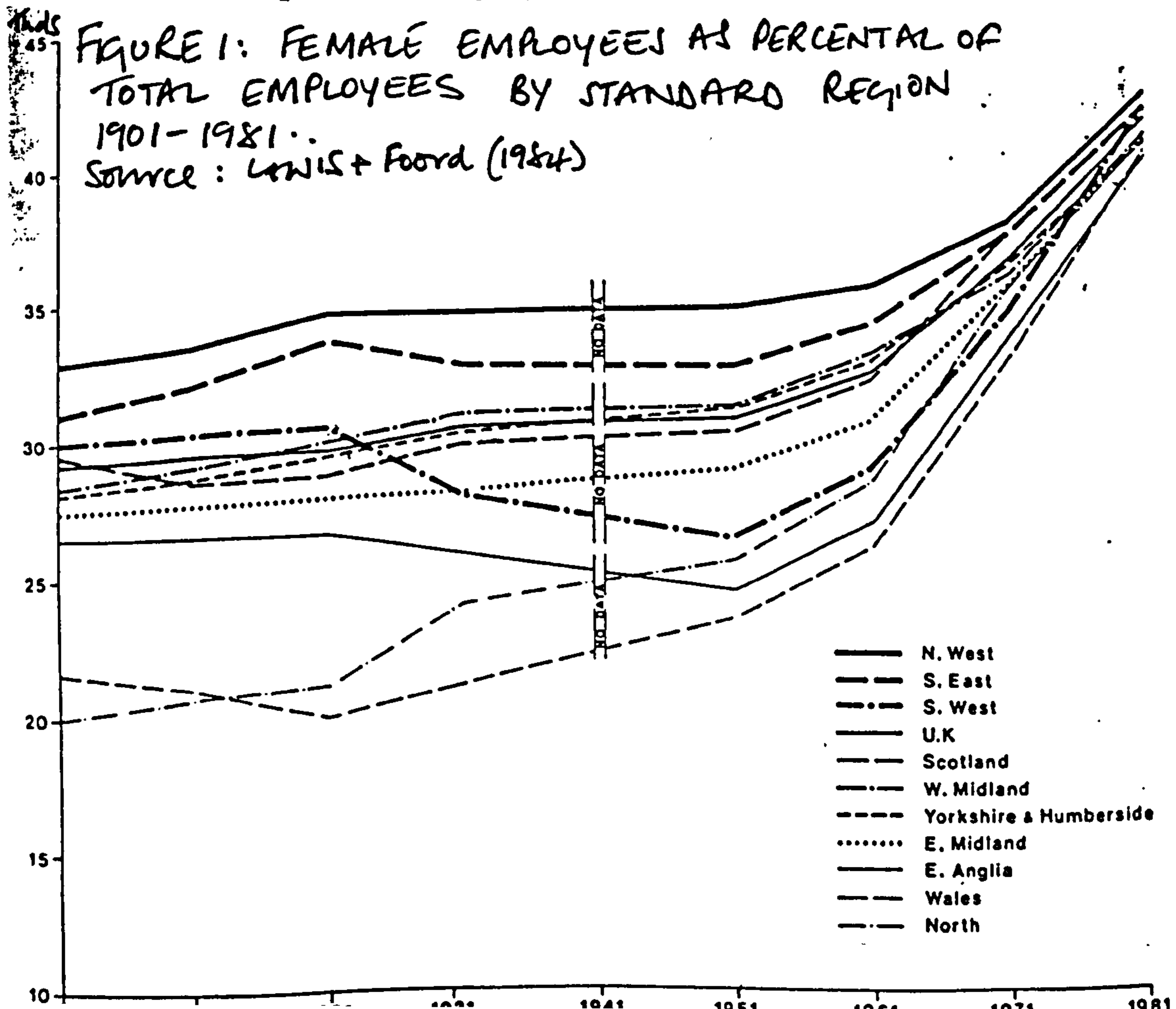
The perception that women's jobs are secondary and therefore an inadequate solution to regional economic distress was fairly widespread in the 1960s and 1970s (see also Firn 1975; Hudson 1980b; Keeble 1981; McCrone 1969). However, what this work failed to address, by labelling the problem as one of too many low skilled and low paid 'women's jobs', was why women were being recruited to semi-skilled and unskilled work at this time and in these locations. And why it was relatively low paid and the workforce unorganised. As in the dual labour market theory discussed in Chapter 4, the characteristics of the work had been transferred to assumptions about the workers.

Regional variations in women's activity rates

It was therefore the pattern of women's labour force participation which first placed women's employment on the regional studies research agenda. It was put there by those concerned with the distribution of employment as a whole.

It has subsequently been considered in several different ways. Firstly, there have been analyses of regional variations in women's economic activity rates. These have been analysed mainly in terms of correlations with other assumed determinants of

women's entry into the labour force; for example, the number and ages of dependent children (Joshi and Owen 1981); the number of local part-time jobs (Townsend 1986); local traditions of women working (Allin 1982); the 'industrial structure' of particular regions (Bowers 1970); and the degree of urbanisation (Greenhalgh 1977). Each of these factors may indeed influence the choice or ability of individual women or groups of women to enter local labour markets. But, they do not offer an explanation as to why women's employment as a whole is influenced by such factors, nor why there are regional variations in their occurrence. Indeed there are inherent assumptions in this work about what kind of paid work women can (and should) do and about the unquestioned social constraints of domesticity within the choice of factors influencing women's employment patterns.



There are also problems in comparing the numbers of women in regional labour forces. For example Allin (1982) suggests that a tradition of women's employment in one particular region explains current high levels of participation amongst women. However this ignores the importance of the differential changes in rates of women's regional employment since the 1950s. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, and shown in Figure 1 above, the significance of these rates of change is their post-war convergence. In regions with previously low rates of women's employment, a higher proportion of women were drawn into the labour market (Henwood and Wyatt 1986; Lewis 1984; Women and Geography Study Group 1984).

Women as a location factor

The second way in which women's employment has been considered in regional studies is as a 'location factor'. The level of women's economic activity has been used by Keeble (1981), amongst others, as a correlate in his explanation for the decentralisation of manufacturing industry during the 1960s and 1970s. In an argument based on the rise of 'agglomeration diseconomies' in which 'location factors' such as congestion, expensive land and labour, high rent and rates and unsuitable premises 'push' investment out, the availability of cheap women's labour is argued to be one factor alongside cheap land, rents, rates, greenfield sites, uncongested urban areas and regional policy initiatives which 'pulls' investment towards new non-metropolitan locations. The

effects of regional policy, including its 'failure to create real jobs for men' have been discussed at length (McCrone 1969; MacLennan and Parr 1979; Moore and Rhodes 1973).

This however leaves many issues unexamined (some of which have already been raised in the previous chapter). First the reasons why women are 'cheap' to employ. Other groups of workers are also 'cheap'; for example, school leavers. So what is specific about women's labour ? Second there are reasons, other than relative cheapness, which partly explain women's employment. Third, the reasons why jobs that women do were being generated in these locations. Finally there are also unanswered questions as to why women were 'available' in these particular locations at that time. So, in common with the above considerations of regional variations in women's employment, this analysis simply describes some visible characteristics of employment change, including the increased participation of women, alongside a general account of the regional decentralisation of manufacturing. It therefore does not attempt to explain the gender specificity of regional employment change during the 1960s-70s period. Indeed it is guided by assumptions of stereotyped gender divisions of labour in which the nature of women's employment is devalued in relation to men's work.

Women and the labour process

Analyses of broad historical changes in the labour process and associated phases of regional change has been the third, and particularly influential, area in which women's employment has been included in regional studies (Dunford, Geddes and Perrons 1981; Perrons 1980). This work periodises economic change according to four apparent general shifts in the manufacturing labour process and therefore in the organisation (and geography) of production. This periodisation starts with manufacture and the gathering together in one place of previously independent craft workers in a factory system. Machino-facture is the phase when mechanisation and a division of labour in production was introduced. The application of scientific management techniques to production (based on the original ideas of Taylor) - Fordism - fragmented tasks and jobs, separated conception from execution and introduced continuous flow of production. The next phase, neo-Fordism, is characterised by fragmentation and detailed divisions within the labour force and by deskilling through the removal of all remnants of control from the labour force by the use of new technology.

There is a debate currently raging in the social sciences on the nature of a possible new phase, or 'regime' of economic organisation. This debate is concerned with the structure and form of so-called 'post-Fordism' which, depending on the author(s) position, incorporates forms of 'flexible specialisation' and/or

'flexible accumulation'. There is considerable disagreement concerning the nature of current changes within the economy. If flexibility does indeed exist, what impact is there on employees and specifically on the gender division of labour? And are these changes in fact representative of a major structural shift? (See for example Harvey 1989; Murray 1987; Meegan 1988; Piore and Sable 1984; Pollert 1989; Sayer 1988; Wood 1989).

Each phase in the original schema is associated with a different way of organising labour in which different divisions and stratifications within the labour force are produced. This periodisation has been related to and used as an explanation for both changes in the location of economic activity and the specific incorporation of women into British regional labour markets during the 1960s and 1970s. Dunford, Geddes and Perrons (1981) argue, for example, that each phase depends on the interaction between the 'current requirements' of the labour process and the 'geographical surface'. The 'geographical surface' is a term which Dunford et al. use to describe the overt geographical manifestations of social, economic and political phenomena in areas or regions. They assert that the 'geographical surface' found at any one time and place is inherited from the previous phase of economic organisation. The interaction of the 'current requirements' of the labour process and the 'geographical surface' is implied to be inevitable. For example when cheap labour is assumed to be necessary for particular parts of production, firms will (re)locate those activities in areas with surplus cheap labour.

The 'geographical surface' determines the specific areas of such surplus - be they regions or parts of urban areas.

So, they argue, the geographical separation of different activities within the manufacturing labour process and subsequent changes in their geographical locations (nationally and internationally) are necessary and inevitable consequences of fragmentation of the manufacturing labour process under neo-Fordism. In this approach change in the labour process is argued to be the cause of geographical change in the location of industry. Thus Dunford et al.'s approach suggests that it was specifically labour process change in the 1960s and 1970s which resulted in a growth of semi- and unskilled routine assembly type jobs and that this enforced the use of suburban and regional labour reserves of 'unskilled' 'low waged' women in Britain and Europe. Consequently 'deskilling' and 'feminisation' of the labour process, the authors suggest, go hand in hand with, and are characteristic of, the transition from Fordism to neo-Fordism and thus the geographical decentralisation of manufacturing. In this they draw on (and expand) Braverman's (1974) thesis of aspatial change in the divisions of labour under monopoly forms of capitalism. The incorporation of new sources of cheap labour, namely married women, in the peripheral regions of Britain and Europe, Dunford et al. argue was an essential part of an interlocked pathway of deskilling labour process change and geographical shift. Fuentes and Ehrenreich (1984), amongst others (for example, Elson and Pearson 1981; Young, Volkowitz and

McCullagh 1981), have adopted a similar position in their analyses of the incorporation of women from Third World and Newly Industrialising Countries into a New International Division of Labour and therefore, by association, an international geography of production. In this adaptation of Braverman's thesis these authors expose themselves to the criticism of deskilling and feminisation already outlined in Chapter 4.

There is however a general critique of this explanation of industrial location, regional employment change and gender recomposition of the labour force. One of the major problems is the authors' heavy reliance on 'labour process change' as the principal explanation of geographical shifts in economic activity and the changed gender of the workforce. Dunford et al. also assume the inevitability of particular geographical shifts. For example, the new regional geography of women's employment which emerged in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s they argue was an automatic outcome of a shift to neo-Fordist forms of manufacturing labour process. But Massey (1984) questions both the primacy of labour process change and the inevitability of given geographical change. She writes:

"... there seems no reason to elevate the labour process alone to pre-eminent theoretical priority. It is, anyway, not 'labour process' which determines location, but the search after profit and the fluctuating conflict between capital and labour. All kinds of factors may influence the relation between labour process and location."

And, she continues

"Again, scientific management and Fordism only make spatial separation of control and production possible. They do not, outside of particular circumstances, determine that it will happen. Separation within production does not in itself give rise to geographical separation. Simply to classify by labour process is not to take account of the historical considerations in which they emerge. For that reason the actual way in which the criterion of labour process is used in the definition of major divisions within the economy must be an empirical question"

(Massey 1984, p25).

The above critical argument implies therefore that the reasons for changes in both the labour process and geographical location of economic activity, are contingent and therefore a matter of specific empirical enquiry. Different strategies are adopted by firms to overcome specific pressures; for example, of intensified competition or expanding markets. These strategies not only vary between places and over time but also within the divisions of large corporate organisations. But the results of these different strategies can be outwardly the same, such as a rise in inward investment to a particular area and a subsequent high demand for particular types of labour (perhaps women's semi-skilled or unskilled labour or scientific and technical skills) . And, in a period of declining markets and the internationalisation of production, research has shown that areas and regions of Britain experienced varying degrees of job loss as a result of at least three different strategies - intensification, rationalisation and the introduction of new technology (Massey and Meegan 1982). Hence this critical argument infers that the initial impetus for change is contained within the relationship between the specific firm or

organisation and its response (or non-response) to wider economic pressures.

The employment of women, as one of many factors which emerged with changes in this relationship during the 1960s and 1970s, has also been specifically re-examined. Massey (1984 p25 and p143-145) argues that when, where and how women are drawn into manufacturing employment is also specifically a matter of empirical enquiry. Changing the gender composition of the industrial labour force is one more strategy available to a variety of firms in the "search after profit and the fluctuating conflict between capital and labour" (p25). However in this recognition of the contingency of labour, she does make some assumptions. First she assumes that women as a whole offer certain attributes and skills: many of them learnt through domestic socialization and as a product of patriarchal gender relations. She also notes, but does not ask why, women are relatively cheap to employ - compared both to a male workforce and, in some instances, new capital investment. Massey again acknowledges but does not question, the comparatively low rates of union membership and activism during the 1960s and 1970s. (Subsequently research has demonstrated that their membership has rapidly increased and their active involvement continues to grow (Boston 1980)). Finally she suggests that 'reserves' or 'pools' of female labour were 'available' in distinct types of area within Britain: areas of old heavy industry which were in decline and which also had regional aid incentives; small towns and rural settlements; peripheral suburban areas; and

areas of seasonal employment such as resort and tourist locations. None of these contingent factors surrounding women's employment are seen as particularly problematic. The socio-economic inequality from which they derive and which they produce are not specifically examined. Indeed they are raised as characteristics of labour. So both Dunford et al and Massey fail to accommodate the criticisms of 'deskilling' and 'feminisation' outlined in Chapter 4: the active participation of labour in labour process change; the tension between men and women in the demarcation of jobs; the gendered process of skill definitions.

But, whereas Dunford et al. assume that 'deskilling', 'feminisation' and geographical decentralisation are inevitable components of a 'neo-Fordist' labour process, Massey does argue for a less deterministic approach in which neither women's employment in relatively low skilled work nor the 'location factor' of 'women's labour' should be taken for granted. On the first point she notes:

"Similar processes may be operated by very different groups of workers. Similar assembly processes, for example, are in some industries done by men, in others by women, in yet others by particular racial groups. The labour demand for a labour process is determined not by the process itself but by a whole host of wider social and ideological traditions"

(Massey 1984 p25)

However this does not question how women (and blacks) are predominantly restricted to and defined by this type of work. And on the second point she writes that "...it is necessary to know

why and how, at a particular point in time, certain things come to be geographical attractions for industry." (1984, p144-145). Thus she claims that explanations for certain events, for example the rise in women's unskilled and semi-skilled manufacturing employment in particular places, can only be ascertained through empirical enquiry.

Women's employment in the 'restructuring debate'

This critical appraisal of Dunford et al's approach serves as an appropriate introduction to the fourth way in which women's employment has entered the discussion in regional studies. This has been as part of the 'restructuring debate': a wide-ranging debate dating from the mid 1970s which has been concerned with the changing relations between the different elements of capitalist economies, namely capital and labour. The main thrust of the restructuring debate has been to identify the causal mechanisms which give rise to uneven spatial differentiation in economic activity and social (predominantly class) structure.

This approach (though not its name which is a latter-day label) emerged during a period of widespread change in the industrial structure of post-war Britain. Traditional manufacturing industries were declining in the metropolitan counties while new jobs in new industries were being created in different locations. Indeed there seemed to be an international as well as national restructuring of industrial activity as comparatively low cost

sites (at least in terms of labour) in Newly Industrialising Countries were being chosen instead of past centres of economic activity. In Britain the social consequences of such change were seen in alterations to national and local class structures and in the remaking of political institutions (Duncan and Goodwin 1988). The geographical impact was demonstrated in the re-emergence of 'the regional problem'. Protagonists of the restructuring approach consciously engaged with, and attempted to explain, the politics of these changes and their impacts (Lovering 1989, p200-201). And in many respects it represented an on-going critique of industrial location theory and regional policy development based on the tenets of neo-classical economics (Massey 1984; Massey and Meegan 1985; Sayer 1984).

From within this approach it was possible to recognise that changes in the capital-labour relationship during the 1960s and 1970s took many different forms including new patterns of investment and disinvestment; geographical change in the location of economic activity and therefore of work; and the centralisation of capital. Both the impact and implementation of economic restructuring was experienced through changes in the division of labour. That is in the division of activities between and within sectors of the economy. Such reorganisation of the division of labour was locked into changes in the organisation of production as a whole (including changes in the labour process) and the geography of production.

Lovering (1989) suggests three strands within the concept of restructuring, as it has been used over the years in the regional studies and wider geographical/sociological literature. And, within each strand the question of women's employment has been raised. First Lovering suggests that the concept has been used with reference to the specific ways in which capital responded to wider economic pressure of intensified international competition during the late 1960s and 1970s. These strategies were largely related to alterations in products and product ranges and/or reorganisation of production and distribution structures. Some argued that these strategies were accompanied by the sectoral switching of investment (Storper and Walker 1983; Sayer 1985, 1986) and a widening of the gap between the functions of control and execution within the overall production process (Lipietz 1980; Westaway 1974). Others argued that firms faced with intensive competition would also rationalise their workforces, moving increasingly towards a deskilled (and female) labour force (Cooke 1983). Others however questioned this as the only option available to firms (Massey and Meegan 1985). And, as discussed above, Massey has challenged this kind of determinism. But one uncontested consequence of such strategies was the significant change in the overall number and types of jobs available in Britain.

Implications for women's employment have been acknowledged at this first entry point. New products and processes and concurrent new divisions of labour enabled, though did not dictate, the entry of new types of workers. Women filled some niches within the emerging

division of labour and not others. For example the semiconductor industry, supplying the hi-tech consumer goods boom, employed women in assembly operations while the routine administrative activities of both multi-locational industries and the expanding consumer based financial services industry absorbed many thousands of women clerical workers. However few of the new technical, professional and managerial activities in the changing division of labour were readily open to women entrants.

The second way in which the concept of restructuring has been used in the regional studies literature has been to link these changes (in products and processes) to alterations in the way economic activity is arranged over geographical space (Lipietz 1980). Here, in particular, Massey's idea of 'spatial divisions of labour' has been employed (Massey 1984). Spatial divisions of labour means, in simple terms, the allocation of specific tasks within the production process to particular social groups in particular places. This can take many forms including both sectoral and functional divisions in the geography of production. In a period of restructuring, it has been suggested that, the simultaneous creation and destruction of spatial divisions of labour was the outcome of strategies employed by firms to maintain profitability.

Here too the argument that the separation of functions within the production process was increasingly stretched out over space, during the 1960s and 1970s period of restructuring, raised issues about the location of women's employment. If routine assembly and

semi-skilled manufacturing operations in the emerging manufacturing sectors were allocated to the peripheral regions, often aided by regional policy incentives, but the more skilled activities were retained in the urban conurbations and high level administrative/financial, research and development, marketing and advertising functions were amassed in the primary (or dominant) metropolitan area(s), the new spatial division of labour which emerged during the 1960s and 1970s implied an inherent gender component (Massey 1984 p40-44).

Finally, the concept of restructuring has encompassed the notion that there are links between the spatial division of labour and geographical patterns of social relations. Here the aim was twofold: to recognise the complex way in which capital accumulation both uses and creates social-spatial divisions and to acknowledge the uniqueness of each geographical area. (In its general form the argument suggests that geographical scale is variable. But later applications of the restructuring approach claimed particular relevance for the 'locality' as defined by the identification of a local area by the local population in terms of employment, social networks and cultural identity (Cooke 1989; Lancaster Regionalism Group 1985; Warde 1985)). This argument suggested that the unique social and economic nature of geographical areas helped to create the preconditions for investment or disinvestment.

One of the most accessible accounts of this interaction between geographical area and social divisions is Massey's notion of 'rounds of investment'. This is an integral part of the spatial divisions of labour argument (Massey 1984). Here she argues that current forms of investment interact with the results or left-overs from previous 'rounds' of investment. The social impact of this interaction is visible in a rearrangement of local class compositions and class politics. A geological analogy has been suggested in which 'layers' of social and economic relations are laid one on top of the other through time. The spatial advantages gained by firms are, in Massey's thesis, due to the nature of local labour (quantity, type, class structure and consciousness, and local gender divisions of labour).

This final element in the restructuring approach has incorporated changes in women's employment in two ways. First by recognising that local gender divisions of labour (in the workplace and the home) influence the social and economic composition of the 'layers'. To support this claim Massey draws on empirical evidence from two contrasting regions: the North East of England and Cornwall. In the North East coalfield communities the women were excluded from the labour force by the local dominance of male employing industries, by the lack of alternative employment opportunities and by the heavy demands of domestic labour. In Cornwall women were under-employed because of the dispersed population pattern and the seasonal nature of employment opportunities. In these two contrasting regions attractive 'pools'

of cheap, unorganised women ready for potential use during the 1960s and 1970s 'round of restructuring', were formed albeit in differ^ent ways.

Second, the increased employment of women, when it emerged as a consequence of some firms restructuring strategies in the 1960s and 1970s, has been discussed in terms of its impact on local class structure. Again empirical reference is made. The impact of women's employment in areas such as the North East coalfields is seen in terms of its creation of 'internal differentiation' within the working class. The inference is that, despite a numerical expansion of the working class through the incorporation of women into capitalist wage relations, the 'old form of coherence, organisation and strength of this class is being undermined' (p210).

The argument continues suggesting that the differentiation, caused by women's employment in conjunction with unemployment amongst the traditionally employed male base, eroded class identity, unionisation and local culture. This produced conflicts within the wider labour movement. However it is acknowledged that these conflicts stemmed not solely from the decline of working class power but also from the particular challenge which women's employment presented to men. Local definitions of masculinity and patriarchal control were at risk. The roots of her argument are Marx's interpretation of capital's use of women to undermine men's resistance to mechanisation (see Chapter 4). Massey writes:

"...when new jobs are made available to men we hear, as though it were patently funny, that Welsh ex-miners cannot be expected to turn their attention to making marshmallows, or underwear. What is at stake is the maintenance not just of a social structure in which men are 'the breadwinners', but also of a long-held self-conception of a role within the working class - the uniqueness, the status, and the masculinity, of working down the mine."

(Massey 1984, p210-211)

The gender divisions of labour which structured the pre 1960s 'layer' in Cornwall were different. Here there were some opportunities for women, especially married women, to be economically active. Seasonal work in the tourist industry was available either in home based activities such as bed and breakfast or as casual waged labour. There was also work on family farms and in craft industries. These opportunities, though generating a direct, or more often an indirect income, did not create the conditions where a working class identity could be formed. So union membership and activity were not fostered. Consequently the compliant attributes of potential women employees were generated in quite specific circumstances; ones which contrasted sharply with the North-East coalfields.

Men's employment in Cornwall was similarly fragmented into a variety of small industries and traditional agricultural activities. Here too there was no strong working class identity nor organisation. When women's employment opportunities were increased, through the influx of manufacturing firms offering

work, the impacts on class structure and organisation was quite different from those witnessed in the North East. Here the division between capital and waged labour was in fact sharpened encouraging a collective identity amongst women workers. Conflict, which did emerge with the changed pattern of economic activity was between small indigenous capital and representatives of larger incoming capital. Their conflict was over access to, competition for, and the wage levels of local women's labour. Incomers were seen as escalating the demand for women's labour. Local business claimed this would lead to scarcity and to wage increases. Local capital relied upon and wished to preserve the low waged tradition of the region; a tradition which was underwritten by the fragmented and seasonal nature of traditional employment.

Interpreting women's employment in the restructuring debate

There is a recent paper by Walby and Bagguley (1989) which presents some critical remarks relating specifically to the way in which gender (sic), more accurately women's employment, has been dealt with by restructuring 'theory' (sic) in general and by Massey (1984) and Massey and Meegan (1982) in particular. Walby and Bagguley do note that the object of these texts was not to provide a 'theory of gender and restructuring' but state that women's employment and the gender recompositioning of the labour force are central but relatively underdeveloped elements of the restructuring debate. They begin by isolating three ways in which they see this work treating women's employment. (These differ in

emphasis from the above analysis.) First women's employment has been discussed in terms of a spatial reserve army of labour. They define 'reserve army of labour' as a body of workers drawn into waged relations when there is labour shortage and dismissed when there is labour surplus. (This is only one of several definitions of the reserve army of labour, see Chapter 4). Second, they suggest that the 'sex typing' of industries is assumed in this work and therefore that the increase in women's employment was discussed only in relation to the fortunes of specific 'female' industries. Finally they argue that feminisation and deskilling are assumed to be the processes underlying the rise of women's employment in the peripheral regions.

Using data from five local labour markets for the years 1971-1981 Walby and Bagguley make some important observations which are omitted from the restructuring literature: they note the relative importance of increases in women's part-time working and the degree of variation in participation rates within sectors but across geographical areas. They also present empirical evidence which challenges the above interpretations of women's employment in the restructuring debate.

First, they suggest that women do not constitute a 'reserve army of labour' because women, especially part-time women were being drawn into the labour market, during the 1970s, at the same time as men were withdrawing, voluntarily and involuntarily.

Second they use data on the gender composition of industrial sectors to show that the gender composition of industries as a whole has changed and that within sectors it varies amongst the five local areas which they studied. This they argue is related to occupational shifts within industrial categories rather than between them. This adds a level of complexity to the 'sex-typing' of jobs and industries which is not captured in the spatial divisions of labour thesis. The restructuring literature has implied the creation of new industries and jobs in which women are employed instead of alterations to existing ones.

Finally on deskilling and feminisation they argue, on the basis of their findings, that women were not substituted for men in local labour forces. They use socio-economic data from their five local areas to suggest that deskilling, and therefore the low economic status of women, is not uniformly evident. Women have gained in semi-professional and professional sectors as well.

Walby and Bagguley's paper does however present a specific and arguably sometimes misleading interpretation of the actual and potential discussion of women's employment in the 'restructuring approach'. It is debatable that Massey's use of the words 'pool' and 'reserve' in discussing the conditions under which women were drawn into local labour markets were meant to imply a narrow reading of the 'reserve army of labour thesis': one in which labour is simply drawn into production and then rejected. The intention appeared to be to simply describe an untapped resource. Indeed in

both the empirical examples she cites, she presents similar evidence to her critics: women were being employed at the same time and in the same places as men were loosing their jobs. Her argument did not concern shortages and surpluses but rather the social construction and allocation of tasks to particular groups of people and the way in which geography facilitated this process during the 1960s and 1970s restructuring of manufacturing.

Criticism of her loose use of the term 'reserve' is however apt! But her critiques themselves use a particular narrow definition of the reserve army (see Chapter 4). Perhaps a more sustainable criticism would concern the unquestioned assumptions of women's (married women's) reserve army status. None of the questions raised in Chapter 4 about the construction of a female reserve army of labour, nor of the role of unequal power relations in its construction, are acknowledged or implied.

Massey's argument concerning the social construction of unevenly distributed categories of labour also partly answers Walby and Bagguley's second point. Massey and Massey and Meegan's work is historically specific and focuses almost exclusively on particular (and they would subsequently claim 'leading edge') organisational and geographical changes in manufacturing. (The service sector is only summarily dealt with in Massey (1984 p175-193) and in Massey and Meegan (1982) in terms of the division of labour within industrial production). Women's employment enters the restructuring discussion as a factor in these social and spatial shifts. Indeed, it could be argued that because the object of

analysis is not the restructuring of women's employment *per se* there was no reason to discuss the shifts in women's employment between and within all industries and sectors of the economy.

Walby and Bagguley provide important empirical observations and analysis of the comparative patterns of women's employment between sectors and across their five local areas, however it seems unreasonable to use this as a criticism of work which had a different objective. A valid criticism is however the general challenged implication in Massey's (and Massey and Meegan's) work that all women's employment in the 1960s and 1970s was semi-skilled and unskilled manufacturing employment. They do not emphasise enough the historical and empirical specificity of their work and this does give rise to confusion.

Finally on the point of feminisation and deskilling, Walby and Bagguley are correct in stating that this was the declared implication of some authors' work within the restructuring approach (for example Cooke 1984). But again the determinism of assuming a deskilled feminised outcome of all forms of restructuring is perhaps a mis-reading of the original intention of Massey. It is true that Massey (1984) and Massey and Meegan (1982) discuss the creation of 'deskilled' jobs in particular places in certain manufacturing sectors. Jobs which were filled by women. Perhaps what is not clearly stated in Massey's argument though, is that no universal claims can be made from these findings. These findings were particular to a narrow

range of industries at a particular historical moment.

Nevertheless there is an unstated assumption that, because these women were employed in the course of 'leading edge' changes, the changes were more generally applicable instead of simply important.

As Walby and Bagguley (1989) demonstrate women's employment in the peripheral regions and decentralised locations was changing in other ways too during the 1960s and 1970s. The processes which contributed to these particular changes would however require specific empirical investigation. But it is already apparent that changes in public service provision, the expansion of the private service sector as well as new forms of restructuring in the manufacturing sector were major contributors to the changing demands for and nature of women's employment in the 1970s. Again a task outside the scope of the texts Walby and Bagguley take as their starting point.

A more specific set of criticisms could have been derived from the lack of discussion in Massey, and Massey and Meegan, of the social (gendered) construction of jobs and skill. Indeed Massey cites the interesting work by Walker and Storper (1982) which argues that the 'low skilled' work in the electronics industry is in essence more skilled than 'skilled' work in car assembly. But because the tasks in the electronics production process are less interdependent, labour turnover can be tolerated. It is therefore possible to employ women who are assumed to enter and leave

employment more frequently than men. Nevertheless this leaves the power of change solely in the organisation of the labour process and not in the ability of men to define and negotiate gendered job boundaries.

Further sympathetic critiques

There are some other sympathetic critiques from within the restructuring debate of Massey's arguments. Though her 'rounds of investment' and spatial divisions of labour have placed historical change at the forefront of analysis of economic geography, the explanatory power of spatial divisions of labour Warde (1985) argues is undermined by the lack of rigorous treatment of what constitutes 'interaction' between each 'round of investment'. He proposes that the concept of spatial divisions of labour, with its historical grounding in rounds of investment, can only be a metaphor for change rather than a full explanation (p190). He makes three points in particular.

First that spatial advantages vary over time and that labour, the main element of Massey's thesis, does not necessarily always and everywhere have primacy. In the last century for example sources of power or access to water transport were, in particular circumstances, more important. Second that at any one time the 'top layer' will be made up of complex combinations between current labour requirements and spatially varying forms of 'left-over' class structures. The 'top layer' itself will therefore be

'irregular' in the nature and spatial patterning of its combinations with previous layers. Finally he questions the dominant implication that the influences on and impacts of rounds of investment are primarily production related and class based. This final point has been developed elsewhere.

Lovering (1989) for example makes a similar point when he states that the concept of spatial divisions of labour alone is ultimately descriptive. He writes: "Invoking this spatial division of labour does not of itself explain the connections between a particular workforce and the wider system of production." (p214). He also questions the more rigid aspects of the spatial divisions of labour thesis in which social and political forms appear to be 'read off' from the structure of local labour markets. He points out that in Massey's main text, Spatial Divisions of Labour (1984), there is an unresolved contradiction. Throughout the text there is considerable reliance on the notion that production and employment alone determine class relations. Yet there are side references to ideology, political culture, gender relations and patriarchy which imply that there is at least passing acceptance of independent, though related dynamics to class and particularly gender relations. He therefore argues for a wider sweep:

"The character of employment in a town or a region tends to be related in various ways to the pattern of relationships within households; between the sexes; between classes; and between populations and political authorities."

(Lovering, 1989 p199)

Furthermore, there is a suggestion that Massey's analysis did not take sufficiently into account the impact and influence of a broader range of social and insitutional relationships which constituted the reproduction of labour power. Warde (1988) takes up this point in some detail and has produced a list of the main arenas of reproduction: forms of central/local state provision, charity provisions, employer provisions, neighbour and kinship networks, 'mutualist provision', household structures, domestic divisions of labour and wage levels. These he suggests are constructed through relationships of class, gender, generation and race which both intersect and vary over time and space creating 'modes of provision for the reproduction of labour power' (p85). These he argues are critical points of political struggle which both influence and are affected by the social and political impacts of industrial restructuring in local areas. Thus 'modes of provision for the reproduction of labour power' he places on the research agenda for 'locality' or local area studies.

These critical appraisals of the restructuring approach therefore suggest that analysing the emergence of new spatial structures of production and the influence of/impact on local areas (including change to women's employment) cannot therefore rely on the characteristics of local economies and their labour markets alone. The socio-spatial dimensions of restructuring are constructed through the active relationships of people in both reproduction and production. The gender, race, class and cultural practices of local populations in particular places interact within and between

workplaces, homes and socio-political institutions. No single entity exactly determines all the others: although at any one time and place one set of relations may exert some dominance. But again that is a matter for empirical enquiry!

'Restructuring's' potential

But despite these valid criticisms, there are some very positive attributes of the 'restructuring approach' which make it still potentially useful in any discussion of women's employment in particular places. This is not because authors adopting this approach have answered all the questions about the location of, and change in, women's employment. Far from it. The tensions within and between the implied dominant trends in women's employment and particular local circumstances are all too evident. However it is in this tension that the potential of this broad approach lies.

The core of the restructuring approach to geographical differentiation is its stress on the complex web of relationships between 'the local and the global'. This principally relates to the impact of general socio-economic processes on local areas, the unique way in which this impact is shaped by the local area and the feedback of local response into the nature of global socio-economic change (Cooke 1989). This core is shaped by the epistemological root of the restructuring approach which focuses research on the search for a coherent understanding of observable

events in terms of the processes from which they derive (Lovering 1989, p214).

The web of relationships between 'the local and global' and so between general processes and their particular manifestations is then a source of strength in any enquiry into the geographic differentiation of phenomena, including women's employment. There are both general and particular aspects to women's employment. So what the restructuring approach does is, at least, suggest that the relationships between 'global' (general) and 'local' (particular) social and economic dimensions of women's employment is a legitimate focus for research.

In the 1960s and 1970s there was in some local areas a tradition of women working, in others women were comparatively new to waged work and elsewhere women considered themselves lucky if there were any jobs at all. Today, with demographic change and a 'labour shortage' pending there is arguably an altogether different situation and a new spatial pattern of women's opportunities for work emerging. Massey is correct in stating that the circumstances of women's entry into paid work in particular places and historical times are a matter for empirical enquiry and this would have to include issues such as potential changes in labour markets due to demographic swings.

But, as was discussed in Chapter 4, there are general socio-economic processes which surround women's position inside the

workplace. These function within and between home and work, and operate over the geographic scales. Indeed many authors using the restructuring approach, including all those mentioned above, do invoke the general processes of 'gender divisions of labour', 'gender relations' and 'patriarchy' in their discussions of restructuring and spatial differentiation in the division of labour. 'Gender divisions of labour' are used to cover the domestic division of labour (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3) and the specific allocation of different types of paid work to men and women (see Chapter 4). 'Gender relations' and 'patriarchy' are used somewhat interchangeably to denote the social and economic interchange between men and women in which there is an implicit assumption that women are dominated by men. Within the research framework outlined above, these should be included in any potentially coherent explanation of women's social and geographical position in the labour force. In keeping with the framework the existence of spatial variations in gender divisions of labour, gender relations and patriarchy are also claimed (Massey 1984, p225; McDowell and Massey 1984; Walby 1985; 1987).

Women's employment in local areas

So the other side of the general-particular (global-local) relationship which is central to the restructuring approach is how gender divisions of labour (gender relations and patriarchy) as a whole is manifested in the particular circumstances of local areas during periods of economic and social change.

In discussing gender divisions of labour as part of the creation of 'pools' of women's untapped labour Massey (1984) relies on the unequal relationship between men and women as part of her explanation. What is acknowledged here though is the geographical variation in the outcomes of 'patriarchal structures'. No definition of this term is given in the text although one is led to believe that it is used in the common sense meaning of the dominance of women by men. Patriarchal structures are noted in the variation of forms of employment available to women, or the lack of it altogether, between regions/areas and in the various demands from unpaid work (in family businesses such as farms, craft, retail and tourist services) and domestic labour. Thus it is argued that patriarchy structures the form of local gender divisions of labour.

One example already given above is the mining communities of the North East where women were not only excluded from paid work altogether but also the amount of domestic labour generated is assumed to have been dictated by the nature of men's work (p194-223). However, without contesting the arduous nature of this work nor that it took a specific local form, there are questions about the basis on which this assumption of local variation in domestic work is made. Domestic labour for working class women throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, regardless of the structure of local employment, was demanding and arduous (Bose 1982; Cowan 1974; Davidoff et al 1976; Oakley 1974).

Shipbuilding, agricultural, factory and foundary work were all 'dirty' and generated heavy domestic burdens. Childcare and daily domestic provisioning were a constant battle for all working class women. This criticism does not undermine the proposition that there are historical and local variations in domestic labour, however rather more empirical evidence of local working patterns, including hours and meal provisions required, and local domestic labour and childcare arrangements would be required to fully substantiate such a claim. There is some evidence of the specific nature of domestic work in another local area, the Isle of Sheppey. (Pahl 1987) but both local evidence is still very patchy. Finally the social realtions of domestic labour cannot simply be seen as derivative of the nature and organisation of production. The social relations of domestic labour are also the product of dynamic interaction between classes and between men and women both at home and at work.

The point has already been made that the specific allocation of men and women to each 'slot' in the spatial division of labour at work cannot simply be 'read off' from the divisions and sub-divisions within manufacturing processes. Who, in practice, does which particular job in a specific place is not solely a product of production itself: either in its general form or the specific organisation of particular production processes: "...there is no determinate, one-way relation between a function within the relations of production and the social group which performs it." (Massey 1984, p40). Rather, who does what job and where, is

the result of a combination of factors incorporating not only the wage relation but 'local social tradition'. And within this, somewhat overly catchall category, Massey includes 'patriarchy' as manifested in the gender division of labour at home and at work.

To illustrating the link between the locally specific spatial structure of production and the gender division of labour she draws on a specific example of the East Midlands shoe industry (1984, pp3-99). In this she draws heavily on Foster's (1974) historical study of the shoe industry in Northampton, and more contemporary work with Meegan, (Massey and Meegan 1982). This is her argument.

The shoe industry had moved away from London and centred on Northampton at the turn of the nineteenth century. There was a variety of reasons for this move but rising labour costs and militancy are argued to be prime causes for leaving London. And the availability of leather from the surrounding agricultural area and a large supply of newly dispossessed unorganised rural labour were reasons for choosing Northampton. As the industry became established in the new location it took on a particular spatial structure of production. This initially reflected existing wider social structures, including existing gender divisions of labour. Subsequently the spatial structure of production reinforced these gender divisions of labour, albeit in a new modified form.

Production was organised in such a way that men were employed in factories located in towns. The men were supposed to produce whole shoes. However, a customary system developed whereby the men 'sub-contracted part of the process, putting the uppers onto the sole ('closing'), out to women family members in their homes in the surrounding rural areas. This sub-contrating may have derived from past household forms of production in which tasks were shared out amongst the family members. But the new spatial arrangement of separating the factory from the home meant that:

"Within the industry a sexual division of labour thus developed which reflected social divisions in the world outside - and in particular the confinement of women to the home. New relations of production, a sexual division of labour, and a local internal spatial structure were thus established simultaneously." (p95-96)

Expansion in the industry led to the incorporation of women (and children) into direct waged employment in factories where control over, and the speed of, production could be increased. But the gender division of tasks remained. A new form of spatial structure of production was also created. Factories, in which both 'clicking' (making the parts of the shoes) and 'closing' tasks were performed were set up, employing both men and women doing their separated tasks. Households had to move into the small towns of the East Midlands so that women could be close to the factory as well as home in order to attend to domestic chores and children.

"The by-now established sexual division of labour in the industry, combined with the fact that women

continued to be responsible for domestic labour in the home and therefore were unable to travel far to work outside the home, meant that a change in the social relations in production (the establishment of the closing process on a factory basis) had considerable geographical implications. The changing organisation of production and the stubbornly unchanging relations between the sexes together accelerated the process of urbanisation in the nineteenth-century east midlands of England. "

(Massey 1984, p96).

So, although the local organisation and spatial structure of production during the nineteenth century changed, Massey suggests that a gender division of labour, "established initially because of 'the place of women is in the home'" (p97), was entrenched. And it is this prior entrenchment which continued to influence the twentieth century re-organisation of production in the shoe industry.

The two tasks within shoe production - 'clicking' and 'closing' - remained men and women's jobs respectively. There is, Massey claims no apparent reason why this should have remained so. There were no craft organisations reinforcing these demarcations through exclusion practices, nor any applications of technology which could have been used to push women out. Indeed, Massey argues that the allocation of these tasks to each gender has had more to do with "social and ideological structures established outside the factory than with any requirements of the labour process itself" (p99).

Bradley (1989) provides additional evidence to suggest that it was a gendered social conception of skill and strength which

originally divided these tasks. She writes of the shoemaking industry:

"By tradition, shoemaking in Britain was one of the more firmly male trades.... cutting leather has been a task monopolised by men in most societies, contrasting sharply with the processing of textiles. The toughness of the raw material may have something to do with this, for it requires more strength to cut out pieces of a shoes than pieces of a garment.....Women appear to have entered the industry in larger numbers chiefly through the process of subdivision. Under the traditional apprenticeship system, the young shoemaker would learn to carry out all the operations involved in making a shoe, boot, slipper or sandal: cutting out parts, assembling them and preparing the footwear for sale. One man would 'make through' each pair of footwear. However, within the family it made sense to hive off some of the simpler tasks (sic) to women and children, since assembling a pair of shoes was a lengthy process. Certainly by the end of the nineteenth century, and probably long before that time, wives and children were assigned certain less skilled tasks (sic); children were set to 'stabbing' (make holes for sewing) and women to sewing together the pieces of the upper ('closing' or 'binding'). Some finishing jobs, such as ornamentation, fitting laces, eyelet-making, were also done by the women. As capitalist interests gained hold of the industry and factories and workshops were set up, women and children continued to perform these tasks, both as outworkers and in the factories."

(Bradley 1989, p146-147)

Massey suggests that as a result the separation of tasks, two different closed shop unions were formed. Neither were militant reflecting the local, socially conservative, agricultural community. Also the location of the 'new' industry after 1950 in the same small rural towns of the East Midlands did mean, however, that there was a crisis of labour supply. There was an

influx of other manufacturing sectors also wishing to employ local 'cheap and quiet' women. But the shortage of women's labour did not lead to men being employed in the female-typed 'closing' process. Rather, a solution was found in geographically separating this part of the process again and relocating it in even more isolated rural locations where there were new sources of women's labour and little competition. Thus a different spatial structure of production was formed. This was the outcome of the particular history of economic change and gender divisions of labour in this area.

But in this example chosen by Massey the detailed description of changes in the organisation and geography of production is not fully supported by a parallel analysis of the form and spatial specificity of patriarchal households and domestic divisions of labour. Despite the debate at the end of Chapter 4, 'patriarchy' and the gendered domestic division of labour are left as given arenas of women's subordination. They are assumed to be the source of women's position in waged labour. Evidence of the active participation of men and women in the formation of divisions of labour in the household and waged workplace is only regarded in relation to the exclusion from or allocation of specific tasks to women. (In Bradley's description of task allocation. Also the more subtle and powerful processes of the gendering of jobs, through the formation of sexual identity is not acknowledged. Consequently Massey's assumption of spatially specific forms of gender divisions of labour and therefore of patriarchal structures is not

substantiated. And finally the divisions of labour at work and in the home are assumed to be the only expressions of patriarchal power. But the work discussed at the end of Chapter 4 implies that male power is complex and not only crosses between home and work/work and home but also is expressed through social practices which surround, but are not exclusive to, the division of labour. Gender Identity and sexuality fall clearly within this complex web.

The way in which gender divisions of labour make a difference to the geography of local economic structures and vice versa - how local economic structures influence the nature of gender divisions - is developed further by McDowell and Massey (1984). They argue here that the past forms of economic development in different areas of Britain "...presented distinct conditions for the maintenance of male dominance" (p128). The 'synthesis' of capitalism and patriarchy which is visible in the structure of gender divisions of labour they suggest varies between places: thus "Capitalism presented patriarchy with different challenges in different parts of the country." (p128). In support of this claim four contrasting regions of Britain are compared : the coal mining North East, the cotton area of the North West, a sweat shop area of inner London, and the rural Fens of East Anglia.

Different forms of gender divisions of labour, and therefore gender and patriarchal relations, are suggested for each area and these are described in relation to the structure of the local

economy. They draw evidence first from early periods of industrialisation. In the coal mining areas the exclusively male workplace and its particularly harsh nature is said to have given rise to a culture of male supremacy at home. This was aided by the complete separation of women's and men's lives and the heavy domestic labour which pit work is supposed to have generated for women. Women were tied to the home by the domestic work load and were dependent on male wages. By contrast in the North West there was a history of women's waged work in the cotton mills. Yet an unequal division of labour remained. This became expressed in the demarcation of men's and women's work within the factories. Before industrialisation male craft work dominated textiles production. Women were used as cheap labour to undercut the control of craft organisations and undermine this unprofitable form of production. Consequently men were squeezed out of the main areas of employment. Some were forced into domesticity. Many defensive battles were fought by men to retain some position in the labour market. Women became well organised and militant but their geographical separation left them isolated and their unique experiences of being in a dominant position in the labour market left and labour movement were unable to promote national political change.

In Hackney the nineteenth clothing industry was organised through homeworking. This relied on two elements: first the domestic isolation of immigrant women in the home which supplied cheap labour with few overheads; and second the patriarchal family

structure which maintained low wages and a flexible organisation of work. In this area men have asserted control over women's waged work in the home and therefore over other aspects of women's lives, including their domestic lives and access to resources such as education, training and health care. The dominance of homeworking was maintained partly through the lack of regular work for men and partly because of the vulnerability, through racism, of ethnic minority communities. Finally the authors illustrate how in the Fens during the same period women's waged work on the land was organised in gangs which moved around the region. But, they argue that this did not challenge patriarchal order despite the removal of women's waged work from the home. Their explanation for this is the specific local context of socially conservative rural communities in which the longstanding social order of servitude was maintained.

Through these examples the authors attempt to illustrate how gender relations are incorporated differently into the organisation of production and how locally and historically specific gender divisions of labour have contributed to the uniqueness of local areas. They also suggest that in subsequent periods of industrial change these patterns of gender divisions of labour and gender relations were influential in shaping the local geography of industry. There was the location of female employing industries in the North East and the Fens in the 1960s and 1970s tapping hitherto unused labour. In Hackney the clothing sector based on immigrant and homebased labour was maintained. In the North

West women lost their jobs and political power as the cotton industry declined. The authors argue that these patterns of change have led to re-negotiations of gender relations in each region. Women's employment in the North East has generated a backlash against 'women's jobs' and demands for the restoration of 'women's place in the home'. In the Fens women's factory work has not produced the same effect, perhaps because women always 'worked', and the pattern of domestic life has remained. Women in North-West have lost jobs, entered domestic life and their independence has been threatened. But because the lost jobs were 'only for women' and because domesticity plays a large part in defining women there has been little public concern. In Hackney exploitation and subordination of women in the home has intensified as more households in the inner city come to rely on homeworking to generate a living.

Despite the authors claim that they are looking at the geographical variation in gender relations in this essay, little attention is paid directly to the nature of gender relations (patriarchy) *per se* in each area. The variations in gender divisions of labour (which are discussed it seems as a proxy for gender relations) are noted: the relative strength of women when they are incorporated into waged labour is stated as is the threat to traditional male power. The form of women's work they note in the study of Hackney also affects women's relative sovereignty as waged workers. Nevertheless though the organisation of waged work is outlined in detail, the complementary organisation of domestic

labour, and the social relations between men and women are not given the same detailed attention. Therefore despite the authors claims primacy is given to the changing organisation of production and 'patriarchy' is left as an external object which is changed by capitalism - ("capitalism presented patriarchy with different challenges") - and not as itself an influential arena in which tensions over the use of labour exist. The same criticisms which were made of Massey's description of gender divisions in the shoe industry and its impact on the geographical organisation of production can be made here.

Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to ascertain from the geographical and regional studies literature if any light could be shed on two questions: why women were being employed in particular locations in the peripheral regions of Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. And was this because of regional policy incentives or more general changes in the organisation and geography of economic activity? To this end the different ways in which women's employment has entered the debates in regional studies have been discussed. All give different, though sometimes overlapping or contradictory, answers: all are partial.

The discussion of the regional studies and geographical literature argues that increases in women's employment in peripheral locations in the 1960s and 1970s could not be explained solely in

relation to other assumed regional characteristics which facilitated women's employment, including regional policy incentives. Nor could spatially specific increases in women's employment be explained in terms of a new 'location factor'. In addition it was argued that changes in the labour process towards deskilling could not dictate the increased participation of women in waged labour in specific places. Indeed these explanations of women's employment patterns during the 1960s and 1970s, left the nature of women's jobs and the unequal socio-economic relations which surrounded the gendered division of labour unexamined.

Within the restructuring approach women's employment change in peripheral locations during the 1960s and 1970s emerged as a consequence of spatially specific economic and social change. Change which was accompanied and some would argue facilitated by regional policy. Here no general answer to the question of why women were employed was forthcoming (other than that the allocation of tasks within the spatial division of labour is a social (gendered) construction). Indeed the question of women's employment in particular places and times was deemed to be an empirical one and examples of variations in the causes and effects of women's employment were given.

But within the restructuring approach a contradiction emerged for elsewhere it is acknowledged that there are general, as well as particular, processes which contribute to the social and spatial allocation of tasks within the division of labour. The exact

processes through which women are included in the labour force, how industrial change intertwines with social structures of class, gender and race, and indeed how these are shaped by unique local areas may necessarily require empirical research. But just as it is accepted that there are general social and economic processes which shape the spatial structures of production and class relations, this approach implies (though does not not explicitly state) that there are also general aspects to the position of women inside the workforce. Gender divisions of labour at home, gender relations, and patriarchy many authors claimed underwrote men and women's employment patterns. Yet, although these structures were called upon to 'explain' why, in general, women and men do different jobs they are poorly defined.

Hence, the conclusion drawn in this chapter is that due to the limitations of work so far within this approach, it is only the framework suggested by the restructuring approach which has some potential for helping to understand the nature and level of women's employment in particular places and times. The restructuring approach directs research questions towards the interdependence of 'global' and 'local' processes of social and economic change. So with respect to women's employment change it is correct to declare that how, when and where women are employed is an empirical question. But to avoid slipping into 'local empiricism' (Smith 1987) it is also necessary to establish the general social and economic processes which form an integral part of particular temporal and spatial events as they take place.

The restructuring approach does not tackle many of the questions surrounding the general nature of women's employment which were discussed in Chapter 4. This has been the object of analysis of other areas of the aspatial social sciences, particularly feminist informed sociology and economics. Here many areas have been discussed: labour market ^gsegregation and occupational segregation, the relationship between gender divisions of labour at home and at work, the influence of patriarchy on work practices and the role of work in forming gender relations. What this work concludes is that there is an unequal socio-economic relationship between men and women, that men generally hold the dominant position and that this relationship pervades all aspects of human existence. In other words that patriarchy is alive and well. Having accepted this general set of relationships then the slippery nature of patriarchy, its many and subtle forms which shift over time and space and between spheres of activity are rightly empirical observations.

Indeed some of the examples given above do indeed begin to illustrate how gender relations (patriarchy), spatial structures of production and local uniqueness might intersect. It has been argued that patriarchy and gender relations are essential elements in the division of labour and that they have therefore been incorporated into the spatial organisation of production (see also Mark-Lawson et al 1985; Warde 1985). Regional variations in the pattern of gender divisions of labour (at home and in the workplace) suggest some influence on the patterns of economic

activity and forms of patriarchy. These differences then, so the argument goes, will affect the shape of any spatial division of labour. However, detailed empirical investigations which examine gender relations at home and at work with the same degree of rigour as class relations and the organisation of production are still awaited.

But the attention of the restructuring approach to date, as Warde (1985, 1988) points out, has been principally directed towards processes of change with respect to economic restructuring and therefore class relations. The importance of women's employment and gender relations, though acknowledged, has taken a secondary position (Walby 1985; Walby and Bagguley 1989). There is however a strong case for a shift in focus: a shift which accommodates directly analyses of how economic and social change restructures gender relations *per se*. Warde (1988) advocates including an analysis of the 'mode of provision of reproduction' by households, the state and the private sector. Yet, it could be argued that how the childcare, shopping, laundry, caring and cooking get done is only part of the required shift of focus. There is another level: when social and economic change take place what does this really mean for how men and women relate? For the restructuring of patriarchy? Do old tensions disappear and new ones emerge? When women got jobs in old industrial regions we heard what it did to men's masculinity, but what did this do to women's femininity? How did changes in gender identity - created at work and at home - affect the re-negotiation of gender relations?

When the gender division of labour at work changes and the status of jobs are redefined as Cockburn (1981, 1983, 1984, 1987) argues, the relations between women and men at work are renegotiated. But how does that affect the relations between men and women at home? How does this affect the patriarchal and capitalist culture of a local area? MacDowell and Massey (1984) give some initial suggestions of the variations of this kind of change. But then how do local changes feed back into general structures of gender relations?

Indeed the question then is not how economic restructuring and different kinds of work are affecting gender relations in local areas but indeed how gender relations are being restructured as a central part of local social and economic change. How patriarchy is changing capitalism. Thus the spatial debates could do well to observe and engage more directly with the aspatial debates outlined in the previous chapter. This argument could be reversed - the aspatial debates should pay attention to the debates on the spatial construction of social processes. However, it could be argued that the spatial debates, surrounding the construction of gender relations are, as yet, still not well enough developed to make their potential explanatory contribution.

CHAPTER 6

THE CLYDE VALLEY - LOCAL ECONOMIC CONTEXT

In the last chapter the ways in which women's employment has entered the debates in regional studies and geography were discussed. In this an explanation for women's employment in particular places at specific times was sought. But the conclusion of Chapter 5 noted that, due to the limitations of existing explanations, the best option to date was the framework for investigation which the restructuring approach offered. The restructuring approach did not conclusively explain the employment of women in the peripheral regions during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed it was suggested that when, how and where women were employed were empirical questions. Thus no single explanation could be given. But indications gathered from theoretical discussions and empirical examples in the restructuring debate did suggest that the explanation for women's employment might be found in the interaction between production reorganisation and the form of gender divisions of labour found at particular places and times. Thus it was suggested that there evidence might be found in the 'combination of layer' of social and economic structures in local areas.

In addition insights gained from the aspatial debates on women's employment, outlined in Chapter 4, suggest that there are general as

well as particular (local) processes which shape women's employment. Gender divisions of labour are formed in the unequal social relations between men and women as they are played out throughout production and reproduction in capitalist societies. Thus it can be argued that unequal gender relations form part of the general context in which locally based empirical enquiry takes place.

The restructuring approach directs research questions towards the interdependence of general (often 'global') and particular (usually 'local') processes of social and economic change. So although women's employment may be an empirical question at the 'local' level, the approach does imply the recognition of general structures of 'patriarchy' or unequal gender relations (as well as social relations of class) in contributing to local forms of the domestic division of labour and gendered employment. And vice versa: the influence of local forms of domestic divisions of labour and gendered employment on general structures of patriarchy/gender relations and class relations are also implied by the framework.

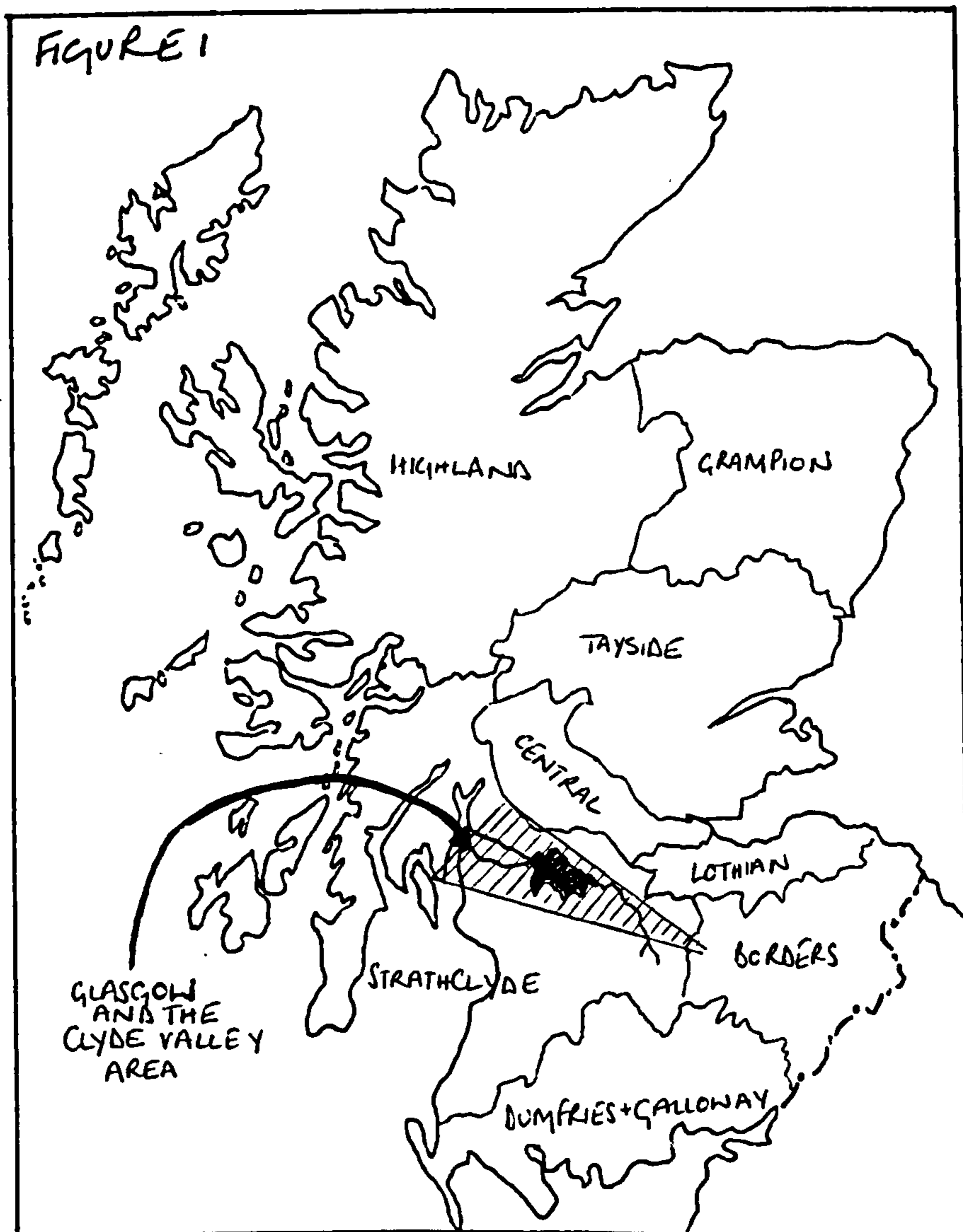
Attempts at using the 'restructuring framework' to investigate how, when and where women are drawn into the labour force and to examine the impacts of such change have been somewhat exploratory. Tracing the complexity of fluid social relations between capital and labour and between men and women, inside and outside the workplace, in specific local contexts but with more than a weather eye on wider socio-economic processes, is difficult (some might suggest impossible!). What has tended to happen is a mapping out of local

gendered divisions of labour at work and the influence of the organisation of production on this pattern. A call is then made upon external social relations of patriarchy, as exhibited exclusively in the domestic division of labour, to explain the gendered outcome of this pattern. These particular examples of unequal social divisions between men and women are then argued to be one of the local factors in geographical unevenness which is used and in part created by the organisation of production under capitalism (see for example McDowell and Massey 1984; Savage 1985; Mark-Lawsol, Savage and Warde 1985).

In this chapter too limited use is made of this analytical framework, although the potential for more sophisticated use is acknowledged. The points made at the end of Chapter 5 have not been resolved by the local historical and empirical study reported in this and the next chapter. However these investigations do, I hope, still make some contribution to the detailed empirical knowledge of when and where and how women in particular places and times are drawn into waged labour.

In this chapter the particular local economic and employment history of the Clyde Valley (Figure 1) during industrialisation is presented. This historical overview is offered as a means of setting the local context in which patterns of women's employment developed. It examines the changing gender division of labour in the linen and cotton textile industries. These industries not only heralded the beginning of the industrial revolution in the Clyde Valley but were also areas of work where women had a traditional involvement from

pre-existing household forms of production. This chapter then outlines the growth, and subsequent decline, of the heavy industries which came to characterise the economic activity of the Clyde Valley up until the 1960s: a pattern of economic activity which obscured women's participation in the labour force, except during wartime. The chapter ends by noting the emergence of new female employing manufacturing industries in the inter-war and post war periods in this local area and the rapid rise, and increasing dominance, of service work.



This chapter suggests that the particular legacy of early industrialisation in the Clyde Valley shaped its post-war industrial organisation and its place in a newly emerging post war spatial division of labour. However it also suggests that the incorporation of women from this peripheral region into the new spatial division of labour was based not on their total exclusion from the labour force, as has been argued elsewhere (see Chapter 5), but on their relatively continuous experience of waged labour particularly of low paid factory work.

It is therefore argued that changes in the spatial division of labour interacted with the particular local legacy economic and social legacy to create different opportunities for women's employment throughout industrialisation and post war restructuring.

This chapter also sets the context of immediate post-war regional policy for the redistribution of economic activity. For although in the last chapter it was suggested that regional policy alone could not explain the employment of women in the assisted areas in the 1960s and 1970s, it was implied that regional policy accommodated and facilitated on-going reorganisation in economic activity.

The Pattern of Industrialisation

The Clyde Valley, from Lanark to Greenock on the southside and to Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven on the north, was the heartland of early Scottish industrialisation (Figure 2). Melling (1982) describes

industrialisation in the West of Scotland in terms of "the ascendancy of distinct sectors in four major stages of development from the early nineteenth century". In the first period, between 1780 and 1800, textile production shifted from linen to cotton (or cotton based) fabrics. In the second period, 1830 to 1840, while cotton textiles were declining in local economic dominance, there was a spread of coal and iron production. The third stage, during the middle years of the nineteenth century, saw the growth of locomotive and engineering construction industries. Finally in the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was an increased demand for iron steamships, in which the Clyde established an early proficiency.

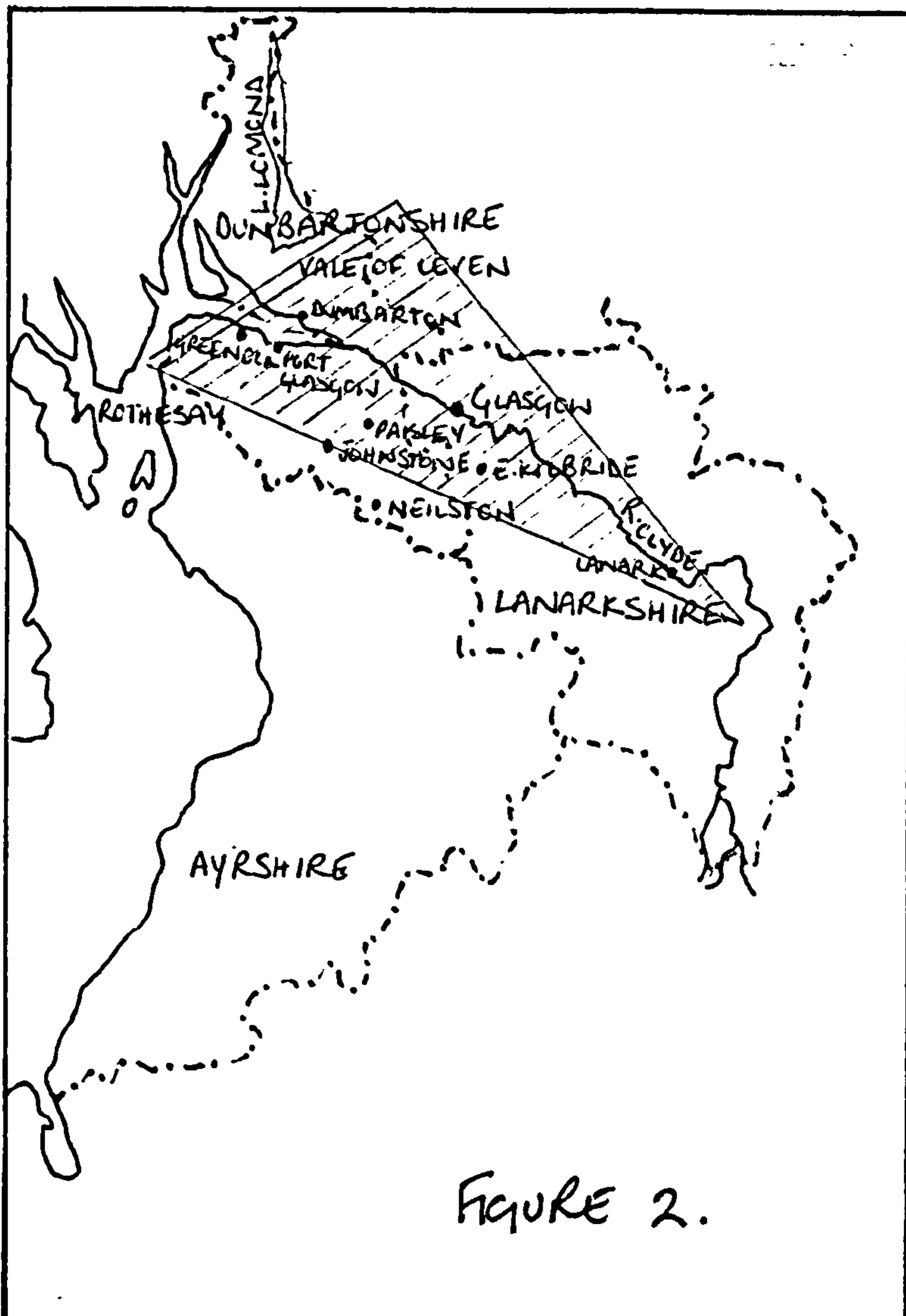


FIGURE 2.

In the mid-eighteenth century manufacturing activity was limited to the geographically dispersed household manufacture of coarse linens and the craft manufacture of finer quality linens. The latter took place largely in the Glasgow and Paisley areas. With the introduction of rudimentary factory based cotton spinning in the late eighteenth century, however, industrial activity moved into Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire (Figure 2) where there were ready supplies of running water which could power the jennies and water-frames. Weaving by hand and powered loom concentrated around centres of finishing and distribution, drawing labour and commercial activity into the towns of the Clyde Valley. With the advent of steam power, spinning was also relocated to the towns and to Glasgow and Paisley.

By 1840, the Lanark coalfields had been opened up and iron working was established in the upper Clyde Valley. Coal, ironworking and the 'new' heavy industries, including locomotive and railway engineering, shipbuilding and metal casting were to become profitable spheres of investment. Heavy industrial production spread down the Clyde and concentrated in the burghs along the riverside, especially to the East and South of the City of Glasgow (Figure 2). In each sector rapid growth was followed by, almost equally rapid, decline.

Industrialisation of the Clyde Valley was historically, spatially and sectorally concentrated; the social and economic consequences of this form of production have been felt long into the twentieth century.

Textiles - women's work ?

As noted above the cotton textile industry was one of the Clyde Valley's stable sectors during the final decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Production and employment continued to be important up until the First World War but by this time employment was in steep decline and the sector did not have the same degree of prominence as in the early years. The textile industry is considered to be a female employing industry. Indeed, the history of women's textile employment at the beginning of the industrial revolution in North of England is legendary (Pinchbeck 1969). And, as noted in Chapter 4, textiles continue today to be a major area of women's manufacturing employment in Britain. In the Clyde area over 48,000 women worked in this one sector at the end of the nineteenth century and in 1971 even after years of labour shedding textiles provided 18,000 women with work. However not all jobs in the textile industries were open to women.

Linen manufacture: the emergence of a gender division of labour

Scottish women had a long history of working in textile production. This first emerged through the household production of linen. The domestic production of linen cloth was 'Scotland's premier industry' in the eighteenth century and it was not replaced by cotton until the last twenty years of that century (Hamilton 1966, p76). The early domestic production of coarse linen was carried out alongside agriculture: thus flax growing, spinning, weaving and bleaching were

carried out in conjunction with other subsistence tasks and with reproduction activities. The whole process of linen production was slow: it could take up to a year, after harvesting the flax, to produce finished cloth. Preparation of the flax for spinning and bleaching the cloth were done through natural processes involving leaving the flax to soak and cloth to whiten for many months. Production was largely for domestic use although irregular marketing of surplus cloth did take place. Eighteenth century sources quoted by Hamilton (1966 p82) suggest that domestic linen production was women's work. They prepared, spun, wove and bleached the cloth. But, it was not long before a gender division of labour in the production of linen cloth became evident. This gender division of labour appears to owe much to the commercialisation of linen production and the division of tasks within its formal 'manufacture' (as opposed to non-commercial domestic or household production).

Commercial linen manufacture in Scotland, and therefore indirectly a gender division of labour, was encouraged by the state. New forms of economic activity were considered essential. As Hamilton (1966) argues: "after the Union Scotsmen saw in its (linen's) expansion the economic salvation of their country. They hoped it might do for Scotland what the wollen manufacture had done for the sister kingdom." (p76). Cash incentives were given to improve the growing and preparation of the flax; there was support for the settlement of skilled artisans from France, Holland and Flanders; and the establishment of a Board of Trustees to generally oversee the financing of the industry. This Board of Trustees, set up by the

Convention of Royal Burghs in 1727 persuaded (paid) weavers from France and the Low Countries to come to Scotland to teach their skills to local people. Slaven (1975) notes that "this met two needs, for while the men taught weaving methods, their wives were frequently employed to demonstrate the best ways of spinning finer yarns' (p81). A gendering of tasks was thus apparent.

It appears that spinning remained women's work. Hamilton (1966) suggests, using an argument which is similar to some of those discussed in Chapter 4, that this remained women's work because spinning could be "a part-time occupation, combined with housework or farming". Flax spinning could also be done intermittantly, taken up at slack times and dropped during busy agricultural seasons. Hamilton then makes the following point: the spinners who sold their yarns to 'manufacturers' he states "cannot therefore be regarded as wage-earners in the same sense that weavers were wage-earners, for although they worked on a piece basis, their livelihood was not entirely dependent on the money earned this way" (p100). The implications of such an assessment for the position of women are outside Hamilton's area of concern. However, work discussed in Chapter 4 above would imply that the importance of the money earned in this way by women for the household is far greater than Hamilton implies.

Preparation of flax however became men's work. It is hard to tell from secondary sources but, reading Hamilton's account of the industry, it would appear that a pre-condition of commercial production was the

improvement of flax preparation. This was achieved through the intensification of flax preparation in which there was a simple mechanisation of the 'scutching' process and the creation of a separate task - 'heckling'. This task specialisation led to the removal of these tasks from the household and their separate geographical location in lint or scutch mills and 'heckleries'. In this intensification process the tasks of preparation became designated as male occupations.

Most skilled hand hecklers were probably employed in the lint mills so that all flax 'dressing' could take place in one location. However some 'heckleries' were set up where skilled hecklers worked on their own account or as outworkers for the manufacturers. Linen merchants and manufacturers bought growing flax, arranged for its harvest and preparation, distributed it to home-based spinners and then arranged for the sale of finished cloth. Inducements to the commercial production of linen included the importation of Dutch and Flemish (male) artisans to Paisley, as well as other locations in Scotland, who were skilled in these techniques of flax preparation. This also appears to have encouraged men's full-time employment outside domestic production in these increasingly specialised and town based areas of the industry.

Linen weaving also became an exclusively male occupation. Hamilton (1966) outlines his explanation for this: he states that it required 'skill', especially for the specialised finer quality linen cloth. This skilled finer cloth production came to dominate Scottish production

as a whole and that of Paisley and Glasgow in particular. Because it was 'skilled' work it took time to learn. Also, because there was considerable capital invested in a hand-loom, it had to make an adequate return. Thus Hamilton argues that linen weaving became a full-time occupation. And because it was a full-time occupation it excluded women (who had household work and childcare). In the context of the discussion in Chapter 4, women's inability to do full-time work in flax preparation or linen weaving are implied here on the basis of an unquestioned domestic division of labour. Hamilton does not say why women could not acquire the necessary 'skills' for weaving nor does he acknowledge the role of unequal power relations between men and women in the structuring of the division of labour in the new commercial manufacture of linen. Thus the implications of women's exclusion from these areas of 'skilled' paid work is ignored. Hamilton's explanation therefore has to be seen as partial.

By the turn of the nineteenth century most (male) linen weavers worked full-time on piece rates for 'manufacturers' or merchants. Weaving was therefore pulled towards the geographical centres of preparation, finishing and marketing: in Glasgow and its neighbourhoods, at the end of the eighteenth century, there were 4,000 looms working up linen cloth, 500 alone in the village of Anderson (now part of the city of Glasgow). In Paisley there were 1,360 looms. In Scotland as a whole there were 181,252 flax spinners (Murray 1978). There was an expanding market, especially in the American Plantations, for the coarse linen cloth produced in Scotland. However finer quality cloth (guaze, cambics and lawns) were increasingly

produced in Paisley and Glasgow for local and European trade (Clarke and Dickson 1982). The skill and specialisation of production concentrated in these local areas was to influence future developments of silk and cotton textile manufacture.

Improvements in the preparation of flax and in the quality of the raw material put pressure on both spinners and weavers. The increased flow of raw material pushed both areas of work towards full-time occupations. It encouraged yarn merchants and manufacturers to organise loom shops employing male weavers as wage earners rather than domestic outworkers. Machinery capable of spinning flax was not developed until the 1780s. But despite the early pressure for spinning to become full-time work there is no indication, contrary to Hamilton's argument above, that flax spinning immediately became a male occupation. It was not until flax spinning was organised in factories, very late in the eighteenth century and in response to competition from cotton manufacturers, that men were employed full time in spinning. At that time very cheap Irish and Highland male immigrant labour was employed in flax spinning mills. But until this point it remained a homebased female occupation. Why this should have remained so, in spite of pressures from within the industry is beyond the scope of this chapter. Following earlier discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 however the answer must lie somewhere in the relationships between the prevailing levels of skill proficiency, domestic divisions of labour, the organisation of production and, of course the social relations between men and women.

New commercial techniques employed in bleaching were capital intensive processes and this finishing process also became separated into distinct enterprises. New chemical techniques used chlorine and replaced the time consuming natural processes. Women and children had been almost exclusively employed in the traditional bleachfields, but as techniques in bleaching and dying changed and demand increased these too appear to have become full time areas of work and to have incorporated many more male employees. Women (and children) continued to be employed (Burgess 1980). Indeed Clarke and Dickson (1980) note in their study of Paisley that the local bleach and dyeworks provided significant employment for women in the late eighteenth century. However it is important to note that these were unmarried immigrant Highland women who were isolated from the local community by culture and language and lived in hostels built by their employers (p24).

A distinct new role for local women in the finer branches of the linen industry did open up. This was also in the finishing processes. Plain linen cloth was "enhanced by the labours of thousands of girls and women employed in tambouring and embroidery work" (Slaven 1975 p103). Cloth was stretched over a circular frame (tambour) and embroidered by hand. Thus it has been commented that: "Tambouring came to be regarded as an easier, more elegant, and more profitable employment for women than spinning" (Murray 1978 p54). Indeed it complied with developing notions of appropriate roles and work for women. Their work, still done at home, was organised by the Glasgow and Paisley manufacturers as outwork. The high quality of

this work and the proven expertise of flax spinning achieved by women in the Clyde Valley fed a growing European market. The collapse of the Plantation market for cheap cloth (after the American War of Independence and through competition from home produced cotton) led to the abandonment of coarse linen production and specialisation on fine and fancy qualities of cloth.

But in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century this fine quality linen industry met severe competition from cotton. When cotton spinning was introduced into the Clyde Valley on a large scale, linen weavers turned to cotton weaving. The introduction of Crompton's mule (which produced finer quality cotton yarn than either spinning jennies or conventional water-frames) enabled Glasgow manufacturers to develop fine quality cotton muslin production on a significant scale. Cotton muslin was a good and cheaper substitute for finer grades of linen and the existing skills of fine quality linen weavers located in Paisley and Glasgow permitted an easy transition from linen to cotton fabrics.

The developments in technology and the switching of investment which proved invaluable to cotton production had serious results for linen manufacture. Competition forced the mechanisation of flax spinning and women home spinners lost work to factory based male spinners. There was also a geographical relocation of the centre of the linen industry: it moved to the east coast towns of Forfar and Dundee, well away from the west coast cotton centres. This geographical move compounded the severe consequences for the women domestic flax

spinners who were left behind. Hamilton (1966) quotes a local minister writing in the 1790s: "the recent improvements in the machinery of spinning has brought hardship on the women of the countryside. Spinning has almost wholly disappeared. Women are cut off from the employment which suited their disposition and supplied the necessitites of life" (p108).

Cotton: new work and new divisions of labour

The rise of cotton in the Clyde Valley was initially based on the transformation of the existing linen industry. As such, the gender division of labour in weaving and finishing were largely transferred from linen to cotton. It was comparatively easy for a skilled linen weaver to produce cotton equivalents and for women to embroider or tambour the new cloth. But factory based cotton spinning introduced a new twist to the gender division of labour.

The rapid rise of the cotton spinning industry in Lanarkshire and the countryside surrounding Glasgow in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century introduced the beginnings of intense capitalist expansion. Cotton spinning, from its introduction in the west of Scotland, was largely a mechanised and factory based activity. The first effective water powered cotton mill in the west of Scotland was built at Rothesay in 1779. This was quickly followed in by the construction of mills at Neilston and Johnstone in Renfrewshire. The first mill in Lanarkshire was located at East Kilbride in 1783 and the first in Glasgow was built in 1784 at North Woodside (see Figure

2) (Hamilton 1966, p123; Slaven 1975, p93). A major expansion in local cotton production came in the ten years between 1785 and 1795. During this time large scale cotton spinning was developed at New Lanark. Robert Owen also introduced his new labour management practices at this time; practices which contributed to the foundation of the Owenite political movement and experimental communities (Taylor 1983).

The investment made in, and intensity of, cotton spinning production had implications for the gender division of labour inside and outside the spinning factories. Most significantly the first mill hands were men; Highland and Irish immigrants escaping the harsh realities of the Clearances, agricultural change and famine. The continuous flow of Highland and Irish labour, particularly around the turn of the nineteenth century coincided with the high demand for labour in the expanding cotton industry. The association of men with full time work outside the domestic system may have contributed to this gendered pattern of employment.

As the Clyde Valley cotton industry consistently drew more labour than it required, this oversupply of labour kept wages low in all branches of the trade. Factory operatives were therefore intensely sensitive to any further downward pressure on their wages. Even so wages were reduced at the first sign of recession. In the case of immigrant male spinners low rates were accompanied by the threat of self acting mules. A major confrontation over the introduction of new machines, and consequently women, to the spinning factories took

place in the 1830s. Trade in the cotton industry had been affected both by the Napoleonic Wars and by cycles in fashion (Clarke and Dickenson 1982). During a particularly severe depression in the late 1830s mill owners sought a 56 per cent reduction in piece rates for male spinners. The spinners organised into an embryonic union and struck. But, after violence broke out, the union's leaders were arrested and transported for 'preventing trade' (King 1987). After the strikes, the adoption of self-acting mules was simply accelerated and the employment of young and female labour firmly established.

Some authors (Murray 1978; Slaven 1975) imply that women's 'lack of physical strength' (sic) explains why they were employed to operate the self acting mule. Others however note that both change in the technology of production and the gender composition of the labour force occurred only during recession when wages were being reduced and employers wished to undermine embryonic unionisation (Burgess 1980). So undercutting unskilled wages and destabilising labour organisation were, it seems, equally important rationales for employing women. (Similar points about the use of women's labour have been made in more general discussions of the employment of women outlined in both Chapters 4 and 5.)

By the end of the eighteenth century the manufacture of cotton cloth had become the main industry for the Clyde Valley (and for Scotland). And by the 1820s cotton spinning mills in Glasgow and the neighbouring counties of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire employed 20,000 people, of which 18,000 were women and children (Slaven 1975).

Male spinners were still employed in the mills, although in far fewer numbers. Most significantly they were retained in positions of relative superiority within the factory system. Clarke and Dickson (1982) point out that male spinners controlled and supervised the work of women and children. These women and children, who were often related to the male spinner, operated as his assistants (An arrangement noted in other geographical areas by Hall (1982) and Lazonick (1976), see Chapter 4). Despite their small number these male spinners did form a coherent group with strong bargaining power. And, as can be seen from Table 1, this enabled them to gain relatively high wages for themselves. But this bargaining power was largely based on their control over women and children's labour and their exploitation of family relationships. Table 1 shows that women spinners, though earning a consistent wage, were paid considerably less than the men.

TABLE 1: AVERAGE WAGES PER WEEK BY SAMPLE OCCUPATIONS: GLASGOW AREA 1790-1870

Occupation	1790	1812	1819	1831	1851	1870
Blacksmiths	-	15s.	17s.	17s.	22s.	26s.
Carpenters	12s.	18s.	12s.	14s.	20s.	27s.
Colliers	18s.	24s.6d	17s.	13s.	15s.	28s.
Labourers	8s.	11s.	7s.6d	9s.	12s.	14s.
Machine makers	-	19s.	19s.	19s.	22s.6d	-
Masons	12s.	18s.	15s.	14s.	18s.	26s.
Female spinners	-	15s.	15s.	15s.	-	19s.
Male spinners	-	24s.	24s.	24s.	25s.	26s.
Weavers(hand)	21s.	12s.	5s.	6s.6d	6s.	-

Source: Slaven (1975) p156
 - no data available

Some authors suggest that during the early expansion of cotton spinning there was an intense demand for and shortage of (male) hand loom weavers. Indeed it has been suggested that they became the aristocrats of labour with wages double or treble any other trade (Clarke and Dickson 1982). But Slaven (1975) questions the applicability of this argument to the whole of the Clyde area. Indeed the over supply of labour maintained chronically low piece rates and wage levels. Only amongst the relatively few, very skilled and specialised, weavers of fine and fancy products, located within the Paisley area, (the subject of Clarke and Dickson's paper) did excessive demand produce wage and piece rate rises. The constant supply of labour most commentators argue not only kept the majority of weavers wages low (see Table 1) but also delayed the introduction of factory based power loom weaving.

Power (water and then steam) was introduced to weaving long after it changed the nature of spinning. Power looms were initially suited to coarser cloth, and not the specialisms already dominating the Clyde Valley's cotton industry. A growing army of hand loom weavers conveniently met the manufacturers requirements without their incurring high fixed capital costs. The survival of the domestic hand loom system in the Clyde area, long after its demise in England, Burgess (1980) suggests was due to this inward flow of cheap labour. In 1831, for example, approximately 30 per cent of Glasgow's labour force was engaged in textile production but only one third could be classed as 'factory operatives'.

Murray (1978) also argues that it was not surprising that manufacturers were reluctant to invest in expensive fixed capital: factory buildings and powered looms. Indeed powered looms only began to replace hand loom weavers when the quality of the cloth they produced was able to surpass that produced by the domestic system. This retention of a household form of production appears therefore to have perpetuated men's dominance of local textile production in the Clyde Valley. Although by the mid-nineteenth century factory spinning was largely done by women and children, underdevelopment of the factory system in weaving led to a comparatively slow expansion in the cotton industry as a whole and therefore a stagnation in women's employment opportunities. The introduction of power loom weaving on a factory basis in other locations had enabled women to enter factory based weaving (Pinchbeck 1969). Lack of development in the west of Scotland kept women by and large out of weaving until the twentieth century (Burgess 1980; Murray 1978).

Within the Clyde Valley cotton industry social stratification and the gender division of labour were enmeshed. The (male) weavers, especially the weavers of fine and fancy goods considered themselves to be, and were generally observed as, culturally and socially superior to the 'common' factory worker. They were considered to be 'educated', 'respectable' and independent (Murray 1978; King 1989). Embroidery and tambouring became suitable employment for their wives and daughters. But factory processes, including spinning and preparation were to become suitable only for the socially inferior, poor and uneducated. These characteristics were used to define and

isolate first male and female immigrant workers from the Highlands and Ireland and then all women and children entering waged work. Religious and cultural divisions as well as gender relations contributed to the maintenance of the division of labour in cotton production. The immigrants were largely Catholic whereas the weavers and their families belonged to the Lowland Protestant Scots community with its strong affiliation to the Orange Lodge and its anti-Catholic sentiments.

Overspecialisation: seeds of decline

Specialised production of fancy and fine cotton and some silk fabrics (which were introduced in the mid-eighteenth century) remained the dominant area of Scottish trade (Clarke and Dickson 1980). Elaborate designs (including the 'Paisley pattern') were embroidered by women or woven into the cloth by men. It was an 'exotic trade': raw materials were imported from the Americas and the finished goods were exported to Europe, India and back to America. The precarious nature of this reliance on fancy and quality production is noted by Murray (1978):

He writes:

"In a sense the Scottish cotton industry was built on an insecure foundation. It was too highly specialised. The very excellence of its workmanship was a cause of its decline, for since its weavers produced articles of fashion and fancy, like the famous Paisley shawls, a change in taste brought disaster. Only the adaptability of the weavers could stave off ruin. The history of the industry, and especially of Paisley was a 'succession of novelties'. And this was the main difference between Lancashire and Scotland, the Scots made fanciful articles of show and taste, the English made strong

plain and unchanging articles, plain cambrics and cotton for printing... "

(Murray 1978, p106)

But fashion change, though producing uncertainty, does not appear to be the only cause of the Scottish cotton industry's decline. Two other reasons have been suggested. First, foreign competition: when fine cotton production began in Scotland no other continental European country was engaging in this activity. But, after the Napoleonic Wars, France, Austria and Switzerland began fine and fancy production. A quality trade had also developed in North America. Between 1812 and 1871 the number of mills, looms and the labour force were all contracting. This was exacerbated by a financial downturn in 1857 which put pressure on cotton mill owners to repay bank loans (Slaven 1975, p108). A major crisis in local cotton spinning was caused however by the American Civil war (1861-1865). Raw cotton supplies were halted and speculation in yarn forced prices up and many mills went on third or half time working (Hamilton 1966).

The final collapse of the textile industry in the Clyde area did not occur until the 20 years preceding the First World War. In the 1890s it was evident that the machinery in Scottish mills was 'archaic' in comparison with English equivalents. Slaven (1975) notes that as a result Scottish men and women's productivity in mule spinning and in weaving was less than that of men and women working in Lancashire and the United States. The low productivity could not be offset by the lower wage rates of Scottish mill hands. Further concentration

occurred in the production of good quality fabrics and thread.

However even here the availability of plentiful cheap labour forestalled the investment in new machinery which was required for the restructuring of the industry.

Lack of investment introduces the second reason for the collapse of local cotton: the switch of capital to the more profitable industrial activity of iron and coal. As cotton production declined, iron and coal production were increasing and by the 1830s labour and capital were moving into these areas. Thus chronic under-capitalisation and outmode labour intensive craft processes contributed to the withdrawal of capital and its reinvestment in newly emerging and more immediately profitable sectors of the economy (Harvie 1981). Thus "The industry which had once driven the region to industrial success, and had employed upwards of half its total population, now employed a small part of the labour force. It had been overtaken by the thriving nexus of coal and metallurgy" (Slaven 1975, p166).

This economic pattern had implications for women's entry into waged work in the Clyde Valley. The general lack of investment in factory forms of production and the maintenance of domestic craft production, perpetuated men's dominance of weaving. Men also controlled the formal factory based labour market through their overseeing and hiring of women (and children). The majority of women were relegated to a limited range of occupations (in spinning, finishing and embroidery): and this was within the so called 'female industry' of cotton textiles. They may have made up the majority of the workforce

but they were not in positions of control either inside, or outside, the paid labour force.

Related change

There was, briefly, an alternative local source of work for women in the textile industry. One major carpet manufacturer had invested in new machinery. New opportunities for women's factory work arose. Indeed through the joint process of mechanisation and the employment of young single women as factory hands, Templeton's of Greenhead undercut other local producers to become the largest carpet producer in Scotland by the 1860s. This area of textile production was bouyant while the cotton industry was in decline. There was a growing domestic market for carpets as they replaced linoleum as the dominant floor-covering. Indeed Templeton's were able to pay higher wages than the ailing cotton spinning industry and conditions in their model factory on Glasgow Green were better by far than outmoded cotton sheds (Harvie 1981). Some women were thus drawn into this smaller branch of the textile industry. But employment levels in carpet manufacture could never match those reached in cotton textiles.

The demise of the cotton textile industry had less fortunate consequences for other related industries. Its collapse contributed to the decline of certain areas of the local heavy chemicals industry. Textile manufacturing and finishing required several chemical inputs (sulphuric acid, chlorine and soda) in the bleaching and dyeing

processes. During the early part of the nineteenth century local demands for these chemicals had been largely fulfilled by Charles Tennant's St. Rollox chemical works in the north east of Glasgow. Here the 'Leblanc' process was pioneered giving the St. Rollox works a European reputation. This, and other dye works also provided work for, and indeed relied on the ready supply of cheap, Highland and Irish immigrant women. They worked in the bleach plants, 'oily houses' and colour plants and, though the work was unpleasant and often dangerous, there was no shortage of willing labour (Melling 1982 p71). The decline of cotton textile production and further technological change in the techniques of bleaching led to the closure of the St. Rollox works. There was contraction also in the Vale of Leven where specialised Turkey Red dyeing of calico had developed.

Iron, coal and ships: men's industry

The iron based industrial sectors were at the heart of the next phase of industrialisation in the Clyde Valley. Iron working, the production of pig iron and of semi-finished rods, ingots and plates became firmly established in the Clyde Valley with the introduction of 'hot blast' techniques during the 1830s. During the 1830s and 1840s the production of pig-iron escalated with the opening of 11 hot blast ironworks in the west of Scotland. These techniques not only reduced the consumption of coal but also made it economically viable to use local, though relatively poor quality, sources (Lenman 1977).

Coal: exclusion of women

Local mines in the west of Scotland were deep (they were shallower and more accessible in the east) and it was dangerous and labour intensive work. Women and children did work underground in the west of Scotland but Slaven (1975 p112) notes that this was not as common as in the shallower east coast pits.

Pinchbeck (1969) briefly mentions women's work in the Scottish pits. The pattern of women's work in the mines mirrored that of work in other industries: they 'assisted' their men folk. While men performed the tasks of 'hewing' (cutting) the coal, women (and children) undertook the carrying, transporting and sorting jobs. Young girls and boys worked as 'trappers', opening and shutting air doors while women and girls carried the coal to the surface, often in loads of up to three hundredweight. It was backbreaking work which resulted in many severe injuries and miscarriages (see also Bradbury 1989, p107). The system of payment to the male hewers, who then passed on payment (or not as in the case in family labour) tied women and children into directly subordinate relationships with male workers and only indirect relations with the coal owners. Nevertheless women's underground and surface work (as 'pitbrow lasses' sieving, washing and sorting coal) was relatively well remunerated and was often preferred to other forms of female employment (notably domestic service) when it was available.

Women were prevented from working underground by the 1842 Mines Act. The moral, economic and patriarchal reasons for this have been discussed at length elsewhere (Humpheries 1981; John 1984). However the formal exclusion of women from the mines in Scotland effectively made this area of work exclusively a male preserve. After the passing of the Mines Act, women experienced considerable hardship. Pinchbeck (1969) notes that in Scotland there was little alternative employment for women in many of the isolated colliery areas: in 1845 only 200 of the 4200 Scottish women displaced from the mines had found new work. During the years immediately after the passing of the Act many women returned to the pits and worked illegally. Pinchbeck (1969) quotes the following evidence from Scotland in the 1851 Commissioners Report on the Mining Areas: "...the poor women, thinking themselves unfit for other employment, often eluded the overseers and stole into the mines dressed in men's clothes" (p286).

By formally excluding women the conditions were set for the predominant and exclusive cultural association of masculinity with the tough, harsh reality of working underground. A process common to most, if not all, mining communities in Britain.

During the early development of iron working supplies of local coal to fuel the new iron based industries were limited by the lack of labour. This was largely a legacy of an earlier period of serfdom. Imposed on colliers in the mid-seventeenth century it had existed in the Clyde area until its abolition in 1799. The labour supply to the west coast mines only change because of the influx of Highland and

Irish labour during the early nineteenth century. Slaven (1975) notes that at the beginning of the century there were between seven and eight thousand miners in Scotland as a whole. This labour force had expanded to nearly 47,000 men working in over 400 collieries in the 1870s and he states that: "by this time mining in the west of Scotland had overwhelmed the historical superiority of the east coast industry. Not only were almost threequarters of the men and mines located in the region, but the productivity of both men and pits was superior to those elsewhere in Scotland." (p122-123). And by this time it was clearly 'men's work'.

Heavy industry: local inter-dependence

Readily available local iron ore was discovered in Lanarkshire in the first years of the nineteenth century and the cheapness of the male immigrant labour proved an additional cost advantage to the Scots ironmasters (Slaven 1975, p117). The development of local ironworks concentrated on the North eastern bank of the Clyde (Figure 3) and the expansion of the industry was exceptionally rapid between 1830 and 1860.

Iron working was from the outset a male trade and occupation. With its craft origins in the smithy, metal working has remained men's work throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The production of the Clyde Valley furnaces was directed towards mass production of cheap pig iron. The competitive edge was gained

by local ironmaster at this early stage by high volume production of low quality produce. A high proportion of this output fed the growing local railway and locomotive engineering sector (Slaven 1975 p121).



Railway and locomotive engineering expanded rapidly during the mid-nineteenth century. This supplied the growing communications networks at home, in the industrial north of England and in the colonies. Of the four largest locomotive engineering firms in Britain, three were Glasgow based. Bridge, rail and girder fabrication for the expanding railway networks was also concentrated in the west of Scotland and in particular in the eastern Burghs of the city, in the shadow of the iron works.

Local Lanarkshire iron ore was exhausted by the 1830s. But local coal was still plentiful. The west of Scotland was accessible by water (sea, river and canal) and bulk ore transportation was therefore possible: a new era of iron production developed. This formed the basis of later steel working. Heavy metal was produced in an 'Iron Ring' running from Camberslang to Motherwell and Wishaw through Mossend to Coatbridge (see Figure 3). And this heavy metal production specifically responded to the rising demand from the shipbuilding industry (Lenman 1977).

Shipbuilding started on the Clyde in the early eighteenth century but it was not until the transition from wood to iron ships that the dominance of shipbuilding developed. Large scale industrialised production was relatively new in the nineteenth century. Demand grew directly out of British colonial expansion and developed on the Clyde from the mid nineteenth century onwards. By the 1840s demand outstripped supply. Virtually all the iron ships built in Britain were built on the Clyde in the 1840s and from 1851-1870 the Clyde

shipbuilders produced over 70 percent of the iron tonnage launched in Britian. By 1870, 24,000 out of 47,000 men employed in British shipbulding were working in Scotland and all but a few hundred were on the Clyde (Slaven 1975, p132-133). This predominance was to be maintained up until the First War.

The growth of iron steamship fabrication on the Clyde was not, however, simply because of deep water, the proximity of coal and iron and the abundant availability of coal. The North East of England, for example, had the same resources. McGoldrick (1982) argues that the Clyde yards led innovation and development and dominated national and international production because of a unique combination of local factors: availability of raw materials coincided with local knowledge of steam power and mechanical engineering. The latter had been developed in the textile and locomotive industries. A legacy which was not matched in the North East. This local 'expertise' was applied to the experimental construction of metal ships which, in turn, contributed to the development of local specialisation. The exponential growth in demand for bigger vessels and passenger liners after 1840 coincided with peaks in overseas trading. Advances in locomotive engineering (high capacity turbines, steam engines and screw propellers) and in metal construction, also enabled highly powered steel hulled ships to be built from the 1870s onwards (Pollard and Robinson 1979 p71-73).

A particular characteristic of this period of industrialisation was the inter-weaving and inter-dependence of the heavy industrial

sectors and their suppliers. (A feature which also characterised the textile industry.) McGoldrick (1982) describes these linkages in the following way:

"This produced an interplay of mutual advantage for the shipping industry and shipbuilding when each could reap the full benefit from the other's success: the shipping industry was able to purchase at the most competitive price the most technically advanced shipping available, whilst the builders were able to enjoy 'access to a large market...'. Similarly, for the builders there was a relationship of mutual advantage with their suppliers who could provide cheap supplies of components and raw materials due to the large and expanding market offered by the growth of the industry; steel makers could offer good prices for the specialised ship plates and sections, and component suppliers in some cases could cheapen prices by moving over to some form of mass production themselves."

(McGoldrick 1982, p150)

With interlinkage there was a concentration of capital within and between the heavy industrial sectors. Slaven (1975), notes that between 1870 and 1914 the number of firms in the shipbuilding industry on the Clyde decreased by 12 per cent (p 122) and Pollard and Robertson (1979) suggest that although there was an initial growth in the number of firms, there was a 'high death rate' between 1890 and 1913. By the First World War there were only fifty 'important firms' left on the Clyde. Many of these had grown as a result of inter-sectoral takeovers and mergers (p53).

One spin-off from the growth in shipbuilding was the expansion of the natural fibre based rope and twine industries and the development of hard fibre hawser production. Located in the shipyard burghs of Govan, Partick, Port Glasgow and especially Greenock these industries

flourished throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, mirroring the fortunes of the dominant industrial sector (Harvie, 1981). In contrast to the male dominance of coal, metal working, shipbuilding and engineering this supply industry was a major employer of women. During the 1880s there were 70 firms engaged in ropemaking in and around Glasgow and the Clyde area, although the industry was dominated by one company: The Gourock Company which was located near Port Glasgow (Melling 1982 p72). This supply industry depended on plentiful supplies of women workers and, in a period of labour shortage, Melling (1982) notes that The Gourock Company opened a new plant at Greenock to take advantage of additional sources of female labour. In a similar fashion it opened smaller factories in the region to fulfill orders for a diversified range of fibre based products including tents and other campaign and camping equipment which were in high demand during the Boer War. The sectoral division of labour in which women dominated cotton spinning, carpet and other heavier textile industries was mirrored in the manufacture of fibre ropes and other associated products.

The workforce and the labour process

By 1901 the Clyde Valley accommodated approximately 46% of the total Scottish (and 6% of the British) labour force (derived from Lee, 1979). This represented nearly 1 million people. Many, as noted above, were immigrants from the Highlands and from Ireland. Mechanisation of agriculture, the residual impact of the Clearances and famine all contributed to rural unemployment and under employment throughout

the nineteenth century. High levels of labour mobility in Scotland were partly a product of the type of poor relief system operating in most rural areas. There was, for example, a reluctance on the part of rural parishes to make any provision for the legal assessment of need. Thus those who became destitute had to rely on inadequate and inconsistent local charitable support. One result was high levels of mobility in the labour force and geographical relocation in search of employment (see MacLaren 1976).

Industrial production in the Clyde Valley was characteristically labour intensive. High labour usage persisted (in local conditions of over-supply) long after technological advances in steam and engineering power made mechanisation of tasks possible. Within the heavy engineering industries divisions of labour occurred which relied on the availability of unskilled labour. The division between relatively skilled workers and the majority of unskilled labour was maintained by trade practices. This polarisation contributed to the regions low-wage economy.

Melling (1982, p76) notes that a "confederation of specialised practices (rather) than one coherent trade, with overlapping skills in areas such as shipbuilding and boilermaking" (p76) developed. The form of labour process organisation amongst male craft workers in the new engineering and shipbuilding industries he suggests, derived in part from periods of early industrialisation when millrights were called on to adapt their traditional skills to the requirements of

mechanised manufacture. This occurred first in textiles and subsequently in the metal working and engineering industries.

The craft workers were able to control entry to the trades and control the labour process. A process which, as outlined in Chapter 4, was used to exclude not only unwanted male workers but all women. Although the traditional craft control of 'engineering' was undermined by the mid 1850s, Melling (1982) argues that it was replaced by new divisions in which "the frontier of control was established on a fresh basis, allowing considerable autonomy to the fitters and turners of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers." (p77). Despite this reformulation of the basis of control in the workplace, it still meant that any changes in the division of labour had to be formally negotiated with the new trade representatives. Such renegotiations enabled control of the trade associations to be retained amongst the elite skilled, Protestant, workers. These highly skilled workers retained positions of supervision over unskilled immigrant, Catholic, labourers. Skilled 'fitters and setters' were required to 'set' or prepare the work of labourers and apprentices. And since the foremen were recruited from this elite of 'fitters and setters', access to skilled employment and training was retained within the new trade.

New trade demarcations, organisations and hierarchies of apprenticeship were established. Sub-contracting was also perpetuated and incorporated into the new areas of production. For this labour intensive form of production to be retained there had to be ready supplies of cheap labour. It can be argued that the steady influx of

new immigrants to the industrial centres of the Clyde Valley both enabled and perpetuated such hierarchies and divisions. Burgess (1980) also implies that this form of production organisation enabled employers to decrease workforces during periods of depression, without incurring the problems of fixed overhead costs associated with more capital intensive production techniques (Burgess 1980, p195).

The hiring and firing of labour was delegated to the foreman of a work-gang who, in turn, paid the unskilled labourers from his remittance. This was standard practice throughout the construction of a vessel. Thus responsibilities and consequences of lay-offs were removed from the yard owner. In addition each sub-contracting for work was highly specified and gave details of the job content. This reinforced the sub-divisions between groups of labour and job demarcations based on 'skill'. This, and the precarious nature of the hirings, effectively hindered (though in the end did not prevent) workforce identification and organisation within the labour force.

MacLaren (1982) suggests that this new skilled section of the workforce emerged as a 'labour aristocracy': an elite within the working class who came between the majority of unskilled labour and factory or yard owners. This labour aristocracy formed exclusive trade associations and belonged to powerful political and social organisations, including the protestant Orange Lodges and the Freemasons (Gray 1976).

Women were excluded from membership of the trade system in the 'new' industries. Apprentiships were exclusively male as were their political and social organisations (Brietenbach 1982). The trade structure thus built upon and constructed new social divisions within and outside the workplace. The divisions by skill and trade inside the workplace interwove with other overlapping social divisions including those of gender, religion and ethnic origin. Divisions between the 'indigenous' lowland population and immigrants from the Highlands and Ireland, again as noted in the textile industries above, encapsulated religious sectarianism between Catholic and Protestant. Thus during industrialisation factory, mine and shipyard owners could use Protestant overseers to supervise the mass of unskilled Catholic labour.

The development of an artisanal culture within the labour aristocracy of the new engineering industries was encouraged through employer sponsored Friendly Societies and in the provision of quality housing for 'respectable workmen' and their families. In the 1860s the Caladonian Railway Company built hundreds of well designed terraced houses for their engineering workers in Springburn, then a small town on the northern edge of the city. The company also set up a Friendly Society, introduced superannuation for clerical workers, and sponsored jamborees and fetes as well as literary and musical events to accommodate and promote the aspirations of these workers (Melling 1982, p89-90).

As labour processes and technologies changed, it has been argued that this strong social control of the trades inside and outside the workplace limited the ability of the owners to introduce new capital intensive work methods and to diversify production (Harvie 1981). Yet most major employers supported trade demarcations as this was to their short term, if not long term advantage (see Burgess 1980; McGoldrick 1982). Trade organisation was familiar and had proved profitable enough in the past.

Did women work?

With the increasing domination of the local economy by the heavy, male employing, industries it would be fair to assume that women were largely excluded from the labour force by the turn of the twentieth century. But as Table 2 illustrates women still comprised a significant proportion of the local labour force (27.5%). This is only slightly below the national average for Britain (29.2%). Table 2 does illustrate the continued importance of Textiles as a source of women's employment, however there are other areas of women's formal employment which have been obscured by the structural (and numerical) dominance of men's employment in the local economy.

TABLE 2: EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR IN STRATHCLYDE*: WOMEN AND MEN 1901

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	%WOMEN IN SECTOR	% OF ALL WOMEN WORKING
Agriculture	32213	9590	41803	22.9	3.79
Mining	74424	450	74874	0.6	0.17
Food, Drink & Tobacco	13480	8040	21520	37.4	3.18
Chemicals	3912	1019	4931	20.7	0.4
Metal Manufacture	39601	7	39608	0.02	0.002
Mechanical Engineering	46854	837	47691	1.75	0.33
Instrument Engineering	1603	59	1662	3.5	0.02
Electrical Engineering	2751	18	2769	0.65	0.007
Shipbuilding	29789	122	29911	0.41	0.04
Vehicles	3969	42	4011	1.04	0.01
Metal Goods	25576	1265	26841	4.71	0.5
Textiles	18896	47145	66041	71.4	18.64
Leather Goods	2781	444	3225	13.8	0.17
Clothing & Footwear	17341	42324	59665	70.94	16.73
Bricks, Glass & Pottery	5626	1771	7397	23.94	0.7
Timber & Furniture	15841	3636	19477	18.67	1.43
Paper, Printing & Publishing	8089	7368	15457	47.66	2.91
Other Manufacture	1868	1667	3535	47.15	0.65
Construction	69566	123	69689	0.18	0.04
Gas, Electricity & Water	4085	5	4090	0.12	0.001
Transport & Communications	74320	5277	79597	6.61	2.08
Distribution	47835	28441	76276	37.28	11.24
Insurance, Banking & Finance	7873	81	7954	1.02	0.03
Professional & Scientific	15101	12746	27847	45.77	5.0
Miscellaneous Services	21073	70175	91248	76.91	27.74
Public Administration & Defence	11193	704	11897	5.92	0.27
Not Elsewhere Classified	72692	9552	82244	11.61	3.7
TOTALS	668352	252908	921260	27.45	99.77

Source: Lee (1979)

* Lee has aggregated his employment statistics into the 1974 Standard Regions. Strathclyde is somewhat larger than the Clyde Valley. However both population and industry have been overwhelmingly concentrated into the Valley.

Indeed Table 2 shows that there was considerable experience of women's employment in this area during industrialisation. And it can be argued that these figures, derived from Lee (1979), are probably

an underestimation of the true rate of women's employment. Women working from home as outworkers or as in domestic occupations would not necessarily appear in records of employment. And as Alexander (1978) has indicated the majority of women in the nineteenth century performed some form of work for income, direct or indirect.

One of the most important aspects to women's employment highlighted by Table 2 is the number of sectors (12) in which women represented a significant proportion (20% and above) of the sectoral labour force. Of these the relative importance, after Textiles, of Clothing and Footwear stands out. Not only did this sector provide nearly 17 per cent of all women's work but over 70 per cent of the sector's workforce were women employees. The significance of the Clothing and Footwear sector as a source of employment has been omitted from most histories of the industrialisation of the Clyde Valley. However with a total employment of 59665 was not an insignificant sector and indeed surpassed many of the other major industrial sectors in levels of employment. Though its lower potential income generation has to be acknowledged.

Another important feature outlined in Table 2 is the role of the service sector as a source of women's work. By 1901 women were already heavily concentrated in the service sector: 46 per cent of all women's employment. (By comparison the service sector employed only 27 per cent of men.) Three service industries were particularly important for women. Distribution and the Miscellaneous Services category (which included domestic service) occupied significant

percentages of all women employees: 28 per cent of all employed women worked in Miscellaneous Services. Professional and Scientific Services (including education and health) was important for different reasons: 45.7 per cent of the sectoral labour force were women. So although not registering as a numerically high female employer, in terms of absolute numbers, it did emerge as a highly female orientated sector. By 1901, in this local area, the broad gender division of labour between economic sectors already discussed in Chapter 4 was evident.

And gender relations ?

The consequences of this form of industrial and social organisation on the nature of gender relations can not be ascertained in any detail from the evidence readily available in published material. However the relationship between a particular form of masculinity and these types of heavy, dirty and manual labours has been suggested by more contemporary authors (Connell 1989; Coward 1983). The social authority of men in general and as individuals must have been reinforced by the nature and social conception of this type of work. The power derived by many from their positions of supervision, over women, apprentices and unskilled labourers within labour process would have undoubtedly shaped their relationships with women and other workers. And vice versa the nature and social conception of women's work as menial, domestic related and low skilled as well as their experience of men's supervision must have, as it does today, fashioned their relationships with men.

A contributory factor in the creation of such conceptions of work, power and authority and in the forming of gender and class relations would have been the nature and male dominated form of social and political associations. The harsh social conditions imposed by fluctuating and uncertain periods of employment amongst male unskilled workers plus the cultural and political attitudes towards immigrant Catholic labour, would have almost certainly shaped relations between men and women within the body of casualised labourers.

However these observations cannot be anything but a broad pointer in the direction of future research: for neither the secondary material already discussed nor the empirical work reported in the next chapter specifically addresses these issues. Nevertheless contemporary work on the local specificity of gender relations would suggest that this is an important area of inquiry.

Men's work threatened

The power of the labour aristocracy within the trade based form of organisation in heavy engineering and shipbuilding has been cited as a reason for the subsequent economic decline of the Clyde Valley (Checkland 1976). But the brief discussion above suggests that this alone cannot be responsible. Other factors were centrally important. Indeed re-reading local economic histories of the Clyde Valley suggest that it was the particular form of production organisation combining local specialisation, concentrated ownership, oversupply of

labour, and the export orientation of production which both sustained the trade structure and made the local economy vulnerable to market fluctuations and change (Dickson 1980, 1982; Hamilton 1966; Slaven 1975). The large scale outward movement of capital throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was particularly important in perpetuating the undercapitalised form of production organisation. Investment by local capital was, as noted above, often directed at developing overseas trading links: reinforcing the dependency of the local economy on overseas expansion.

Nineteenth century industrialisation in the west of Scotland formed part of a sectorally based spatial division of labour in Britain (see Chapter 5). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Scotland was in a position of relative strength. Using unemployment as an indicator of relative economic well being, London in 1912-13 had an 8.7 per cent level of unemployment among the male insured population. In Scotland the level was only 1.8% (Gollan 1948, p23). But this industrial strength was insecure. The very structure of local interlinkages and specialisation which had made it prosperous, contributed to its decline.

Unable to compete with more standardised products of English and particularly European yards, the heavy industrial producers in the Clyde Valley specialised in a limited range of unique and custom built products. (This was a similar response to that of the textile producers seventy five years before.) In shipbuilding this led to the production of big, expensive, craft finished, luxury passenger liners

and limited market warships. Furthermore, local metal manufacturing and locomotive engineering industries became increasingly geared to the requirements of this kind of shipbuilding by producing heavy-weight ship plate (Lenan 1977).

The industrial prosperity of the Clyde Valley peaked just prior to the First World War. The collapse in world and colonial trade at that time led to spare capacity. An immediate economic crisis in the Clyde Valley was averted at this stage by the diversion of excess capacity into the production of armaments and warships. The cultivation by local owners of, and the increasing dependence on, government contracts was, some argue, the first warning of imminent economic failure (Cottrell 1975; Gollan 1948). Checkland (1976) also suggests that this eager adoption of naval contracts was a product of and reinforced overspecialisation in the region. This arguably weakened the prospects of retaining prosperity.

Decline postponed

The First World War produced a temporary postponement of local economic crisis. War-time armaments production increased employment of both men and women, but overall women workers gained more in percentage terms: 14.5% to men's 9.2% (Table 3).

The increases in employment between 1911 and 1921 (the census period which includes the First World War) were sectorally specific, reflecting in part the reliance on government contracts. From Table 3

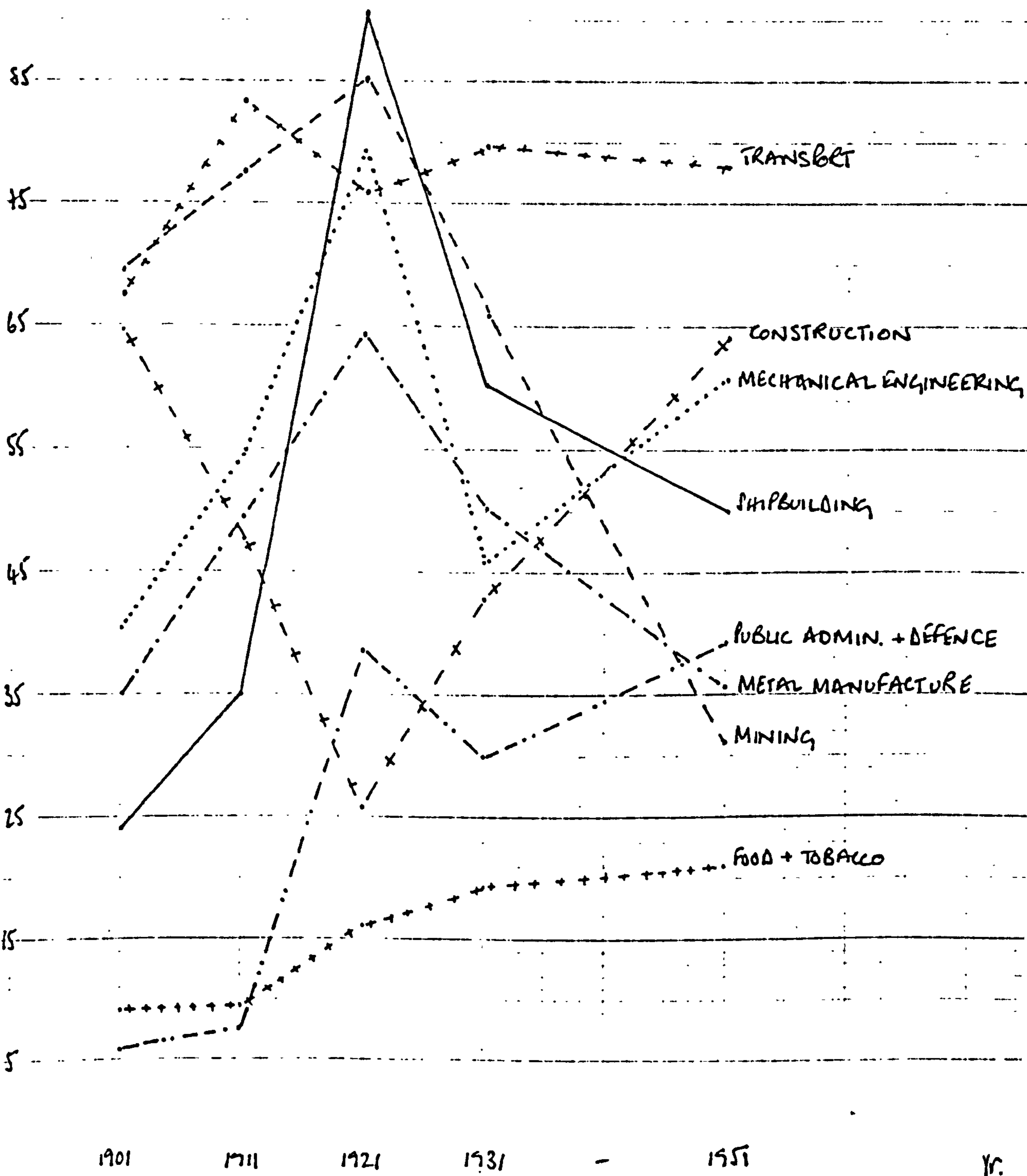
FIGURE 4

MALE EMPLOYMENT
STRATHALLYDE

1901 - 1951

Source: LEE (1979).

Ths.



and Figure 4 it can be seen that manufacturing employment for men rose sharply in Shipbuilding with a very large absolute increase of over 50,000 jobs. Correspondingly nearly 20,000 jobs were created for men in Metal Manufacture. There were much smaller increases in employment in other related industries, for example, Mining; Mechanical Engineering (including Ordnance and small arms) and Vehicles; and in less directly War related activities including Food, Drink and Tobacco. Within the service sector there was a large increase in men's employment within the Public Administration and Defence category: over 30,000 jobs. Certainly some of this employment increase would have related to intensified local and national government administrative activities during war time and to a large increase in Ministry of Defence civilian and non-civilian workforces. Some direct munitions work, though not all, would also have fallen under this heading.

The nature of men's employment, as a whole, was nevertheless highly dependent on the War and specifically on Shipbuilding. This sector drew in labour in large quantities while other industries shed labour. In Textiles, an industry which was already in heavy decline, in Metal Goods production and most notably in Transport and Communications and in Construction jobs were lost. Construction was the first local industry to shed jobs at the onset of war (Cairncross 1954).

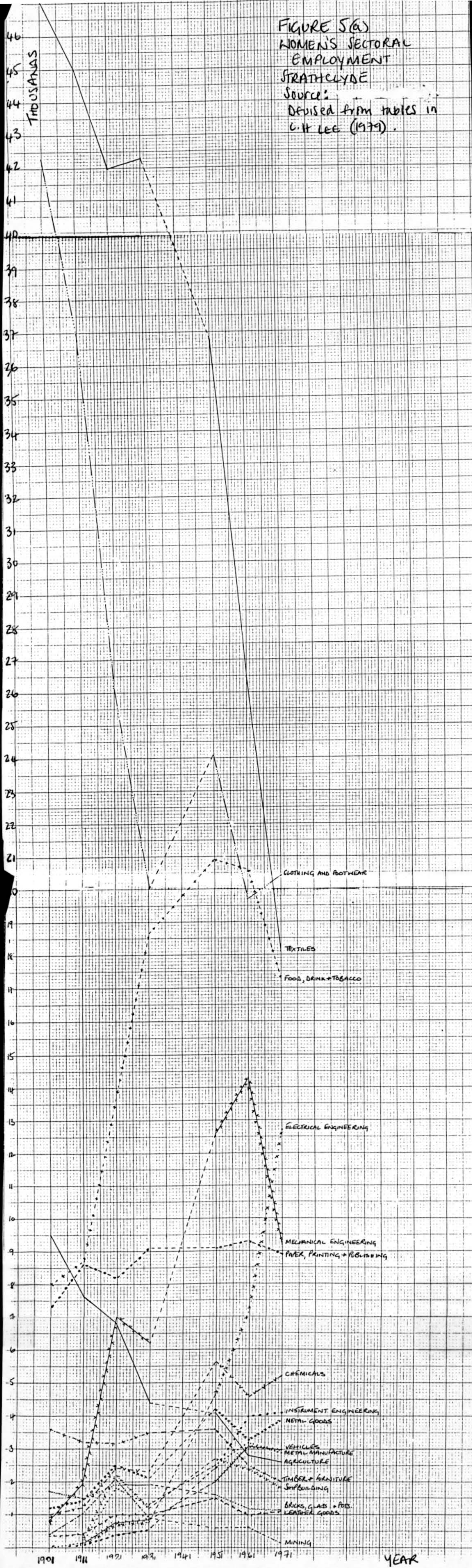
TABLE 3: EMPLOYMENT CHANGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN, STRATHCLYDE* 1911-1921

	MEN		WOMEN	
	ABSOLUTE	%	ABSOLUTE	%
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry	68	0.22	-812	-10.65
Mining & Quarrying	7811	9.40	1153	110.02
Food, Drink & Tobacco	8373	9.40	9839	112.12
Chemicals	2545	46.43	953	64.70
Metal Manufacture	19379	39.75	1663	1108.66
Mechanical Engineering	2100	35.70	5152	268.86
Instrument Engineering	337	22.04	359	456.60
Electrical Engineering	467	10.24	647	1176.36
Shipbuilding	50662	111.80	1974	736.56
Vehicles	3315	49.58	629	167.07
Metal Goods	-15506	-60.13	998	68.26
Textiles	-275	-1.37	-3074	-6.81
Leather Goods	-349	-12.35	631	147.70
Clothing & Footwear	-2323	-14.89	-10765	-29.17
Bricks, Glass and Pottery	-228	-3.48	427	28.52
Timber & Furniture	3123	21.24	-78	-2.30
Paper, Printing and Publishing	1029	1.82	-482	-5.53
Other Manufacturing	1022	44.40	457	27.00
Construction	-20899.	-39.67	1307	2010.70
Gas, Electric & Water	5152	105.40	591	8442.80
Transport & Communications	-7147	-8.00	-2278	-32.39
Distribution	18775	35.68	30076	93.73
Insurance, Banking and Finance	-638	-5.80	4018	1517.10
Professional & Scientific	-2981	-127.14	-3423	-20.70
Miscellaneous Services	-1887	-7.40	-5974	-8.76
Public Admin. & Defence	30782	242.13	21157	3896.31
TOTALS	65563	9.15	38025	14.48

Source: Compiled from Lee, 1979

* Lee has aggregated his employment statistics into the 1974 Standard regions. Strathclyde is somewhat larger than the Clyde Valley. However both population and industry in this region have been overwhelmingly concentrated in the Valley

FIGURE 5(a)
 WOMEN'S SECTORAL
 EMPLOYMENT
 STRATHCLYDE
 Source:
 DEvised from tables in
 G. H. LEE (1979).

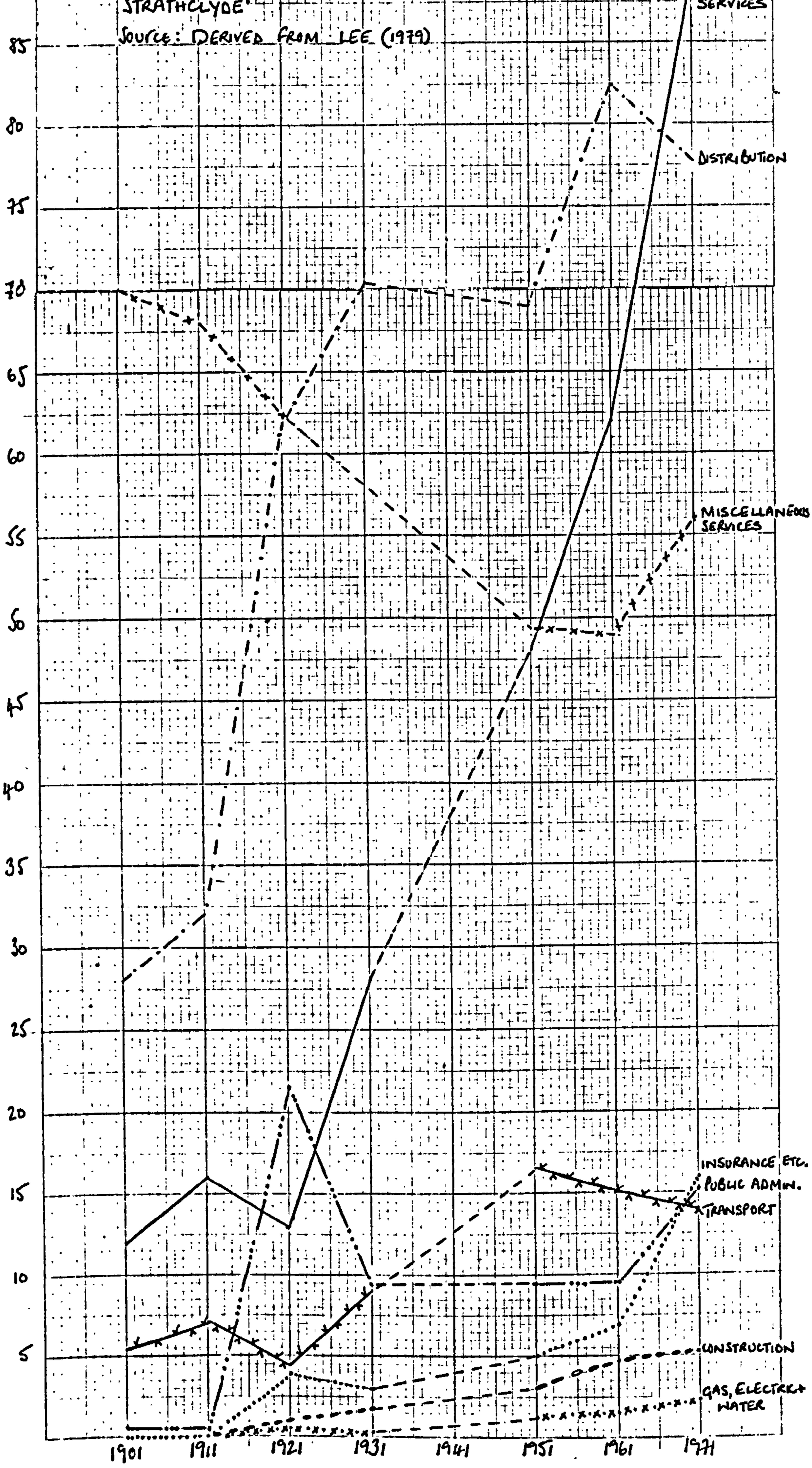


YEAR

FIGURE 5(b)

THOUSANDS

WOMEN'S SERVICE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR
1901-1971
STRATHCLYDE
SOURCE: DERIVED FROM LEE (1979)



During this same period women's employment gains were considerable especially in percentage terms, indicating a widening of the range of industries employing women (Table 3; Figure 5). Within manufacturing women were drawn into Metal Manufacture, Mechanical Engineering (including Ordnance and small arms production) and even Shipbuilding. Job gains in Food, Drink and Tobacco were also important. (However, not all of these jobs would have been in direct production. Some would have been administrative. (Brietenbach 1982)). Women also gained jobs in some areas of the service sector. Distribution and Public Administration and Defence experienced gains. Transport and Communications, Professional and Scientific and Miscellaneous Services experienced declines. While the nature of distribution and retailing were changing anyway, regardless of the War, the 21,000 women drawn into Public Administration and Defence were more directly War related. Again this was likely to be predominantly composed of war related to local and national government administration as well as expansion in the Ministry of Defence civilian workforce.

It would appear that women did make some small inroads into the male employment preserves during wartime and retained them in the short term. However in terms of absolute job numbers the advances were relatively small. Like men, women also lost jobs at this time: in Textiles this was almost to be expected. However the heavy loss of jobs in the Clothing and Footwear sector is more significant and not so easy to explain. It might have been expected that recession in fashion and fancy trades due to wartime trading conditions would

have been off set by contracts from the armed forces. But as illustrated above, the history of the textiles and related industries in Glasgow were more likely to be linked to specialised production. It is also worth noting that women were beginning to loose jobs in the Miscellaneous Services category. This indicates the decline of domestic service which began to accelerated after the First War (J.E.Lewis 1984).

Despite these losses the regional industrial specialisation of the Clyde Valley did prevent the collapse of the economy for a short period of time. But, in the longer term, it was the basis of inter-war crisis and structural problems on the Clyde. As the dominant spatial division of labour began to shifted from areal specialisation to divisions based on internal functional differentiation, the foundations of the Clyde's industrial economy and employment began to dissappear.

Decline sets in

It has been suggested that the beginning of the end of commercial and industrial prosperity in the Clyde Valley was signalled in the few years immediately prior to the First World War when, although overall employment was still increasing, reliance on government armaments contracts began to increase dramatically. (Cairncross 1954). As noted above there were sectorally specific downturns in male and female employment. But the massive downward trend in employment, especially male employment, which exposed the structural fragility of the local economy, only began in earnest during the first years of the 1920s. The decline of employment in the staple industries was as rapid and dramatic as its original growth during industrialisation (see Table 4 and Figures 4 and 5).

The reduction of armaments and warship orders led to enormous jobs losses. Some 86,000 men lost work in mining and the heavy industries alone between 1921 and 1931. This included a 21 per cent drop in Mining, 26 per cent in Metal Manufacturing, 35 per cent in Mechanical Engineering, 32 per cent in Shipbuilding. There was an 18 per cent drop in employment in Public Administration and Defence. The need for additional administrative workers ended and munitions production was cut. A much higher number of women workers in this last category lost their jobs: 12,500 jobs, a 57 per cent reduction.

TABLE 4: EMPLOYMENT CHANGE MEN AND WOMEN, STRATHCLYDE* 1921-1931

	MEN		WOMEN	
	ABSOLUTE	%	ABSOLUTE	%
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry	570	1.8	-2411	-35.38
Mining & Quarrying	-18595	-20.61	-1218	-55.34
Food, Drink & Tobacco	2169	9.88	2334	12.53
Chemicals	-174	-2.16	147	14700.00
Metal Manufacture	-17913	-26.29	-115	-4.70
Mechanical Engineering	-27631	-34.80	-867	-12.26
Instrument Engineering	360	19.29	87	18.83
Electrical Engineering	103	2.04	49	6.9
Shipbuilding	-30092	-31.40	-1012	-45.14
Vehicles	9461	94.61	171	24.05
Metal Goods	-941	-9.10	-326	-13.25
Textiles	-568	-2.80	358	0.85
Leather Goods	198	7.90	10	0.94
Clothing & Footwear	-2617	-19.71	-6089	-23.30
Bricks, Glass and Pottery	3291	52.14	-22	-1.43
Timber & Furniture	1462	8.20	290	9.02
Paper, Printing and Publishing	2758	28.35	934	11.35
Other Manufacturing	2006	60.38	499	23.24
Construction	16391	51.57	457	33.26
Gas, Electric & Water	-334	-3.31	-224	-37.45
Transport & Communications	3727	4.50	3577	75.22
Distribution	29306	41.05	8515	13.69
Insurance, Banking and Finance	2276	22.10	-499	-11.47
Professional & Scientific	6526	45.29	15431	118.02
Miscellaneous Service	7526	31.97	11305	18.15
Public Admin. & Defence	-7944	18.25	-12422	-57.24
TOTALS	-9188	-1.70	23564	7.84

Source: Compiled from Lee (1979)

* Lee has aggregated his employment statistics into the 1974 Standard Region. Strathclyde is somewhat larger than the Clyde Valley. However both population and industry in this region have been overwhelmingly concentrated in the Clyde Valley.

Overall women workers fared considerably better than the men during this period. Although their jobs in Clothing and Footwear continued to slump, what remained of Textiles held steady while employment increased marginally in Food, Drink and Tobacco and more

significantly in the expanding new areas of the service sector (see Table 4 and Figure 5). Indeed during this recession women gained over 23,000 jobs while men lost over 9,000. The structural shift within the which resulted in heavy male unemployment led to increases in women's job opportunities.

Between 1921 and the beginning of the Second War, Scotland's male unemployment rate was never less than 10 per cent and during these inter-war years it was consistently higher than the national British average (Cairncross 1954). Throughout the 1920s, Slaven (1975) notes that "there was never less than 14 per cent of the region's insured workforce unemployed, and the worst was still to come." Job loss was overwhelmingly concentrated in the male employing heavy industrial sectors. Shipbuilding, the core industry of the region was fatally undermined by falling world demand and overseas competition. And since shipbuilding lay at the centre of the region's industrial structure, it's faltering performance could not help but be transmitted to the metal and engineering industries. With shipbuilding concentrated on the lower Clyde and in Govan, mining in Lanarkshire and the metal and engineering industries spread throughout the old 'Iron Ring' in North Lanarkshire, no part of the Clyde Valley escaped the consequences of the inter-war crisis. Slaven (1975) describes the crisis:

"By then (1922) one-third of the workforce in shipbuilding, one-quarter of the men in engineering, iron and steel, and one fifth of the miners were out of work...In the 1930s cyclical depression threw great numbers out of work, and heaped these on top of the already large numbers unemployed through sectoral decline. Between 1929 and 1932 the proportion of insured workers

registered as unemployed increased from 12 to 25 per cent in Ayrshire, and from 10 to 50 per cent in Dunbartonshire; in Lanarkshire unemployment doubled from 14 to 33 per cent of the workforce, and a similar proportion was out of work in Renfrewshire. Throughout the 1930s unemployment in Scotland averaged 20 per cent: in the west, over a quarter of the workforce, some 190,000 persons, were out of work. The dimensions of distress were staggering."

(Slaven 1975, p184-5)

Contemporary attempts to salvage the shipbuilding and steel industries were based on reducing costs and labour and on rationalising to reduce excess capacity.

unemployment on Clydeside in the inter-war years was structural :it resulted from the decline of the region's stable industries. This kept the unemployment rates in the west of Scotland at roughly three times the level prevailing in London and the south-east of England between 1929 and 1937 and about double the rate in the Midlands and the South-West of England (Slaven 1975, p195). The extent of the impact is illustrated by the level of poor relief applications made over and above the payments under national insurance. In Glasgow in January 1933 114,113 people were receiving poor relief (Gollan 1947).

Unemployment affected men across the age range although throughout the 1920s 30 per cent of the unemployed were under 30 and 20 per cent were over 55. By 1938 30 per cent of unemployed men had been out of work for one year and 10 per cent for 3 years or more. But it is important to acknowledge that unemployment did not affect women to the same extent. Slaven notes (1975 p199) that the registered

unemployment rate for women was half that of men. This is not altogether surprising given the structural/sectoral nature of decline. However this could also be an underestimation of the actual level of women's inability to find gainful employment. The depression would have wiped away many of the informal and casualised forms of women's work. This would have been true for men too but as Alexander (1976) and J.E.Lewis (1984) note, women are more likely to rely on the informal sector for income.

High levels of unemployment and frequent job losses also contributed to high rates of outward migration from the Clyde Valley. Between 1921 and 1931, 9 per cent of the Valley's total population left. Most went to overseas locations, including the United States and South America as well as to the British colonies (Abercrombie and Matthew, 1946 p12). But there was also a movement to London, the south and to the Midlands where employment opportunities were considerably better (Gollan 1948 p71). The outgoing population was largely made up of younger, skilled and professional people. They left behind a very large number of unskilled, untrained and poorly educated workers and their families.

Male unemployment, women's employment and emigration were therefore the outcomes of changes in the organisation of production nationally and internationally. It is apparent that these changes reflected shifts in the geography of production. This is reflected in the changing relative positions of the English and Scottish economies. Up to the First World War, Scotland had been in a position of relative

strength but during the inter-war years the tables were turned. The development of the 'new' industrial sectors of food processing, domestic electrical goods manufacture, aircraft and motor vehicles construction and their location in the Midlands and Southern England led to a rise in industrial output by 20 per cent from England between 1907 and 1930.

Gollan (1947) also illustrates this change by showing that in 1935 only 36 of the 854 'new' industrial establishments in Britain were located in Scotland (p8). In employment terms Scotland gained 3,300 jobs whereas in total over a quarter of a million jobs had been generated in Britian. The reasons he gives for this lack of development are first, unfamiliarity in Scotland of the 'new' mass, serial or conveyor belt production methods; second, the demand from the new employers for 'quiet', non-unionised, labour and especially women and 'youths'; third, the new industries' orientation towards large consumer markets; and finally the high cost of transportation of finished goods from Scotland to these high income markets.

Dickson (1980b) argues that low investment by ship and steel producers in the new sectors and a relatively poor workforce with limited consumer potential, contributed to the lack of diversification in the Clyde Area. But Slaven (1975) points out that there were several attempts by the steel and ship producers to diversify into the new lighter industries. For example Beardmore's, ironmasters turned shipbuilders, made concerted attempts to enter vehicle production and the embryonic aero-engine and aircraft industries with

new enterprises at Parkhead, Vale of Leven and Anniesland (p200-201). But the uncertain competitive climate during the 1920s and poor markets led to a withdrawal from these new risky projects and consolidation in their traditional enterprises.

The regional problem recognised

The structural decline of the Clyde Valley's economy and consequently the inability to find new markets for the rationalised, but still outmoded, heavy industrial sectors eventually led to contemporary demands for assistance to encourage economic 'diverification' (Scottish Development Council 1931; Special Areas Act 1934). Under the Special Areas Act (1934) Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire were designated with parts of Ayrshire, West Lothian and Midlothian as areas which needed help in 'facilitating economic development and social improvement'. The city of Glasgow was specifically excluded a surprising decision on given that the city had the highest concentration of unemployment in Scotland. The Commissioners had little real power to attract industry. Activity was directed at a 'clean up' campaign, concentrating on public works to generate public sector employment.

The Scottish Economic Committee (a sub-committee of the Scottish Development Council on which representatives of local industry, trades unions and government sat) prepared a report on the reconstruction of the Scottish economy (Scottish Economic Committee 1939). In this report, the lack of appropriate factory space and the inadequacy of

the road network for the new light consumer based industries were highlighted. For although there was abundant industrial land and premises in the Clyde Valley, much of it was derelict, deroofed to avoid paying tax, or unsuitable. The report's main recommendation was the construction of an industrial estate north of Hillington, near Renfrew Airport. In August 1937 Scottish Industrial Estates Ltd (chaired by Sir Steven Blisland whose family had owned and control large parts of the old industrial establishment since the mid-nineteenth century) was set up to oversee and administer the project. It was financed by the Special Areas Fund. Single storey factories were built in blocks of four to be used individually or amalgamated as required. 'Nest' factories and open space for expansion or particular requirements were provided. Within 18 months 67 light industrial firms had been found for the 103 available spaces. They were predominantly chemical and clothing companies, many employing considerable numbers of women production workers. By 1938 the premonition of another war led to the location of Rolls Royce aero-engine production at Hillington (Scottish Economic Committee 1939).

Similar projects were financed at Sheildhall, Carfin, Chapelhall and Larkhall. But by 1939 only 5,000 jobs had been created on the new industrial estates (Lenman 1977). In the west of Scotland as a whole, Slaven (1975) estimates that only 26,500 people were employed in the nationally growing sectors of electrical industries, motor vehicles, cycles and aircraft, silk rayon and scientific industries. This represented less than half the national average employment in these sectors.

The type of labour available in the Clyde Valley was considered to be a major stumbling block. Contemporary commentators focussed on the lack of appropriate skills and inadequacies of training facilities in their explanations for the failure to attract significant numbers of new industries (Scottish Economic Committee 1939). However there were other important issues affecting the regeneration of the Clyde Valley. First there were contradictions between contemporary policies for the old industries aimed at stabilising them without fundamentally altering their production processes or products, and policies which demanded diversification. The new industries required open greenfield sites but the old industries perpetuated the physical and social legacies from the nineteenth century. There was also a lack of inter-linkage between the old and new industries which prevented the establishment and growth of the new enterprises. The abilities of the older industries were not channelled to the new demands. However this under-estimates the importance of a local consumer market with enough disposable income to purchase local mass produced goods. High unemployment only compounded the longstanding low income economy and poverty of Clydeside population.

War time again

The outbreak of the Second War did restore the heavy industries of the Clyde Valley to almost full production. On the eve of World War 2 over 178,000 people in the west of Scotland had little prospect of work. By mid-1941 fewer than 50,000 were on the unemployment register and in July 1944 there were only 16,199 (Cairncross 1954).

The war restored the shipyards and steel works to full working capacity despite 20 years of decline and stagnation. The benefits of the old sectoral inter-linkages between metal working, engineering and shipbuilding once again came into their own. But this boost to the region's basic industries gave only temporary respite to the local workforce. War time production could not ensure long term stability nor long term low levels of unemployment (Dickson and Clarke 1982).

The main effects of the war on employment and on the whole of the Scottish economy were reported a White Paper on "Industry and Employment in Scotland" in 1947. In this the role of women's war-time employment is specifically noted. The effects of the World War 2 were in effect similar to those experienced in the earlier conflict. These were for Scotland as a whole:

"a) to bring down the number of unemployed male insured workers from 1,218,000 at mid 1938 to about 900,000 at mid 1945, the withdrawal of over 400,00 men for the forces being partly offset by the entry into, or return to, industry of large numbers of men who were not normally so employed, or who had retired.

b) to increase the numbers of insured female workers from 460,000 in 1939 to a peak of nearly 600,000 in 1943; and

c) to accentuate for the time being the dependence of the country on heavy industry."

(HMSO 1947 p5).

Thus for the first time in 20 years, unemployment amongst men in the west of Scotland was brought to a very low level. And the number of women in industry increased by some 200,000. One of the important features of women's war work was not only their dominance of the

service sector and civilian administration but also their re-entry into ordnance and munitions factories and into the male dominated heavy industrial sectors. As Gollan (1947) writes: "The significance of the women's contribution (to the wartime labour force).. is more than numerical as a large proportion of the workers being transferred from the non-essential to the essential industries were women, the men in the most cases being called up" (p10). In greater numbers than in the First World War, women were drawn Mechanical Engineering (including ordnance), Metal Goods Manufacturing, Shipbuilding and Vehicles. They also established a presence in the newer industries, such as Electrical Engineering (See Figure 5. Although there is no data for 1941, Figure 5 illustrates the general trends).

Scottish women workers were also 'directed' to other areas of the country during World War 2. Some 15,000 women were taken to work in the Midlands and the South (Porteous 1947). This export of labour was part of government policy to aid labour mobility. Yet Porteous argued that this discouraged the location of the 'lighter' industries and reinforced the regional specialisation in old sectors and forms of production. It thus compounded the structural problems of the Clyde Valley. Indeed Gollan (1947) shows that between 1937 and 1947 Scotland's share of light industrial activity hardly changed (see Table 5).

TABLE 5: SCOTLAND'S WARTIME SHARE OF THE 'NEW' INDUSTRIES: PERCENTAGE OF
BRITISH EMPLOYMENT BY SELECTED SECTOR, 1937-1947

	1937	1947
	%	%
Electrical Wiring/Contracting	12	14
Electrical Cables/Apparatus/Lamps	1	2
Artificial Stone/Concrete	4	7
Scientific/Photographic Instruments	9	6
Tram/Bus	14	14
Cars/Cycles/Aircraft	4	6
Silk/Artificial Silks	4	4
Constructional Engineering	17	19
Electrical Engineering	3	4
Metal Goods Industries	4	5

Source: Gollan, 1947 p(32).

The shape of women's labour

Immediately after the war, though production output and productivity remained high, the levels of unemployment in the Clyde Valley began to rise again. At the end of 1946, 5 per cent unemployment was recorded and 52,468 people were registered unemployed in the Clyde area. Three-quarters were men; one third were unskilled and another third were considered unfit by age or injury to return to heavy work in the mines or shipyards. Nevertheless these men still required some form of employment. Unemployment throughout the 195-0s remained at 3.5-4 per cent, twice that of the British average. Migration and the loss of skilled labour accelerated into the 1960s.

The steady decline of the staple industries in the Clyde Valley, the high male unemployment, the lack of new industrial investment and the

export of workers were indicative of the shifts in the organisation and geography of production which were emerging during and immediately after the Second World War. The benefits of regional specialisation were at an end and a spatial division of labour based on the functional hierarchies of new industries was developing.

Women's employment also changed as part of this realignment of economic sectors, though these changes have often been obscured by the collapse of male employment. By 1951 31.5 per cent of employed people in the west of Scotland were women: in 1901 the percentage had been 27.5 (Table 6). At the turn of the twentieth century the proportion of women in the local labour force had been slightly below the British average. But by 1951 there were 91,739 more women in the formal labour force (a 36 per cent increase) and their percentage share of local employment was slightly higher, at 31.2%, than in Britain as a whole (30.8%). This was partly due to the very high male job losses described above. But women's own gains should not be ignored.

The sectoral distribution of women's employment in 1951 demonstrates the continued dominance of three manufacturing sectors: Food, Drink and Tobacco; Textiles; and Clothing and Footwear. However Mechanical Engineering did provide over 12,500 jobs for women and made up nearly 4 per cent of all women's work at this time. The significance of this new sectoral strength could be explained simply in terms of the legacy of wartime production.

TABLE 6: WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR IN STRATHCLYDE*: 1951 - 1901

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	%WOMEN IN SECTOR	%ALL WORKING WOMEN	%WOMEN IN SECTOR	ABSOLUTE CHANGE 1901-51.
	1951	1951	1951	1951	1951	1951	
Agriculture	26320	4195	30515	13.74	1.21	22.9	-5395
Mining	36872	641	37513	1.7	0.18	0.60	191
Food, Drink & Tobacco	26386	20667	47053	43.90	5.99	37.40	12627
Coal & Petroleum Products	932	117	1049	11.15	0.33	---	----
Chemicals	15434	5669	21103	26.86	1.64	20.70	4650
Metal Manufacture	41611	2591	44202	5.86	0.75	0.02	2584
Mechanical Engineering	69052	12650	81702	15.48	3.67	1.75	11813
Instrument Engineering	4109	2465	6574	37.49	0.72	3.50	2406
Electrical Engineering	6716	4705	11421	41.19	1.36	0.65	4687
Shipbuilding	55450	2708	58158	4.65	0.78	0.41	2586
Vehicles	27302	2063	29365	7.02	0.59	1.04	2021
Metal Goods	15030	4270	19300	22.12	1.23	4.71	3005
Textiles	18878	36806	55684	66.09	10.67	71.40	-10339
Leather Goods	2630	1511	4141	36.48	0.43	13.80	1069
Clothing & Footwear	6716	24195	30911	78.27	7.02	10.94	-18129
Bricks, Glass & Pottery	10544	1632	12176	13.40	0.47	23.94	-139
Timber & Furniture	14684	3671	18355	20.0	1.06	18.67	35
Paper, Printing & Publishing	12603	9164	21767	42.10	2.65	47.66	1796
Other Manufacture	5132	2082	7214	28.86	0.60	47.15	415
Construction	68439	3378	71817	4.7	0.98	0.19	3255
Gas, Electricity & Water	12637	1114	13751	8.10	0.33	0.12	1109
Transport & Communications	78392	16112	94504	17.04	4.81	6.61	10835
Distribution	70107	69555	139662	49.80	20.78	37.28	41114
Insurance, Banking & Finance	10356	5301	15657	33.85	1.58	1.02	5220
Professional & Scientific	29378	48166	77544	62.11	14.39	45.77	35420
Miscellaneous Services	38377	49413	87790	56.28	14.76	76.91	-22009
Public Admin. & Defence	44056	9561	53617	17.83	2.80	5.92	8857
Not Elsewhere Classified	507	245	752	32.57	0.07	11.61	-9045
TOTALS	748650	344647	1093297	31.52	99.85	27.45	91739

Source: Lee (1979)

* Lee has aggregated his employment statistics into the 1974 Standard Regions. Strathclyde is somewhat larger than the Clyde Valley. However both population and industry have been overwhelmingly concentrated into the Valley.

And this explanation could also be applied to the employment levels showing in other sectors such as Vehicles and Metal goods. However,

with hindsight, such levels of women's employment were representative of a changing organisation of production in these sectors: the move towards the mass production and assembly of component parts; and increasing clerical and white collar employment within manufacturing. Wartime legacy may also account for the 2,700 women registered in Shipbuilding, though again office employment would have been included in this figure.

Table 6 demonstrates the employment of women in the new industries of Instrument and Electrical Engineering: the post war growth industries considered central to local economic diversification. In absolute terms the numbers employed were not outstanding but the proportion of women employed, 37 and 41 per cent respectively, illustrates the importance of women to these particular industries at that time. (It would also be apt to remember that 60 per cent of the labour forces were men. Although these industries employed women, they did not employ women exclusively.)

It was in the service sector that the majority of women worked. Excluding Construction, 57.8 per cent of all working women were employed in the service industries by 1951. In 1901 the figure had been 46 per cent. Here Distribution, including work in the rapidly expanding retail sector, alone absorbed nearly 70,000 women, a staggering 20 per cent of all women in employment. Professional and Scientific Services covered health, education and welfare services and these were all growing areas of women's employment. Miscellaneous Services were declining; 22,000 jobs had been lost since 1901 largely

due to the contraction of domestic service. Nevertheless only a few hundred short of 50,000 women were employed in this single residual category (just less than half the number employed in manufacturing as a whole).

In comparing the figures for women employees in each sector for 1901 and 1951 (Table 6) it is possible to see that, despite absolute declines in women's employment in some notable sectors (for example Agriculture; Textiles; Clothing and Footwear; and Miscellaneous Services) women gained in all other sectors both in terms of absolute numbers and percentage share. In the first fifty years of the twentieth century (ignoring for the moment the two exceptional wartime periods) the variety of sectors in which women worked had increased significantly. This complements Hakim's findings on increasing occupational diversity discussed in Chapter 4. The most notable examples are the Mechanical, Instrument and Electrical Engineering sectors. In Chemicals and Printing, Paper & Publishing the traditional sectoral strength of women masks to some extent the local development of particular new industries, such as pharmaceuticals and packaging which were female employing.

And in the service sector although Insurance, Banking and Finance sectors demonstrate a not insignificant increase, Transport and Communications offered more opportunities for work. But again this gain reflected an overall expansion in the sector and not an increase in women's share of jobs. The largest areas of women's absolute employment gain were in Distribution and Professional and Scientific

Services. Here, the percentage of women in each sector also increased such that Professional and Scientific Services had become the sector with the second highest proportion of women employees: outstripped only by Textiles.

Conclusion

In this chapter the pattern of local employment and economic development has been outlined. The specialisation of economic activity during early industrialisation in the Clyde Valley was mapped out. The emergence of a gender divisions of labour within early linen production illustrated how the demarcation between men's and women's jobs was central to the commercialisation of production. During the industrialisation of cotton manufactuirng gender, as well as ethnic origin, were used to further divide and contain the labour force. In this process women were subordinated by the organisation of production and by the legacy of male controlled craft production. Local religous sectarianism helped establish Protestant control over the labour process while the family maintained gender divisions within the Catholic workforce. Following Hakim's argument (outlined in Chapter 4) both vertical occupational segregation (within spinning) and horizontal occupational segregation (between weaving and finishing) were evident.

Economic specialisation in the Clyde Valley was intensified with the rapid growth of specialised shipbuilding, for markets related to colonial and industrial expansion. An integrated economy of

industries was created in which sectoral divisions between male employing heavy industries and female employing sectors of textiles, clothing and most services was created. The heavy industries were structurally dominant within the economy; they shaped the local labour markets, and had a strong influence over local social and political cultures. But, despite this dominance of the male employing industries, and of male workers inside and outside the workplace, women did work throughout the industrialisation of the Clyde Valley.

Women provided the labour force for 'traditional' female industries in manufacturing and services and were present, although in fewer numbers, in the staple sectors. Local women's ready availability, during the two World Wars for manufacturing production strengthened and broadened their sectoral experience of the labour market. During the inter-war recession, while men were shed in large numbers from the workforce, women's levels of employment increased. During the Second World War they entered Mechanical Engineering in considerable numbers to do 'war work' as well as the new lighter engineering sectors.

Women's strengthening position in the labour market can be partly attributed to the changing national and international organisation and spatial division of labour. Sectoral change was accompanied by functionally separated and hierarchically organised forms of production (Massey 1984). However, in contrast with some geographical areas in Britain (for example the North East of England (Lewis 1984)) women in the Clyde Valley were not incorporated into the new

spatial division of labour as 'green' labour. The legacy of industrialisation in this local area was of women's considerable factory and employment experience. And this local legacy of women's employment included their experience of very low wages (lower than in other areas of Britain (Slaven 1975, p122)) and their subordination into a range of menial and subservient occupations. Workplace organisation was predominantly amongst, and to the benefit of, men. So the highly polarised labour force of skilled and unskilled labour was cross cut by gender as well as ethnicity. This local industrial and employment history shows therefore that although women did paid work it was occupationally segregated from and overshadowed by both men's employment and the economic and cultural status accorded to the heavy industries.

By the 1950s, women's growing employment opportunities were taking place in a period of renewed male job loss. The apparent loss of identity and the threat to the masculinity of men (individually and as a whole within the region's culture) which this generated, appears to have had a detrimental affect on attitudes towards women's employment (despite the long history of women's local employment). Regional policy was geared towards attracting male work, women's jobs were considered an inadequate outcome. The trades unions consistently devalued the work done by women (see Brietenbach 1982). In such a climate women's rights to employment were constantly under attack. How these contradictions were reflected and reproduced in domestic divisions of labour and in local relations between men and women is

however, and unfortunately, well beyond the scope of the research reported here.

CHAPTER 7

WOMEN'S POST WAR EMPLOYMENT: SOME EVIDENCE FROM TWO NEW TOWNS

In this chapter the pattern of women's employment in the two study new towns is explored. In the review of empirical material outline in Chapter 3, it became clear that women's employment played a crucial role in their own and their families lives. It provided opportunities but also produced contradictions for women. The majority of women interviewed had had paid employment in the new town and there was a recognisable demand for women's labour. The impetus for looking at the pattern of women's employment in the two study new towns also arose from the debate on regional policy during the 1970s and early 1980s. This had raised questions about the dominance and nature of women's employment generation which had resulted from regional and local incentives available in 'growth poles' such as the new towns of the peripheral regions (Firn 1975; Hudson 1980). The local economic importance of women's employment was therefore in need of exploration. In addition feminist informed commentators had challenged the assumptions that the women's employment facilitated by regional policy was a problem in itself. They sought more information on the nature of women's regional employment to enable them to challenge its low skill designation and its low pay (Lewis 1984).

In Chapter 4 two general questions about women's post war employment were discussed - why were women employed and what were they employed to do. These questions are taken up again in this chapter (Chapter 7) with respect to the pattern of women's employment in the two study new towns. In Chapter 5 the relevance of geography, especially regional geography, to these questions was discussed. Here it was argued that the reasons why women are drawn into the labour market at particular times and in particular places owed much to the specific economic and social context of that place. It was suggested that this could add to explanations based on general social and economic relations which, in periods of change, shaped the form of women's labour.

In trying to establish the context of women's post war employment in the Clyde Valley, the nineteenth century legacy of areal specialisation and male dominated/female subordinated employment was outlined in Chapter 6. In this chapter (Chapter 7) some of the ways in which this context have helped to shape the post war pattern of women's employment in the Clyde Valley are suggested. Indeed it is argued that the local implementation of economic and physical planning policies designed to alleviate the consequences of industrial decline effected the nature and local location of women's employment opportunities. And, the local history of women's factory experience directly influenced the attraction of the first new post war industries.

This chapter (Chapter 7) opens with a brief outline of regional policy context which arose from the decline of industrial specialisation. This is followed by a short discussion of the regional sectoral distribution of men and women's employment between 1951 and 1971. The central part of this chapter then examines women's employment in the new towns. This part of the empirical research also focuses on the formation of new sectoral and gender divisions of labour. Here the question of why women were employed in these particular places during the 1960s and 1970s is explored using case study material of employers using female labour.

At the time when this empirical research was undertaken (1981-82) the consequences of more recent forms of restructuring on women's employment were becoming evident. There were high job losses in manufacturing and an almost complete eradication of part time and evening shift working in manufacturing. New types of manufacturing industry have also been locating in the two towns and both new towns have attracted the current generation of 'new', 'clean manufacturing': 'hi-tech' firms producing components and services for the micro-electronics industries. There have been job opportunities too in the service sector including white collar employment for women and part time working in catering and in retailing.

This shift in manufacturing and the growing dominance of the service sector have significantly altered the social composition of the

female labour force. Many women who were employed in the post war electro-mechanical components and consumer goods industries to do routine assembly work or as machinists in clothing factories have not been employed in either the 'new' electronics industries or the white collar office jobs. New segments of women's labour have been drawn into the waged sector. These are largely lower middle class and middle class women who have had no previous experience of factory employment, organisation and culture. Social divisions outside the workplace have been drawn into the detailed divisions of labour inside in a different way.

Economic and physical planning

In the 1949 Clyde Valley Regional Plan economic, as well as physical, planning was considered central to the implementation of proposals to combat the consequences of rapid industrial decline. The limitations of local regional planning was acknowledged. Any change to local economic fortunes, it was argued, required national measures, including the setting up of a ministerial department specifically charged with encouraging the re-location of industry. In this the authors of the Plan, Patrick Abercrombie and Robert Matthew, drew on a minority report to the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population written by Abercrombie, Elvin and Hitchins (Barlow Report 1940 p218-243). In this minority report the authors proposed that such a ministry should "devise a plan for the

distribution of industry on a national scale" and have "power to promote, assist or encourage the building of satellite towns and the establishment of trading estates by local authorities, public utility companies or other bodies; and to make grants and raise loans for the purpose of acquiring land and building-development values" (p222-223). But such plans for a national administrative machinery were not supported by the Commissioners as a whole and the post war town and country planning legislation remained unable to directly promote the redistribution of industry. However Abercrombie's views on this matter influenced the interventionist form of the local Clyde Valley Plan.

For example, in the Clyde Valley Plan Abercrombie and Matthew outlined several alternative interventionist economic options open to national government. First they argued that government placed contracts for general supplies and stores as well as rearmament should be more widely geographically dispersed. Evidence from the Background Report demonstrated that most of these contracts were placed with firms in the Midlands and South of England. Second they argued that government's domestic purchasing power should be increased through further policies of nationalisation. Abercrombie and Matthew therefore wrote: "...we should like to see this great purchasing power used deliberately by the state to encourage industry in the Region." (p93). The Distribution of Industry Act 1945 was considered relatively weak as it could only provide inducements

through the state's "manipulation" and "exploitation of present shortages of building materials.." and through the granting of industrial licences. Its powers did not extend to directly instructing industries to locate in the Clyde Valley Region.

The overall policy objectives for the region were to stimulate industrial diversification and an economic renaissance. To this end, three local strategies were also suggested: first, the stimulation of labour mobility between areas of Scotland and into new occupations using retraining programmes; second developing basic services in the region - housing, transport, health care; and finally providing the physical infrastructure of industrial premises, new towns and communications networks. The joint emphasis on national and local incentives recognised that both the cause of, and solution to, local economic crisis lay partly outside local boundaries and powers.

Post war employment

For the 5 years immediately after the war economic output of the Clyde Valley was remarkably stable although unemployment levels reached 3.5 to 4 per cent, twice the British average. The Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe, with its American finance, facilitated international trade and an export market for the products of the Clyde. Furthermore nationalisation of coal (1947) and the railways and electricity (1948) and temporarily steel (1949-1952) to

some extent cushioned both home markets and prevented even higher levels of unemployment. But by the early 1950s labour shedding from the mines began. Competition was particularly severe and the west of Scotland's comparatively low productivity rate was exposed.

Approximately 14,000 jobs for men were lost in the 1950s through rationalisation, mechanisation and the closure of 'uneconomic' pits (Johnston, Buxton and Mair 1971).

There was a considerable market for steel immediately after the war. But the fragmented and outdated Scottish industry could not compete. Despite some grant aided intervention, there was contraction and job loss (Saville 1985). In shipbuilding collapse came when the Clyde yards were unable to compete on standardised products. At the time lack of ship steel and skilled labour were blamed (Pollard and Robertson 1979). However Cameron (1980) points to other factors which, with hindsight, appear to have hindered the Clyde yards: lack of adequate credit arrangements, the move towards negotiating fixed price terms instead of costs plus profit, and the demand for quick delivery.

TABLE 1: SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT, STRATHCLYDE* 1951-1971

	%WOMEN IN SECTOR			CHANGE 1951-71			
				WOMEN		MEN	
	1951	1971	ab.	%	ab.	%	
Agriculture, Fishing & Forestry	13.74	17.39	-1505	-35.87	-13550	-51.48	
Mining & Quarrying	1.7	1.3	-491	-76.59	-25542	-69.27	
Food, Drink & Tobacco	43.90	43.12	-457	-2.21	264	1.0	
Coal & Petroleum Products	11.15	14.45	3	2.56	-222	-23.8	
Chemicals	26.6	32.15	-399	-7.03	-4314	-27.95	
Metal Manufacture	5.86	8.0	339	13.08	-8071	-19.39	
Mechanical Engineering	15.48	13.20	-3370	-26.64	-8062	-11.67	
Instrument Engineering	37.49	44.57	1685	68.35	1071	26.06	
Electrical Engineering	41.19	41.86	8075	171.62	11034	164.29	
Shipbuilding	4.65	6.2	-888	-32.79	-28280	-51.0	
Vehicles	7.02	10.38	957	46.38	-1242	-4.54	
Metal Goods	22.12	37.7	2420	56.67	-520	-3.45	
Textiles	66.09	58.23	-18676	-50.74	-5878	-31.1	
Leather Goods	36.48	42.52	-401	-26.53	-1130	-42.96	
Clothing and Footwear	78.27	84.82	-3745	-15.47	-3056	-45.5	
Bricks, Glass and Pottery	13.40	11.6	-442	-27.08	-1514	-14.35	
Timber and Furniture	20.0	15.12	-1641	-44.70	-3294	-22.43	
Paper, Printing & Publishing	42.1	40.76	-204	-2.22	417	3.3	
Other Manufacturing	28.86	30.32	168	8.06	38	0.74	
Construction	4.7	6.4	2022	59.85	9771	14.27	
Gas, Electricity & Water	8.10	17.39	1196	107.36	-1667	-13.19	
Transport and Communications	17.04	18.8	-1572	-9.75	-15592	-19.88	
Distributive Trades	49.8	61.39	8405	12.08	-13137	-18.73	
Insurance, Banking & Finance	33.85	52.12	10879	205.22	4504	43.49	
Professional & Scientific	62.11	67.7	41774	86.72	13422	45.68	
Miscellaneous Services	56.28	64.4	7507	15.19	-367	-0.95	
Public Admin. and Defence	17.83	22.63	5739	60.02	-606	-1.37	
TOTALS	31.52	37.64	50663	14.69	-93970	-12.55	

Source: Derived from Lee (1979)

* Lee has aggregated his employment statistics into the 1974 Standard Regions. Strathclyde is somewhat larger than the Clyde Valley. However both population and industry have been overwhelmingly concentrated into the Valley.

*****Men'

Indecisive management hindered adequate investment on the Clyde. This uncertainty and rising unemployment created the conditions for a new

era of demarcation disputes between management and unions. The unrest disrupted production and some argue that this caused the final collapse of orders to the Clyde yards (Harvie 1981).

Men's employment thus resumed its inter-war descent: 93,970 jobs were lost between 1951 and 1971 (Table 1). The heaviest losses were in Mining and Shipbuilding, although all but three of the other manufacturing sectors also experienced labour shedding. Only Instrument and Electrical Engineering, two of the post war new light manufacturing sectors, increased their male labour forces and this fell far short of the numbers required to compensate for decline in the stable sectors. Men also lost jobs in the service sector, in Transport and Distribution, as the result of streamlining and reorganisation (Johston, Buxton and Mair 1971). Again the relatively low increases in new public and private sector services could not compensate either in terms of numbers of jobs or in terms of redeployment of skills. The new sectors and new jobs required different engineering skills in electro-mechanics or white-collar qualifications. Retraining programmes were initiated, but were totally inadequate (Slaven 1975).

As in the inter-war period women's employment as a whole increased between 1951 and 1971. Although women also experienced job losses, their overall participation increased by over half a million. The variety of opportunities for women's employment in the Clyde Valley,

established during the inter-war period (see Chapter 6), was altered during the 1950s and 1960s. Their gains in the stable supply sectors were undermined by overall local structural decline. Textiles and Clothing and Footwear continued to shed labour. But new forms of component and batch production in different manufacturing sectors opened up new types of work: for example, routine assembly in light engineering and electro-magnetic components production. There were also some new clerical and administrative jobs within the new organisation of manufacturing production. Some also in the expanding 'producer services' sector. Assembling the welfare state machinery also created jobs for women: catering, cleaning and clerical work as well as professional and semi-professional jobs in education, health and welfare (See Figure 5, Chapter 6 p303). The changing structure of production and the new state regime of intervention in social and economic welfare opened up new sectors and new types of work for different workers. Many of these new jobs and workers were located in new places.

New sites, new workers

When the regional problem re-emerged in Scotland in the 1950s the new spatial structures of production in the leading growth sectors (for example, in electrical and electro-mechanical engineering and vehicles) were becoming established (Firn 1975; Hood and Young 1984).

This changing organisation of production, which began in the 1930s, had profound effects on the nature and location of local work.

As noted in Chapter 6, the inappropriate nature of the industrial infrastructure of the Clyde Valley was associated with the lack of industrial investment in the growth sectors during the 1930s.

Measures to overcome this physical legacy of past industrialisation were focussed on job creating public works such as 'cleaning up' the industrial landscape, and building new greenfield industrial estates. These provided good quality premises for rent or land for purchase. But during the 1930s these had limited success in attracting 'new' manufacturing industries. Slaven (1975 p206) notes that by 1939 only 5,000 jobs had been generated on the new industrial estates and that a large number of those were at the Rolls Royce aero-engine plant which relocated to Hillington with the threat of another war.

Nevertheless new industrial estates were strongly advocated in the post war era as the best means of attracting new growth industry . It was assumed that such locations were optimal for the growth sectors and their new types of work: on the edge of the industrial heartlands removed from the dereliction of former industry.

Production facilities built for small arms and munitions and other related manufacturing during the Second World War were an alternative source of new premises. After 1945 many of these were converted to

peace time production. However, in the background report to the 1949 Clyde Valley Regional Plan, the authors lament that only nine new factories built for war time production in the Clyde area were suitable for peace time conversion. Most industrial space available for the expansion in new light engineering in Britain was located in the Midlands (p107). This lack of alternatives reinforced the policy of building industrial estates as a key strategy in encouraging the geographical dispersal of new sector investment.

Although under the 1945 and 1950 Distribution of Industry Acts the Board of trade could not insist on a particular industrial location it could influence location through the allocation of Industrial Development Certificates. Other financial resources of the Board of Trade financed the building of industrial estates at Newhouse, Blantyre, Port Glasgow, Vale of Leven, Carntyne and Queenslie. And the policy was extended to include the transformation of derelict or blitzed industrial areas. Accessible trading estates were therefore built at Dalmuir with nine acres of factory space and at Clydebank to specifically house a new Singer sewing machine factory.

During the early days of post war reconstruction, partly as a result of these regional policy initiatives, the west of Scotland was in a relatively advantageous position. Between 1947 and 1950 13 per cent of all new factory building in Britain took place in the Clyde Valley (Slaven 1975 p220). The presence of experienced women workers was

also a key factor. Henderson (1980) notes that women workers demobilised from munitions production and other war related activities were seeking alternative forms of employment. Slaven (1975) also makes a particular reference to the surplus availability of female labour in the area.

The industrial estates were attracting a range of industries producing a variety of products (for example, pharmaceutical goods, vacuum cleaners, cash registers, metal springs, razor blades, ball bearings, clothes and food stuffs (Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946) many of which employed considerable numbers of women. In particular the new electrical and electro-magnetic components industries used large numbers of women in their labour forces, making up to 40 per cent of the sectoral labour forces (Table 1). New products with batch component production and assembly created different types of work tasks, some of which became defined as womens work (see Chapter 4).

The Background Report to the 1946 Clyde Valley Regional Plan claimed that the type of industries which had applied for and been allocated space on the new industrial estates were predominantly female employing. Table 2 lists the estimated percentage of female employment on a selection of newly constructed local industrial estates.

TABLE 2 : ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN'S JOBS ON SELECTED
INDUSTRIAL ESTATES, JUNE 1946

Estate	Estimated Percentage women
Newhouse	62
Chaplehall	68
Carfin	71
Larkhall	82
Blantyre	80
Hillington	60
Port Glasgow	85

Source : Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1949.

However while these estimates were probably a true reflection of the local situation in 1946, they also reflected the peculiar situation of immediate post war period. This was a period of reconstruction and of many promises to fulfil consumer demands.

In sharp contrast to the war years there was a sudden expansion in new consumer orientated production in the 1947-49 period. There was also local female labour available at the time. While nationally over this short time period there were shortages of labour, factory space and materials Slaven (1975 p221) notes the particular mixture of local advantages to new industrial investment: "...in the west of Scotland there was surplus labour, particularly female labour. It also had factory space available, through the programme of advance factory building and derequisitioning of government factories. Scarce materials were more readily on hand because of priority allocations

(to Development Areas)." Consequently, though these estimates were accurate for the immediate post war years, they were not a sound basis for future prediction. Nevertheless they were used for this purpose by Abercrombie and Matthew. This reinforced the belief that women were going to take the vast majority of the new jobs.

Indeed the surplus of female labour and the high spending on advanced factories only lasted a very short time. In 1947 there was a sharp financial downturn nationally. Spending on regional policy decreased and the construction of advanced factories was halted. By 1950 the immediately available surplus of women ex-munitions and war production workers had been absorbed (Slaven 1975 p222). After 1951, and the return of a Conservative Government, there was a curb on regional policy spending was restored but in a much reduced form (Cameron 1979).

Many of the companies taking up the new sites, and Board of Trade grants, were from outside Scotland. By the 1950s at least ten U.S. companies had located on Scottish Industrial Estates property in the Clyde Valley. And during the 1950s and early 1960s a further 35 wholly or partly owned U.S. companies opened some kind of facility in the region (Henderson 1980). Many of these companies introduced new industries to the region (for example micro-switches at Honeywell Controls in Newhouse and electronic data processing

equipment at IBM U.K. in Greenock) and therefore began to meet the 1930s goal of industrial diversification.

By the time the 1946 Clyde Valley regional Plan was completed, the type of industrial activity on the industrial estates, its overseas or southern owned branch plant structure and its assumed high level of employment of women was already predicted. On this basis, the authors of the plan questioned the long term prospects of such enterprises:

"The future of some of these concerns is a matter for speculation; they would never have settled here in the first place had they been allowed to build in the South; will they stay when the consumer boom is over, or again concentrate production in their Headquarters factories? In a period of slump a branch factory would undoubtedly be the first to be closed, and a rented factory is much less of a liability..than one in which a firm has sunk alot of capital.."

(Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, p96)

They concluded that an economic policy for the Clyde Valley based solely on this form of attraction would only lead to a heightening of the competition between Development Areas within Britain and not tackle the fundamental structural decline of the old industrial regions. Indeed such light industry was not considered an adequate replacement for the heavy industries. And central to this analysis was the belief that women's employment was (and should be) secondary and therefore could not be an adequate solution to regional decline.

Their concern appears to reflect the particular form of local economic crisis. Indeed as noted in Chapter 6, women had always done wage work in the west of Scotland. But women's employment appears to have become an major issue only when high male job loss was evident and/or predicted. When men were in full work, women's employment could pass with little comment. However in periods of male job loss women's employment and particularly new forms of women's employment, was regarded as inappropriate and indeed as some kind of threat. In this vein the Background Report notes:

"Bearing in mind the decline taking place in the male employing industries of Lanarkshire and the character of pre-war unemployment, the predominance of women in the new industries is a most serious factor."

(Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, p95)

They then argued that future policy should be directed at generating male employment suggesting that women's employment was only 'supplementary' to the local economy (sic) see Chapter 5).

"In Lanarkshire and to a lesser extent in Glasgow, Greenock and Port Glasgow, the prime necessity is the introduction of several substantial new industries employing thousands of men rather than the setting up of concerns merely to supplement the basic industrial structure"

(Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, p96)

The nature of employment and the gender composition of the labour force were central, if often inferred, issues within the contemporary

regional policy debate. Contradictions emerged between, on the one hand, calls for investment in the new growth industries and for local economic diversification, and on the other, assumptions about the level of women's employment in these industries. Underlying many of the proposals was a plea for investment in the then growth leading (and male employing) sector of motor vehicles. But investment was not forthcoming (Hood and Young 1984) and indeed employment in this sector was declining (see Table 1) whereas elsewhere in Britain it was growing rapidly. This lack of men's jobs and the 'inadequacy' of women's employment as a basis of regional regeneration thus continued to be an underlying theme of industrial policy for the new towns.

New towns, part of the 'solution'

In many respects the industrial policy for the early Clyde Valley new towns owed much to the past industrial estate initiatives. Similar objectives were set out: new greenfield sites to attract new industries which would provide jobs and diversify the economic basis of the region.

In the Clyde Valley Regional Plan the new towns were to have an explicit industrial role. The 1946 Plan clearly states that:

"These would not be dormitory towns: all are within the Development Area, and we suggest as an essential complement to our decentralisation proposals a careful regulation of new industry in relation to the existing congested area, and an active encouragement

to industry by the Board of Trade, to settle in the industrial zones in the New Towns, by the planning of suitably equipped industrial estates, laid out with all the advantages of modern industrial planning"

(Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946 p12)

On the assumption that the new towns populations would be drawn from the 'lower income group' (in terms of class not gender), it was argued that a "wide variety of industrial work must be provided in these towns" (Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, p107). Such industry would 'belong' to each new town providing employment for the local population. The twin goals of the inter-war Planning Movement, social balance and self sufficiency, were thus incorporated into the Plan. But following the predictions about the level of women's employment on greenfield estates a distinction was made between new town and other industrial estate policies (Smith 1979). In the new towns it was emphasised that industry should be mainly male employing: women were not excluded from the employment plans, but it was assumed that they would get sufficient employment opportunities in local services without the need to plan or promote industrial location of female employers ("..male employment in manufacturing should predominate as the service industries will be big employers of women.." (p107)).

The Plan set great store by the outward movement of local male employing industry from Glasgow as a provider of new town employment and on inward large scale investment in vehicles and related components manufacturing (Smith 1979). However neither materialised. Three reasons have been suggested: the legacy of

structurally and geographically interlinked production in the local region; the tying of training to the old industries and therefore the lack of new skills; and the underdevelopment of the local consumer market (Smith 1979).

Consequently industrial policy in the early new towns soon reverted to attracting whatever footloose industrial investment was available: "...the New Towns will primarily rely on industry which we know must be brought to the area if the Government's oft stated promises of full employment and bring work to the worker are to be fulfilled." (Revised Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1949).

But the new towns were not supposed to be glorified industrial estates with a workforce attached. They had other objectives. These derived largely from the Barlow Report (1940) on the dispersal of industrial activity and the population and contemporary interpretations of the Garden City Movement.

Plans for four new towns were outlined in the 1949 Clyde Valley Regional Plan (Cumbernauld and Condorrat, Bishopton, East Kilbride and Houston). One, East Kilbride had already been designated under the New Towns Act (1946). This followed recommendations of the Regional Advisory Committee, a consortium of local authorities set up by the Secretary of State in 1943 to examine the local problem of population and industrial redistribution. The problems were both

economic and social. Housing was a key issue. Chronic overcrowding had resulted from nineteenth century speculation, twenty years of stagnation in the housing market and to a minor degree the Blitz of Clydebank and Govan (Adams 1979). This non-statutory Committee employed Patrick Abercrombie to produce an outline proposal and his strong recommendation was for a combined greenbelt, new town and selected urban redevelopment policy. East Kilbride was the only one of the proposed new towns to adhere to the original spirit of the 1946 Clyde Valley Regional Plan. Indeed ten years of antagonism towards Abercrombie's Plan by the City of Glasgow, which included refusal to give financial support to relocating families and industries, enforced an independence which might otherwise have not developed. This independence strengthened East Kilbride's industrial role while deminishing its responsibility for rehousing (Smith 1979).

Bishopton and Houston were never designated. Cumbernauld was not designated until 1955 and by then a different emphasis had emerged. Indeed Cumbernauld was specifically designated as an overspill town for Glasgow's persistent housing problems. In this case housing was given priority over other roles such as industrial diversification. It was not until the rebirth of strong regional policy in the 1960s that three further new towns with clear industrial roles were designated for Central Scotland (Randall 1987).

East Kilbride and Cumbernauld

East Kilbride (designated 1947) and Cumbernauld (designated 1955) exhibit many similarities in their local histories of women's employment. In both women's employment in manufacturing became a major feature of the local economies particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, by the 1970s the service sector, and particularly public administration, provided some new opportunities in both towns for white collar employment.

There were also some significant differences in their local economic and social environments which affected the patterns of women's employment. First the eight year gap in their dates of designation had consequences for their respective abilities to 'capture' footloose electrical engineering industries. During the 1950s there was a small, but steady, inflow of U.S. companies to the west of Scotland looking for manufacturing sites. East Kilbride benefited from this and from the spin-off establishment of a town-wide industrial profile which was subsequently attractive to other incoming firms and employers. This early 'success' did help to breed further success in the 1960s. Cumbernauld, through its late designation and the priority given to housing in its local policy (Carter 1986) appears to have missed this particular historical moment when the first industrial enterprises were expanding onto greenfield sites. But it did subsequently benefit

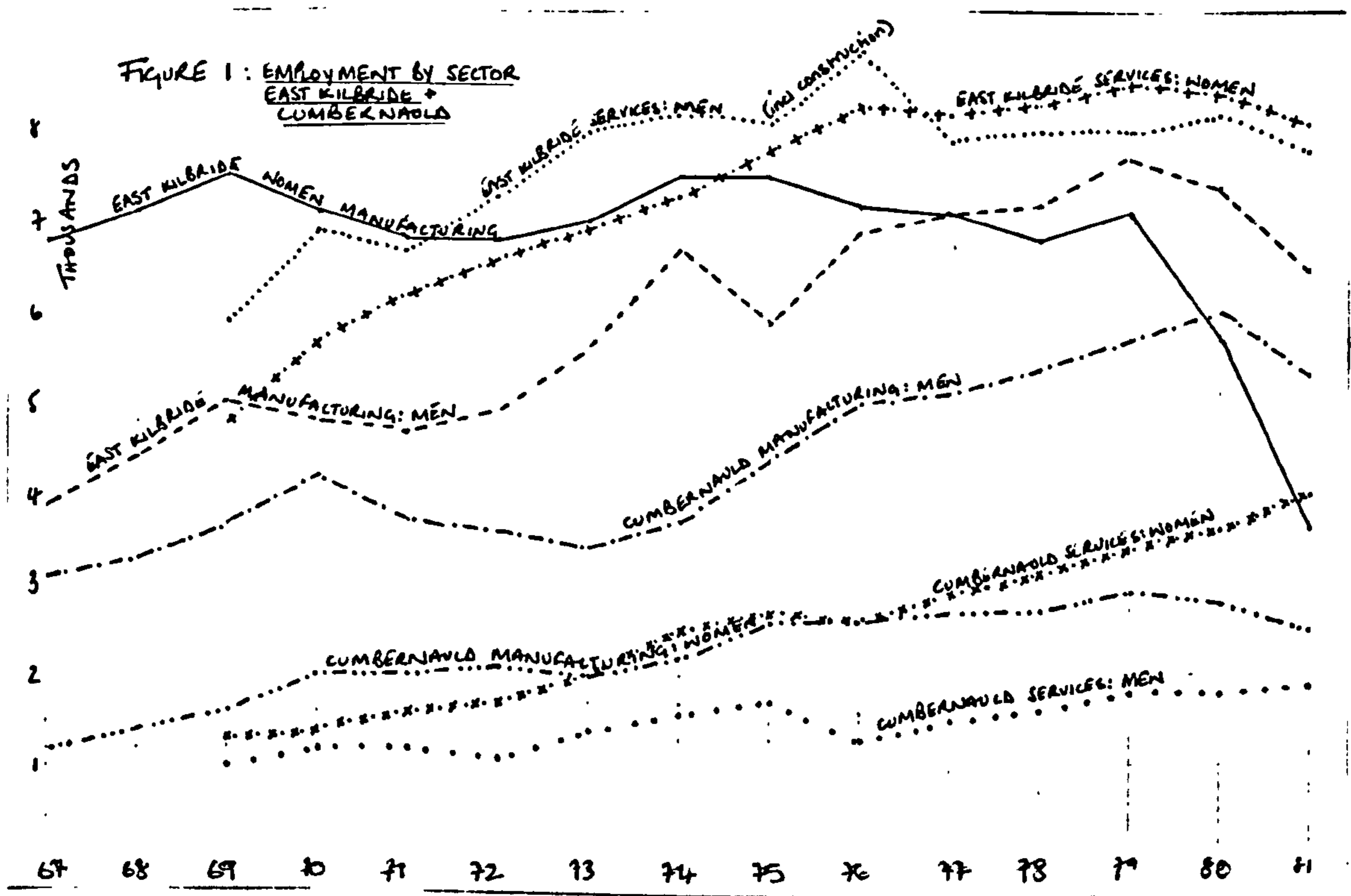
from the growth of peripheral clothing factories and regional expansion in warehousing and distribution.

Second, the social compositions of each new town differed significantly. This derived from the ways in which people were drawn to these locations. These differences have affected the structure of each town's local labour markets. Labour, skills and type as well as availability, were major factors in the location of employers interviewed in this study (Although it must be stressed that this was not the only important factor involved; others included access to Scandinavian and northern European markets and to the Scottish distribution network). East Kilbride Development Corporation was able (forced) to be more selective in its population policy than Cumbernauld Development Corporation. The administrative isolation from Glasgow and the lack of financial support to movers from the city meant that only those with a job could be allocated a house (Smith 1979). The labour market strongly reflected this policy and was dominated by skilled, trained and white collar workers and their families. Cumbernauld, in contrast, was designated first and foremost as a population overspill town for Glasgow. Consequently there were fewer white collar employees, a narrower range of skilled and a larger number of unskilled workers in the local labour market. The levels of unemployment were also higher (Randall 1987).

New town labour markets

One of the most significant elements in the labour market of the two new towns under study has been the employment of women and the subsequent changes in the level and type of work done by them.

Figure 1 shows the pattern of men and women's employment in the two new towns for the 1970s (the only period for which comparable figures were made available).



In these two relatively small towns the level and impact of women's employment on the economic and social life of the communities was particularly significant, not least in that it contradicted the basic assumption of a 'woman's place is in the home' which underlay the neighbourhood and community ideals of post-war reconstruction (see Chapter 3). The overall percentage of women employed in the new town labour forces were consistently higher than nationally during the 1970s (Table 3). This is especially so for East Kilbride during the late 1970s when there was as much as a 10 percentage point difference. So relatively more women in these two during the 1970s towns were engaged in waged labour than in Britain as a whole.

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES* IN EMPLOYMENT: EAST KILBRIDE, CUMBERNAULD AND GB, 1971-81

	East Kilbride	Cumbernauld	GB
1971	45	43	38
1972	45	45	38
1973	45	45	39
1974	47	46	40
1975	47	46	41
1976	48	46	41
1977	51	46	41
1978	50	45	41
1979	50	46	42
1980	47	45	42
1981	45	47	43

Sources: Compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department, 1982; Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1982; and Equal Opportunities Commission (1986) Women and Men in Britain: A Statistical Profile

* Women with jobs aged 16 and over.

Part of the explanation for this pattern is to be found in the age profiles of the two new towns. In the new towns there were more women than the national average in the 20-50 age range. However there were also more dependent children than nationally, both in the under 5 age range and in the 6-16 group (Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82; Coopers and Lybrand 1979). This highlights the contradictions of women's experiences in the new towns. On a general level their high labour market participation was matched by a high level of domestic responsibility around childcare.

However this level of women's employment did not at first materialise in East Kilbride. In 1956 - the first year in which comprehensive figures showing gender breakdowns are available - the total number of jobs in the new town was 7603: and only 26 per cent were women's job. [All employment data for the two study new towns refers to the number of jobs in the new town area and not the economic activity of the residents, unless otherwise stated.]

Manufacturing

One of the most notable changes in women's employment during the 1960s and 1970s was the growth in manufacturing employment. In 1956 the total number of jobs in the manufacturing sector was 3966. At this time however only 15 per cent of manufacturing employment was

women's employment, considerably lower than in the region as a whole (26.8% (derived from Lee 1979)).

Seven years later however, the proportion of manufacturing jobs held by women had doubled and by the end of the 1960s more than 5,000 women were employed in manufacturing in the new town, making up over 40 per cent of the sector's work force. By 1971 in the west of Scotland, as a whole, women's share of the manufacturing labour force had only risen to 28.4 per cent. This upward trend in the number and percentage of women's manufacturing jobs, continued well into the 1970s (Table 2). So, although the proportions did not reach the levels inferred by Abercrombie and Matthew, it was higher within the region as a whole.

The peak for women as a proportion of all manufacturing employment came in 1977 when an increase in the number of their jobs coincided with a short term drop in the number of men's jobs. This meant that for this year women made up over 50 per cent of manufacturing labour. But this was short lived and, after heavy job losses over the next two years, women's manufacturing employment was cut by almost half so that by 1982 they retained only 35 per cent of jobs in the sector.

**TABLE 3: MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN EAST KILBRIDE BY GENDER,
 1956-1982**

Year	MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT			%Women
	Total	Men	Women	
1956	3366	3365	601	15
1957	4618	3879	739	16
1958	4761	3926	790	17
1959	4562	3716	846	19
1960	5338	4191	1147	21
1961	5881	4071	1180	20
1962	6576	4971	1605	26
1963	6746	4732	2014	30
1964	6347	4468	1879	30
1965	7358	4813	2545	35
1966	9533	6248	3285	34
1967	10752	6821	3931	37
1968	11611	7196	4415	38
1969	12550	7503	5087	41
1970	12012	7156	4856	40
1971	11548	6826	4722	41
1972	11798	6890	4908	42
1973	12682	7069	5613	44
1974	14296	7508	6788	47
1975	13491	7563	5928	44
1976	14187	7258	6929	49
1977	14293	7133	7160	50
1978	14121	7285	6836	48
1979	14970	7794	7176	48
1980	13168	7450	5718	43
1981	10172	6535	3637	36
1982	9783	6328	3455	35

Source: Compiled from figures supplied by Planning Department, East Kilbride Development Corporation, 1982.

TABLE 4: MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN CUMBERNAULD BY GENDER, 1967-1981.

Year	Total	MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT		%Women
		Men	Women	
1967	4365	3071	1294	30
1968	4829	3343	1486	31
1969	5380	3699	1681	31
1970	6252	4208	2044	33
1971	5804	3711	2043	36
1972	5745	3617	2128	37
1973	5498	3416	2082	38
1974	6326	3793	2533	40
1975	7138	4433	2705	38
1976	7684	5003	2681	35
1977	7918	5173	2745	35
1978	8264	5476	2788	34
1979	8735	5750	2985	34
1980	8959	6085	2874	32
1981	7833	5320	2513	32

Source: Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82 Cumbernauld Development Corporation, Planning Research, August 1981.

There was a very similar pattern for men's and women's manufacturing employment from 1956 until 1974 when there is a sharp decline in women's manufacturing employment (see Figure 1), due to the sudden closure of two large electrical engineering firms (Smith 1979). The steady increase of women's and men's manufacturing employment throughout the second half of the 1960s is notable. From the sharp decline in 1974-75, women's manufacturing employment made a remarkable, if short lived, recovery. Men's employment in this sector did not experience this same hiccup, nor was the eventual decline in the early 1980s as dramatic for men as for women. Indeed most of the

job loss in manufacturing in East Kilbride at this time was experienced by women. This pattern lends itself to the view that there was a distinct division of labour between men's and women's manufacturing work and that women's employment in manufacturing in this location was particularly volatile and vulnerable to market swings and/or swift changes in the organisation of production.

For Cumbernauld, figures for manufacturing employment by gender were available from 1967 (Table 4). Direct comparison between the towns is not possible as the two Development Corporations collated their statistics using different categorisations. However, these figures can still be used to observe general patterns.

Manufacturing jobs accounted for a higher proportion of total employment in Cumbernauld than in East Kilbride between 1967-1981. In 1967, 72 per cent of all employment in Cumbernauld was in this sector. In East Kilbride for the same year the figure was 53 per cent. By 1981 the manufacturing share had fallen to 57 per cent of total employment in Cumbernauld but in East Kilbride it had fallen even more to just 39 per cent of all employment. Thus Cumbernauld's local economy was more dependent on manufacturing than East Kilbride's.

After a steady increase of both men's and women's manufacturing employment in Cumbernauld during the late 1960s, employment of men

in this sector began to fall. During the first half of the 1970s it continued to decrease. Women's manufacturing employment, though not increasing did remain steady over this same period. The effect of the change in men's manufacturing employment was a significant rise in the percentage of women in the manufacturing labour force of the town - a rise from 33 per cent in 1970 to 38 per cent in 1973 (Table 5). The proportion of women in this sector of the labour force rose again the following year to 40 per cent. During the 1970s men did relatively better in the manufacturing labour force so much so that, despite their own gains, the percentage of women in the town's manufacturing labour force decline to 34 per cent. With the onset of the recession in the early 1980s this declined even further to 32 per cent. For women in Cumbernauld, manufacturing employment has been an important, if less dominant source, of work than in East Kilbride. It has also been less volatile (Table 5).

These new towns' manufacturing employment of women also differed from the national pattern. In 1971 43 per cent and 55 per cent of all women's employment in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld respectively worked in the manufacturing sector. In Britain as a whole, for the same year, only 28 per cent of women employees were likewise employed. In 1981 when women's manufacturing employment had collapsed in the new towns the level was still higher (31% for East Kilbride and 33% for Cumbernauld) than nationally (23% for Britian).

Service sector

Another major factor affecting the pattern of women's employment and gender divisions in the labour force of the two towns was the increasingly significant role of the service sector (Table 6 and Figure 1). Service sector employment in the west of Scotland increased during the 1960s and 1970s.

**TABLE 6: SERVICE EMPLOYMENT IN EAST KILBRIDE AND CUMBERNAULD,
 1969-1981**

	% of Total Employment in		% Women in Service Sector	
	Service Sector		EK	C'NLD
	EK	C'NLD		
1969	42.8	30.47	47.9	54.9
1970	48.0	29.3	48.52	55.7
1971	49.7	33.37	51.0	57.9
1972	50.1	33.85	51.18	60.5
1973	48.5	38.01	50.8	59.0
1974	48.07	38.39	50.9	57.0
1975	50.8	38.31	52.38	60.2
1976	51.1	34.25	51.6	66.4
1977	51.9	36.17	52.07	64.8
1978	53.18	37.10	51.5	65.1
1979	48.5	37.59	52.0	65.1
1980	54.8	38.48	51.4	66.8
1981	60.2	43.49	51.5	67.0

Source: Compiled from Figures Supplied by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department and from Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82

As a proportion of all regional employment, services increased from 28.26 per cent in 1951 to 51.14 per cent in 1971. The regional proportion of service employment in 1951 was well below the national

average of 48.51 but, by 1971, the proportion was nearing, though still below, the national average of 53.61 per cent. This further illustrates the reliance on manufacturing within the regional economy.

Although service employment increased as a proportion of total employment in both new towns during the 1970s (the only period for which comparable figures were available) (Table 6) the proportions of service employment were lower than in the region or in Britain.

Despite rapid service employment growth, these lower rates continued into the 1980s. Whereas over two-thirds of the national labour force is employed within the service sector, in East Kilbride the figure stands at 60 per cent and in Cumbernauld it is lower still at 52 per cent.

Nevertheless, the service sector in the new towns provided considerable employment for women. And in Cumbernauld in particular the service sector was female employing. In this town women's service employment can be divided between three groups of service activities (categories devised by Cumbernauld Development Corporation): shops, hotels and public houses; offices, banks and public administration; and education. And in 1981 the allocation of women's service employment was 38 per cent, 37 per cent and 25 per cent respectively (Figures derived from Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82).

In East Kilbride the proportions of women service employees over the 1970s were considerably lower. This may be explained by the relative importance of Public Authorities in the local service sector. Throughout the 1970s this one activity accounted for approximately 46 per cent of all services employment. Male employment within Public Authorities was relatively high at an average of 60 per cent (compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department 1982). The comparative difference between the towns may also result from the different bases on which statistics were collected. In East Kilbride, for example, the Direct Works Department of the Development Corporation (which is largely male employing) was included in Public Administration whereas in Cumbernauld it was specifically excluded.

Sectoral divisions

The pattern of women's employment within and between the manufacturing and service sectors of each town is further illustrated by Tables 7 and 8. In these Tables the absolute number and the percentage share of women's total employment in each town is given for a selection of broad sectors. (These categories are the ones used by each Development Corporation in their compilation of statistics. As the selection of industries differs the figures are not directly comparable.)

TABLE 7: SECTORAL SHARE OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT : EAST KILBRIDE
 1971 and 1981

	Total women's empl't	Manufacturing	Public Authorities	Banks & Offices	Hotels & Catering	Retail
'71	1099	4722 (43%)	3525 (32%)	199 (2%)	399 (4%)	1213 (11%)
'81	11821	3637 (31%)	4583 (39%)	479 (4%)	402 (3%)	1484 (12%)

Source: Compiled from figures provide by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department, 1982

Figures in brackets (%) are the percentages of all women employed in the town who are employed in each sector.

TABLE 8: SECTORAL SHARE OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT : CUMBERNAULD
 1971 and 1981

	Total women's empl't	Industry & Workshops	Shops,Hotels & Catering	Banks,Offices, Public Admin.	Education
'71	3777	2093 (55%)	625 (17%)	532 (14%)	527 (14%)
'81	6542	2573 (33%)	1536 (25%)	1483 (23%)	1010 (15%)

Source: Compiled from Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82

Figures in brackets (%) are the percentages of all women employed in the town who are employed in each sector.

In both towns the decline in percentage share of all women's employment in manufacturing work was evident. There is also an increase percentage share of shop and office work. In East Kilbride the increasing role of public administration in women's employment is noted. In Cumbernauld any increase in this important source of work cannot be distinguished from the general increase of employment in

the general category of banks, offices and public administration. These figures simply confirm the declining importance of manufacturing as a source of women's employment and the growing importance of service work.

Sectoral concentration

In both new towns the dominance of two industries (electrical engineering and clothing) within the female employing manufacturing sector was noticeable. Table 9 shows the dramatic rise and swift fall in the proportion of electrical engineering within women's manufacturing employment in East Kilbride. By the mid to late 1970s approximately 60 per cent of all women's manufacturing employment was taken up by this one industrial sector. Consequently its collapse in the early 1980s had a particularly devastating affect. The clothing sector, in contrast, did not rise as dramatically as the electrical engineering sector. However it did provide a steadily increasing source of employment for women throughout the post-war period and, with the collapse of the electrical engineering sector became proportionately very important.

TABLE 9: WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN THE ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING AND CLOTHING INDUSTRIES : EAST KILBRIDE 1962-1982

	Electrical Engineering		Clothing	
	Number	% of Women's Manufacturing Employment	Number	% of Women's Manufacturing Employment
1962	394	24	280	17
1963	535	26	324	16
1964	387	19	416	20
1965	764	29	386	14
1966	969	29	481	15
1967	1353	37	489	13
1968	1449	38	432	11
1969	1827	43	561	13
1970	2278	46	649	13
1971	2286	47	586	12
1972	2789	56	707	14
1973	3306	57	816	14
1974	4187	61	805	12
1975	3263	54	861	14
1976	4420	62	898	13
1977	4292	59	1155	16
1978	3982	57	1033	15
1979	4190	58	1054	16
1980	2865	50	1216	21
1981	1110	30	1108	30
1982	1124	32	1014	29

Source: Coopers and Lybrand 1979; Compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department 1982.

**TABLE 10: PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT BY
 MANUFACTURING SECTOR, CUMBERNAULD 1981.**

	% of all Men's Employment	% of all Women's Employment
Food, Drink & Tobacco	4	4
Chemicals	5	3
Metal Manufacture	4	1
Mechanical Engineering	23	5
Instrument Engineering	1	0
Electrical Engineering	39	31
Vehicles	4	.8
Metal Goods	4	1
Textiles	1	1
Clothing and Footwear	3	43
Timber and Furniture	2	0
Paper, Printing and Publishing	10	7
Other Manufacturing	1	0

Source: Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82

This degree of concentration in a limited number of manufacturing industries is also found to some degree for men in East Kilbride. But in their case the cluster of industries is different. Although it includes electrical engineering it does not include clothing. This is replaced by mechanical engineering and vehicles. The proportions are also different. Electrical engineering never employed more than 20 per cent of all men working in the manufacturing sector and for a large part of this period it was around 15 per cent. Mechanical engineering consistently employed about one fifth of the male manufacturing workforce. Vehicle production was a dominant area of employment especially in the early 1960s when between 50 and 60 per

cent of male manufacturing employees were employed. But this sector subsequently declined in both absolute numbers and relative importance such that by the early 1980s it employed just 30 per cent of the male manufacturing workforce. But throughout most of this period the vast majority of male manufacturing employees were working in a wide spectrum of workplaces including those producing food and drinks products, instruments, metal goods and engaged in printing works (Coopers and Lybrand 1979).

Similar concentrations in manufacturing employment are apparent in the industrial breakdown for Cumbernauld. In 1981, 32 per cent of women's jobs were in electrical engineering and 43 per cent in the clothing sector. Contrary to national trends men were concentrated in electrical engineering with 38 per cent of their jobs in this one industrial category. One fifth of all men were also employed in the mechanical engineering sector (Table 10). This kind of concentration within the male work force is particularly unusual and in association with the importance of the clothing sector for women shows a very high degree of specialisation and segregation within the local economy.

There were two further important aspects of the local labour markets which influenced the pattern of women's paid work in these new towns during the 1960s and 1970s. These were the levels of part time working and the patterns of commuting.

Part time working

Part time working has been a major feature of the post-war national pattern of women's employment in Britain (OPCS 1984). Current restructuring of the service sector and growth in new areas of services, for example fast food retailing, is also leading to a new growth in part time working. This new growth reflects the central use of flexible patterns of employment in the organisation of some service activities (Beechey and Perkins 1986).

Part time working in the 1960s and 1970s was an option favoured by some employers - although for different reasons. In the 1960s and 1970s for example part time working was used by manufacturing and service employers as 'full-time equivalents', doing the same work but covering extra shifts or peak hours. This way of covering peak periods of activity minimised labour costs.

For many women part time working has been the only way to combine domestic responsibility, especially childcare, and the need to earn an income - however small. In the two study new towns part time working was an important feature of women's employment. Unfortunately overall figures on part time working were not made available for Cumbernauld during the field study. The importance of part time working in Cumbernauld can, however, be deduced from the employer interviews discussed later in this chapter and from the experiences

of the local labour market described in Chapter 3. East Kilbride Development Corporation did keep detailed town-wide figures (Table 11).

TABLE 11: PART TIME WORKING: EAST KILBRIDE 1969-1982

	Men	Women	Total	%Women
1969	223	2407	2630	92
1970	306	2303	2609	88
1971	328	2570	2898	87
1972	281	2765	3046	91
1973	320	3194	3514	91
1974	243	3960	4203	94
1975	360	3858	4218	92
1976	446	4070	4516	90
1977	411	4256	4667	91
1978	360	4041	4401	92
1979	325	4256	4581	93
1980	420	3758	4178	90
1981	317	2892	3209	90
1982	307	3166	3473	91

Source: Compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department 1982.

The overwhelming majority of part time workers in East Kilbride were women (Table 11). As a proportion of women's total employment part time working remained at between 24-26 per cent until the mid 1970s when it began to rise. By 1977 28 per cent of all women doing paid work were working part time. This fell in the late 1970s and early 1980s only to begin to rise again to 27 per cent in 1982.

From Figure 2 it is also possible to see the relative increases and decreases in women's part time employment in relation to their full

time working (and in relation to men's full and part time working). Women's part time work increased in the early 1970s along with their full time working. It then neither lost nor gained as much as full time working throughout the mid 1970s. However from 1979 women lost both full and part time jobs in a dramatic down turn. Interestingly part time working did appear to be recovering somewhat during the year 1981-82. The increasing relative importance of part time work has been the subject of recent debates about the restructuring of the service sector (Beechey 1989) and especially in retailing (Wrigley 1987).

A sectoral breakdown in women's employment showing the percentages of part time working gives a clearer idea of where women part time workers were being employed (Table 12).

For many women part time working has been the only way to combine domestic responsibility, especially childcare, and the need to earn an income - however small. In the two study new towns part time working was an important feature of women's employment. Unfortunately overall figures on part time working were not made available for Cumbernauld during the field study. The importance of part time working in Cumbernauld can, however, be deduced from the employer interviews discussed later in this chapter and from the experiences of the local labour market described in Chapter 3. East Kilbride

Development Corporation did keep detailed town-wide figures (Table 12).

TABLE 12: WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR AND PERCENTAGE PART TIME: EAST KILBRIDE 1969-1982

	Manufacturing			Public Authorities			Banks & Offices			Hotels & Catering			Retail		
	T	PT	%	T	PT	%	T	PT	%	T	PT	%	T	PT	%
1969	5087	883	17	2460	678	27	183	29	16	339	227	67	1027	464	45
1970	4856	697	14	3223	720	22	194	30	15	354	221	62	1143	516	45
1971	4722	588	12	3525	1006	29	199	35	16	399	237	59	1213	566	47
1972	4908	704	14	3816	1100	29	220	42	19	392	214	55	1214	555	46
1973	5613	855	15	3896	1277	33	254	54	21	453	248	55	1201	579	48
1974	6788	1506	22	3969	1176	30	278	59	21	438	286	65	1498	730	49
1975	5928	1076	18	4317	1395	32	286	38	13	404	269	67	1741	885	51
1976	6929	1330	19	4665	1255	27	330	51	15	434	317	73	1653	883	53
1977	7160	1487	21	4717	1349	29	325	75	23	376	278	74	1680	854	51
1978	6827	1442	21	4768	1262	26	355	46	13	336	243	72	1684	862	51
1979	7176	1524	21	4760	1265	27	358	52	15	374	256	68	1649	885	54
1980	5718	1062	19	4674	1190	25	449	94	21	407	287	71	1601	864	54
1981	3637	500	14	4583	996	22	478	111	23	402	283	70	1484	757	51
1982	3455	574	17	4829	1233	26	493	105	21	446	321	72	1418	669	47

Source: Compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department, 1982

0In the commercial office and banking sector one fifth of all jobs were part time. However it was in manufacturing and public administration that the women of East Kilbride found most opportunities for part time working - in absolute though not in proportional terms. In manufacturing never more than a fifth or so of the female labour force worked part time but in peak years more than 1500 part time jobs became available in this sector alone. The loss of women's part time working in manufacturing was however one of the

most visible outcomes of the 1970s restructuring of manufacturing in East Kilbride. Women's manufacturing employment by the 1980s was largely full time. Changing work practices may have contributed to this pattern. However it is more likely to have been the straight forward shedding of part time women, who have fewer employment rights, during the recession (see Townsend 1986). This point is explored further in the case studies of specific employers.

However, part time working, as a percentage of women's total employment, was considerably lower in East Kilbride than in Britain as a whole (Table 13). So although women made up a larger share of the local labour force than the nationally fewer worked part time. The 'double burden' of domestic and paid labour (Oakley 1981) was therefore a particularly heavy one as most working women worked full time.

Given the lack of adequate and affordable childcare and domestic support in Britain as a whole (OPCS 1984) and in East Kilbride, where a workplace nursery was the exception rather than the rule, part time work, though no overall solution to the pressures of both domestic and paid work, at least accommodated women's two areas of responsibilities. Without adequate and affordable childcare and domestic support, caring for children, washing clothes and floors, preparing meals and shopping for food after a 48 hour week is particularly arduous (see Chapter 3). Part time working is not

preferable to full time working in terms of status, income or conditions of employment but it is often physically (and emotionally) the best and only way to combine the need for earning an income with domestic responsibilities (Beechey 1987).

TABLE 13: PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN'S TOTAL EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS PART TIME:
EAST KILBRIDE AND GB, 1971-81

	East Kilbride	GB
1971	23	34
1972	24	35
1973	26	37
1974	28	38
1975	28	40
1976	27	40
1977	28	40
1978	27	41
1979	27	42
1980	26	42
1981	24	43
1982	27	44

Source: Compiled from figures provided by East Kilbride Development Corporation, Planning Department, 1982; Equal Opportunities Commission (1986) Men and Women in Britain: A Statistical Profile

Commuting

Evidence from both Development Corporations show that men and women had different geographical patterns of work in the new town and regional labour markets. In both East Kilbride and Cumbernauld more men than women left the new town to work elsewhere each day. In 1971 both new towns experienced approximately 62-63 per cent out-

commuting by men (Figures based on Population Census of New Town Residents, compiled by East Kilbride Development Corporation and Cumbernauld Development Corporation). By 1981 this level had remained the same in Cumbernauld but in East Kilbride it had fallen to 46 per cent of all economically active male residents. There were also differences in the patterns of men's in-commuting. As a percentage of total male employment in each town, Cumbernauld consistently experience 47-48 per cent male in-commuting whereas in East Kilbride it was very low at only 4-5 per cent (East Kilbride Development Corporation, Annual Statistical Reports 1971-1981; Cumbernauld Statistical Trends 1981-82). Thus the labour markets for men did vary between the two new towns. Whereas Cumbernauld consistently provided and drew in male workers from a larger labour market area, men living in East Kilbride either worked locally or left the town to work. And the town did not attract many men back in from the surrounding area.

The pattern of women's commuting also showed similarities and differences between the two new towns. In Cumbernauld the percentage of women residents working in the new town was lower than in East Kilbride. Therefore more employed women in East Kilbride lived and worked in the town. The percentage of economically active women residents working outside Cumbernauld was also higher than in East Kilbride. East Kilbride therefore appeared to provide almost enough work for its resident women. In the past in East Kilbride, however,

there had been a notable pattern of women's in-commuting. In 1971 women travelling into the new town to work made up 33 per cent of the total female work force of the town. By 1981 this had fallen to just 10 per cent. In Cumbernauld the in-commuting of women employees was significant, though it never reached the same level as in East Kilbride. In 1981, 17 per cent of all women employees in Cumbernauld travelled into the town from the surrounding areas. So, in both towns although many more women than men worked locally, in Cumbernauld (and in past years in East Kilbride), women workers were drawn from larger local labour market areas: areas which included small industrial settlements.

Women working 'closer to home' has been noted elsewhere as a dominant pattern (Madden 1979). And some have argued reflects the domestic division of labour as well as the structure of the local economy (Tivers 1984). However in these two towns this pattern is contradicted as women's daily travel-to-work patterns include a significant geographical spread. In Cumbernauld, for example: the town both supplied a significant number of women for the wider regional labour market and drew women workers in. Here further information on the age, occupations, domestic and childcare responsibilities of these women would have been useful in forming an explanation of this pattern. And, in East Kilbride the women residents, at the height of economic expansion in the early 1970s, could not fulfill all the demands for women's labour and a considerable number of women were

drawn into the town from the surrounding villages and towns to work. Again a profile of commuters and some details of the domestic infrastructure which it required would have been useful. But this was beyond the scope of the study.

Some tentative observations however can be made. These differences in the general pattern of women's commuting could reflect the variation in local industrial structure of each town. As noted above, Cumbernauld was heavily dependent on manufacturing employment and though women dominated the service sector, this sector overall was comparatively small. Office, retail and other jobs in Glasgow appear to have drawn women away from Cumbernauld while the industrial estates on the periphery of the new town drew women into manufacturing jobs from surrounding villages.

The Cumbernauld Development Corporation's evidence to the Strathclyde Regional Council Structure Plan enquiry (1979) does note the differential occupational groupings of in- and out-commuters during the 1970s. Their report suggests that approximately 32 per cent of men living in Cumbernauld but commuting elsewhere to work were professional, technical and sales workers. And, of the women travelling outside the town to work, as many as 80 per cent were clerical and other office employees. In contrast the composition of both men and women in-commuters was more varied with a higher representation of skilled and semi-skilled manual workers.

A report on the economic progress of East Kilbride (Coopers and Lybrand 1979) notes similar divisions and patterns. It looks at the differential destinations of men and women out-commuters and variations in the wider male and female labour market areas (p78-79). More women than men out-commuters went to Glasgow to work during the 1970s but more men than women came from Glasgow to the new town to work. Again it can be suggested that the retail sector and offices were important users of this labour. The most striking feature of in commuting was the high daily movement of women from Lanarkshire, especially from the Hamilton-Cambuslang area, into East Kilbride: 75 per cent of all women commuting into the new town on a daily basis came from these areas. As with Cumbernauld, the occupational groups most highly represented among male out-commuters were professional and technical. Most in-commuting men did either managerial jobs or general labouring work, warehouse and packing jobs. Women out-commuters were highly concentrated in the sales and clerical occupations women in-commuters were predominantly employed in the electrical and electronic sector as routine operatives.

So in the years preceding this study both new towns were locked into the wider regional labour market of the regional centres and Glasgow and the Clyde Valley. However it is clear that this pattern changed, especially for East Kilbride, with the decrease in manufacturing jobs for women and increase in local service sector employment. There was also a gender differentiation in the nature of these labour markets,

in their geographical area and in occupational composition. This reflected the social divisions of labour both inside and outside the workplace. Madden's finding that most women work close to home and more men than women spent time on longer distance commuting has to be re-examined in the particular local context. For when employment opportunities for women were available at a distance this pattern was interrupted. Differences in this pattern between occupational and age groups would require further investigation however these initial findings suggest that this would reflect the location of professional and office work in urban centres and the location of manufacturing on the new town industrial estates. The in-commuting of women factory workers was however a unique feature of the kind of industrial activity which located in these towns during the 1960s and 1970s.

Summary of findings

Several points have emerged from this picture of employment in the two study new towns. First and foremost was the above average reliance on manufacturing employment in both towns. This higher than national representation remained even after very heavy job losses in the late 1970s. These manufacturing jobs were concentrated into a narrow group of industries including electrical engineering. In Cumbernauld the majority of jobs in manufacturing were for men and interestingly they were highly concentrated in just two sectors: Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. Skilled labour was drawn from

both the towns and from their respective immediate surroundings. There was a distinct lack of diversification in the manufacturing sector. This concentration was also reflected in the local pattern of women's manufacturing employment: they were highly concentrated in Electrical Engineering and in Clothing.

In East Kilbride men's employment was spread over a wider group of manufacturing industries, including some vehicle manufacture (the production of specialised heavy plant). Women's employment here was also concentrated into Electrical Engineering and Clothing. During the 1960s and 1970s the labour demand for women in these two sectors was so high that it drew considerable numbers of women from a wide local labour market. This however ceased at the onset of recession, in the late 1970s. During the recession women workers, especially part time women workers, experienced sudden and heavy job losses. However overall, because of employment in the service sector, women did retain and further establish a strong labour market representation.

The service sector was a growing source of employment in both towns, although employment in this sector remained lower than nationally. In Cumbernauld, service employment was overwhelmingly women's employment, with particular concentrations in retail, catering and the office sectors. In East Kilbride, possibly because of the form of data collection, there a higher level of male participation in services than might otherwise be expected was found. Both men and

women's service sector employment in this town was dominated by the public sector. This reflected the location of both local and national administrative activities within the town. Service employment, particularly office employment appears to have drawn many women, and some men, into East Kilbride from the wider labour markets. Both new towns are integrated into a wider regional labour force and this has been as much so for women - although we do not know what type of women - workers as for men.

Employing local women: workplace case studies

So far the analysis of women's employment in the two study new towns has concentrated on the sectoral pattern of employment, the divisions between full and part time working, and on the wider geography of the labour market. The following case studies of local employers are presented in order to extend the above analysis, and to further illustrate the nature of women's employment in these two towns. There are several objectives in this: first to illustrate the type of workplaces where many women are employed, the activities they were engaged in and to illustrate some of the differences as well as similarities in women's working environments. Second, to gain some information on the occupational pattern of women's employment. Third, to establish some of the reasons why large employers of women located in East Kilbride or Cumbernauld. Fourth, to gather some information on the particular type of women employed - their ages,

experience and skill. And, finally to illustrate the impact of the late 1970s period of restructuring on these employers; and therefore on women workers.

This section draws on interview material with a selection of employers contacted during the period of field work (1981-82). Out of 30 manufacturing employers interviewed in the two new towns (20 in East Kilbride and 10 in Cumbernauld) a selection of 10 have been chosen as illustrative case studies. A further 9 service sector employers were interviewed and 4 of these have been chosen as case studies (see Appendices 1 and 2 on methodology). These case studies are presented to represent female employers in the towns. It is not an exhaustive selection however these case studies do represent the dominant female employers in the two towns.

EMPLOYER CASE STUDIES

1950s - The early days

Case study 1

This clothing firm was one of the first to locate in East Kilbride and one of the few employers to decentralise from Glasgow by taking advantage of the new town financial incentives. At this time the firm was an independent Scottish manufacturer with factories in Glasgow

and Alloa. With the move to East Kilbride the original Glasgow factory was closed. In the 1960s the firm was taken over by a large national company and the Alloa factory shut down. At the time of interview the East Kilbride factory was on short-time working with notification of 95 redundancies already received. Eighteen months later it too was closed.

The main reasons for moving out of Glasgow were to do with the quality and suitability of premises. East Kilbride offered relatively cheap but more importantly single storey and spacious accommodation. In the move few employees relocated to East Kilbride and "certainly none of the machinists". All the skilled and semi-skilled shopfloor employees, 95 per cent of whom were women, were therefore drawn from the growing new town population and from surrounding settlements. At first so many of these employees travelled from the Hamilton-Cambuslang area and from the villages around Strathavern that transport was provided by the firm. This however ceased when East Kilbride had expanded enough to fulfill the labour demand. The factory produced matched ranges of ladies wear for both the up market fashion industry and for own brand retail sales.

At the time of interview, total employment at this site was 380 - 79 per cent women. Amongst the women 167, were full time and 19 part time skilled operatives; 40 were full time semi-skilled operatives; 15 were supervisors; 51 were full time and 2 part time clerical staff; 4 were in the sales department as representatives; and only 2 were professional employees on the design side. Most of the men were managers and sales staff in the office; 12 worked as skilled cutters, pressers and pattern makers and 10 were unskilled labours in and around the factory floor. The total level of employment at this time was estimated to be as little as 35 per cent of the maximum employment at this site. The gender distribution was however unchanged.

Details of marital status were not kept but it was estimated that although the overwhelming majority of women factory employees were married this applied to a lower proportion of the office staff. The age composition of the workforce was also noted with the skilled machinists being in the older 36-50 age group. Many of these women had worked at this site since leaving school at 15. Office staff on the whole were younger.

With an almost exclusively female workforce and a shortage of skilled labour in the initial years this firm provided a much used workplace nursery until 1980. It was opened in 1952 at the same time as the factory started production. Employees paid approximately one third of the cost per child. Although the nursery was full at the time of closure the overheads were considered too high by the management. Some women were forced to go onto part time working, some sharing

childcare although these were ad hoc arrangements. Several women left the factory altogether.

In 1974-1975 this factory experienced a protracted dispute between this particular branch factory and the company headquarters, including strike action, over the whole grading structure and equal pay for women in unskilled areas of work. After 11 weeks on strike with little support from either the town or the Scottish trade union movement, the case was undermined by a deal struck in London between national officials of the Tailor and Garment Workers Union and the company.

Case study 2

This electrical engineering firm, manufacturing domestic appliances, was the first US owned branch plant to set up operations in East Kilbride. It became one of the town's larger employers of women but latterly experienced multiple takeovers and eventual decline and closure in 1984. In the process this East Kilbride firm ceased to be a European headquarters and became one of many corporately owned manufacturing outlets. Managerial and sales functions were eventually centralised in High Wycombe and, at the time of the interview, the local East Kilbride management were being excluded from the discussions about further corporate rationalisation. A local alliance between management and workforce had developed in the face of this common adversity although this was only after a strike by the workforce who believed local management were withholding information. At the very end the factory was occupied for several days in a last attempt to prevent the removal of machinery and stores. This was unsuccessful.

Prior to moving into a large purpose built factory complex on the edge of East Kilbride's first industrial estate, this firm rented a site on the Hillington Industrial Estate where food mixers were manufactured and components for electric shavers manufactured in Australia were assembled. A temporary expansion into another factory at Blantyre also preceded the final move of all operations to East Kilbride in 1956. This site was first rented from the Development Corporation but eventually purchased in 1977.

The firm was seeking to expand into the European markets, especially Northern Europe and Scandinavia. East Kilbride was deemed a good location not solely in terms of geography but also because "...the heavy type engineering industries of Clydeside and Lanarkshire were on the decline and labour was available." Further, the advantages of this new town location over and above other possible sites then available in the region were also acknowledged for their particular operations. "We employed a large number of females and semi-skilled labour and they were both readily available from the growing population of the new town."

At first a variety of products were produced at the East Kilbride site including food mixers, steam irons, cookers, blenders, shavers, toasters, hedge cutters and lawnmowers. But by the 1970s production had been streamlined and emphasis was on large volume production of two products, domestic irons and electric frypans.

At the time of interview the firm employed 245, 134 of whom were women. 81 per cent of these women were employed in assembling operations either in 'sub-assembly' of metal based products or on a continuous line assembling a largely moulded plastic domestic iron. Of the office staff only one manager was a woman and she worked in personnel. The rest were clerical workers. In terms of employment this site was at its peak in 1964 with 1100 employees. At that time 50 per cent of the employees were men because the factory was producing all its own component parts and therefore had press and machine shops, a toolroom and large stores all of which employed men. In the factory women have always been employed exclusively to assemble components. With the decline of in-house parts production, especially of metal parts, the proportion of men fell to 35 per cent by the late 1970s.

Amongst the women assembly workers there was a definite distinction in ages. Sub-assembly of metal components was carried out by older women, many of whom had been employed by the firm for a long time and in some cases as long as 20 years. But on the continuous belt younger women were employed often on short run temporary contracts. This latter practice had been introduced relatively recently.

Case study 3

The first case study manufacturing firm from Cumbernauld is also owned by a US multi-national company and is classified within the electronics sector. This firm began production and assembly of components for mainframe computers and printers in Cumbernauld in 1958 just 3 years after designation of the new town. Its production was originally based on a single specialised product and as such the site included the full range of production functions from product development to assembly and after sales service. In the early years the main markets for this establishment's products were in Britain, Europe and the Commonwealth. In the 1970s two other plants, owned by the same parent company, were opened in Glenrothes and Livingston. The organisation of production also changed at this time with an increasing amount of sub-assembly work carried out at the Livingston plant. A more diverse range of products was introduced at both Cumbernauld and Glenrothes although the main product niche remained mainframes and printers.

The autonomy of the Scottish operations appears to have been kept relatively intact with the expansion of R and D at Cumbernauld catering to the design and development needs of a specific product

range for a worldwide market. Approval from the parent company in Detroit was routinely sought but in the interview it was suggested that the Scottish enterprise was deemed self sufficient. At the time of interview the Glenrothes plant was closing and its activities being transferred to Cumbernauld. Some of the professional and technical staff were relocating to Cumbernauld but none of the semi-skilled and unskilled production and maintenance employees.

The original attraction of Britain for this firm was a desire by the US parent company to overcome high European trade tariffs by establishing 'local' manufacturing facilities. It was also suggested that the lack of language problems was a consideration. The choice of the West of Scotland and specifically Cumbernauld was influenced by the local availability of engineering skills and professional graduate expertise as well as subsidised large greenfield premises.

Because of the origins of this plant as a fully integrated manufacturing outlet and the high level of technical staff employed in direct production, the workforce has been largely male. Women were employed in direct production when the organisation of production changed in the 1970s to include more components production and in-house sub-assembly. By the time of the interview the total workforce at the Cumbernauld site was 626 including 240 (38 per cent) women. None of the women worked part time. The majority, 66 per cent, worked as hourly paid semi-skilled operatives in component manufacture and assemble. In addition 14 women were on hourly paid technical grades within direct production. (The equivalent number of men on similar grades was 111 or 35 per cent of the direct male labour force). In the office there were 46 clerical employees and a number of women computer engineers working on software development. This was noted as a new departure within the industry as a whole and in this company in particular. Through graduate recruitment an increasing number of women (though still only a handful) were entering the company in the 'clean' areas of new electronic and computer engineering.

1960s - The beginning of boom time

Case study 4

During the 1960s there was a national growth in the mass production of women's fashion clothing. As an outcome of this boom an established Birmingham middle to high fashionwear manufacturer expanded production to East Kilbride. The combined availability of medium sized premises and skilled machinists in close proximity singled out East Kilbride as an optimal location. Other prospective sites on the Hillington Industrial Estate were considered too large and too remote from the main centres of population from which the female workforce would be drawn. Good road links, the employment tax relief then in operation as part of regional development policies and rate freezes were all added incentives. The garments manufactured at East Kilbride were made from mixed fibre fabric produced by the same company in Birmingham. In fact the company had originally been exclusively a textile manufacturer until the 1950s when synthetic fibres were increasingly used in clothing production.

At the time of interview 250 people were employed at the East Kilbride factory, 80 per cent women. The factory worked a single standard day shift (8-4.30) and there were no opportunities for part time working. The East Kilbride sales staff was comparatively large as this outlet dealt directly with retailers in the northern part of Britain as well as the whole of Ireland. However though the machinists, cutters pressers, quality controllers and packers were almost exclusively women (the exception being 2 male cutters), the sales representatives and the management were all men. There were 5 women employed in design and market research but the remaining women employees worked in the office doing clerical and secretarial tasks.

This factory, like its parent company, was non-unionised. Any attempts to organise had been actively discouraged by the management, even at times of acute labour shortage. During the late 1960s and early 1970s there was considerable difficulty in retaining machinists. Severe competition for women's labour was introduced by the influx of several large electrical engineering plants in the immediate vicinity of this clothing factory. Wage rates were lower in the clothing sector and consequently this factory, in common with other clothing manufacturers in the town, lost labour to the new higher paid though lower skilled jobs in the new factories.

Case study 5

This case has been chosen to illustrate a form of women's manufacturing employment which was particularly prevalent in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld in the late 1960s and 1970s. This surviving medium-small sized factory, located in Cumbernauld, produced a range

of generic electrical components which were sold to other firms (in Britain) for assembly into a wide spectrum of products. Owned by a British company headquartered in south east London, this Cumbernauld site was one of half a dozen similar plants located throughout Britain.

The location choice appears to have been heavily influenced by regional policy incentives and local Development Corporation inducements such as low cost premises. The close proximity of a captive and growing women's labour supply was also influential, though not the primary factor.

In total 50 people worked at this site: 3 men (the manager, a production engineer and a general labourer) and 47 women. Two of the women worked in the office, one part time as the manager's personal secretary. The remaining 45 women (including 3 production supervisors) worked full time on or supplying the production lines. These were continuous conveyor belt systems. The women's assembly work was unskilled though requiring fast hand movements and good hand-eye co-ordination in soldering operations. There was a daily rota of 5 or 6 women allocated to supplying the lines with raw materials and smaller component parts. This heavy work involved moving and lifting tubs of parts around the factory floor.

The average age of the women working at this site was in the younger age bracket 18-25 years old. There was a preference for recruiting young women straight from school (although no new trainees had been taken on in the 18 months prior to interview). Young women were considered easier to train and more 'suited to the job'. Their comparative youth meant that more often than not they did not have direct childcare responsibilities and this was considered a definite advantage by the employers. In general, the 'quality' of labour thought to be available by the management was considered low. However this reflected the situation which existed when the factory first opened and the turnover of women employees was very high. New women were recruited every week. But in the two years prior to the interview the turnover and absenteeism rates had declined. The preference for very young women was also a bid to stabilise the rapid turnover. They were more likely to stay for a reasonable length of time

There was no union organisation in this factory nor was there any form of works council. Any issue or problem to do with the work, pay or conditions had to be discussed with the women's supervisor first, then if necessary it was taken directly to the factory manager. The women shopfloor workers had no contact with any of the other similar plants owned by the same company.

At the time of interview the factory was operating a single day shift (8am-5.15pm Monday to Thursday and 8pm-12 noon on Friday). This

pattern of working was introduced soon after the factory opened to 'accomodate' the fact that the workforce was all women. It allowed women a 'free' afternoon to shop and clean 'for the weekend'. During the early 1970s, at a time of considerable growth in demand for the factory's component products, an evening shift was introduced (5pm-10pm) employing in the region of 25 women. This however did not survive the decline in orders and was abandoned by the summer of 1974. All the women were paid off.

Case study 6

This example is presented to demonstrate the diversity in the places and types of work that women manufacturing employees were engaged in the new towns. This case study is of a meat processing factory which was located on the edge of East Kilbride. The site was originally a farm but it subsequently consisted of a slaughterhouse, the meat processing factory, a refrigeration unit, a cannery and packing shed and a transport depot. At the time a interview the cannery had recently been closed with the loss of 40 jobs - the majority (33) of them done by women. There were also plans to move work from a site at Govan to this site within the following six months. However this was exclusively on the butchery and transport side, with an estimated increase of 60-80 jobs for men but little impact on women's employment. The stability of the firm's operations was questioned by the respondent as many changes had taken place in the last two years. A doubt about the firm's long term future at East Kilbride was shared by local management and workforce alike. The lack of investment and poor management from the board of directors were all considered contributory factors as was the 'cowboy' nature of the international meat trade. In 15 years there had been 14 general managers of the site, and this was suggested to be an indication of general inadequacy in managerial strategy on this site.

The company which owned this operation was a private family firm engaged in all aspects of meat production from farming to butchers shops and everything in between including leather goods. This particular site supplied large contracts of meat products to schools, hospitals and hotel chains as well as the firm's own retail shops. At the time of interview the main ranges produced in the processing factory were sausages and haggis.

The location choice for this operation was largely to do with existing ownership of the farm and the surrounding land. The slaughterhouse and processing factory were purpose built on the site in the mid 1960s and use was made of the available local development grants.

Within the site as a whole women were employed in two main areas:- in the offices as clerical workers (20 in total) and in the meat processing factory (45 women). As a proportion of the total workforce

at this site women only constituted 29 per cent. This was because of the dominance of men employed in the slaughterhouse and in the transport depot. But in meat processing the proportion of women was higher at 45 per cent. Here women were employed on the 'pre-packed lines' where sausages and haggis were produced and sealed into atmosphere or vacuum packs.

The work was unpleasant because of the smell and the low temperature required in the building. Safety regulations were poorly adhered to and, until a recent strike by the women production workers in favour of a bonus scheme, the pay was very low. Turnover amongst the women production employees was very high, although this had decreased in the last 18 months. Women only came to work in this factory if they had to; in other words when there was no other work available and they needed cash in a hurry. When the workforce stabilised it was notable that most of the women were in the older age group mid to late thirties and above. Many young women sought other kinds of work where the conditions were less unpleasant and work was better paid. It was suggested that the older women working here were considered too old and 'slow' for the newer faster production lines in the assembly factories.

Case study 7

This case is one of the very few examples of decentralisation from Glasgow. In the 1960s this soft drinks factory and distribution centre relocated to East Kilbride at a time when the industry as a whole, and this manufacturer in particular, was expanding production. With the increase in consumer spending this manufacturer's range of drinks' products were targeted at the domestic as well as trade markets. Expansion of this specific outlet was also required to supply the growing Scottish and northern English markets. The factory was owned by a well known national company which subsequently was taken over by British own multi-national confectionery company headquartered in the Midlands.

The original site in Glasgow was a nineteenth century factory/warehouse in Possilpark. This was completely unsuitable for semi-automation and expansion. Rent and rate rebates, a greenfield site, proximity to the main trunk roads to England and availability of housing for some of the original workforce were all contributory factors in the decision to locate in this new town rather than elsewhere in the Clyde Valley. As the new town was well established by the mid 1960s it was acknowledged that when recruitment began there would be no problems in finding adequate labour.

At the time of interview almost half the workforce at this site were women. Of the 60 office staff 34 were women, all worked as secretaries or clerks, 27 full time and 7 part time. There were two senior women both in personnel and training. All the men in the

office were in the managerial or professional/technical categories. On the production floor there were also differences in the work done by men and women. There were 80 men in direct production and 56 women. All the women were in unskilled grades. Amongst the men however 24 were classified as skilled production workers, 6 as semi-skilled and the rest unskilled.

The site was also undergoing a major package of modernisation and redevelopment. This coincided with further changes in the soft drinks market and the specialisation at this plant of the production of larger 'family' sizes of bottled drinks for the domestic retail market. The plant was being fully automated over a 4 year period. To maximise returns from the new system the plant had to run continuously from 6am till 10 pm with no breaks. As a result the working times of production employees had recently been changed. Since setting up in the new town the factory had operated a standard day shift (8am - 4pm) and a regular part-time evening shift (6pm - 10pm). The evening shift was exclusively female on the production side. Under the new system, instead of separate day and evening workforces, everyone had to work a 'double day shift' system on a week by week rotating basis. This meant the complete loss of part-time production employment at this site and therefore the loss of 33 women's jobs. It also meant that some women full timers now had to get up at 4.30 am to get into work on time for the first shift. Management were worried about increasing absenteeism and lateness yet this had not materialised. This was put down to the scarcity of alternative jobs in the area and the fact that 35 jobs (mostly from the part-time evening shift) had already been lost.

Two other changes had occurred with the introduction of the new automated system. First all production operatives were trained on every process and machine in the production system. This was to maximise flexibility amongst the workforce and prevent slow downs due to absenteeism in one area of production. Second cleaning of the plant and factory was done by the operatives themselves as part of the second shift instead of a contracted-in cleaning firm. Production now did not have to halt, it merely slowed down for an hour or so every evening. With automation and 'natural wastage' the workforce had decreased slowly but steadily over the previous two years. This was assumed to be the future trend although production from the plant, and therefore employee productivity, had increased significantly.

Case study 8

The establishment of this factory in the early 1960s was also due to a desire to enter and capture a specific local market - in this case packaging for the whisky industry. Its location however did have some consequences for the employment opportunities of women in Cumbernauld. It is a branch of an Essex based company which is in turn a subsidiary of a major U.S. multi-national.

Of the 153 people employed at this site, 44 or 29 per cent were women. All but 3 of the women worked full time and the 3 part timers were all cleaners. The division of labour was very distinctive in this factory. There was a large office staff including design and artwork specialists as well as general/production management and sales staff. Men predominated here with only 6 women employed on the professional side and 9 in secretarial and clerical work. On the production side all the men (15) were skilled printers and all the women (26) were unskilled operatives minding the cutting, processing and packing of different types of corrugated paper and cardboard casings. The female production workforce had always been fairly stable, with turnover due mainly to maternity. Recently when women left for this reason they were not replaced with regular employees so the main production workforce has been getting older. Casual employees tend to be younger women who have got small children and just need some extra cash but who do not (or cannot) work full time on a regular basis.

The factory operated on a standard day shift (8am - 4.30pm) with a regular night maintenance shift (9.30pm - 6 am). At peak production times a split day shift (6.30am - 8-30pm and 3.30pm - 9.30pm) and weekend shift were introduced. These were worked by the regular workforce as overtime and by casual employees. Women did do overtime but most preferred to do the back (evening) shift or the weekend shift. Often the women who were able to do this had older children.

Case Study 9

This case study is a major public sector office development in the centre of East Kilbride. Its development and location was a direct result of a national reorganisation in the administration and activities of a particular ministry. This reorganisation involved the centralisation of many functions which had been located in small city branch offices throughout Britain and the decentralisation of the unified and standardised activities to several key greenfield sites. East Kilbride attracted one of these national administrative centres in the late 1960s.

This office was the single largest employer in the town with 1850 employees at the time of the interview. 1329, 72 per cent, were women. The majority of women worked in the lower Clerical Assistant

and Clerical Officer grades. 83 per cent of the first grade were women and 75 per cent of the second grade. These jobs entailed routine clerical tasks. Many of these women still worked with manual paper records. The work of the office dealt with many individual and therefore unique sets of records. However as computerisation was becoming more responsive to these data handling needs, an increasing amount of routine administrative work was being automated. There was a part time weekday evening shift (5pm-9pm) which solely employed women Clerical Assistants, on average 60 women but this depended on the work load. Their job was to sort out and prepare data for computer entry.

The original labour force was drawn from a wide area surrounding the new town. Women were recruited from north Lanarkshire and from the centres of heavy industry such as Coatbridge. These tended to be older women with grown up or school age children. Many of these women still worked at the office and had remained in the lowest grades. It was suggested that they did not want relatively higher levels of responsibility of the next to lowest grade jobs. In the late 1970s, however, the recruitment changed with far more local new town school leavers entering the office. The women working on the evening shift all had young pre school children. Turnover of staff was about average but there was no problem replacing leavers.

1970s - The continuing boom

Case Study 10

When Britain joined the EEC, Commonwealth owned manufactures no longer had automatic access to British markets. The establishment of this factory manufacturing moulded plastic housewares in East Kilbride was a direct consequence of this change in trading agreements. The Australian owned parent company needed a way of continuing to trade in the U.K. market and of taking advantage of the new trading relations developing across Europe.

This branch factory began manufacturing in 1972 first from a small 'nest site' and then within 6 months from a major site just vacated by the closure of another foreign-owned branch plant in the electrical engineering sector. Subsequently this plant began producing for the Middle East, which at the time of the interview represented 40 per cent of its total production. A further 20 per cent of production was exclusively of an own-brand range of kitchen and houseware products for a leading chain of department stores. The factory manager has changed every four years or so since the factory started production. This person (so far always a man) is an Australian sent from the Head Office for a 'tour of duty'.

The availability of female factory labour was one incentive behind the particular location of this factory in East Kilbride. It was suggested

in the interview that the dominance of electrical engineering and a growing reputation as a location for assembly industries added to this characterisation of East Kilbride as a 'good' location for this company's U.K. operations. The company was specifically looking for a female workforce already accustomed to factory work. Cheap, vacant factory space ready to move into was also high on the list of attractions.

There were 108 employees in employment at the time of the interview. 82 of them women, 63 of whom worked on the shop floor as semi-skilled operatives. Most of the men (9) were on the sales staff; 2 were managers; 2 were professionals, including 1 accountant and 1 engineering manager; 4 were time-served engineers; 3 were engineering and works supervisors; 4 worked in the warehouse and there were 2 part-time elderly men who did basic factory cleaning. There were 8 part-time women 'demonstrators' on the sales staff and 1 woman production controller who worked with the managers. There were also 8 women who were either clerks or cleaners. But all the shop floor operatives were women. These women worked full time on one of two shifts: the day shift (7.45am - 4.15pm) or the back shift (4.15pm - 12.30am). No bonus system was in operation though women were penalised if they failed to reach the set target.

Production was organised on a product basis with each woman operative at an individual work bench 'manufacturing' complete items by a mixture of assembling pre-made parts and/or moulding some plastic components or whole products. The women worked in dirty noisy conditions; it was hot and the smell of molten plastic filled the atmosphere.

The women were again in the older age ranges - some in their late twenties but most over 35. Very young women (16-20) were not allowed to work the back shift so this excluded them from recruitment. But the management preferred older women anyway for both shifts as they had found that young school leavers did not stay very long as they preferred to find cleaner work in other assembly factories or, if they could, in shops.

The future of the factory was in some doubt. Expansion in orders had not been kept up and new methods of less labour intensive production were now possible and being introduced in other branch plants of the same company. The policy had been to replace women workers when they left to have children but, in the last two cases, this had not been done.

Case study 11

This case study is used to illustrate a different employer in the service sector. In 1976 a non-food warehouse and distribution centre for a major retailer began operating from Cumbernauld. This move was

part of a streamlining of the company's operations in Central Scotland in which one large centre replaced several smaller depots in a dispersed network. The respondent suggested that the location for this new site was chosen primarily because of the low rent and rates on the large building and yard area required.

Employment was predominantly of women in the first 4 years. Picking and packing non-food goods has been traditionally women's work and 40 out of 60 the warehouse jobs were done by women. The 15 clerical employees in the office were also all women. But the driving and yard jobs in the depot were all done by men (32 jobs altogether). None of the work was part time but temporary employees were taken on before Christmas for a month to six weeks. These were usually people already known to the company through existing employees or through the local school. The warehouse and yard operated fixed weekly hours working 8am - 4pm on Mondays and Fridays and 8 - 4.30 on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. The office workers did a shorter, 37½ hour, week and so worked a standard 8am - 4pm throughout. Many of the women employees in the warehouse were older with either grown up or secondary school age children. The workforce had been very easy to recruit and this was put down to the high level of local unemployment, especially amongst men.

In 1981-2 there was further rationalisation of the company's warehouse and distribution functions. Non-food goods were being cut down and emphasis was being placed on efficiency in food distribution. Two thirds of the women warehouse staff were made redundant. Food warehousing is traditionally men's work. It is heavier work and requires the movement of larger volumes of boxed goods. So as a consequence of the centralisation policy for food storage and distribution at this site, 22 men were recruited at the same time as the women were paid off. The future for the whole site was however not clear as the parent company was experiencing severe competition in the food retailing sector in Central Scotland.

For the size of the site and the volume of activity, employment in this case study firm was low. However activity within this warehouse and distribution sector was beginning to be a dominant feature of many of this new town's industrial estates.

Case study 12

This final case study in the manufacturing sector is used to illustrate the new generation of industry and employment affecting women's labour markets in these new towns. This case study is of a 'hi-tech' US manufacturer which was making semi-conductors for the electronics industry. It had become a major employer of women in East Kilbride and at the time of interview was the largest manufacturing employer of women. After an initial entry to the UK through office based sales and marketing activities in London during the late 1960s,

the company opened a preliminary office site in East Kilbride town centre in 1974. Production started up in a brand new purpose built site on the edge of an existing large industrial estate within 18 months. The company had receive considerable regional development support as well as local Development Corporation input through automatic planning permission, rates rebates and a building grant.

The major reason for locating in East Kilbride was given as accessibility to the then rapidly expanding European market. But the general availability of labour in the new town and the availability of technically trained labour in the region were also considered important. At the time of interview this site employed nearly half its workforce in indirect production and a high proportion of these employees were engaged in low level research and development. Contact with local colleges and universities was an important element of their recruitment strategy.

For the production workforce there was also a new dimension to recruitment. Although aware of the apparently poor record of industrial relations in the Clyde Valley as a whole, this did not deter the company from choosing this new town location. There were two main reasons. First the comparative conservatism of the new town workforce had been well researched prior to locating. Second and perhaps more significantly, the company's employment drive was directed at a new and emerging segment of the female labour force. They wished to employ women who had not previously worked in a factory setting. In this they were particularly successful. East Kilbride as an established town with a growing service sector and a high proportion of women who had cared for young children at home but who were seeking paid work had an untapped labour resource. Also the hourly wage rates were significantly higher than other local employers including many non-manual and semi-professional jobs. Indeed examples of women choosing to work on production for this company rather than for the local education authority or the NHS were cited.

The plant was non-union and negotiations were carried out through a works council. There were several 'perks' not found elsewhere in the town at that time and which it was felt attracted a large surplus of applications when vacancies arose in either direct or indirect production. They also contributed to the stability of the workforce. For example, heavily subsidised good quality canteen for all employees; Friday lunchtime shut down for the production line (so that women could do the weekly shop it was suggested); good environmental working conditions with rest and changing rooms; adequate breaks throughout the day for direct production operatives; training and career opportunities across the whole company for professional staff.

At the time of interview there were approximately 1400 employees at the site: 800 in direct production (production assembly work and maintenance staff) and 600 in indirect production: 95 per cent of the direct production jobs were done by women. These jobs were all to do sub and final assembly of microchips. Some work was, at that time sub assembled in East Kilbride, shipped to Korea for further work and returned to East Kilbride for final assembly, checking and despatch. It was suggested however that this was unlikely to continue given new advances in the industry and further expansion at this site. Unusually for factory work in the new towns the majority of the supervisory grades were held by women. Of the 14 supervisory posts, 11 were held by women.

In indirect production there were 150 women employed of which the overwhelming majority, 128, did clerical and administrative tasks. There were some young women graduates entering the technical and professional areas of employment several had entered through direct recruitment at local higher education establishments. Three women were currently on secondment to complete further degrees in electronic engineering. Four women had been taken onto the sales staff which numbered 23 in total.

There was also an age difference between the women employed in the direct and indirect sides of production at this site. Most of the direct production women workers were in the older 25-36 year age groups for factory work, the majority married with school age children whereas the women working in the indirect production jobs tended to be younger, 21-25 and single.

This company was one of the very few employers which had planned expansions in the pipeline. The year following the interview a factory extension was due for completion and 400 new direct production operatives of whom 60-70 per cent were expected to be women were to be taken on.

Case Study 13

The location and growth of this case study employer in Cumbernauld was a result of a later stage in the same reorganisation of an area of national public sector administration which led to the major town centre development in East Kilbride. The Cumbernauld development comprised a large computer centre and dealt mainly with accounting procedures and tasks. It was established in 1977 and by this time the centralisation and automation of functions were further advanced. The offices and computer centre were housed in a purpose-built low level complex on the edge of the new town centre. In the interview it was suggested by the respondent that the main reason for locating in Cumbernauld as opposed to any other greenfield site in the region was because of the persistent high level of unemployment in an area which was supposed to be growing.

Since opening, employment at this site had grown steadily. Recruitment was largely local although most of the senior posts and some technical/professional jobs had been filled through national internal promotions. At the time of interview the site employed 595 permanent staff and 75 people on temporary contracts of 6 weeks. 70 per cent of the permanent staff and all of the temporary staff were women. None of the permanent staff worked part-time but 21 of the temporary staff were on part time hours. The majority of the women employees were at the Clerical Assistant and Clerical Officer grades although over 100 women were employed in jobs relating to the operation of the computer systems. There was no graduate entry at this site, all the work was routine data processing and administration requiring direct operational skills. The centre ran 16 hours a day with clerical staff, operators and programmers working a two shift system (8am - 4pm and 4pm -12 midnight). Staff worked each shift on an alternate week basis.

Recruitment at the time of interview was directed at school leavers and although open to both young men and young women it was the women who performed best at the appointment tests. All necessary training was done at this site for all grades of clerical workers, operators and programmers. There had never been any problem in recruiting staff. Heavy over-subscription, up to 5 applicants for every post, was more of a problem for those doing the selection.

1980s - More office jobs

Case Study 14

This final case study, and the only one for the 1980s, is of a relocated administrative centre for a national government ministry. This large purpose built office development on the edge of East Kilbride was designed to house the administration of ministry staff pensions and superannuation and a limited range of specific ministry projects. Approximately one third of all the ministry's London based activities was planned to be located at this site. It contained a specific computer facility as well as some manual record keeping and administration.

The decision to relocate these particular functions from London to a 'peripheral site' was taken in the early 1970s and was in line with contemporary national policy. However the site was not ready to use and staff were not in post until 1981. The move was not universally popular amongst civil servants in the London office and fewer than 70 staff relocated with the office. These were mainly older middle age managers nearing retirement and young new entrants on career graded posts who would be moved on within a short period of time. Very few women, even those in more senior grades, moved with the office. Those who did were older single women or women married to other establishment employees.

The choice of East Kilbride appears to have depended on the general incentives offered by the established nature of the new town, its general regional location and the swiftness of the Development Corporation in accommodating the new building programme. The negotiations over location did take several years but this coincided with a particular element within the Development Corporation's industrial policy which was directed towards attracting white collar public sector employment.

At the time of interview 440 jobs had been established at this site, 180 for women. The distribution of women workers followed a familiar pattern with 57 per cent of the women employees at Clerical Assistant and Clerical Officer (the lowest grades in white collar civil service employment); 13 percent at Executive Officer grade and only 4 per cent in the Higher and Senior Executive Officer post. The comparable figures for men were 38 per cent at the lowest grades; 28 percent at the middle grade and 19 per cent in the top grades. The pattern of women's and men's employment within the organisation was also very different. Women by and large remained in the lower grades with very few moving through the career ladder, whereas many of the men who joined in the lower and middle grades were already set on rising up through the civil service.

Recruitment of women employees was primarily local. When the office first opened there were 2,000 applicants for the 200 low grade posts. Many of those appointed had already worked in other civil service establishments in the town. This was seen as an advantage. The recruitment also included school leavers and it was suggested that the overall standard was very high. It was also suggested that the girls tended to adjust to the 'work situation' quicker than the boys so that after the first year on probation more boys left than girls.

Within the 18 months of opening this establishment was already fully staffed. There were no plans to increase the size of the establishment. It was suggested that as existing and new forms of technology were increasingly applied to this type of administrative work the total level of employment would eventually fall.

Case study findings

There were four objectives outlined for the case studies. The first was to illustrate the type of workplaces women were employed and some of the differences as well as similarities in women's working environments.

The majority of women working for these case study employers worked in purpose built sites, either factories, offices or warehouses. Most were in peripheral locations on industrial estates. The implications of these types of location have already been noted in Chapter 3: journeys to and from work can be a problem, they are isolated from childcare networks and from shops. Domestic tasks are therefore harder to fit in around work hours. Women mixing home and work were not usually considered as an employers problem:

"We don't have to lay on anything extra - they (women workers) come by bus or walk. There's no canteen as such - just a break room with some vending machines. There's no demand for anything else. They come here to work nothing else..."

(Manager, Case 4)

"Absenteeism's about average...They always say it's their illness that's stopped them clocking on but we can't tell it they're just having time off to catch up at home. We know it goes on - well it is a female workforce - but what can you do it's never made obvious..."

(Supervisor, Case 5)

Only one major office employer was in a central town location (Case 9). But this did not necessarily solve women's logistical problems. Although the bus service was better to the town centres, childcare was still largely located in the residential areas.

There was an exception: one employer (Case 1) did not ignore the needs of its female labour force. This firm located in the first years of East Kilbride's designation as a new town. It had relocated from central Glasgow where labour, and family based childcare, were both readily available. In the new town childcare networks were not so readily available and at the time the new town's small population was concentrated in the childbearing age range. The firm opened a workplace nursery to bring women with young children into the workforce. This firm had already had experience of a workplace nursery: during the Second World War it had a government subsidised nursery at its Glasgow factory. This appears to have set a precedent. The nursery stayed open for the next 30 years proving a valuable asset during the acute 1960s female labour shortage. It was closed in 1980 when the firm was taken over and subject to cost cutting rationalisations. The nursery was in demand up until it closed, however the firm's core labour force was also considerably older and no longer using the facility.

"Because this is women's work we've always had mostly married women and that's why there was a works nursery. It was recognised by the company that the employees had other responsibilities. The nursery was essential, especially when the town

wasn't very big and there were a lot of young married women. The nursery opened when the factory opened - 1952 ... It was very popular still when it closed... all the places were full ... but despite it being popular it cost the company too much in overheads."

(Assistant Personnel Manager, Case 1).

Although all the manufacturing employers' premises were purpose built the environment for production work was not necessarily pleasant and in two cases the work and conditions were particularly unpleasant (Cases 6 and 10). Hazardous working conditions were not limited to the engineering and food industries. Chemicals and solvents used in the new 'clean' hi-tech industries, such as microchip manufacture have also been found to have unpleasant and potentially dangerous side effects.

The activities which employed most women ranged from making electrical goods, electro-magnetic parts and electronic components (Cases 2,3,5) and microchips (Case 12), clothes (Cases 1,4), housewares (Case 10), food products (Cases 6,7) and packaging (Case 8) to data processing (Cases 9, 13, 14) and manual clerical work (Case 9). These areas of activity reflected, on the whole, the sectoral concentration of women's employment in manufacturing and the growing importance of office work noted earlier.

The second objective was to gain some information on women's occupations. The case studies illustrated a clear division between

men's and women's work. Women in the electrical engineering sector were employed mainly as semi-skilled operatives and in assembly work (Cases 2,5,10). Here a gender division of labour was established between the fabrication of metal parts and components (men's work) and their sub-assembly (part men's, part women's work) and the assembly of plastic and metal components (women's work). Assembly operations were also important sources of work for women in the computer and microchip industries (Cases 3,11). Machinists in the clothing industry were deemed semi-skilled (Cases 2,4), although both employers recognised that many of the tasks were intrinsically 'skilled'. Unskilled work machine minding was also found to be women's work in the food and packaging industries (Cases 7,8), as was warehouse picking and packing (Case 11).

The labour intensity of much of this work was given as one of the main reasons why it had to be 'cost effective', in other words cheap, and therefore female employing.

"This bit of the industry is labour intensive - so labour has to be cost effective. Women don't expect high wages - it's as simple as that"

(Manager, Case 2)

At the time of the interviews (1981-82) male unemployment in the manufacturing sector was increasing. However there was little evidence of men taking 'women's jobs'. In the rare case when men had been employed in areas traditionally defined as women's work, it had

not been successful. The manager explained this again in terms of pay.

"We have had men working on the machines - but have always gone back to women. It just isn't men's work. The pay's not good enough for one thing. By choice we'd always employ women - but we're not supposed to say that are we?"

(Production Manager, Case 5)

In all the manufacturing cases women worked in administration: the number depended on the size and function of the plant. There were few women sales staff although a lower status position in one workplace - 'demonstrator' - was found to be exclusively female (Case 10).

Women in managerial positions (including production supervision), professional and technical jobs tended to be concentrated in the clothing sector (Cases 1,4), in the personnel functions of larger industries (Case 2) or in the 'new' industries where there were a few women trainee engineers (Case 11). The entry of women into new professional and technical jobs in the new sectors had not always been evident in the new towns. In an older more established 'hi-tech' industry with a strong Research and Development component, men dominated the professional and technical jobs (Case 3).

There were women cleaners and catering staff in most establishments although cleaning was also done by men, as was transport and outside 'yard' work (Cases 7,11). In large public sector offices, 'clerical

factories', women clerical assistants worked with manual records (Case 9) and in data processing as VDU operators.(Case 13). There were also secretarial employees throughout the sector.The particularly rigid hierarchical grading system of government office employment stratified the workforce into graded posts within the areas of clerical, middle and senior management, professional and technical work. Most women, though again with some exceptions, were in the lower clerical grades (Cases 9,13,14).

The main reasons for employing women in office and cleaning work were almost certainly labour cost related. However, there were other social attributes which women brought to such work: easy to train, prepared to provide additional unpaid social and work related support, and bringing civilising touches to the workplace are just three examples which were mentioned.

"The girls (school leavers) are very good. They settle down to work, get into the routine of the office much more quickly...Somehow they adapt to the work situation more readily ... We prefer it in here when the new recruits are all girls!"

(Office Supervisor, Case 13)

"I don't know were I'd be without my office staff - they know more about were everything's kept that I do and there is always one of the girls (sic) on hand if there's a last minute panic."

(Section Head, Case 9)

"There are six office staff - all women. The 'office junior' also acts as our librarian..She doesn't get any more pay for it - really she's a shorthand typist stroke telephonist."

(Office Manager, Case 3)

"Ruth (on the tea trolley) keeps the rest room clean and tidy - she brings in stuff from home to brighten up the place - at Christmas she gets up the decorations and makes the place all homey.."

(Production Supervisor, Case 8)

The third objective was to establish some of the reasons why employers located in the towns. There were several groups of reasons: relocation to a new site from old premises, need for space to expand or alter production processes (Cases 1,7,11); large areas available for purpose built sites (Cases 2,3,7,11,12,13); step onwards from a 'nest' or other supported site (Cases 2,10,12); access to local or European markets (Cases 2,3,7,8,10,11,12); availability of professionally and technically trained labour (Cases 3,12) and of skilled male labour (Case 2); availability of women's labour (2,4,5,10); Government administrative decentralisation (9,13,14).

There appears to have been no single reason why each employer located in these particular towns. There were many different 'cocktails' of reasons; however regional and local financial incentives played an important part in most location decisions. This multiplicity of reasons is captured in the following remarks:

"They came (here) because of a number of reasons - certainly the tax relief and the grants from the government - and the rates were subsidised for quite a long time - these all helped. That just meant moving here instead of another site in Glasgow. The housing was important too - some of the employees moved with the company.....by the time the factory was taking on more workers they knew there would be plenty to choose from, labour was guaranteed."

(Personnel Manager, Case 7)

The decentralisation of industry from the congested industrial areas of the Clyde Valley was not as important in the economic development of the new towns as was suggested by the 1946 Clyde Valley Plan. Indeed it was not until the reorganisations of some areas of public sector administration in the 1970s that significant employment relocation took place. And not much of this work was relocated from within the Clyde Valley region. Some came from other parts of Scotland, the rest from London and the South East. And some were simply new types of work (for example in data processing) and/or new functions (for example where a new service had been created). For the most part the economy of both towns was dependent on attracting external investment, often from abroad. This was still the case in the late 1980s (Financial Times 26.4.88).

The availability of women's labour did not, of its own accord, appear to draw firms to these locations, despite being essential to the majority of these employers. However in the context of expanding towns with a predominantly working class and growing lower middle

class population many assumed that women would be available for work (Cases 1,2,4,10). Thus:

"..labour wasn't a reason - you can always get women factory workers in an industrial area like this. What was important was getting planning permission and investment for the chemical works.."

(Production Manager, Chemical Company).

"[It] just had everything that was needed - small town, good site right next to this main feeder road and there were employment tax incentives to move into this kind of area and local incentives with a rates freeze and things like that.... It was obvious that the labour was here - there were other clothing firms."

(Manager, Case 4)

Here the long history of women's employment in the area may have contributed to the assumption that women were available for paid work. One respondent did comment that the reputation of the town as one with high female activity rates was a positive factor in their location decision (Case 10). During the 1960s the demand for women's labour was very high creating inter-sectoral competition:

"When X and Y opened up we couldn't match their wages. Wages are low in this trade - all the local rag trade felt the labour shortage at that time. The women preferred to do assembly work rather than this skilled work. But it's not a problem now - those places have closed down ..."

(Manager, Clothing Firm)

"All our labour is local - there's never a problem getting women. Two year's ago there was a high turnover - but the vacancies were always filled ... there's never any problem getting labour - it used to be a problem keeping it! But that's changed now -

established ... It's stabilised with the lay offs and the big closures.."

(Manager, Case 10)

During the 1960s competition for women's labour inside the new towns forced some new employers to recruit from outside. This was not limited to the manufacturing sector, as this comment records:

"A lot of the women came in (to the office) from outside the town. In the early recruitment drives we got women from Lanarkshire, Airdrie, Hamilton and Coatbridge. The town just wasn't big enough to supply all the staff we needed. It's changed now. There are more young school leavers applying to join..."

(Training Officer, Case 9)

But location decisions did not always it must also be noted that although these rationales for location were quoted in the interviews, the location decision appears sometimes to have been more haphazard and dependent on intangible elements such as the quality of the Development Corporation's 'sales pitch'. A Senior Civil Servant made the following remarks in relation to Case 14.

"The Development Corporation laid on the best reception programme - not just the tour of the town and local area, all the effort they went to to talk over exactly what everyone was looking for... schools, houses, the golf included! All in all they did the best sales job by comparison with the other local authorities ... far better than the other new town which we had to consider.."

(Senior Civil Servant, Public Sector Office).

In the general discussion of women's employment in the two study new towns earlier in this chapter, women's work in the manufacturing or service sector was presented as if it took on a uniform nature. In the case studies there were indeed many common aspects to women's work. But the case studies also illustrated some of the differences in the types of women's work. And, in particular they showed that discreet groups of women were employed in different industries or areas of work. This was the fourth objective of the case studies: to find out which women were doing what jobs.

The division between full and part time work and the role that part time work played in pulling mothers with small children into the labour force has been long recognised (see Chapter 4). This was confirmed by the case studies (Cases 1,9,6,8,13,14) and illustrated by the comments of a personnel officer in the public sector.

"Married women work on the (part time) evening shift ... they are all young marrieds with wee ones. This shift is just used to move alot of routine work sometimes we get more temporary staff in - that's never a problem, there is always alot of women wanting the odd bit of work, especially before Christmas and agin when they're saving up for their summer holidays."

(Personnel Officer, Case 9)

Part time work was not always as straight forward as this and some part time workers were expected to do full time jobs in half the time for half the pay:

"J is one of our graduate lab scientists. She works part time because she has a young family. Well I say she works part time but in fact she has a full time work load ...She gets just as much work done as most of the main staff..."

(Senior Scientist, Case 12)

Other divisions, by age and experience of one area of work, (Cases 1,2,5,6,8,9,10,12,13,14) and class (Cases 2,6,9,10,11,13,14) were also noticeable. In the more traditional, electrical engineering and components manufacturing sectors (Cases 2,5,10), in clothing (Cases 1,4) and in food processing (Cases 6,7), the women's labour force was almost exclusively made up of older experienced factory operatives.

"We don't employ very young women - the 16-20 year olds - they don't settle to the work very well. We have an older age group. We want women who are used to the factory type of working....to working on these kind of machines - we don't want to train school leavers. Anyway we don't have to take school leavers - both shifts are full and we have enough regulars on our books to call in as casuals."

(Production Supervisor, Case 10)

"Now that the production workforce has stabilised it shows that it is mostly older women - yes, older married women. I'd say the average age is mid 30s - but a lot are a good deal older than that."

(Production Supervisor, Case 7)

These social divisions within the women's labour market, appear to have been crystallised with the onset of the recession. Younger women were more likely to be taken on in the public sector offices

(although there was a residue of older women clerical workers) (Cases 9,13,14).

And in the new electronics sector (Case 12) an altogether different group of women were being actively recruited. These were women in the middle age range who specifically did not have factory experience. Some had even worked previously in white collar or semi-professional occupations; many were married to semi-professional or professional men. These employers were tapping into a new and different segment of the women's labour market.

"We are the highest hourly payers ... we can easily attract the high quality female labour force we want for our direct production. We take .. women without factory experience - we do not want any undesirable habits... Our production is very different from the old dirty engineering type shop floor - we require a different approach to work - and our process is unique. Previous experience would be impossible and its just not necessary.....The average operator is 35 with a couple of kids who's returning to work. Often she'll have done office work before - some have even been junior school teachers or nurses."

(Personnel Manager, Case 12)

These divisions within the female labour market have not been given any degree of prominence in the literature on women's employment in peripheral regions. However, these case studies show that in the 1980s it was inaccurate to talk of 'women's labour' as a homogenous whole: there are social divisions between women and these are reflected and reinforced within women's work and within the structuring of the female labour force.

The impact of restructuring was the final objective of the case study approach. While as the electronics industry and, to a lesser degree, the public sector offices were expanding and recruiting, the impact of changes in the organisation of production had been felt in other sectors. In terms of the women's labour market there was not only job loss but also a 'stabilisation' of individual workforces.

But by the 1980s short-time working and redundancies were found in several of the cases studies (Cases 1,2,6,7,10) as was subsequent closure (Cases 1,2). Automation was experienced in both manufacturing and service activities leading to process change and changes in the types of jobs available, including the loss of part time working and increased flexibility of full time operatives (Case 7). Elsewhere automation created different jobs in data processing, computer operation and in the manufacturing of computerised products (Cases 9,12,13). There was also job erosion through so called 'natural wastage' (Cases 9,13,14). As, for example, a supervisor at Case 7 said:

".. the only way we hire new women now is when regular employees go off on their maternity and seasonals come in to cover. If the women don't come back then they sometimes get taken on full time. This is about the only recruitment we're doing at the moment - there's no expansion in the workforce. We don't need it with the new (automated) production line."

(Supervisor, Case 7)

And training programmes were also reduced by restructuring and recession.

"We used to take trainees on but now there's not enough work on for us to do that. It's not economic - we've enough of a problem maintaining the existing workforce let alone expanding it ... It's over two years since we've done any training. Last time was well before last year's contraction.... that's how it's been"

(Production Manager, Clothing Firm)

External control had removed decision making about restructuring from local managements and workforces (Cases 1,2,3,10) and while this generated local blue and white collar alliances, it also created a sense of vulnerability. Restructuring had led to some union actions, however these were short lived (Case 2). On the whole the recession had dampened potential disquiet. Rates of absenteeism and turnover were lower (Cases 3,5,6,7,9,10,11) and pay disputes short (Case 6).

Conclusion

This chapter set out to look in some detail at women's employment within the Clyde Valley and two new towns during the 1960s and 1970s. In this it contributes to the second research question outline in Chapter 1 (*Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' work ?*). The empirical work reported here has found that women's employment was concentrated in manufacturing, and within the electrical and electronic engineering and clothing

industries. Even within these industries the new town firms specialised in a narrow range of products and components. Often these were for the internal markets of large multi-plant and multi-national companies or for the volatile clothes retailing sector. Women were also central to the service sector labour force: in retailing, hotels and catering and in the public and private office sectors. Large government offices, the outcome of reorganisation and decentralisation, were increasingly important areas of work for women.

The chapter also showed, through the case studies, that most women did unskilled or semi-skilled work in manufacturing. There were some supervisory jobs for women but these were few and far between. Within clerical work women predominated in the lower clerical grades, although within the government administration there was the possibility of job progression. Some higher grade jobs were also visible in the new manufacturing industries where women were entering, albeit in small numbers, the areas of technical work. Thus the chapter confirmed that, with a very few exceptions, women's employment opportunities across the economic sectors was in lower paid jobs with few formal and rewarded skills.

Fragmentation of the women's labour force was an increasingly visible feature of the new towns. Indeed as new industries and employers were diversifying the economy, fragmentation strategies appear to

have been adopted as a means of gaining the best advantage of labour and location. These advantages stemmed from tapping new supplies of labour in a labour market which accepted, indeed assumed, women engaged in paid work.

The empirical work in this chapter also confirmed that regional policy incentives were an important part of the location decisions of employers. However the take up of incentives was in the specific contexts of growing labour markets (in the 1960s), established labour markets (in the 1970s) and potential new labour markets (in the 1980s). Regional policy did encourage 'jobs for women' in the peripheral regions but they also brought jobs for men. Contrary to the post war predictions women were never more than 50 per cent of the manufacturing labour force in either new town and for most of the period they only made up between 35 and 45 per cent. Women's employment was however highly visible. It was not only concentrated in particular occupations but also geographically concentrated in a few large, almost exclusively female employing, factories (and later an additional handful of office blocks). It could be suggested therefore that the 'issue of women's employment' in regional policy, in part, reflected this visibility. In this area the main problem concerning women's employment was not that women were in paid work: women had always worked. Rather the problem was that women were getting jobs while many men were not.

This chapter also suggested that the importance of regional policy could not be divorced from the long term history of structural decline in the region: structural decline set the preconditions of state interventions in both housing and the economy.

Those interventions (including the new town policies) combined with local employment legacies (of engineering and technical skills and of women's employment) and with a particular historical moment in the changing organisation of mass production. This was to the mutual benefit of the new towns and some employers. This chapter implied that there is a key relationship between the past and present forms of investment. The history of women's employment was certainly important during the 1950s: experienced women factory workers were locally available and new industry was looking for sites with nearby labour. The desirability of an area which had a long history of unionisation and disputes could have been questioned. But, from the arguments in Chapter 6, it is suggested that in the 1950s and 1960s women were considered outside the mainstream work culture and union activity. The form of women's work had always been low paid with few formal skills and had always been particularly subservient. So women were outside a unionised work culture, but experienced in factory work. Arguably an attractive combination.

In the 1960s and 1970s women were recruited for labour intensive processes: women workers were used as unskilled or semi-skilled (in

the case of machinists) factory labour. And this labour force had by the 1970s acquired a particular kind of factory experience: one which include the operation of machinery and tools, assembly of comparatively large components and some degree of unionisation. Although unionisation and activity were not present in all female employing factories, there had been considerable activity in some factories and workplaces: for example, there had been some notable disputes over equal pay, bonus and wage rates, restructuring and closure. The female workforces may not have been unionised in the 1950s but, by the 1970s, it was an element of many women's work cultures.

Other authors (Lewis 1984; Massey 1984; McDowell and Massey 1984) have suggested that women in the peripheral regions were attractive for the new post war industries because they had been excluded from waged work and were therefore 'green labour': cheap, inexperienced and pliable. However here it is suggested that women were still cheap and subservient but these 'attributes' had been acquired inside the workplace through the combine relationships of class and gender and, at specific times and places, ethnicity. And, although locally important, women's work was always considered to be in second place to male employment and indeed male unemployment.

So the 1960s it was assumed that women worked in the Clyde region. The new towns provided convenient sites and, amongst other market

related factors, proximity to this labour force. As the new towns have grown the assumption that women do paid work has been maintained although now the towns provide new kinds of female labour: very young, educated, and lower middle class in aspirations if not practice.

By the early 1980s new employers were demanding more 'stability' in their workforces: less 'job hopping' between similar employers and no union experience. Different attributes were sought in the female labour forces: as well as the 'traditional' assumed 'attributes' of dexterity and willingness to work for comparatively low wages, higher educational levels were sought as was a compliance with employer culture and discipline.

The implications for women who did not 'fit' into these categories and were used to factory work in the electrical engineering and clothing industries were hard. Unskilled work opportunities in the public sector were declining. And women ex-factory workers rarely transferred to office employment and unemployment amongst older working class women increased. The sub-divisions within the female labour market do appear to be a new and significant feature of the new towns' economies. And the availability of these women in these locations has affected the form of new investment.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION: WOMEN'S CONFLICTING LIVES

This thesis has looked at women's lives in two new towns within a peripheral region of Britian. It has investigated their domestic and paid work in order to contribute to the debate on the relationship between gender divisions of labour and spatial organisation.

It found that there were tensions within and between the social and spatial spheres of reproduction and production. And that these tensions created conflicts of interest for women between their different areas of work: unpaid domestic work in the home and paid employment. It also found that these tensions were incorporated into the divison of labour in production, and have been important in the maintenance of women's sectoral and occupational segregation.

The research attempted, following the 'restructuring approach', to examine the inter-play between economic and social relations which operate generally and those which have particular, local, manifestations. This approach was adopted in relation to the genera; and particular contexts from which the planned communities of East

Kilbride and Cumbernauld emerged and within which women's peripheral post war employment was situated.

The empirical research tasks and theoretical discussions were organised around four research questions. These were:

1. How and why are gender divisions of labour incorporated into urban spatial structure ?
2. Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled' work ?
3. What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?
4. How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?

No definitive answers to these questions can be claimed. However while the empirical material they generated extended the knowledge of women's paid and domestic work, the theoretical discussions raised many points about the nature of unequal gender relations and their place in the interaction of society and space.

The purpose of this final chapter is to draw together the material from Parts I and II of the thesis. This is done through reviewing their respective contributions to the above research questions. The link between gender divisions of labour and spatial organisation was approached at two different geographical scales: the urban and the

regional. In addressing the research questions the overlap between these geographical scales is noted were appropriate.

How and why are gender divisions of labour incorporated into urban spatial structure

This question was approached first in Chapter 2 through an examination of the literature on women and the built environment. The pattern of women's activities in urban space was discussed as was the relationship between these activities and women's domestic responsibilities. It was also noted that women's domestic activities took place predominantly within or between residential areas. It was suggested that the spatial divide between home and work appeared to confined women in the residential neighbourhood and to a domestic role. In discussing this suggestion various arguments were presented which tried to explain the socio-spatial interaction in women's domestic labour. These included: the central place attributed to 'the home' and domestic work in the formation of women's identities; the role of the media and popular culture in reinforcing the association of women with domestic activities and homemaking; the active role of architects, planners, and urban policy makers in creating spatial structures (inside the home as well as on an urban scale) which reflect the 'norm' of nuclear family life; the way in which these spatial structures once constructed became a strong and long term force in legitimising, naturalising and perpetuating the different

social roles attributed to men and women; and the way in which these structures restricted access to resources and therefore women's ability to change (and challenge) their given social role.

The social attribution of the domestic role to women and its spatial setting in the segregated residential environment were therefore considered to be mutually reinforcing. And by reinforcing women's domesticity through spatial isolation, it was argued that their social inequality was sustained. This debate informed the empirical questions addresses in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 3 the pattern of women's lives was examined using survey material from the two study new towns. The results of this empirical work confirmed that women organised and carried out most domestic activities and that they did this with specific and quite limited degrees of 'help' from their husbands or partners. Most women had children and a significant number had children under 12. Many had caring responsibilities for an older relative. Indeed new towns housing policies had encouraged elderly relatives to move closer to family members: usually women who could provide care. Most consistent help, from family and friends, was with childcare. Tasks related to children, the home and domestic work, took place largely in and around the residential areas and neighbourhood centres. The new towns centres and Glasgow city centre also featured, but with a different emphasis in each new town.

Overall the respondents demonstrated clearly that the home and their activities as homemakers were important to them. Their children's well being, and to some extent their husband's or partner's work demands, were their foremost concerns. The new town's culture emphasised the home as a symbol of status. It had become the focus of consumerism and an indicator of women's proficiency in domestic labour. It was within this context that the segregated environment was not only accepted but positively applauded. The infrastructure, on the whole, provided safety, peace and leisure activity - though not usually for women themselves.

Nevertheless, maintaining the house and family was labour intensive work especially in the new towns environments where distances between services and facilities, and within the residential neighbourhoods were considerable. Tensions and conflicts arose within women's domestic lives (between different demands of childcare and domestic chores) as a consequence of the spatial organisation of, and resource allocation within, the new towns. The provision of quality and/or affordable retailing was centralised in one or two locations and public transport provision was uneven and often expensive. Assistance with transport from family members was at best infrequent and at worst minimal. Women relied heavily on expensive local taxis for routine domestic trips.

But women wanted to maintain the segregated environment: for the well being of their families and children, because of the emotional commitment they had made, and because of their financial investment in the consumer orientated lifestyle. They made the new town neighbourhoods work by overcoming the hurdles of a stretched out segregated environment. Gender divisions may have originally been incorporated into the structure of the new towns through planners and policy makers unconsidered assumptions of nuclear family life, but they were maintained in the 1980s through the complex practices, desires and expectations of women's every day lives. Most did not want the segregation to change. But they did want better services for childcare and transport and improvements in retailing investment.

Concerns about the impact of socio-spatial segregation on women originated in the 1950s in North American, and were developed later in Britain. They derived therefore from a specific time and place. However these concerns have had to be modified in the light of social and economic change, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. The decentralisation of employment raised new questions: questions about how women combined the different spheres of work and home in the segregated urban environment. These new questions have not supplanted those surrounding the identification of women with the home, family and residential neighbourhood. And indeed for many older women who have never done paid work or women with very small children the problems of social and spatial isolation do still prevail (GLC 1986;

Tivers 1985). However the new questions recognise an additional layer of complexity in women's lives and in the relationship between gender divisions and urban spatial structure.

The empirical work reported in this thesis, along with other studies, suggests that the decentralisation of work for women, especially during the 1960s and 1970s challenged these interpretations of women's confinement in the residential area. When women in peripheral locations went out to work they crossed the divide between the spheres of reproduction and production. And in the research reported here it is argued that by bridging the social and spatial gap, new tensions emerged in women's daily lives.

The vast majority of the women interviewed for this research had had paid work within the new towns. Overall a higher percentage of women were in employment than either regionally or nationally. Women worked 'for the money'. And the money paid for many essential goods and services related to their domestic tasks: food, clothes and rent (or mortgage). It also paid for a higher standard of living: consumer durables, 'Christmas', holidays and home improvements. Women combined the responsibilities of home and work through organisation, long hours and hard work.

Part time working was one convenient if low paid option for those able to get it. The jobs which were most accommodating were those in

the education service (as cleaners, dinner ladies or secretaries): they were first and foremost very local jobs. Almost every neighbourhood had one or two schools. A job close to home made 'bridging the gap' very much easier. Less time was spent zig-zagging across the town. Jobs in local schools brought other benefits: school holidays and short hours. The only, if not inconsiderable, draw back was the very low pay. Yet for many the other 'benefits' were what made it possible for them to earn any form of income at all.

Shop jobs and clerical work were also considered good options: these too were in quite convenient locations either locally or in the town centres. Transport to the centres was relatively straight forward for most residential areas and in Cumbernauld the centre was within walking distance for many women. The hours were more likely to be flexible and there were more opportunities to 'pick up bits and pieces of shopping' at lunchtime and during breaks. The hardest employment was factory work. Though often better paid, the hours were long and inflexible, the work tiring and the factory sites were isolated. Bus journeys were sometimes inconvenient and the industrial estates are a long way from shops, schools and other services.

Women arranged childcare how they could: taking jobs when their husbands were at home, using family or friendship networks and always keeping their fingers crossed that the system would not breakdown. Days off from paid work were an opportunity to 'catch up

at home': to shop at neighbourhood or town centre, to provide the material domestic necessities for the week to come. The segregated urban structure did not help women bridge the spheres. More often than not it hindered them. It has been argued that many employers chose decentralised locations in the peripheral regions and in suburbia in order to use the female labour 'trapped' there by domesticity. But the women in these new towns operated at much more local geographical scales: the jobs were necessary and welcomed by women but there were still geographical and practical problems to be overcome.

Women's employment in the new towns had been predicted in the Clyde Valley Regional Plan. Yet the tensions and conflicts which the dual expectations produced for women were not acknowledged let alone tackled. Women were supposed to be in two places at once. Building local economies as well as local communities. But women were expected to live their conflicting lives in comparative silence. Implicitly, voicing the tensions and conflicts of combining domestic with paid labour was to risk attack: first, on women's identity as a wife, mother and homemaker and second on their rights to paid work.

This empirical work on women living in the new towns addressed the *How ?* part of this first research question. And it was concluded above that gender divisions of labour are incorporated in the urban spatial structure of the new towns both through the unquestioned

assumptions of policy makers, architects, planners and other 'urban professionals' and, more powerfully, through the desires, lives and daily activities of local men and women. Here it can be added that this reflection and reproduction of domestic divisions of labour was enacted while women were participation in paid work. Indeed despite the conflicting demands and the tensions created by the social and spatial separation, women's pay provided much of the material base for its maintenance.

Considering the *Why* ? part of the question was more complex.

Certainly, despite the conflicts and tensions experienced by women in the two towns the benefits were real enough and desired. But equally evident was the way in which the additional work load, created by the segregated environment, helped to maintain women's economic and social inequality. First, it restricted their access to better paid jobs. Second, it maintained the length of time women spend on domestic and related activities: and, as argued in Chapter 2, the undervaluing of domestic tasks devalues women *per se*. Consequently the long hours spent on domestic and domestic related tasks reinforced the devaluing of women. The chances of challenging this undervalued and devalued position were also limited.

Is part of the answer to the *Why* ? question that the incorporation of gender divisions of labour into urban spatial structure is a means of maintaining women's inequality ? And therefore male power ? This

certainly carries some weight and others using historical evidence have argued a similar point. In Chapter 2 for example Davidoff et al's work on the incorporation of power relations between men and women and between middle and working classes into the structuring of urban space was explored. In this the role of the combined 'idylls' of rurality and domesticity (the 'Beau Idyll') were highlighted. The basis of these 'idylls' in the ordered relations of dominance and subordination, between men and women and between the middle and working classes, it was argued were transposed through suburban development onto urban spatial structure. This subsequently created (and subsequently maintained) a social order within the family and within urban society in a world disrupted by industrialisation, social unrest and women's employment. It was in this context that an ideology of domesticity, and therefore a gender division of labour, was reinforced through the spatial separation of home from work - women from men.

The industrialisation which had caused the crisis of social order which fueled the 'Beau Idyll' had pulled men, women and children into urban squalor. It had also drawn women (and children) into paid work. Mackenzie and Rose have suggested that this created a crisis of reproduction (the inability of the working class to reproduce, daily and from one generation to the next). Their argument was rehearsed in Chapter 2, and it was suggested that part of the answer to the *Why?* question was the need to restore reproduction, and therefore women's

domestic role. The emergence of a spatially segregated urban form in Britain was therefore part of a 'solution' to a particular crisis in the reproduction of labour power at the height of nineteenth century industrialisation.

But building this 'solution' was not the result of straightforward philanthropy. Rather it was, in many places, a vehicle for protecting the investments of housing speculators and the class interest of landlords. And it is indeed questionable that building the segregated urban environment solved the problem of reproduction. It certainly exacerbated overcrowding and slum conditions in some places by limiting the availability of affordable housing in the cities. And urban clearances to make way for transport links to the suburbs simply moved an overcrowded population into an even smaller urban area. By the twentieth century the costs of decentralised housing and of transport to and from some cities had escalated. The overcrowded urban working class population also began to revolt. By the twentieth century the decentralised construction of housing was arguably an attempt by the State and the private sector to contain this kind of class unrest. And the argument could be extended, developing themes from Davidoff et al, to suggest that part of containment of class unrest included stabilising the nuclear family by (re)-creating a domestic division of labour.

In Chapter 3 the post war planning of a segregated 'solution' as part of a combined response to a local reproduction crisis (chronic overcrowding, high infant mortality, high disease and death rates as twin legacies of industrialisation and inter-war depression) and local class and gender-based conflict over housing in the Clyde Valley was suggested. The emergence of the housing crisis in the Clyde Valley was related to the local structure of the housing market. Profits from housing were lower than in the industrialised sectors of the local economy. Less capital was therefore invested in housing in Glasgow and the Clyde Valley towns than in for example, London where landlords had both a strong economic and political position (Foster 1979). Housing in the Clyde Valley was therefore of poor quality and high density, although rents were no lower than elsewhere. In this situation there was no large scale private sector investment in suburbanisation, as there was in London. The segregated solution to the reproduction crisis had to wait until State intervention during the inter-war and post war years. Through this local context Chapter 3 highlighted the particularly strong role of the State in building a 'segregated solution'. In addition, the particularly strong organised protests over the availability of affordable housing before the First World War and during the inter-war years linked workplace organisation and a particular local immigrant and ethnic hostility to landlords. This volatile social unrest coincided with the decline of the stable industries on which the local economy was based and a structural economic crisis. It was

therefore argued that the building of East Kilbride, and later Cumbernauld, could be conceptualised as planned interventions to 'reconstruct' social and economic life. Both new towns, in their individual and different ways adopted a segregated urban structure.

Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do low paid unskilled work ?

Women's employment was raised as a specifically 'spatial issue' in the post war regional policy debate. New industries and new jobs were to be the basis of regeneration in declining economies. In areas such as the west of Scotland and the north east of England, the new regionally aided industries employed large numbers of women. Questions were therefore raised about the effectiveness of regional policy as solutions to spatially specific economic decline. Semi-skilled and unskilled jobs for women were considered as an inadequate basis for economic regeneration. There were several reasons for this: the work was low paid so did not generate consumption multiplier effects; a lot of it was in parts production for branch plants, externally controlled with truncated occupational profiles and few, if any, local linkages; or it was in industries serving low value and/or volatile markets, such as the clothing and textiles sectors, which were vulnerable to import penetration; and last, but by no means least, it was 'unsuitable' work for men since it was low paid and required 'women's skills'. And it was men who 'needed' jobs: because

of rising male unemployment and because the gender division of labour assumed the primacy of the male breadwinning role. Feminists questioned that women's employment was 'the problem' claiming instead that the low pay, lack of occupational opportunities and vulnerability were more problematic issues.

Within the context of this debate Chapter 4 posed two preliminary questions - *why were women employed?* and *what were they employed to do?* This directly addressed the designation of jobs as 'men's' or 'women's'. First the concentration of women's employment in specific sectors was outlined as was their segregation into a narrow range of occupations. And, following Hakim's work, women's occupational segregation within lower paid and lower skilled grades was noted. This chapter reviewed contemporary and historical material which sought explanations for women's employment and their unequal position in the workplace. Various explanations were examined: 'dual role theory' claimed women were particularly (or only) suited for certain jobs because of their prior commitment to the domestic sphere. 'Dual labour markets' emphasised discriminatory legislation and sexist practice of employers which confined women to 'secondary' labour markets. Analyses of labour process change focussed on the use of female labour in deskilled jobs. But the most useful, though most complex, explanation drew on the historical and contemporary relationship between domestic and paid labour, between reproduction and production.

In reviewing these arguments, Chapter 4 concluded that the interplay between the spheres of production and reproduction defined areas of work as appropriate for men or for women. However it was also argued that the gender division of labour was not simply transferred from home to work. 'Gendering' of tasks/jobs, and therefore of people, took place as much inside the workplace as at home. Furthermore it was argued that the workplace based 'gendering' process influence gender divisions of labour at home, as well as vice versa. Certainly through their participation in the labour force women in the new towns did assume some responsibilities 'traditionally' reserved for the breadwinner: for example the financial management of household consumption. As such evidence from Chapter 3 would support the idea of a practical extension of women's responsibilities within the division of labour.

Nevertheless it was also suggested that however the tasks and responsibilities within the gender division of labour were altered, this interplay between home and work/work and home still reflected and reproduced unequal power relations between men and women. For example it was established that the processes of defining 'skill' in the workplace and of gendering jobs are unequal ones: men as a whole define the arena of negotiation over jobs and job contents through their institutional control over unions, workplace managements and where relevant, State administrative bodies. Such institutional

control is enhanced by their social position of dominance outside the workplace.

It was argued that complete analytical clarity has not been achieved in this literature. But it was suggested that it hinted at part of the answer to the question *why are women employed?* Women are employed when patriarchy and capitalism mesh in such a way that women's labour has distinct advantages over that of men: for example it is cheaper, it is already practised in certain (not necessarily work based) activities, it is used to a subordinated position. Thus patriarchy (the unequal power relationship between men and women) is not only alive and well but it creates crucial sub-divisions within classes and alters the form of class relations.

Chapter 5 directly addressed the main research question (*Why were women employed in peripheral regions to do low paid unskilled work?*) directly. It first reviewed current debates by examining how the growth of women's employment in the 1960s and 1970s in the peripheral regions was explained by the literature in regional studies and geography. Many of these unconsciously or consciously absorbed different aspatial explanations for women's employment. Various women's suitability for new types of work was related to their 'natural' abilities and/or attributes acquired through domestic socialisation; their availability was linked to past and current patterns of industry, domestic divisions of labour and/or their

relative isolation in decentralised and peripheral locations. This work also incorporated competing conceptualisations of space in industrial location. Thus the peripheral employment of women was explained as a 'location factor' and/or the result of regional policy altering the geographical balance of regional 'economies'/'diseconomies'; as the inherent spatial outcome of production change which created new divisions of labour, including significant numbers of deskilled female jobs; or as part of a geographically unique 'locational opportunity' which arose from the historical interplay of international, national and local processes of social and economic change.

This chapter (Chapter 5) however concluded that due to the limitations of these existing explanations, the best option to date was the framework which the last - 'restructuring approach' - offered. It was argued that the restructuring debate did not provide a conclusive explanation for the employment of women in the peripheral regions during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed one of the main protagonists argued that when, how and where women are employed are empirical questions and that no single explanation could be forthcoming.

Nevertheless, it was argued in Chapter 5, that the strength of the restructuring framework for explaining women's employment in specific places and times is its siting of this empirical investigation within

the interaction of production reorganisation and local forms of the gender division of labour. In this, the framework makes use of the notion of a 'combination of layers' of social and economic structures as a way of relaying the importance of past structures in affecting present and future patterns of employment in in specific places. Consequently the impact of a new spatial division of labour and the demand for new types of labour has to be examined in both its general form and specific local context. For the research reported here the general form of women's employment was its unskilled and low paid nature and its growth in peripheral regions. The local context was the Clyde Valley and its history of women's labour force participation.

Insights from the aspatial debate on the nature of women's employment noted above suggested that the general processes which shaped women's employment were the prevailing unequal social relations between men and women as they are played out in both production and reproduction. An explanation of women's employment in the Clyde Valley as an example of a peripheral regional required matching this to an examination of the local history of gender divisions of labour. In Chapter 6 this was attempt for the sphere of production. No similar historical enquiry was attempted for the gender division of labour in reproduction. This however would be a valuable, indeed critical, addition to the research under taken here. However this remains a task for future research.

In its emphasis on influences and impacts of local areas, the restructuring framework does exclude general processes in the investigation of local events. Indeed attention to both is advocated. This is not however a straightforward task. Indeed holding both general and particular sets of social and economic relations together through the research attempted here was beyond the scope of the empirical material. Consequently in this investigation of women's employment in Clyde Valley during the 1960s and 1970s this has only been partially carried out. Chapter 6 did try to trace both the general processes which shaped the historical context of women's labour in the Clyde Valley during industrialisation and establish some of the particularly local influences - for example the development of a particular gender division of labour; the pattern of industrial specialisation; and some specific examples of the interaction between class, gender and ethnicity.

It was argued that the local context of male dominated heavy engineering had obscured women's paid work. Women had a long history of working in the region. But the dominance of male employing industries, of men in supervisory positions in female employing industries, of male orientated trades unions had facilitated the marginalisation of women's jobs. The legacy of male control had created a subservient female workforce: experienced in factory work but subordinated and disempowered. Wage levels for unskilled and skilled work in the region had historically been low and the

particularly subservient position of women and women's occupations maintained their very low wage levels.

This attempt at building the local context was continued into Chapter 7 where the empirical investigation of women's employment in the new towns was preceded by an outline of the background to strong regional policy. Here it was suggested that the new town peripheral locations were assembled through state intervention at this time as a consequence of the collapse in the industrial economy and the threat of severe social unrest. Without the severity of local economic collapse (or the inadequacy of the local private housing sector) there would have been a different form of intervention and probably fewer new places for new industrial investment. Without these new places (with premises and a contained working class) the conditions which proved favourable to component assembly in electrical engineering and to the clothing industry in the a new spatial division of labour would have been less favourable. These particular circumstances therefore generated 'locational opportunities' which were relevant in a period a international restructuring of manufacturing and national reorganisation of government administration.

The pattern of women's employment in the two new towns was then outlined. Through an analysis of the secondary material made available from East Kilbride and Cumbernauld Development

Corporations the sectoral concentration of women's employment in manufacturing and within electrical engineering and clothing was established. The importance of the service sector was established and in Cumbernauld especially this was women's work. However in East Kilbride public sector office employment was providing substantial new employment opportunities. Part time work had been important in manufacturing as had shift and casual work.

A survey of large employers of women produced information directly relevant to the second research question: so why were women employed in peripheral regions to do 'low paid unskilled work' ? First, why the peripheral regions: in these towns regional policy and local incentives were most important. Most had benefited from regional policy incentives. Access to markets was also a main reason. Access to labour was certainly important in the region as a whole but within the new towns most employers took the availability of women's employment for granted. This assumption however was made within the context of a location with a growing working class population and with a history of women's employment. Certainly during the 1950s and 1960s the general factory experience of women proved attractive to some employers. By the 1980s, outdated skills and the development of 'inappropriate' experience (including some union activity) led employers to draw on women workers from lower middle class households with little factory experience. This played on new social

divisions emerging in the 'mature' new town and on the conservative/consumerist local culture.

And why women ? Employers and employees clearly distinguished between women's and men's work: pay was central to this distinction although so was the nature of the work and the products. Local associations of men with metal working and women with textiles may have influenced some of the job boundaries, but in general the divisions found in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld mirrored those found elsewhere. Massey's explanation of new divisions of labour emerging through production reorganisation is helpful in pointing out that as new tasks emerged in the 1950s and 60s different social groups were allocated to each task and that this had a particular geography. Women were 'allocated', by historical precedent, social and economic pressures and through the negotiation of employers with trades unions, to routine and semi skilled tasks. And women were 'available' in these new towns through a combination of the general unequal relationship between men and women and the particular way in which this had manifested itself in the Clyde region: where women had had employment but of a particularly subordinated kind and not, as found elsewhere through their exclusion from the paid labour force.

What conflicts did women's employment (its nature and location) create for the gender division of labour ?

The research found that in many ways the conflicts which women's employment generated were not for the gender division of labour but for women themselves. As already noted above, women's employment in the two new towns did not alter the basic gender division of labour at home. Women still organised and did most domestic related tasks and indeed they had taken on additional responsibilities in financial management. Nor did the large number of women entering the local labour market appear to be substantially changing the job opportunities which were available. The type of work available in the new towns was limited and only a few employers in either manufacturing or public sector administration offered possibilities for job enhancement.

Strategies to cope with crossing the socially and spatially separated spheres had been left up to individual women living and working in the new towns. For although women supplied an important source of labour for many of the new towns major employers, the recognition of their wider social responsibilities was only acknowledged in a positive way in a few cases: through a workplace nursery, early close down' on a Friday or flexible hours. Even so these were only partial benefits. All had either direct financial or other costs attached, such as shorter work breaks or a more intensive workload. Nor was

women's combination of paid and domestic labour adequately serviced by the local state. A situation not originating in the 1980s financial cut backs, but certainly compounded. The private nature of women's strategies, has reinforced the inequality within gender divisions in these locations.

Despite the higher than national average participation of women in the waged labour forces of these two towns, the social and spatial separation of women's from men's work in domestic activity and the waged workplaces reflect and reproduced each other. The divisions between 'women's jobs' and 'men's jobs' were, at one and the same time, material and ideological in terms of the content and relative skill required to execute the work. They were material because the content of each job or activity (paid and unpaid) are different. And they were ideological because the definitions of skill which bound the tasks in each job or activity were imbued with unequal meanings.

This unequal division and the conflict which entered women's lives when they were forced to combine the demands of both domestic and waged work, illustrated some of the means by which women's unequal position within local labour forces, are maintained and reproduced. Unequal divisions in the local labour forces excluded women from higher paid work (and prevented the work they did from being paid better rates). This undermined their individual economic security enforcing dependence on male wages (or their substitute of state

benefits). Unequal gender divisions remained. These were incorporated, in different ways and at different times, in patterns of uneven geographical distribution of economic activity.

The impacts of current trends towards flexible and part time jobs in the casualised private service sector have yet to be fully analysed. As have the consequences of the fall in the number of young adults leaving school and coming onto the labour market. But, the indications are that, although there may be an opening up of opportunities for women, the employment conditions and future prospects for better paid work, are likely to remain general poor for the majority. *

Material support for women's training and for childcare are now being tentatively suggested by some in government in the light of this drop in the labour force. The need for good quality support to working women has however been recognised for far longer by women themselves and by certain feminist influenced economic policy on the left (London Industrial Strategy 1985). In support of demands for material investment in domestic labour the tasks of reproduction (daily household tasks and childcare) have been redefined as work with an economic value - although this value is indirectly produced.

How does a knowledge of gender divisions of labour affect our understanding of spatial organisation ?

It has been argued through the debates and empirical work set out in this thesis that an understanding of gender divisions of labour - as unequal manifestations of the power between men and women - does make a difference to the way in which regional problems and economic development are viewed. Acknowledging gender divisions and the unequal power which they represent exposes the incorporation of this social inequality into the geographically uneven organisation of production. Likewise in analyses of urban structure the assumptions of household, family and social structure are exposed. This can then draw attention to the ways in which their incorporation into spatial organisation reproduces inequality, though often in changing forms. The work in this thesis also suggests that it matters that gender divisions are incorporated into analyses of urban and regional spatial organisation. It matters because this enables the impact of gender divisions to become arenas for legitimate policy debate and intervention.

It was argued in this thesis that the 'restructuring framework' suggested the best route to explaining women's employment in a specific place and time. Though no complete explanation was provided (if such a thing exists) it did ^{ff}over a means towards that end. The reconceptualisation of socio-spatial relations which informs the

framework, Massey's work in particular, is two-way. It asserts the importance of "spatially organised locational opportunities" (Massey 1985, p13) by showing how space, distance and geographical inequality influence the organisation of production and how the social relations of production under capitalism (re)-create unequal spatial difference. The processes which form this interdependence are historically specific and, though they may share general outcomes (for example the location of similar processing activities in peripheral regions in the 1960s and 1970s and the employment of women as part of profit maximising and/or cost cutting strategies) the way in which these combine with existing local structures is unique to each area. This therefore (re)-creates local particularity. This process of combining general processes of change with local particularities was demonstrated in relation to the particular form of women's labour in the Clyde Valley.

Though this conceptualisation of social-spatial relations was developed specifically within the context of mid-twentieth century regional geography (at intra and international scales) it is suggested that this framework could usefully inform research at many different spatial scales and in relation to different historical periods. Indeed as suggested in Chapter 5 the empirical and theoretical potential of this framework for investigating the socio-spatial variation in gender divisions of labour at home and at work has been hardly realised. Indeed empirical research on geographical

differentiation, during periods of restructuring, has explored the web of interdependencies and relationships almost exclusively in terms of economic processes: industrial organisation and location, employment and capital-labour relations. Where gender divisions and gender relations have been discussed this has been predominantly in terms of paid employment and the gender division of labour at work. The gender division of labour within the household has been incorporated largely in terms of its impact on waged work (and this thesis is no exception).

However, gender relations which give rise to gender divisions, are based in gender ideology and material power which exist outside of, although intersecting with, economic relations: in sexual relations, in friendships, in (non-economic) family relationships; in social and political structures. These too are part of the structuring of gender relations as they are played out in general and particular instances. Where social processes of political change, social movements, culture, class identity and gender relations have been examined within empirical investigations of processes and the impacts of restructuring this has been in terms of their impact on local economic relations. However there are general forms of these social structures which have not usually entered the narratives nor has the impact of their local manifestations on global socio-economic change been specifically teased out. The potential for future research is wide-ranging.

Exposing the reflection and reproduction of unequal gender divisions in spatial organisation does however raise further questions: why are gender divisions reproduced? What are the power relations within gender divisions and how does the structure of these power relations vary between places and through time? These questions were raised in Chapters 4 and 5, yet no conclusive answers were forthcoming. Is it for the interests of capital or patriarchy or both? Such a large question does beg an equally large unconclusive answer - well it all depends! Developing the 'restructuring framework', it depends on the particular circumstances of history and place: sometimes capital instigates forms of unequal gender divisions, at other times and places it is patriarchy which creates the dominant set of social relations. However most of the time and in most places, certainly in the capitalist world, it is a complex combination of both class relations and gender relations, both cross cut in many places by race relations which creates and reproduces inequalities between men and women within and between classes and races. And sorting out the details of the spatially and temporally different combinations must be the basis of some very interesting future research.

So sorting out the historical and spatial particularity of gender relations, is now firmly on the research agenda for feminist informed researchers working within geography and within urban and regional studies in general. Yet as argued in this thesis, notably in Chapter 5, there are some current conceptual problems around the general

nature of gender relations. Throughout both the aspatial and spatial debates surrounding women's employment, the unequal power relationship between men and women was labelled as 'patriarchy'. The variable forms and guises of patriarchy were given extensive causal power. However, though the results of patriarchy were recognised in social and ^d spatial divisions in and between the spheres of production and reproduction, the form and content of patriarchal power per se have been left largely unexamined.

There appears therefore to be both theoretical and empirical tasks awaiting future research for if the general conceptualisation of gender relations is unclear then the empirical task of looking for their local particularities and impacts is made more difficult.

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APPENDIX 1: Methodology

The main methods employed to do the empirical research reported in this thesis included the use of secondary material from published sources and from the unpublished records of the Development Corporations. However the main part of the empirical work relied on questionnaire based surveys which were administered through semi-structured interviews. Respondents were asked a significant number of closed questions and the answers were recorded by myself. Many of these questions led to and were followed up by open discussion. This discussion was noted in detail.

These semi-structured questionnaire/interviews took varying lengths of time, depending on the willingness of the respondent to talk. This approach was adopted in both a Household Survey of Women and in a Survey of the Major Employers of Women. In the Household Survey interviews took anything from 45 minutes to 4 hours and in the Employer Survey few lasted less than an hour and most took two hours.

Respondents in the Household Survey of Women were selected from the Electoral Register. The sample was chosen so that respondents from all the different neighbourhoods in the New Towns were included. A sample size of 50 women from East Kilbride and 40 from Cumbernauld was decided upon as this was considered sufficient to cover both the variety in women's experience of living and working in the new towns and indicate common trends. This sample was

achieved by approaching randomly chosen women from the register, by letter followed up by a phone call (if they were on the phone) or by visiting their address. Each was asked then if they would participate. This process was repeated until the sample was complete. This method proved fairly successful. Although in some areas it was easier to reach the required number of respondents than in others and in the end it was more productive visiting potential respondents to arrange interviews. 126 women were contacted in order to gain sufficient responses. There was a possibility of bias in the sample as it was only women willing to talk who contributed to the survey. There was a concentration of willing women respondents in the 25-50 age range and in a 'lower middle' class position

Respondents in the Employers Survey were selected from the Industrial and Commercial Directories which both New Town Development Corporations compiled on an annual basis. This selection was made with the help of Development Corporation personnel who provided information of employers employing more than 30 women. These employers were approached by letter and follow-up phone call. A sample of 39 employers was achieved in this way - 30 manufacturing employers and 9 in the service sector. 11 employers approached refused to participate (9 in manufacturing and 2 in the service sector). One of the refusing employers was a major retailer and no comparable employer was found. This is a significant loss to the case study approach.

This questionnaire/interview approach was adopted because the objectives of the research were to establish some trends and processes which illustrated the nature of women's domestic lives and employment in these new towns. It was not seeking to show quantifiable patterns.

The results of these questionnaire/interviews have been used in three different ways. First responses to most of the closed questions from the Household Survey were drawn together using frequency and cross-tabulation functions within SPSS. This information was used to give a general picture of the daily lives of women living and working in the new towns. The information gathered in this way was always intended to be illustrative of patterns of women's lives and not statistically representative. Second the discussions from the Household Survey and the Employers Survey were used to illustrate some of women's experiences of new town life. Finally the information from 14 respondents in the Employer Survey questionnaire/interviews (from closed questions and from open discussion) was amalgamated into case studies which illustrated the patterns and processes underlying women's employment in the towns.

A large amount of data were generated in both these surveys. Much of it was not been used in the final report as the direction of the thesis was established and consolidated. Thus in the processes of doing this research certain important methodological lessons were learnt. In retrospect the most valuable material was gained

through the open discussions. The more formal questionnaire, though producing valuable background information, became the basis of semi-structured interviews. Consequently, in retrospect, the more formal questionnaire could have been considerably shorter with more general opening questions and in the form of an interview script.

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF WOMEN

This questionnaire forms part of a larger survey of women's work and domestic activities in two West Scottish New Towns - East Kilbride and Cumbernauld. Through asking you, and about 90 other women, the following questions, I hope to gain an insight into how women living in these towns combine their household/family duties, with perhaps going out to work and with becoming involved in local voluntary or social organisations.

There are 10 sections to the questionnaire, but not all will be applicable to each respondent.

Many of the questions are open ended. Some have multiple choice type answers.

All the information gathered in the questionnaires will be treated as confidential. Anonymity in the final results and analysis will be respected.

Name of respondent:

House

Address:

Flat

Phone No.

Maisonette

Garage

Letter of contact - date:

Garden

Stated times of approach:

Time of arranged interview:

(If necessary)

-
- SECTION I : GENERAL INFORMATION
 - SECTION II : THE NEW TOWN
 - SECTION III : INCOME AND WORK
 - SECTION IV : WOMEN IN PAID WORK
 - SECTION V : EMPLOYMENT HISTORY
 - SECTION VI : CHILDCARE
 - SECTION VII : CARE OF DEPENDENT ADULTS
 - SECTION VIII : DOMESTIC WORK
 - SECTION IX : SHOPPING AND MOBILITY
 - SECTION X : VOLUNTARY WORK, CLUBS AND RECREATION
-

SECTION I : GENERAL INFORMATION (All Women)

Qu.1 Are you : single

married

separated/divorced

widowed

cohabiting

Qu.2 How old were you on your last birthday ?

- 16-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-60
- over 60

Qu.3

a) Do you have any children ?

- Yes
- No

b) If Yes:

i) How many do you have ?

- 1 child
- 2 children
- 3 children
- 4 children
- 5 children or more

ii) How old are they ? (Under 16s only)

- 1st_____
- 2nd_____
- 3rd_____
- 4th_____
- 5th_____
- others_____

iii) If you have a child or children over 16, but still living at home, are they :

- at school
- at college
- working
- unemployed
- on a Government scheme

iv) Are any of your children handicapped or in need of special care ?

Qu.4

a) Do you look after any dependent adults, either here or in their own home ?

- Yes
- No

b) If Yes: who is this person ?

- an elderly relative
- other relative
- unrelated elderly person
- young handicapped person
- other

c) Do you have relatives in the new town

- Yes
- No

If Yes : State who_____

SECTION II : THE NEW TOWN (All Women)

Qu.5 How long have you lived in the new town ?

- Less than 1 year

- 1-5 years
- 6-15 years
- 16-20 years
- more than 20 years

- Qu.6 Where did you move from ?
- Qu.7 Can you tell me why you decided to come to this new town ?
- Qu.8
- a) Do you ever regret moving here
 - b) If Yes : why ?
 - c) If No : what do you most like here ?
- Qu.9 What do you think are the major problems facing people in the new town today ?
- Qu.10 Do you think that women here in the new town have any particular problems ?
- Qu.11 Is your house or flat :
- rented from the Development Corporation
 - rented privately
 - rented from the council
 - owner occupied
 - tied to work
 - other

SECTION III : INCOME AND WORK (All Women)

- Qu.12
- a) Approximately how much do you have each week for the housekeeping ?
 - less than £40
 - £41-£60
 - £61-£80
 - £81-£100
 - over £100
 - b) From which of the following sources do you get this money ?
 - your wages
 - husband/partner's wages
 - unemployment benefit
 - supplementary benefit
 - child benefit
 - pensions
 - other benefits
 - other
- Qu.13
- a) Is your husband/partner
 - employed
 - unemployed
 - b) What is/was husband/partner's occupation
- Qu.14 Do you do any paid work (including work done at home)
- Qu.15
- a) Would you like to have paid work ?
 - b) If Yes : i) why are you unable to take paid work
 - no work available
 - responsibility for children

husband/partner unemployed
need money
financial independence
'get out of house'
companionship
professional/career reasons
other

Qu.22

- a) Do you enjoy your work ?
- b) In what ways ?

Qu.23 Does your husband/family agree with you going out to work ?

Qu.24 Do most of your women friends go out to work ?

Qu.25

- a) Did you have any special training for this job ?
 - Yes
 - No

b) If Yes : what sort of training ?

Qu. 26

- a) Do you work -

part time
full time
one particular shift pattern
at home
other

b) . Does your firm operate 'flexi' ?

c) If Yes : what do you think of the scheme ?

Qu.27

a) (If PART TIME)

- 1) how many hours a week do you work ?
- ii) why do you work part time ?
 - children
 - domestic duties
 - dependent adult
 - own interests
 - no full time work
 - other reasons
- iii) have you ever wanted to work full time ?
 - Yes
 - No

iv) What would have to change to allow you to work full time ?

b) (If FULL TIME)

- f) how many hours a week do you work ?
- ii) do you ever do overtime ?
- iii) if No : why not ?
- iv) would you prefer part time work ?
- v) how do you combine your job and your housework/ family ?

c) (If SHIFT WORK)

- 1) what hours do you work ?
- ii) why did you choose this particular work ?

iii) would you prefer non-shift work ?

iv) how do you combine your shift hours with your housework /family ?

a) (If HOMEWORK)

i) is this work - regular ?
- seasonal ?

ii) how are you paid ?
by the hour ?
piece rates ?

iii) how many hours a day/week do you work ?

iv) why do you do homework ?

Qu.28 (ALL WOMEN WITH PAID WORK)

a) During the last year, have you ever been placed on short time working ?

Yes

No

b) Do you think your job is threatened by redundancy ?

c) Would you sign on if you lost your job ?

Qu.30 (WOMEN WITH CHILDREN) Who looks after the children while you are at work ?

husband/partner

mother/in law

other relative (who___)

nursery - state/private

childminder

other

Qu.31 (WOMEN WITHOUT CHILDREN) Would you continue to work if you had children ?

Yes

No

Qu.32

a) Do you belong to a union ?

Yes

No

b) Which unions are active in your workplace ?

Qu.33

a) Are most of the women you work with in a union ?

b) Are you shopstewards women ?

Qu.34 Does the union raise any of the following 'women's issues' ?

equal pay/job opportunities

creche/nursery at work

women membership

maternity rights

paternity leave

part time workers rights

time off for childcare

abortion/birth control/women's health

Qu.35 What do you think would improve conditions for working women in the new town ?

Qu.36 Has the new town helped women to go out to work ?

responsibility for another dependent
general domestic responsibilities
other (state)_____

- ii) what type of work would you like ?
- iii) would you like to work -
 - full time
 - part time
 - casual
 - shift

c) Do married women have the opportunity to do paid work

SECTION IV : WOMEN IN PAID WORK (Women with Jobs)

Qu.16 Can you describe your job -

Qu.17 What grade or scale is it ?

Qu.18

a) Where is your job ?

b) Which firm/employer do you work for ?

c) How far away is your job ?

- Less 1 mile
- 1-2 miles
- 3-5 miles
- more than 5 miles
- (state_____)

Qu.19

a) How do you usually travel to and from work

- walk
- bicycle/motor bike
- household car with husband
- household car alone
- own car
- friend's car
- public transport
- company transport
- other

b) Approximately how long does it take you ?

- less 15 mins.
- 15 - 30 mins
- 30 - 60 mins
- more than 60 mins

c) Do you find travelling to and from work a problem ?

- Yes
- No

d) If Yes ; in what way ?

Qu.20 How did you find out about your job

- national press
- local press
- job centre
- word of mouth
- another way (state_____)

Qu.21 What are the main reasons for you working ?

SECTION V : EMPLOYMENT HISTORY (All Women)

Qu.37

- a) Women currently WITHOUT paid work ;
have you ever had a paid job in this new town ?
- b) Women crrently WITH paid work ;
have you had any other jobs in the town or outside ?
- c) Outline jobs history -

Qu.38 Was your last job
full time
part time
shift work
homework
casual

Qu.39 Why did you leave your last job ?
children
retired
dependent adult
redundant
other

SECTION VI : CHILDCARE (Women with Children)

Qu.40

- a) Do you get any everyday help with the children ?
- b) Who helps you ?
husband /partner
mother/in law
another relative
neighbour
other help

Qu.41 Describe this help

Qu.42

- a) Do/did your children ever go to any of the following -
a paid childminder
a private creche/playgroup/nursery
a state creche/playgroup/nursery
an after school project
holiday play scheme
- b) If your child(ren) do not (did not) go to any of the above would any you like them to go ? to which one(s) and why ?
Why do (did) your child(ren) not go ?
no vacancy
no facility close to home
not suitable hours
transport too difficult
too expensive
- c) If your child(ren) do go to a childminder/creche/playgroup/nursery do they go
Whole day
Part day

Qu.43 Do you pay ? how much ?

Qu.44

- a) If your children attend any of the above, or go regularly to a friend or relative to be cared for - how far do they have to go from home ?
- b) How do you take and collect your children ?
- walk
 - public transport
 - household car
 - your own car
 - they go on their own
 - other

Qu.45

- a) Are you happy with these arrangements ?
- Yes
 - No
- b) If No ; why not ?
- c) Do you think any of the following would (have) help(ed) you
- improved state childcare facilities
 - more privately run or charity run facilities
 - more registered childminders
- (WOMEN WITH PAID WORK.)
- flexible hours
 - nurseries at work

Qu.46

- a) When your children need medical or dental treatment - do you take them
- Yes
 - No
- b) If No - who does
- husband/partner
 - relative
 - friend
 - they go alone
- c) If Yes - how do you travel
- walk
 - public transport
 - own car
 - household car
 - other

Qu. 47 (WOMEN WITH PAID WORK)

- a) would your employer allow you time off work to accompany your children to medical and dental appointments ?
- Yes
 - No
- b) If Yes - would you
- paid
 - make time up

Qu.48 In general do you think the new town is a good place to bring up children ?

Qu.49 Do you think the new town Development Corporation has provided enough facilities and activities for the following age groups -

0- 7 years
8-12 years
13-15 years
16 and over

SECTION VII : CARE OF DEPENDENT ADULTS (UNPAID WOMEN CARERS)

Qu,50 Does this person live with you or in their own home ?

Live in
Own home

Qu,51 Have you given up paid work to look after this person

Yes
No

Qu,52 Can you please indicate which of the following 'services' you provide ?

full nursing care
meals
laundry
shopping /collect pensions or benefits
housework
read or otherwise support/entertain

Qu,53

a) Do you get any help in caring for this person from -

husband/partner
relative
friend
private nurse/home help
state nurse/home help
social services day centre
charity

b) If this person goes to a day centre , do you have to take them or does an ambulance/car service call ?

own transport
ambulance/car service

Qu,54

a) Which further aids and /or services would help you care for this person ?

b) Would you prefer more financial support ?

Qu,55 Do you think that in general the new town Development Corporation has provided enough facilities for dependent adults and their families ?

SECTION VIII : DOMESTIC WORK (ALL WOMEN)

Qu,56

a) Do you get any help with any of the following -

routine cleaning/tidying
laundry
cooking
washing-up

b) If Yes - to all or some - who helps ?

husband/partner
child(ren) - boys/girls
another relative
paid help

local authority help
other

c) Would you like more help ?

Qu,57 How long would you say YOU spent each day on domestic chores and housework ?

Qu,58 Which of the following do you have -

central heating
vacuum cleaner
fridge
freezer
washing machine
tumble dryer
food mixer/processor
your own car

Qu,59

a) Is there a local communal/public laundry ?

Yes
No

b) If Yes - do you use it ?

Yes
No

Qu,60

a) Which domestic jobs do you enjoy and get the most satisfaction from, if any ?

b) Which do you find most boring and do not enjoy, if any ?

Qu,61 Do you have -

adequate number of bedrooms
adequate space for sit down meal with family
adequate general storage
adequate space in kitchen for appliances
room inside for children to play when necessary

Qu,62 Are there any changes in your home or local area which you feel would make your domestic work easier ?

SECTION IX : SHOPPING AND MOBILITY (ALL WOMEN)

Qu,63

a) Do you do all the household shopping ?

Yes
No

b) If No - who shares this task ?

husband/partner
children
other relative
other person

c) If Yes - would you like help ?

Yes
No

Qu,64

a) Where do you usually do grocery/general household shopping ?
neighbourhood

new town centre
Glasgow
elsewhere (state___)

- b) How often do you do such shopping -
daily
2-4 x per week
1 x per week
1 x per fortnight
1 x per month
- c) Do you do this shopping by -
foot
public transport
own car
family car driven by you
family car driven by husband/partner
taxi
other

Qu,55

- a) Where do you usually shop for clothing and larger household items -
neighbourhood
new town centre
Glasgow
elsewhere (state___)
- b) Do you do this shopping by -
foot
public transport
own car
family car driven by you
family car driven by husband/partner
taxi
other

Qu,66

- a) Do you enjoy shopping ?
- b) For what reasons -
gets you out of the house
meet other people
enjoy organising /planning purchases
enjoy window shopping
other reasons (state_____)

- Qu,67 Do you find it is difficult to get to any of the following -
post office
chemist
bank
rent office
doctor
dentist
DHSS

Qu,68

- a) In general what do you think of the provision of shops and other services in the town ?

b) What in particular would you like to see changes and/or improved ?

Qu,69

a) If you use public transport, is it adequate for all your needs ?

Qu,70 Do you like/use the underpasses and separate footways in the town and neighbourhood ?

SECTION X : VOLUNTARY WORK, CLUBS AND RECREATION

Qu,71

a) Do you do any voluntary work ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes - which organisation ?

c) What kind of work is it ?

d) How many hours a week of voluntary work do you do ?

1-5 hours

6-10 hours

over 10 hours

c) Where do you do this work ?

local neighbourhood

new town

Glasgow

elsewhere

Qu,72

a) Do you belong to any clubs or groups specifically for women ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes - which ones -

c) Where do you meet ?

own homes

neighbourhood centre

town centre

Glasgow

elsewhere

Qu,73 Do you read any women's magazines regularly or occasionally ?

Qu,74

a) Do your children belong to any clubs or groups outside school ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes - which ones

c) Do you take and collect them ?

Qu,77

a) Do you use any of the sports and recreational facilities in the new town ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes - do you go

alone

with the family

with other women

during the week

at the weekend

Qu.76

a) Do you visit open areas or parks in the new town ?

b) Do you go -

alone

with other women

with children

as a family

Qu.77 In general have you found the facilities for your own recreational and community involvement adequate in the new town ?

Qu.78 In general have you found the facilities for your family adequate ?

Qu.79 Are there any particular changes or improvements you would like to see take place in the new town's recreational or entertainment provision ?

This questionnaire forms part of a larger survey of women's paid work and domestic activities in this New Town. Through the following questions I hope to ascertain whether or not the employment of women is an important factor in this town's economic development.

All information received will be regarded as confidential. Anonymity in the final results and analysis will be respected.

Name of employer :

Address of site :

Name of respondent :

Phone no. :

Letter of contact - date :

Interview - date :

time :

place :

Qu.1 Brief description of activities carried out at this site

Qu.2 Brief outline of organisational structure

Qu.3

a) Are there any recognised unions at this site ?

b) If Yes ; which ones

c) Are there any women officials ?

Qu.4 Could you please give me the total number of employees at this site by gender ?

number of men employed_____

number of women employed_____

Qu.5 Do the women employed here live locally in the New Town ?

Yes

No

Qu.6 If possible, could you say what proportion of your women employees are married ?

actual number_____

estimated number_____

Qu.7

a) In the female workforce are there more women of one particular age group ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes : which age group

16-20 years

21-35 years

36-50 years

over 50 years

Qu.8 If possible could you please give me the following breakdown of your

workforce by gender, by job description and by full or part time employment ?

If the following breakdown is not appropriate to the organisation of this site, or its records, please indicate where categories have to be altered.

- a) MALE EMPLOYEES FULL TIME PART TIME TOTALS
 general management
 professional/technical
 secretarial/clerical
 sales
 catering/cleaning
 transport/warehouse
 skilled production
 semi-skilled production
 unskilled production
 home/outworkers
- b) FEMALE EMPLOYEES FULL TIME PART TIME TOTALS
 general management
 professional/technical
 secretarial/clerical
 sales
 catering/cleaning
 transport/warehouse
 skilled production
 semi-skilled production
 unskilled production
 home/outworkers

Qu.9 In general do you require employees with particular skills ?

Qu.10 Do the women you employ have particular skills ?

Qu.11 Given current levels of high unemployment, do you find you have men applying for the jobs traditionally done by women ?

Qu.12

a) Do your employees go on training programmes

Yes

No

b) If Yes - for which job levels/grades are they run ?

- are they run on or off this site ?

- if off site - where ?

- can you please indicate what proportion of participants, on average are women ?

If the following breakdown of jobs is not appropriate to the organisation of this site please indicate where categories have to be altered.

PLEASE TICK APPROPRIATE COLUMNS

	Training Yes	Onsite	Offsite (location)	No,of Women
general management				
professional/technical				
secretarial/clerical				
sales				
catering/cleaning				
transport/warehouse				

skilled production
semi-skilled production
unskilled production
home/outworkers

Qu.13

a) Do you operate flexi ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes, for which grades /jobs /shifts?

Qu.14

a) Do you take on any trainees (including YDPS)?

Yes

No

b) If Yes - Young men/women ? Which Jobs ?

Qu.15

How do you normally recruit employees ?

(Please describe for different types of work)

Qu.16

a) Since locating here have you ever had any problems recruiting the type of labour you require ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes : are any of these problems specifically related to recruiting and retaining women ?

c) If No : what makes this a good labour area for you ?

SECTION II : NEW TOWN LOCATION

Qu.17

a) Is this the only site in a Scottish new town ?

Yes

No

b) If No : in which other new towns are you located ?

Qu.18 When did you start activities at this site ?

Qu.19 Please could you indicate below if any of the following factors were of MAJOR, MINOR or of NO SIGNIFICANCE in your choice of location in this new town.

PLEASE TICK APPROPRIATE COLUMNS

MAJOR MINOR NO SIG,

accessibility to markets

accessibility to business/commercial services

accessibility to components/materials

necessary expansion/production reorganisation

availability of labour

availability of female labour

regional policy incentives

local grants /support

accessibility to good transportation

availability of new housing for - workforce

- managers/prof. staff

generally good social/physical environment

Qu.20

a) Are there any other factors, not mentioned above, which influenced your

decision ?

Yes

No

- b) If Yes ; please elaborate -
- Qu,21 a) Could you please tell me who owns (who controls if different) this site ?
(Scottish/ U.K./European/U.S./Other)
- b) If an overseas organisation, please state where their HQ is ?
- Qu,22 Do you think this site is currently threatened by short time ? closure ?
- Qu,23 What do you think will be (or has been) the impact of new technology on
the operation of this site ?
- Qu,24 Are you currently recruiting
administrative staff
shop floor employees
others
- Qu,25 If no recruitment - why not ?