

THE INACCESSIBLE CITY? A PROFILE OF THE VAUXHALL WARD LABOUR MARKET, LIVERPOOL.

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Abstract

Over recent years much research has been conducted which examines the consequences of economic and social restructuring on different localities. Arguably, few places have experienced these processes to such detrimental affect as the Vauxhall ward in north Liverpool, which possesses one of the highest levels of unemployment in the country. During 1990 I was employed by the Eldonian Development Trust to conduct a skills survey of the population of Vauxhall, as a community led attempt to redress this situation.

This thesis combines detailed analysis of the skills audit, entitled the Vauxhall Job Link Survey, with the results of a complementary, qualitative research approach, in an attempt to understand why such a large proportion of the area's population are excluded from paid employment. To develop its arguments the research also draws extensively on a variety of secondary data sources. The findings of the research are related to existing labour market and social polarisation theories. The thesis reveals that the dual processes of deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation have led to a small, residual population remaining in Vauxhall, which is poorly placed to compete for the limited number of job opportunities arising in the city. Detailed analysis by gender reveals that the position of many women is particularly poor. It is propounded that one reason for this is the particular patriarchal relationship that has developed in the area over the last two centuries, with very clearly defined roles of male and female economic activity.

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1. Introduction

In Britain in the 1990s it appears that whilst the majority of the population is getting wealthier a sizeable minority is being left behind, and is becoming increasingly socially and economically excluded from mainstream society. This view has been confirmed in recent months by the Labour government setting up a "Social Exclusion Unit" to address the problem. Over-represented amongst this marginalized group are pensioners, lone parents and the unemployed.

Within Britain there is a clear spatial pattern to this polarisation. During the 1980s the concept of a North-South divide emerged (Lewis and Townsend, 1989; Smith, 1989), with economic prosperity concentrated in the South of England, strongly associated with the growth of service sector employment. At the same time the North was experiencing the effects of deindustrialisation, leading to rising levels of unemployment. In the late 1990s the concept of a North-South divide appears rather simplistic as, arguably, the recession of the early 1990s disproportionately affected the south of the country. However despite this readjustment the national economy is still dominated by London and the South East.

The causes of increasing social and economic polarisation are multifarious and complex. They include the transformation from a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of production, epitomised by deindustrialisation resulting in rising unemployment, and counterurbanisation with a shift of population from large urban centres to smaller towns and rural areas. Another factor is the dominant political ideology of a right-wing government throughout the 1980s and most of the 1990s, resulting in the demise of the welfare state and introduction of taxation policies disproportionately benefiting the better off. Demographic and labour market changes have also led to increasing polarisation at the household level, with increases in both the number of households with no earners, and the number of households with two or more earners (Pahl, 1988). The rise in the number of lone parent households reflects social changes, and the growing acceptance of alternatives to the traditional nuclear family. However, the recent decision by the government to reduce benefit payments to this particularly vulnerable group in society could be viewed as a crude disincentive to lone parenthood.

In the 1990s levels of social and economic exclusion appear greatest in the large cities of Britain, with parts of inner London, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and Glasgow particularly severely affected. Few cities in Britain have experienced the economic

restructuring to such detrimental effect as Liverpool, and in recent years it has become more synonymous with poverty than any other city in the country. According to the City Council's Poverty Digest (1997) 52% of households in Liverpool live in, or on the margins of, poverty. The severity of the problems experienced by Liverpool and the Merseyside region were recognised by the European Union in 1993, with the designation of Objective One status.

At the city level there is also considerable spatial variation to polarisation, with several inner-city and peripheral areas experiencing unemployment rates of over three times the national average, whilst other, suburban, areas exhibit rates below the national average. Although unemployment in Liverpool and Merseyside is an increasing problem in peripheral areas, such as Cantril Farm, Kirkby, Netherley and Speke, the highest rates of all are still experienced in the inner core of Liverpool, in Everton, Granby and Vauxhall wards (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

Poverty is certainly not a new phenomenon in Liverpool, where unemployment, underemployment, insecure and casual employment were very much part of the city's legacy as a major port. However what appears different in the 1990s is the intractability of unemployment, with whole generations excluded from paid employment.

The Vauxhall ward in north Liverpool is of particular interest for two major reasons. According to the 1991 census it experienced the joint highest level of unemployment in England and Wales, with 45.1% of its economically active population unemployed (Liverpool City Council, 1993). A range of other social and economic indicators suggest that the population of Vauxhall is as socially and economically excluded from mainstream society as any other place in the country (see Chapter 5 for further details). Secondly, the area had developed a highly innovative community based approach to social and economic regeneration, most famously epitomised by the work of the Eldonians. Founded in the 1970s as a grass-roots movement opposing local authority housing clearances and forced dispersal to outer parts of the city, the Eldonian movement developed into a housing co-operative in the 1980s. In the late 1980s the Eldonians broadened their aims into economic development, as it became increasingly apparent that existing inner city policies were not generating large numbers of jobs for local people. This phenomenon had also been observed elsewhere, with Haughton claiming that:

“As few as 17 per cent of jobs created under initiatives in the inner cities are said to go to inner city residents, the remainder being taken up by in-commuting workers” (Haughton, 1990, p185).

During the building of the first phase of the Eldonian Village in the late 1980s this situation occurred in Vauxhall, with the desperately needed building jobs going to outside workers from other parts of the region and country.

It was against this background that the Eldonian Development Trust (EDT), established in the late 1980s as a response to the Vauxhall's catastrophic decline in manufacturing industry, decreasing population, and high and rising unemployment, enlisted the support of the Social Science department at Liverpool Polytechnic to conduct a skills audit of the area's population. The audit, entitled the Vauxhall Job Link Survey, was funded by the Training Agency, and took place during 1990. The decision to conduct this survey was made because it was realised that exclusion from paid employment was the primary cause of poverty in the area, and that unless unemployment was reduced the long-term benefits of the Eldonian's other developments would be limited. The background to, and the precise aims of, the Vauxhall Job Link Survey are included in Appendix One.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s skills audits were a favoured response by many local authorities and community groups, in an attempt to combat large-scale job losses caused by numerous factory closures experienced during the economic recession of the early 1980s. In the words of one researcher, *“skills audits are all the rage at the moment”* (Percy-Smith, 1989, p152). Around the country skills audits were conducted in Farnworth (Greater Manchester), Leeds, Nottingham, and Wakefield. In Liverpool surveys were conducted in the Dingle, Everton, and Granby Toxteth areas.

In 1995 the Central Policy Unit of Liverpool City Council decided against commissioning a number of skills audits in the Partnership Areas¹ of the city, largely on the grounds of cost. Instead they used the results of the Dingle and Granby Toxteth skills audits and extrapolated the results of these surveys to the Partnership Areas, controlling for ethnicity, gender and age (Tunnah, 1995).

The main theme of this thesis is to examine the effects that the processes of economic restructuring, deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation have had on Vauxhall, a deprived locality in inner Liverpool. Over recent years the move from a manufacturing to

a service based economy has resulted in many English cities experiencing a reduction in their global reach and influence (Hamnett, 1995). This is certainly the case for Liverpool, and certain parts of the city, such as Vauxhall, have suffered the consequences far more than others. The thesis will attempt to conceptualise the situation in Vauxhall within existing labour market and social polarisation theory.

The Vauxhall Job Link Survey was the inspiration for, and is central to, this thesis. The survey came about as a community response to the dire economic situation of the people in Vauxhall, and a key objective of the thesis is to provide a full analysis of this survey. The 1991 census reported that large numbers of the area's population were excluded from the world of paid employment, with two thirds of the population of working age either unemployed or economically inactive. The thesis will provide a profile of the population of working age in the Vauxhall ward, drawing upon the Job Link Survey, and will attempt to identify barriers restricting peoples' access to employment opportunities. Although the survey was conducted at the beginning of the 1990s its findings are still very relevant today, as according to Liverpool City Council's Poverty Digest (1997) Vauxhall is still one of the most social and economically deprived wards in the city.

A second objective of the thesis is to examine the position of women within the labour market in Vauxhall. Much literature on economic restructuring focuses upon the decline of male, full-time employment, and the growth of female, part-time work. Initial analysis of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey (Tunnah and Shepton, 1991) reveals the position of women in the labour market to be as poor, if not poorer, than that of men. The reasons for this situation will be examined in detail in this thesis. This will entail examining the social and economic development of Vauxhall to enable an understanding of the local patriarchal relationships that have developed between men and women to be gained.

In addition to providing a thorough analysis of the largely quantitative Vauxhall Job Link Survey, a complementary, qualitative approach is also developed in the thesis. The use of material of this nature enables many of the skills audit findings to be elaborated upon. The thesis also draws upon a wide range of secondary data sources to support its arguments.

¹ Partnership Areas are deprived parts of the city designated for European Objective One funding.

The thesis comprises 7 substantive chapters, and an overall conclusion. In Chapter Two the concept of the labour market is introduced, and a general model of its operation is presented. Competing labour market theories from two distinct schools of thought, the neo-classical approach, and labour market segmentation theory, are then examined. The inequalities women face in the labour market are examined in some detail (drawing upon recent labour market data). This is followed by a review of existing theoretical explanations for the disadvantages that women suffer.

In Chapter Three urban poverty in the 1990s is examined. Empirical evidence from North America and Western Europe is presented, and two major approaches, polarisation theory and mismatch theory, and their variants are examined. A deprivation index and cluster analysis are conducted to examine the distribution of poverty in England and Wales in the early 1990s, and to place the area of study into a national context. The concept of the informal economy is introduced.

The research methods used in the thesis are examined in Chapter Four. The conduct of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey is discussed in detail, as is the complementary qualitative approach. Critical reflection is also included on both the quantitative and qualitative methods adopted. As a large volume of secondary data from the 1991 census of population is used in the thesis, the widely reported problems of under-enumeration are considered.

In Chapter Five a detailed profile of the area of study, the Vauxhall ward in north Liverpool, is presented. In order to provide a context for the problems the area is experiencing today, the social and economic development of Vauxhall over the past 150 years is considered. Although drawing on a variety of secondary data sources, the main reference is the decennial census of population, as many surveys, such as the Census of Employment, do not supply data at the ward level. Responses to the area's problems are briefly considered, from grass-roots led initiatives such as the Eldonian movement, to the role of national government funded schemes such as the Merseyside Development Corporation. The chapter concludes by testing for signs of the development of an underclass, because the social and economic conditions that Murray (1995) identifies as significant factors all appear to be present in Vauxhall.

The population of working age in Vauxhall is profiled in Chapter Six, drawing upon the findings of the Job Link Survey. Wherever possible the findings are compared to the

results of two other local skills audits, conducted by Merseyside Information Service, in the Dingle and Granby Toxteth areas of Liverpool. In addition comparisons are made nationally and at city level to provide an insight into how economic and social conditions in Vauxhall compare to other places.

The position of women within the Vauxhall labour market is the dominant theme in Chapter Seven. Detailed statistical analysis of the skills audit is conducted, concentrating on the current or previous occupations of respondents, to establish if the occupational segregation women experience nationally occurs differently at the local level. Analysis is also conducted by age to assess the position of older workers. The extent and nature of part-time work is investigated. Educational attainment and the possession of work related skills will also be explored. Throughout the chapter the findings are complemented by use of material from the in-depth interviews conducted.

Chapter Eight begins with an analysis of the mobility of respondents. This is to assess whether women, and particularly certain types of women, operate in spatially distinct labour markets than men. The findings are linked in with current, mainly North American, research on the issue. The chapter then proceeds to analyse the employment, training and educational aims and ambitions of respondents. The final section considers whether men and women use different search methods for finding work, and assesses if this causes and maintains occupational segregation in the area.

The final chapter is a conclusion, and draws together the main findings of the thesis. It also provides critical reflection on the research undertaken, and suggests some possibilities for developing further research in the area.

2. Theorising on labour markets and gender

2.1 Aims and objectives

The importance of the role of work in the 1990s can not be over stressed. For whilst individuals may gain income by a variety of methods, including self-employment, claiming state benefit, or generating it from the ownership of various assets, it is earnings from employment that is the major source of income for most people (Sapsford and Tzannatos, 1993). Most adults in Britain spend more of their time engaged in work than any other single activity, and every aspect of their family and home life has to be planned around it. It is no exaggeration to say that most peoples' life chances are inextricably linked to gaining employment, and to the type of employment that they gain. In member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development the proportion of the population in, or seeking, paid employment is on average about 50%, rising to around 70% for the population of working age (Sapsford and Tzannatos, 1993).

The chapter will begin by examining the concept of the labour market, and then proceed to consider a model of its operation. A variety of labour market theory will then be examined, including neo-classical and labour market segmentation approaches. The gender dimension of the labour market is then introduced, beginning with a discussion, and presentation of evidence, of the disadvantages that women experience in employment. The remainder of the chapter then examines theoretical explanations for these inequalities.

2.2 The labour market

Whilst the vast majority of people require income from work in order to live, employers, from the smallest corner shop owner to the largest transnational organisation, need workers. The mechanism through which people seek jobs and employers seek workers is known as the labour market. A market has been defined as "*a collection of buyers and sellers that interact, resulting in the possibility for exchange*" (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1995, p10). A labour market is no different, with employers seeking to buy the services of workers.

Ehrenberg and Smith (1994) cite three reasons why the circumstances under which employers rent the labour services of workers constitutes a market. Firstly, institutions

have been developed to facilitate contact between employers and workers, to enable the exchange of information. In the United Kingdom contact may be facilitated through Job Centres, employment agencies, or advertisements in local and national newspapers. Secondly, once contact has been made, information is exchanged about price and quality, this may be done formally by application forms and interviews, or less formally by word of mouth. Finally, when agreement is reached, some form of contract is exchanged, covering wages, conditions of work and duration of employment. In some situations the contract may be formal, in others it may be unwritten and informal (*Ibid*).

The structure of the labour market in a modern society is extremely complex. This is partly due to its sheer size, for example in the United States there are over 6 million employers requiring workers to carry out an enormous variety of labour tasks, and over 128 million workers in the labour force offering a diverse range of skills and personal qualities (Ehrenberg and Smith, 1994). Some years ago it was estimated that in a year the continual flow of workers through the United States labour market averaged between one third and one half of the total labour force (Holt, 1970). In the mid 1990s this figure could be even higher, as increasing numbers of people are employed on short term contracts. Taking Holt's lower figure would mean that in an average year a staggering 43 million workers would enter and leave the U.S. labour market.

At any given point in time only a proportion of employers and workers will be active in the labour market (either looking for workers or looking for jobs). Increasingly workers will enter the labour market on more than one occasion, as the number of people who secure a job for life declines, and the number of people employed on short-term, temporary contracts increases.

Labour markets, in addition to their complexities, also experience perpetual change. Economic, social and political changes at the national and international level can have dramatic impacts upon labour markets, causing the type, and amount, of employment available to alter. Demographic changes can also bring increased pressure on employment opportunities. High levels of unemployment have occurred where the job matching process between buyers and sellers of labour has failed (Dicken and Lloyd, 1981). The geographical outcome of these trends are extremely uneven, as will become evident later in this thesis.

In reality the labour market consists of a complex set of separate, but interdependent, submarkets within which buyers and sellers interact to a high degree, although they have little contact with workers or employers elsewhere. Boundaries between labour markets occur when interaction between employers and workers cease, caused either by lack of information or by some form of barrier preventing participants in one labour market gaining access to others.

2.2.1 The labour market: a general framework

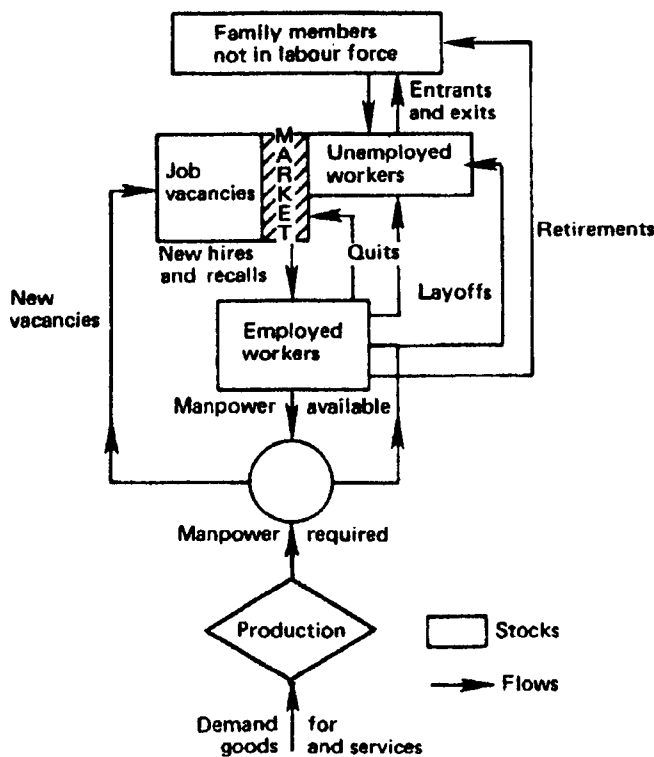
Some years ago Holt (1970) developed a widely recognised general model of the labour market, see Figure 2.1 below. The diagram portrays the labour market as a set of stocks (the rectangular blocks), connected by a set of corresponding flows (the arrowed lines). In Holt's model the flow in the labour market is depicted as circular, with workers moving from employment into unemployment, due to redundancy or a voluntarily decision to leave a job, then back into employment via the labour market. Due to the heterogeneity of workers and jobs, and the imperfect nature of knowledge, some people will be more prone to more frequent periods, and longer duration of, unemployment. The labour market stocks are:

1. Employed workers - workers in work from the viewpoint of the labour seller; filled jobs from the viewpoint of the labour buyer
2. Unemployed workers - unemployed workers who are assumed to be actively seeking work
3. Job vacancies - available jobs which are not currently occupied
4. Family members not in the labour force - the economically inactive. This category includes people too young or old to work, as well as those not actively seeking work, such as students, the sick and disabled, and people raising families, or caring for the sick.

To illustrate the operation of the labour market, the repercussions of a long-term decline in the demand for a product will be considered. Firstly, the demand for labour will be reduced, and an excess supply of labour occurs as the stock of employed workers exceeds the labour requirements. This will result in lay-offs, either temporary or

permanent, the number of job vacancies will fall, and the stock of unemployed workers will rise. If the reduction in demand for labour is widespread the number of workers voluntarily seeking to change jobs is likely to be low, and the average duration of unemployment will increase. The changes in each of the labour market stocks are: unemployment is higher, the stock of employed workers is smaller, job vacancies fall. In addition, the stock of family members not in the labour market may become larger, for example if women are forced out of employment and are ineligible for unemployment benefits.

Figure 2.1: The labour market: a general framework



Source: Dicken and Lloyd (1981), developed from Holt (1970).

2.3 Competing labour market theories

Two major competing labour market theories can be identified; firstly the neo-classical approach and its variants, which emphasises supply-side factors and the characteristics of the worker. The alternative viewpoint is labour market segmentation theory and its variants, which considers demand-side factors, and the creation of an artificially divided labour market by employer actions (Hanson and Pratt, 1991).

2.3.1 Neo-classical theory

Neo-classical theory regards the labour market as a means whereby producers and consumers come together to maximise their utilities, in this case to buy and sell the capacity to work (Cooke, 1983). Although many types of neo-classical theory of labour markets have evolved over the years they all share the common assumption that the individual is the fundamental unit of analysis who exercises freedom of choice to behave in a rational manner in order to maximise his or her utility (Amsden, 1980). This emphasis on individual choice results in neo-classical models concentrating on the supply side of labour market behaviour. Neo-classical theory attempts to reduce human behaviour to a limited number of economic variables which can be extended universally, across time, space and social groupings.

The earliest neo-classical economists assumed that in a free market without controls, wages were determined by the intersection of supply and demand. These theorists assumed that labour was homogeneous in quality, and that information and mobility were costless (Pinch, 1986; Pinch and Storey, 1992b).

One particular type of neo-classical theory that has been influential over recent years is human capital theory, developed by the American economist Gary Becker (1964, 1975). This theory will be examined in more detail later in this chapter with regard to the inequalities women experience in the labour market.

2.3.2 Structuralist theories

Structuralist, or institutionalist, theories differ from neo-classical approaches in that they attribute a role to social and economic structures. The labour market is not portrayed as being composed of individuals able to exercise free choice but instead the emphasis is upon the constraints on individual action and the inherent imperfections of the market mechanism.

2.3.2.1 Internal labour markets

Neo-classical theories of the operation of labour markets first came under criticism with the realisation that larger companies operated internal labour markets, which gave preferential treatment to workers within the firm as opposed to those on the open market (Cooke, 1983). This contradicted the neo-classical belief that labour markets exist and

operate externally to the firm. Structuralist theorists contend that not only do substantial labour markets exist within firms, but also that the majority of today's wage earners operate within these internal markets. This results in a great deal of competition taking place between employees within a single organisation, but not with workers outside the firm (Pinch, 1987).

Internal and external labour markets are interconnected however, and movement between them occurs through what Kerr (1954) terms ports of entry and exit. Ports of entry occur only at certain levels, and are often limited to school leavers or college graduates, with a very limited number also existing at the highest levels. Between these levels contact with the wider labour market is limited to people leaving the company. Even leaving an organisation can be problematic, as most large companies are dominated by internal labour markets and it is often difficult to join the career ladder of another employer part way up. The number of ports of entry will vary from company to company, as will the qualification requirements for entry.

Apart from the low level and high level ports of entry the majority of jobs in a firm will be filled by promotion or transfer of workers who have already gained entry to the internal labour market. This is because opportunities within a company are better known to its workers than workers on the open market. It is this imperfect nature of information which is a fundamental component of institutional theorists' critique of neo-classical labour market theory.

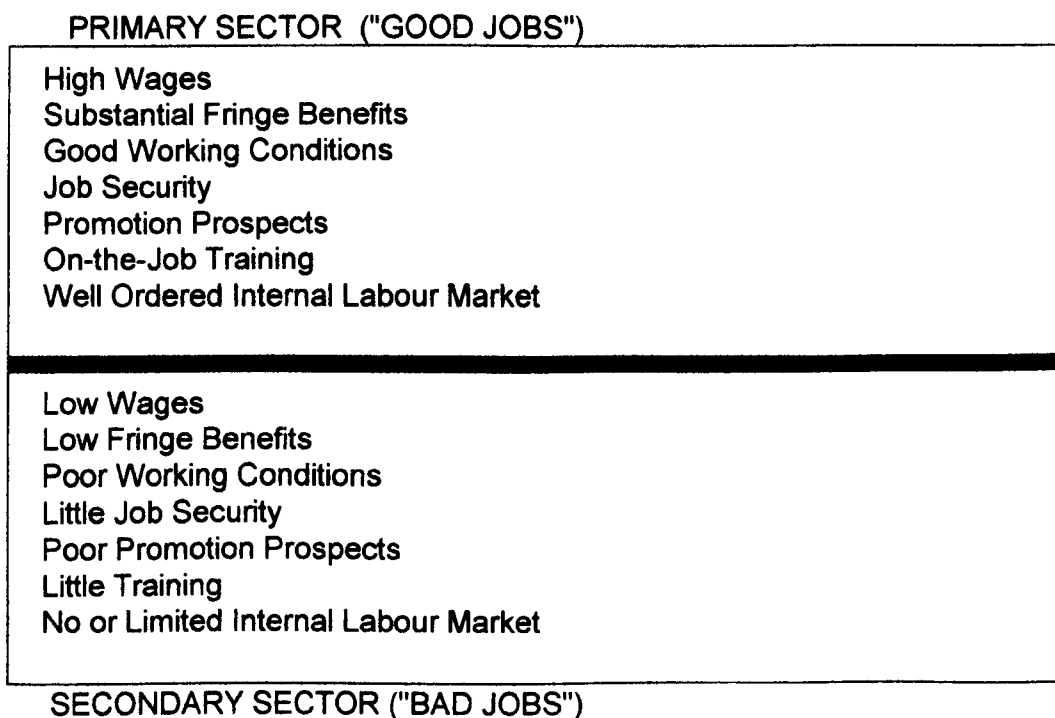
The internal labour market is attractive to employers and employees alike. They are favoured by employers because they reduce the cost of turnover amongst workers who have been trained in enterprise-specific skills. Workers in internal labour markets become protective of them because their skills are not transferable, because employers offer economic incentives to them to ensure stability, and because mobility is frustrated by the actions of other internal labour markets (Loveridge and Mok, 1979).

2.3.2.2 Dual labour markets

Dual labour market theory was developed in the United States by economists following the urban conflict and racial riots of the late 1960s, in an attempt to explain the phenomena of urban poverty and underemployment (see for example Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973; Cain, 1975; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; and Gordon, 1972). It arose

as the result of a number studies of local labour markets in the “black ghettos” of Chicago, Boston, Detroit and New York (Loveridge and Mok, 1979). The theory, which elaborated on the concepts of internal labour markets (see above), suggested that the US labour market had dichotomised over time resulting in two separate labour markets - a "primary" and a "secondary" market - in which workers and employers operated by fundamentally different behavioural rules (Gordon, 1972). Simplistically, jobs in the primary sector could be regarded as 'good' jobs and jobs in the secondary sector could be seen as 'bad' jobs. The main characteristics of primary and secondary sector jobs are shown in Figure 2.2, below.

Figure 2.2: The dual labour market



(after Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

In addition to the different qualities and characteristics of primary and secondary sector jobs, dual labour market theorists assert that there is very little mobility between them. Workers in secondary sector employment are confined to these 'bad' jobs by place of residence, inadequate skills, poor work histories and discrimination. Although interconnections between the two sectors are weak or non-existent on the supply side, primary employers can convert primary employment into secondary employment through devices such as subcontracting and temporary employment (Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

In the primary sector both employers and workers have an interest in stability. The primary sector consists of large corporations which tend to be capital intensive, highly profitable, technologically advanced and highly unionised. These firms also comprise the core of the economy and have a high degree of monopoly control over the product market. Their primary concern is to minimise the costly turnover of labour and ensure a steady output. Because of the often highly technical nature of the products it is important for companies to retain highly trained staff and this is achieved through promotion and specialisation. For these reasons jobs within the primary sector are characterised by well defined promotion ladders, good wages and good working conditions (Pinch, 1987). Primary labour markets can thus be regarded as broadly synonymous with the internal labour markets of large organisations (Dicken and Lloyd, 1981). Workers in the primary sector are interested in stability as it guarantees job security, high wages and good working conditions.

In contrast, the secondary sector is very different. In most respects the secondary sector can be regarded as the antithesis of the primary sector. Companies tend to be small, produce technologically simple products relatively cheaply, and operate in highly competitive markets. Profits will tend to be small, working conditions poor and levels of unionisation low. Consequently jobs in the secondary sector are liable to offer low wages, are often part-time, are characterised by high rates of turnover and offer only limited opportunities for advancement or promotion within the firm. Unlike in the primary sector, employers in the secondary sector do not require stability in their labour force, firms need to be able to adapt rapidly to fluctuations in demand for their products by redundancies and high employee turnover. The boring nature of much secondary sector work, plus the low wages, provide workers with extra inducements to leave their jobs. Secondary sector employers will seek relatively docile and non-unionised workers, such as women, immigrants, students on vacation and 'moonlighters'. In fact the operation of the secondary sector labour market is very much like that of the competitive labour market model as advocated by neo-classical theorists (Dicken and Lloyd, 1981).

Derived in the late 1960s to explain the location of black male workers in low paying jobs in the United States (Doeringer and Piore, 1971), and first applied in Britain in the 1970s (Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973), the dualist theory of labour markets began to appear dated during the 1980s. Many large companies faced market uncertainty, and the products of many major corporations, such as IBM, looked in many respects technologically backward compared to those of small computer companies (Pinch, 1987).

However the essential element of dual labour market theory, the division between primary and secondary sectors, is present in more recent labour market models, such as Atkinson's model of the flexible firm.

2.3.3 Radical theories

Dual labour market theory also came under attack in the 1970s from radical theorists, who questioned the ability of workers in the primary sector to collude with management to ensure job stability, high pay and good conditions. Radical theorists produced an alternative interpretation of labour markets based upon social control theories. Reich *et al* (1973) argue that the growth of the factory system in the United States in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century led to an increasingly homogenised and proletarian workforce, which threatened the development of monopoly capitalism. They cite the growing strength of unionisation and the rise of a strong socialist party in the early years of this century as evidence of this. To meet this threat employers devised series of non-overlapping, or segmented labour markets, as a means of divide and rule (*Ibid*).

2.3.3.1 Segmented labour market theory

Early radical theorists suggested that the labour market could be understood as the result of four segmentation processes (Reich *et al*, 1973).

1. Segmentation into Primary and Secondary Markets: This process is central to the dual labour market theory and is described above.
2. Segmentation within the Primary Sector: Within the primary sector is a segmentation between 'subordinate' and 'independent' jobs. Subordinate jobs in the primary sector are routinized and encourage dependability, discipline, responsiveness to rules and authority, and acceptance of the company's goals. In contrast independent jobs encourage and require creative, problem solving, self-initiating characteristics, individual motivation and are likely to be highly rewarding.
3. Segmentation by Race: Whilst ethnic minority workers are present in all segments of the labour market, they often form distinct segments within these submarkets. Certain jobs are 'race typed', segregated by prejudice and by labour market institutions.

4. Segmentation by Gender: Certain types of job have generally been restricted to men; others to women. Wages in the female segment are usually lower than in comparable male jobs. Female jobs often involve and encourage a 'serving' mentality.

Loveridge and Mok (1980) formulated a four segment model which integrated the primary-secondary segmentation theory with the dualistic notion of internal and external markets, and this is reproduced in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Labour market segmentation

PRIMARY SECTOR ("GOOD JOBS")			
I N T E R N A L	PI	PE	E X T E R N A L
	High Wages	High Wages	
	Advanced Working Conditions	Good Working Conditions	
	Strong Unionization	Variable Unionization	
	Advanced Technology	Advanced Technology	
	Autonomous Work Control	Relatively Autonomous Work Control	
	Substantial Promotion	Little Promotion	
	SI	SE	
	Variable Wages	Low Wages	
	Poor Working Conditions	Primitive Working Conditions	
Low Unionization	Little Unionization		
Advancing Technology	Simple Technology		
Supervised Work Control	Rigid Work Rules		
Limited Promotion	Little Promotion		
SECONDARY SECTOR ("BAD JOBS")			

(after Loveridge and Mok (1980) and Cooke (1983)).

The primary internal sector, PI on the diagram, contains jobs which are skill specific, require long on-the-job training, have good promotion chances, job security, good working conditions, autonomy and responsibility, and high material rewards.

The primary external sector, PE, includes jobs which have a less skill specific task content, require less training and have low chances of promotion, on the positive side material rewards and autonomy are relatively high. This segment contains a lot of jobs that have lost their skill content and promotion chances because of structural changes in organisations, and the introduction of new technology, especially in the white collar sector.

The secondary internal sector, SI, comprises of jobs which are skill specific and have some promotional chances, but are also characterised by lack of autonomy and responsibility, little stability, relatively low material rewards and poor working conditions. It is jobs in this sector that are most susceptible to technological change. Many women and

young people are employed in jobs in this segment. These jobs are the most likely to be hit when labour is substituted by capital because of high labour costs.

The secondary external sector, SE, contains jobs which are low skill specific, have no on-the-job training, little responsibility and autonomy, poor job security, low wages and bad working conditions. Instability is high in this segment and many of the jobs here are filled by foreign workers and casual labourers (Loveridge and Mok, 1980).

Haughton (1990) observes that there is little competition between the segments, and workers with certain types of characteristics are likely to be confined to jobs mainly in the secondary labour market. On the other hand certain types of workers are advantaged by the segmentation process, and he claims:

“To caricature this, white middle class males find it much easier to become City whizz kids than most, whilst their offices are cleaned nightly by black women”
(Haughton, 1990, p340).

Segmentation theory has come under attack for two main reasons. Firstly it assigns overwhelming power to managers to manipulate the production process and produce the structure of occupations required to control the labour force. The power of unions to influence their working conditions is understated. In reality it would appear that the decisions taken by industrialists are often dictated to by short term considerations such as the need to avoid immediate conflict, introduce new technology, or steal some advantage over competitors, rather than some long term conflict avoidance strategy (NEDC, 1985, cited in Pinch, 1987).

Secondly it ignores sectoral variations between industries and the dynamic changes which can occur between primary and secondary labour markets as competition quickens or labour exerts sufficient control to depress profits (Cooke, 1983).

On the basis of this critique the theory of discontinuous labour markets was developed.

2.3.3.2 Discontinuous labour market theory

Discontinuous labour market theory returns labour and its capacity for agency to the forefront of the explanation of labour market hierarchization (Cooke, 1983). Unionised workers, the theory argues, enjoy better wages and conditions than non-unionised workers because of their capacity to resist corporate interests. This enables them to

exclude other workers from enjoying their status and privileges (this issue is discussed further in section 2.5.1, with relationship to the position of women in the labour market). Workers strategies, to obtain high wages and good conditions, interact with management restructuring strategies.

Drawing heavily upon the works of Cooke (1983) and Storper and Walker (1983), Randolph (1991) identifies 8 key points which summarise the main features of spatially discontinuous labour market theory:

1. The asymmetry of the capital-labour relationship. The labour market structure is determined by those who 'demand' labour, rather than by those who 'supply' it.
2. The importance of bargaining and conflict to establish the relative strengths of labour and capital. 'Internal' workers and those who can draw on solidarity enjoy greater bargaining power than 'external' workers excluded from the core workforce. Variations in bargaining power cause the relationship between segments of the labour force to be asymmetric.
3. Discrimination and entrapment help to explain submarket structure, reinforced by the imbalance between employers and employees in the degree of labour market information, and the power to exploit market imperfections.
4. Labour markets are spatially constituted. Individual segments have very different spatial characteristics, from those that recruit from a labour force with internationally exchangeable skills (for example corporate executives, academics) to those that recruit from very local labour markets (for example shop workers, cleaners). However there is a wide variation in how employers can exploit space. Transnationals can exploit labour market differentials at a global scale, for example many American or British computer companies will have many of the components, if not the entire product, made in countries with lower wage levels than the United States or United Kingdom. In contrast a small business serving a local market has little choice but to recruit from the available local labour supply.
5. The relationship between submarkets is dynamic, as some expand and others contract over space and time. This will affect the ability of workers to resist conditions the employers wish to impose, with those in a contracting segment having the least power.
6. The model includes a hierarchical alignment of segments which are seen to co-exist in a series of overlapping layers. This reflects the flexibility of the labour market, and enables workers to move between jobs in different segments which demand similar or transferable levels of skill.

7. Although a primary-secondary division exists, there is considerable fluidity in the boundary between them, and also in the boundaries between segments on each side.
8. The social, historical and spatial contingency of labour markets are stressed, as is the unpredictable and often contradictory nature of the job creation process.

In the 1980s a great deal of research was published which identified labour market restructuring as a process of spatial restructuring within the economy (Massey, 1984; Massey and Meegan, 1982; Massey and Meegan, 1989; Savage, 1989). One of the most intensely discussed issues was the increasing north/south divide, with economic growth being strongest in the south east of England, and much else of the United Kingdom experiencing industrial decline and restructuring (Lewis and Townsend, 1989; Smith, 1989). A key element of this decline has been the exclusion of some groups from the labour market, particularly older, unskilled and semi-skilled males.

More recently a great deal has been written on the increasing polarisation and segmentation of the workforce that is occurring in the major ('global') cities of the developed world (Sassen, 1991; Sassen, 1994). This, and other theories of polarisation will be examined in more detail in Chapter Three.

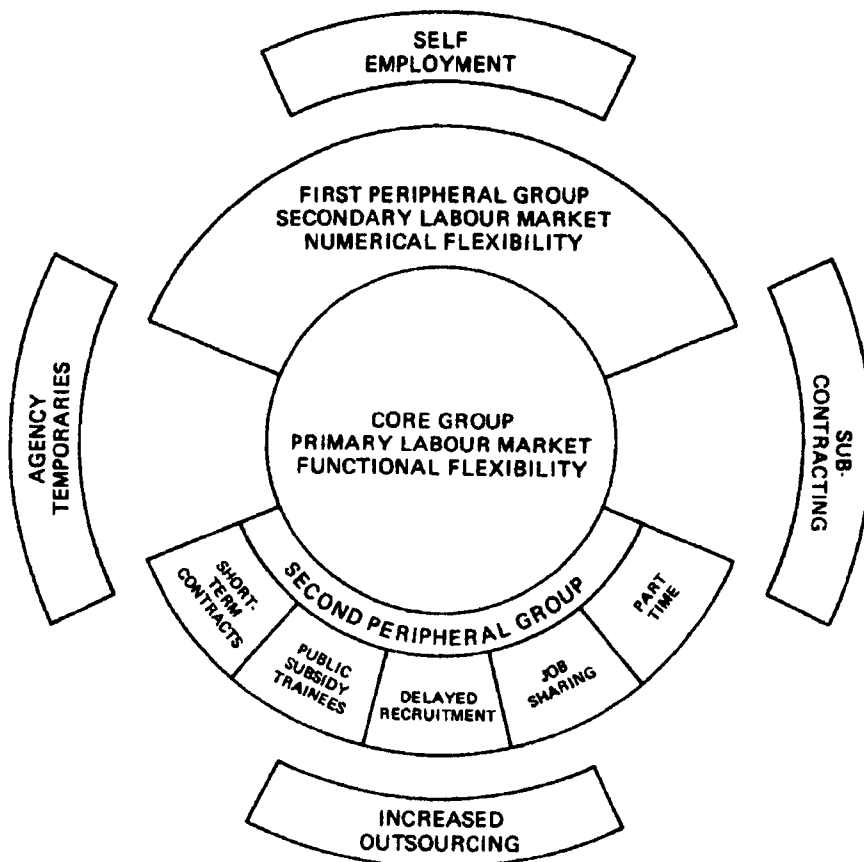
2.3.3.3 The flexible workforce

One of the most influential contributors to the labour market debate over recent years has been Atkinson (1985) and his model of the 'flexible firm', see Figure 2.4, below. He argues that large companies are increasingly seeking to create a 'flexible' workforce. Harvey (1990) observes that companies have needed to do this because of strong market volatility, heightened competition, and narrowing profit margins, and that mass unemployment and weakened union powers have allowed employers to introduce more flexible working practices. Atkinson suggests that flexibility can take the following three forms:

1. **Functional flexibility:** This enables workers to be deployed from one job to another.
2. **Numerical flexibility:** Allows employers to vary the number of workers they employ to adjust accordingly to variations in demand.
3. **Financial flexibility:** Enables workers to be taken on or laid off as cheaply as possible.

To achieve a flexible workforce it is maintained that companies increasingly divide their workforce into distinct categories. Figure 2.4 depicts groups of numerically flexible workers clustered around a stable core group. The core group represents the primary labour market, and comprises full-time, permanent employees. These employees enjoy employment security, providing they are willing and able to accept reduced demarcation and retraining. In doing so they provide functional flexibility. The key characteristic of this core group is that their skills are firm-specific and can not easily be bought in.

Figure 2.4: The flexible firm



Source: Atkinson (1985)

The first peripheral group also comprises full-time employees, but with less job security or career opportunities than in the core group. These workers supply skills that are non-firm specific, such as clerical or component assembly occupations. Numerical and financial flexibility are achieved through a policy of a high turnover of staff. This occurs because jobs offer limited career prospects, and employers target women for recruitment, because they are more likely than men to work for short periods of time. Functional flexibility is not required from this group.

The second peripheral group can be used to supplement the numerical flexibility of the first peripheral group. The jobs in this sector would have the same characteristics as those in the first peripheral group, but would be conducted by workers, often women, on either a part-time basis, or on short-term contracts, or on government training schemes. This group offers employers numerical flexibility and minimum commitment to the worker.

The final category is that of external groups. Employers are increasingly making use of contractors, and temporary workers from agencies; a good example of the former is Liverpool City Council privatising its refuse collection. This offers numerical flexibility, as a company can buy a service when it needs it, and functional flexibility, as outside contractors can offer high levels of specialisation.

According to market conditions the two peripheral and external categories can be expanded or contracted. This suggests that flexible labour markets are in a process of continual change (Pinch, 1987). However Atkinson, unlike Randolph (1991), argues there is likely to be little movement of workers between the secondary and primary sectors.

Although Atkinson's model has been very influential, it has come under some criticism. Pinch and Storey (1992b), for example, argue that it fails to explain why there has been an increase in labour market flexibility. However there is little dissent from the notion that the labour market has become more flexible. In a piece of research published by the Employment Department, Beatson (1995) produces evidence to show that the labour market has become more flexible in a number of ways. These include a growth in part-time, temporary and self employment, an increased flexibility in working time (including flexitime), and increased functional flexibility. In addition wages have become increasingly flexible, as collective bargaining has declined, and schemes such as performance related pay have grown in importance. Since the 1980s there is evidence of a shift in labour demand, towards favouring more educated and better skilled workers, which has resulted in increasing wage differentials (Beatson, 1995).

Gender is also a key dimension to the increasingly flexible labour market. Over recent years many of the newly created part-time jobs in the secondary periphery group of the labour market have gone to women, whilst men have been made redundant in large numbers from the first peripheral group.

2.4 Women and the labour market

This section of the chapter will examine the position of women in the labour market. It will begin by presenting empirical evidence of the four major differences between males and females in the labour market, which are; women engage in less paid work than men, women do different jobs from men, women are more likely to be employed part-time than men, and women generally earn less than men. The chapter will then proceed to consider existing theories which attempt to explain the causes of these inequalities.

2.4.1 Women in paid employment

The number of women entering paid employment outside the home has risen steadily during the post-war years. In 1948 women accounted for about a third (33.6%) of the British workforce (Dex, 1985). By 1984 this figure had risen to 41.4%, and in 1995 women made up 44.0% of the employed population of working age in Great Britain (Employment Gazette, December 1994; Sly, 1996). If this trend continues women will make up over half the workforce early in the next century.

Between 1984 and 1990 the number of women working in Britain rose from 9.7 million to 11.3 million, an increase of 16.5% in just six years. Over the same period, a time of economic prosperity it should be noted, the number of men in employment increased from 13.7 million to 14.9 million, a rise of 8.8% (Employment Gazette, April 1992). The economic recession of the early 1990s brought an abrupt end to these large increases, and by 1995 the number of men in paid employment had fallen back to about the 1984 figure, see Table 2.1, below. The number of employed women however only decreased marginally, which explains why in 1995 women accounted for 44.0% of the employed workforce, compared to 41.4% in 1984. Over the period 1984-1995 the number of women in paid employment increased by 11.9%, whilst the number of men in paid employment did not significantly change.

The increase in female employment has been largely due to the number of married women entering, or in many cases re-entering the labour market. Table 2.1, below, shows the composition of the employed workforce in 1984, 1990 and 1995. Between 1984 and 1990 the number of married women in employment rose from 6.4 million to 7.7 million, an increase of 20.3%. In fact the number of married women in employment peaked a year later in 1991, at 7.8 million, before falling back to 7.5 million in 1995.

Table 2.1: Composition of the employed labour force in Great Britain in 1984, 1990 and 1995

	1984 (000s)	1984 (%)	1990 (000s)	1990 (%)	1995 (000s)	1995 (%)
Men	13710	58.6	14860	56.8	13751	56.0
All women	9678	41.4	11314	43.2	10826	44.0
Married women	6437	27.5	7748	29.6	7490	30.5
Non-married women	3241	13.9	3566	13.6	3336	13.6
Total	23388	100.0	26174	100.0	24577	100.0

Sources: Employment Gazette April 1992 and December 1994; Labour Market Trends, March 1996.

2.4.1.1 Economic activity

The proportion of women of working age who are economically active, i.e. either working, unemployed or on a government training scheme, increased from 46.4% in 1961 to 67.6% in 1991 (OPCS, 1966 and 1994), see Table 2.2, below. Over the same period the economic activity rate of males of working age fell from 94.7% to 86.6%. Breaking down females by marital status reveals an interesting picture. The economic activity rate of married women has doubled, from just over a third (33.7%) in 1961 to just under two-thirds (66.6%) in 1991. At the same time the economic activity of non-married females has levelled off at about 70%, after an initial decline from a high of 77.2% in 1961. The decline in the economic activity rate for non-married females between 1961 and 1971 could be due to the rapid rise in the number of lone parent families, which would increase the number of non-married women who were economically inactive. If current trends continue the economic activity rate of married women will reach that of non-married women before very long.

Table 2.2: Economic activity rates by gender, 1961-1991

	Males	All females	Married females	Non-married females*
1961	94.7	46.4	33.7	77.2
1971	91.5	54.7	48.8	70.0
1981	90.4	60.8	56.9	69.5
1991	86.6	67.6	66.3	69.7

* Non-married comprises single, widowed and divorced females.

Sources: decennial censuses of population, OPCS, 1966, 1973, 1984 and 1994.

In an interesting piece of research, Hakim (1985) claimed that female activity rates were as high in 1861 as 1971, at 43%, and that the activity rate for married women was as high in 1851 as 1951: *"casting the analysis backwards into the Nineteenth Century shows that the 'rise' of women's propensity to work is a Twentieth Century myth"* (Hakim, 1985, p43). She went on to argue that women are now resuming their position in the labour market after having been almost totally excluded from it and being confined to domestic activity in the early part of the Twentieth Century. Rather than trying to explain the recent rise in women's work rate she suggests people should be asking how, and why, women were excluded from the workforce in the early parts of this century (Hakim, 1980).

Hakim's argument appears rather flawed however, as in order to achieve a female economic activity rate of only 43% for 1971, she must have included women aged over retirement age in her analysis. This would lead to the 1971 figure being artificially low, as women aged over 60 would form a far larger proportion of all women in 1971 than in 1861. Table 2.2, above, shows that the economic activity rate for women of working age in 1971 was 54.7%. Additionally, since Hakim's work in the early and mid 1980s the number of women in employment has continued to grow, and whilst it is important to consider her comments, the recent rise of female labour market participation can not be solely explained by women's exclusion from paid employment in the early part of the Twentieth Century.

2.4.2 Vertical and horizontal employment segregation

Although women are present in the labour market at record levels in the 1990s, it is quite apparent that they are not doing the same jobs as men:

"as women have come to form a larger proportion of the labour force the jobs in which they are engaged are not becoming more diverse; their employment remains confined to a few sectors of the economy" (Hatt, 1997, p65)

An extreme example of this phenomenon is that in 1992 only 5 out of 1370 managing directors or chief executives were women, and in 1994 only 5% of judges were women (Perrons and Shaw, 1995). Empirical evidence reveals that women tend to be concentrated in lower grades of work and also in different areas of work to men. Hakim describes these two features as horizontal and vertical employment segregation:

“Horizontal occupational segregation exists when men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation. Vertical occupational segregation exists when men are most commonly working in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations, or vice versa” (Hakim, 1979, p19).

The extent to which employment segregation occurs can be measured by using the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC), whilst use of the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) and Socio-Economic Group (SEG) classification enables the degree of horizontal and vertical segregation to be established (Walby, 1990). In the section below occupational segregation will be examined using the Standard Occupational Classification.

2.4.2.1 Measuring horizontal and vertical employment segregation using SOC

Horizontal occupational segregation is clearly demonstrated by information from the spring 1996 Labour Force Survey, shown in Table 2.3, below. Males were most numerous in craft and related occupations, with over one in five (20.3%) of employed men working in jobs of this type. In contrast only 2.7% of employed women worked in this type of occupation. Of the approximate 3.1 million people employed in craft and related occupations, 90.6% were male. Men also heavily outnumbered women in plant and machine operative occupations, accounting for 80.1% of all jobs. This situation was reversed in the case of clerical and secretarial occupations, where three-quarters (74.6%) of jobs were held by women. Only in the cases of professional, associate professional and other occupations was the ratio of males to females close to the overall 56:44 male to female ratio of the whole workforce.

Table 2.3: Occupation (SOC) of employed workers in Great Britain, by gender

SOC code	Occupation	Male (000s)	Female (000s)	% of all males	% of all females	% of class male	% of class female
1	Managers & administrators	2654	1268	19.2	11.5	67.7	32.3
2	Professional	1603	1055	11.6	9.6	60.3	39.7
3	Associate professional	1200	1195	8.7	10.9	50.1	49.9
4	Clerical & secretarial	927	2721	6.7	24.8	25.4	74.6
5	Craft & related	2809	292	20.3	2.7	90.6	9.4
6	Personal & protective services	914	1712	6.6	15.6	34.8	65.2
7	Sales	717	1256	5.2	11.4	36.3	63.7
8	Plant & machine operatives	1939	483	14.0	4.4	80.1	19.9
9	Other	997	969	7.2	8.8	50.7	49.3
10	Not stated or inadequately described	77	35	0.6	0.3	68.8	31.3
	Total	13837	10986	100.0	100.0	55.7	44.3

Source: spring 1996 Labour Force Survey, in Labour Market Trends, March 1997.

Even within occupational groups where gender segregation appeared less pronounced it still occurred. As an example of this gender segregation within professional and associate professional occupations will be considered. The spring 1996 Labour Force Survey found that just over 5 million people were employed in professional or associate professional occupations, with 2.25 million of these workers being women. The proportion of women engaged in professional or associate professional occupations was 44.5%, almost identical to the proportion of women in the entire workforce (44.3%). This initially appears to suggest that women have equal access to occupations in professional or associate professional sectors of the economy. However Table 2.4, which splits the two SOC categories professional and associate professional into their seven component sub-categories, revealed a high degree of gender segregation. Males were far more numerous in science and engineering occupations, whilst women were more numerous in teaching occupations. In the science and engineering professional category 89.3% of employees were male, whilst in the science and engineering associate professional category 81.0% were male. Women outnumbered men by almost two to one in the teaching professional class. Perhaps the most interesting gender segregation occurred in health and associate health occupations. In the more prestigious, better paying professional health occupational category 65.0% of workers were male, whilst in the lower status, lower paying health associate professional occupational class 85.7% of workers were female. This is a clear indication of vertical as well as horizontal occupational segregation, with women numerically dominant in occupations such as nursing, but failing

to gain equality of numbers in the higher status professions in medicine such as general practitioner and dentistry.

Indices could be calculated to measure the degree of segregation, however the data presented here has demonstrated that gender segregation does occur, and is a major issue in the labour market in the 1990s. For further information on the calculation of indices of segregation, and the problems of using them, see Blackburn *et al* 1993 and 1995. Indices of segregation are particularly useful to measure changing levels of occupational segregation over time. The situation in the Vauxhall area will be considered in Chapter Five.

Table 2.4: Specific occupation of employees in professional and associate professional occupations

SOC code	Professional and associate professional occupations	Male (000s)	Female (000s)	% of total male	% of total female	% of class male	% of class female
2a	Science & engineering professionals	602	72	21.5	3.2	89.3	10.7
2b	Health professionals	132	71	4.7	3.2	65.0	35.0
2c	Teaching professionals	384	659	13.7	29.3	36.8	63.2
2d	Other professional occupations	485	253	17.3	11.2	65.7	34.3
3a	Science & engineering associate professionals	457	107	16.3	4.8	81.0	19.0
3b	Health associate professionals	100	599	3.6	26.6	14.3	85.7
3c	Other associate professional occupations	643	489	22.9	21.7	56.8	43.2
	Total	2803	2250	100.0	100.0	55.5	44.5

Source: spring 1996 Labour Force Survey, in Labour Market Trends, March 1997.

2.4.3 Full-time / part-time employment

In addition to being concentrated in a limited number of occupations, women are also much more likely to undertake part-time work than men. Over the last two decades there has been a large increase in the number of part-time jobs, from about 15% of all jobs in the early 1970s to 26% in the early 1990s (Watson and Fothergill, 1993).

Between 1985 and 1995 the number of people in employment in Great Britain rose from 23.1 million to 24.3 million, an increase of 5.4%, see Table 2.5 below. The vast majority of the net 1.2 million jobs created were part-time, and the number of people in part-time employment rose by 22.7%. The majority of the part-time jobs created were filled by women, but a significant number went to men.

Over the same period the number of women in employment increased by over 1.2 million. Rather surprisingly the majority of these extra jobs were full-time. In contrast the number of men engaged in full-time employment fell by 3.3%, but the number engaged in part-time work almost doubled, from 438,000 in 1985 to 871,000 in 1995.

Table 2.5: The growth of part-time employment, 1985 to 1995

(thousands)	1985	1995	change	% change
Women (16-59)				
Full-time	5454	6111	657	12.0
Part-time	4044	4628	584	14.4
Total	9498	10739	1241	13.1
Men (16-64)				
Full-time	13162	12734	-428	-3.3
Part-time	438	871	433	98.9
Total	13600	13605	5	0.0
All				
Full-time	18616	18846	230	1.2
Part-time	4482	5499	1017	22.7
Total	23098	24345	1247	5.4

Source: Labour Market Trends, March 1996.

In 1995, according to the Labour Force Survey, 77.4% of people in employment in Britain worked full-time whilst 22.6% worked part-time. Whilst 43.1% of women worked part-time the comparable figure for men was only 6.4%. Just under half (48.1%) of married women worked part-time compared to 31.6% of non-married women, see Table 2.6, below.

Table 2.6: Status of employed in Great Britain, by gender and marital status, spring 1995

	Male	Female, married*	Female, not married	Female (All)	All
Full-time	93.6	51.9	68.4	56.9	77.4
Part-time	6.4	48.1	31.6	43.1	22.6

* includes living with partner

Source: 1995 spring Labour Force Survey, in Labour Market Trends, March 1996.

If employees working part-time enjoyed equal pay, working conditions, pension entitlement and promotion opportunities as their full-time counterparts, then there would not be any problem with the existing situation. However all the evidence suggests they do not, for example, analysis of occupation data from the 1991 census of population revealed

that women in part-time work were much more likely to be employed in lower status occupations than women and men in engaged in full-time employment. Almost two-fifths (39.5%) of females in full-time employment worked in SOCs 1-3 (management, professional and associate professional occupations), compared to only 17.6% of their part-time counterparts, see Table 2.7, below. Almost three times as many women engaged in part-time employment worked in sales occupations (18.4%) than females employed full-time (6.3%), and over a sixth (17.6%) worked in the low status, poor paying 'other occupations' category, compared to just 3.4% of women working full-time.

Table 2.7: Occupation by gender and employment status in Great Britain

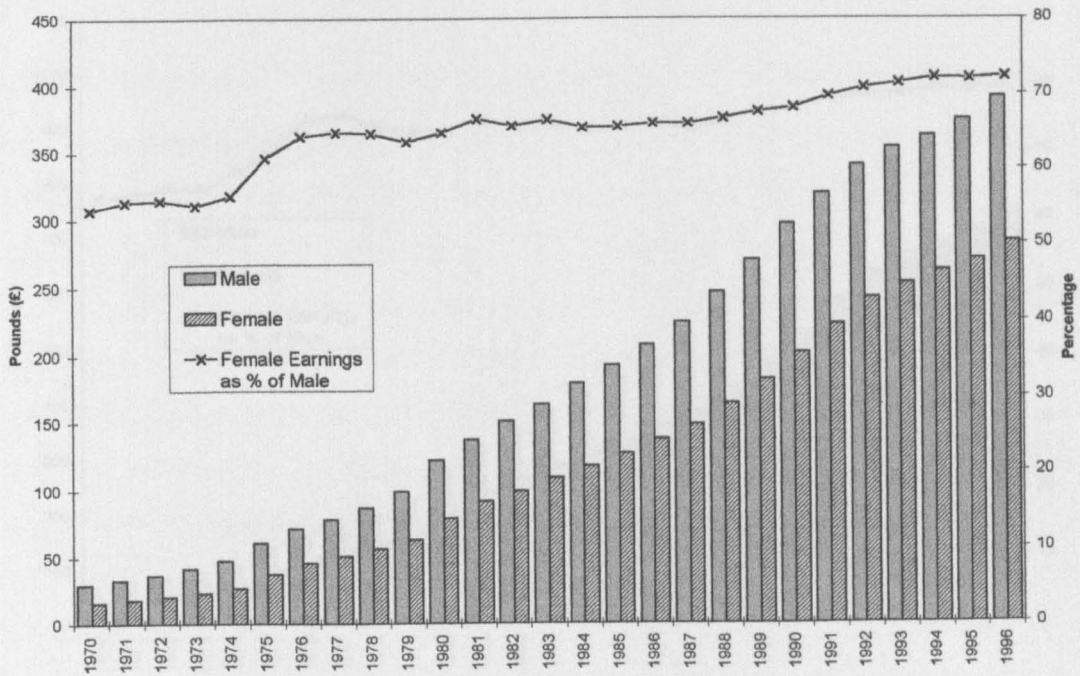
SOC	Occupation	All males	All females	Full-time females	Part-time females
1	Managers & administrators	18.7	11.2	16.4	4.9
2	Professional	11.1	8.7	11.4	5.2
3	Associate professional	8.4	9.8	11.7	7.5
4	Clerical & secretarial	6.8	26.2	30.0	21.5
5	Craft & related	21.8	3.1	3.9	2.0
6	Personal & protective services	6.0	14.8	10.7	19.9
7	Sales	5.1	11.6	6.3	18.4
8	Plant & machine operatives	13.8	4.4	5.7	2.7
9	Other	7.5	9.6	3.4	17.6
10	Not stated or inadequately described	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1991 Census, Table 74 (10% data), OPCS (1993).

2.4.4 Unequal earnings

From the above tables it is apparent that women are subject to over representation in the service sector of the economy and also in part-time employment, many jobs of which are notoriously under-paid. Figure 2.5, below, compares the average gross weekly earnings of men and women (including the effects of overtime) from 1970-1996, the graph also shows women's average weekly earnings as a percentage of men's. Although there was a noticeable improvement during the 1970s, after the introduction of equal pay legislation, with women's average weekly earnings increasing from 54.5% of men's in 1970 to 66.7% in 1981, subsequent progress has slowed, and in 1996 women's earnings were still only 72.3% of men's.

Figure 2.5: Average weekly earnings by gender, 1970 to 1996

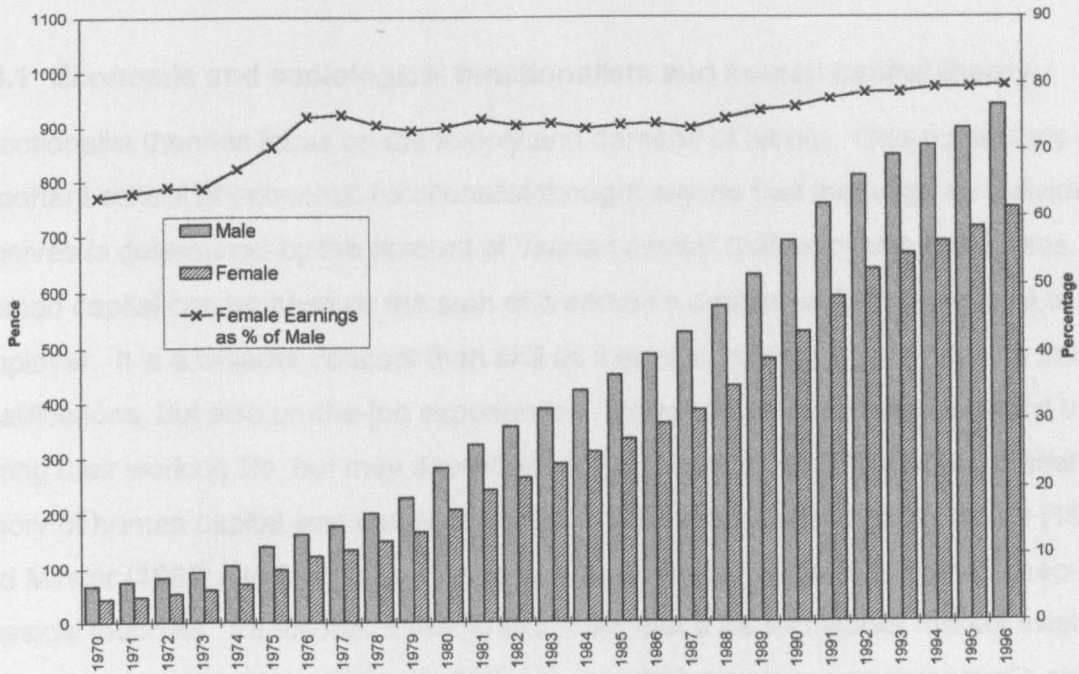


Source: New Earnings Survey, 1970-1996.

Figure 2.6, below, takes into account that men work longer hours than women, and shows average gross hourly earnings (excluding the effects of overtime) from 1970-1996. As in the previous graph women's average hourly earnings are shown as a percentage of men's. Again, as in Figure 2.5, there was an initial improvement during the 1970s, with women's earnings reaching 75.5% of men's in 1977, but by 1996 this had only marginally improved to 79.9%.

Rees (1992) observes that the New Earnings Survey excludes non Pay As You Earn (PAYE) employees, who are likely to be low-paid and/or part-time, and therefore women. This suggests that the difference between men and women's earnings will be greater than the New Earnings Survey indicates. For further information on an area which has experienced considerable interest in the last few years, see Holtermann (1995), Millward and Woodland (1995), Paci and Joshi (1996), and Winter-Ebmer (1995).

Figure 2.6: Average hourly earnings by gender, 1970 to 1996



Source: New Earnings Survey, 1970-1996.

In summarising this section it has been found that although more women are working in Great Britain today than ever before, it is apparent that they are moving into different sectors of the workforce than men. Women's jobs are more likely to offer lesser prospects and lower pay than men's, are more likely to be part-time, and are consequently less secure. Women also still earn less than men, over 20 years after equal pay legislation was introduced. Women have failed to gain equal pay because of occupational segregation, in most cases they are not doing the same jobs as men. The next section will examine various theories which have been developed to explain these inequalities.

2.5 Existing theoretical explanations of female inequality in employment

Several excellent reviews of the theoretical explanations of female inequality in employment have been produced over recent years, see for example Crompton and Sanderson (1990), Rees (1992), and Walby (1990). In this section the aim is to provide a brief overview of the four main schools of thought which Walby (1990) identified as explaining gender divisions in employment: economic and sociological functionalism; liberalism; Marxist and Marxist feminist analysis; and dual-systems theory. In addition a fifth approach, developed in recent years in the United States by researchers such as

Hanson and Pratt (1995), will be considered.

2.5.1 Economic and sociological functionalism and human capital theory

Functionalist theories focus on the supply and demand of labour. One particularly important school of economic functionalist thought argues that the wage an individual receives is determined by the amount of 'human capital' that he or she possesses. Human capital can be seen as the sum of a person's abilities which can be sold to an employer. It is a broader concept than skill as it encompasses not only training and qualifications, but also on-the-job experience. A person's stock of human capital builds up during their working life, but may depreciate during periods out of the labour market. The theory of human capital was developed in the 1960s by US economists Becker (1964) and Mincer (1962, cited in Walby, 1990), and is a concept still in use today by neo-classical theorists. Functionalist theory assumes that a perfect labour market exists where people are paid according to their value to their employer; an individual's earnings is proportional to his or her stock of human capital, the greater the amount of human capital possessed the higher the wage received (Polachek and Siebert, 1993).

Human capital theorists argue that women get paid less than men because they possess less human capital than men, as more of their time is allocated to household duties and less to the acquisition of human capital (Polachek, 1975). Rees (1992) observes that these theories are heavily influenced by Parsonian functionalism, which considered the family unit as essential to the survival of society, as it provides the stable environment for the raising of the young of the species (see Parson and Bales, 1956). Human capital theorists suggest that it is the household, not the individual, which is the unit of decision making. It is in the interests of the household, they argue, for one of its adult members to concentrate on domestic work and one on paid work. The specialised division of labour is considered to maximise utility and is more efficient than both adults undertaking some work of each type. Whilst either partner could be the wage earner or homekeeper it is usually the female who does the latter. As Amsden observes: "*women hire men as breadwinners since men earn more than women in the market and men hire women as nursemaids since women bear children and are superior at raising them*" (Amsden, 1980, p15). Once an individual has become a homemaker or a wage earner it is difficult to change role because of the investments that have been made (Walby, 1990). Economic functionalists do not regard women's lower earnings as unjust because they consider that

women make a voluntary decision to invest in less human capital than men (Amsden, 1980).

Human capital theorists maintain that the specialised division of labour can explain women's lower earnings and occupational segregation by gender (Polachek, 1979). Human capital theorists assume that jobs with high rates of wage appreciation will have lower starting wages than jobs with lower rates of wage appreciation, because: *"a job cannot have both a high starting wage and a high rate of increase of pay with experience, because everyone would go for that job"* (Polachek and Siebert, 1993, p158). Zellner (1975) argues that women who expect to leave the labour market to raise a family are not employed for long enough to allow an occupation's high rate of wage increase to compensate for a lower starting salary. Rather they will choose occupations with higher starting wages and lower rates of wage appreciation. Men on the other hand expect to be in employment long enough for a low starting wage to be offset by a higher rate of increase. Polachek and Siebert (1993) maintain that this can explain why women are under-represented in professional and managerial professions. They suggest that an individual who expects to leave the workforce is unlikely to embark as a management trainee, for example, as they would incur the penalty of a trainee wage and would not be around to enjoy the eventual higher salary. The person is therefore more likely to take a job with a higher starting salary and a lower rate of wage increase.

Economic functionalists also maintain that during a period of time out of the labour market the human capital that an individual possesses depreciates, as skills become rusty or obsolete (Mincer and Ofek, 1982; Polachek 1975; Polachek, 1981). The longer the period out of the labour market the more depreciation occurs. This, they argue, is why women returning to work after child-rearing activities often do so to a wage that is lower than the one they received on leaving the labour market (Mincer and Ofek, 1982). Polachek (1981) believes that some occupations entail more risk of human capital depreciation than others, he identifies professional, managerial and craft occupations as having particularly high rates of depreciation. Women who anticipate an intermittent work pattern will attempt to maximise lifetime earnings by choosing occupations with lower rates of depreciation. Most men on the other hand have no need to choose occupations with low rates of depreciation, as they anticipate continuous employment throughout their working lives.

Human capital theory is criticised on both theoretical and empirical grounds, for a number of reasons. Treiman and Hartmann's (1981) study of wage differentials in the US contradicts economic and sociological orthodoxy that women's wages are lower than men's as a result of lesser skills and labour market experience. The main source of wage differential, Treiman and Hartmann argue is employment segregation by gender.

Polachek's argument that human capital theory can explain occupational segregation (Polachek, 1979) has been attacked on empirical grounds by England (1982 and 1984). She tested Polachek's hypothesis by conducting regression analysis using 1974 income data, and concluded:

"the evidence is now overwhelming that women pay a net wage penalty for being in sex-typical occupations. The evidence does not support the contention of human capital theorists that women can maximise lifetime earnings by choosing female occupations" (England, 1984, p742).

Owens (1987) challenges one of the fundamental underpinnings of economic and sociological functionalism by suggesting that the division of labour between the domestic and employment spheres may not represent the most efficient use of resources. Going further she states:

"the fact that specialization does occur, and on the basis of gender, no longer stems from any inherent features of economic efficiency nor from biological necessity, but is perpetuated by social and institutional factors.....household output may be higher when neither partner specializes completely in household or market time" (Owens, 1987, p175-176).

Human capital theory suffers from another theoretical problem in that it assumes a perfect labour market exists, with employers paying workers according to their worth. It is also assumed that the best paid jobs are the jobs requiring the greatest skills. Walby (1990) argues that powerful workers are more likely to get their jobs designated as highly skilled than less powerful ones. Cockburn (1983) shows how male printers, because of the strength of their union, have maintained the status of their work despite the reduction of the technical skill requirement to little more than that of a copy typist. As women workers are typically less powerful than male workers they are less likely to have a definition of their work as skilled accepted by an employer. Therefore whilst women may possess skill it is more likely than men's to go unrecognised, and consequently unrewarded. Furthermore Rees points out that the *"feminisation of a particular occupation or profession is seen to have the effect of deskilling it"* (Rees, 1992, p17).

Rees (1992) criticises the SOC system, and its predecessor the Classification of Occupations and Directory of Occupational Titles (CODOT) system, as being skewed in favour of jobs conducted by men: *“the degree of gradation calculated in skill level, and the detail in differentiation between, for example, welders of different materials is almost loving in its meticulousness”* (Rees, 1992, pp17-18). This implies that in addition to being excluded from ‘male’ occupations, ‘female’ occupations are officially labelled as less skilled than ‘male’ occupations, which leads to the justification, and perpetuation of lower wages for women.

Finally, McDowell (1989) observes that human capital theorists take the status quo for granted, and are unable to explain the structures of discrimination women experience, for example why equally qualified men and women receive differential rewards in the labour market.

2.5.2 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminist theorists attempt to explain female inequality in the workplace by identifying barriers to women’s access to employment opportunities (Rees, 1992). They see the way forward as providing women with equal access to opportunities, via such measures as equal pay and anti-sex discrimination legislation.

Kanter (1977) describes in detail the disadvantages that women face in large corporations. She provides empirical evidence of high degrees of horizontal and vertical occupational segregation by gender, with women being numerically dominant in lower grade clerical jobs. Kanter also documents the discrimination that women in management and professional occupations experienced when it came to promotion:

“two women, one of them forty, in quite different functions, were told by their managers that they could not be given important jobs because they were likely to get married and leave” (Kanter, 1977, p67).

Kanter shows how cultural pressures and organisational features combined, which resulted in less women than men reaching the higher tiers of corporations. Kanter argues that the management ethic is primarily a masculine one and demonstrated how promotional ladders were structured to give advantage to the male majority in the workforce. Additionally she suggests that the lack of successful female role models results in an expectation, amongst women workers, of failure to gain promotion, which leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy:

“Those people set on high-mobility tracks tend to develop attitudes and values that impel them further along the track: work commitment, high aspirations, and upward orientations. Those set on low-mobility tracks tend to become indifferent, to give up, and thus “to prove” that initial placement was correct” (Kanter, 1977, p158)

Critics have attacked liberal feminist theories for overlooking the issues of power relations between men and women in the organisation and in the household, and the domestic division of labour (Rees, 1992). Kanter and other liberal feminist theorists fail to confront the basic causes of the unequal division of labour; why women shoulder the major burden of domestic duties or why men form the majority of the workforce. Whilst Kanter illustrates how gender inequality in society is reproduced in the structure of corporations, she fails to provide an account of how it originates (Walby, 1990). In short it fails to provide a total analysis of gender relations because:

“Liberal feminism does not challenge the edifice of gender power relations and the organisational structures which support them by privileging men; rather, it seeks permission for women to join in” (Rees, 1992, pp25-26).

2.5.3 Marxist and Marxist feminist approaches

Several variants of Marxist and Marxist feminist theory exist, all with the central premise that women's employment pattern is determined by capitalist relations.

2.5.3.1 Reserve army theories

Some Marxist writers regard women as a reserve army of labour which can be utilised by capital to increase the supply of labour when required (Braverman, 1974; Bruegel, 1979). During periods of economic prosperity and expansion capital can draw upon this reserve army and thus avoid the need to offer people already in employment higher wages to work elsewhere. Indeed Marx regarded this not merely desirable but essential as capital must have the ability to expand the labour force rapidly and without damaging existing sectors of the economy (Walby, 1986). The classic, widely cited, example of reserve army theory in action is the recruitment of women into industry during the two world wars in the United Kingdom and USA, and their subsequent ejection from these jobs at the end of the wars (Rees, 1992).

Marxist theorists differ as to the exact role of women as a reserve army of labour.

Braverman (1974) conceptualises women as a long-term reserve of labour which is gradually brought into employment with the development of capital, whilst others such as

Beechey (1978) and Bruegel (1979) consider the reserve army to be a short-term, or cyclical phenomenon.

2.5.3.2 Long term reserve theory

Braverman (1974) argues that female participation rates in the labour force are rising as a result of two parallel processes. Firstly he asserts that women are being increasingly released from domestic duties by technological innovations. The market is now manufacturing mass produced goods such as clothing and prepared foods which previously households would have had to produce for themselves. Devices such as freezers and refrigerators allow food products to be stored for long periods of time and thus reduce the amount of time which needs to be spent on shopping. Automatic washing machines and vacuum cleaners further reduce the amount of time which needs to be spent doing housework. All these factors afford women the time to take up waged work.

Braverman's second claim is that a process of "deskilling" is occurring, whereby employers attempt to increase their profits at the workforce's expense. Deskilling removes control of the labour process from the skilled workers to the capitalist. This is done, he maintains by the introduction of new technology which can do the work of skilled workers, but which can be operated by lesser skilled ones. As more science is incorporated into the labour process, the less the worker understands of the process and the less control he has of it (Braverman, 1974). Cheaper labour can now be taken on to do the simpler tasks, and this labour he suggests is female.

The freeing of women from domestic chores enables them to take up employment in the newly deskilled jobs in offices and factories. As they do so female participation rates in the labour force rise and men's fall, as the skills they have to sell are no longer in demand and they are laid off or take early retirement.

2.5.3.3 Short term or cyclical reserve theory

Other Marxist writers differ from Braverman's view that male and female participation rates in the labour force will eventually even out. Beechey (1978) believes, like Braverman, that married women function as a flexible reserve which can be brought into paid employment in boom conditions, but unlike Braverman she maintains that in recession it is women who

are released first. She cites several reasons why women can be made redundant more easily than men:

"women are less likely to be strongly unionised than men; if made redundant, they are less likely to be in jobs covered by the Redundancy Payments Act; in Britain at the moment married women paying a married woman's national insurance contribution receive less state benefits; and unless they register as unemployed, women do not even appear in the unemployment statistics, which accounts for a massive underenumeration of female unemployment. Thus women who are made redundant are able to disappear virtually without trace back to the family" (Beechey, 1978, pp190).

Bruegel (1979) is more specific than Beechey in that she argues it is part-time female workers who form a reserve army of labour. Women, particularly those working part-time, she argues, can be employed and laid off more easily and cheaply than men to accommodate short-term fluctuations in the demand for labour:

"this phenomenon is well illustrated by the mini-boom of 1973-74; part-time employment of women in manufacturing increased by 15% in that year, to fall subsequently by 10% in 1974-75 and 8% in 1975-76" (Bruegel, 1979, p114).

Both long term and short term reserve army theories suffer from a number of empirical and theoretical problems. Braverman's claim that women are spending less time on housework is contradicted by various time budget surveys (Cowan, 1989; Delphy and Leonard, 1992; and Vanek, 1980). Vanek (1980), for example, shows that women not engaged in paid labour devote as much time to housework as their forebears did, however the proportion of full-time housewives has decreased (Walby, 1990). Women in paid employment are spending less time on housework, but as Cater and Jones (1989) illustrate, they do not enjoy as much leisure time as men; part-time female workers have less leisure time each day than housewives or part-time male workers, and full-time female workers have less leisure time than full-time male workers. Delphy and Leonard (1992) quote from time-budget surveys which suggest that once men retire or are made redundant they conduct even less domestic duties than when they were in employment.

Cowan (1989) observes that in households that are well equipped with modern appliances, men do even less housework than before, because some of the new appliances relieve them of sex-related or sex-acceptable jobs: *"the advent of washing machines and dishwashers has eliminated the chores that men and children used to do...."* (Cowan, 1989, p201). Housewives on the other hand do not generally benefit in increased leisure time by technological innovations:

"although the work is more productive (more services are performed, and more goods are produced, for every hour of work) and less laborious than it used to be,

for most housewives it is just as time consuming and just as demanding” (Cowan, 1989, p201).

Giddens *et al* (1994) suggest that technological innovations in the household now mean that domestic chores such as cleaning and servicing the home are expected to be carried out to a higher standard than in the past, consequently reducing the amount of time that may have been saved.

The short term or cyclical reserve army theory contains a fundamental contradiction. If capital can employ women at a lower cost than men it does not make sense to make women redundant before men, as Beechey and Bruegel both claim occurs. Perhaps of greater significance is that the theory is not supported by empirical evidence. In the recessions of the 1930s and early 1980s it is men who have left employment in greater number than women (Walby, 1990). In the recession of the early 1990s the situation is again the same, with men leaving the labour force in greater numbers than women. Between 1990 and 1995 the number of men in employment decreased from 14.9 million to 13.8 million (a decline of 7.5%), whilst the number of women in employment decreased from 11.3 million to 10.8 million (a decline of 4.3%) (see Table 2.1).

Analysis of job loss during the 1990s by gender and SOC will enable it to be established whether women have been made redundant in greater number than men in certain sectors of the economy. Unfortunately the Labour Force Survey only started to use the SOC system in 1991, by which time many jobs had already been lost. Table 2.8, below shows the numbers of jobs lost or gained by major SOC group and gender. The craft and related category lost the most jobs over the period 1991-1995, with 633,000 jobs disappearing, a loss of 16.7%. Most of these jobs (537,000) were lost to men, which represents a 15.9% loss over the 5 year period. However because of the relatively small number of women working in the craft and related category, the 96,000 jobs lost to them represents a greater proportional loss, of 23.6%. Another category where women lost jobs in a greater proportion than men was in the plant and machine operatives one, where once again males were numerically dominant. The occupational groups which experienced major growth in employees in the early 1990s were the managers and administrators, professional, and personal and protective services ones. In the first two of these categories the growth in the number of female jobs outnumbered the growth in male jobs by over two to one.

In sectors of the economy which are contracting, where males are numerically dominant, women have been made redundant in larger proportions than men. This evidence supports the short-term or cyclical reserve army theory. Another disturbing feature is that this means that in the two occupational groups which are least accessible by women their representation is decreasing. For example in 1991 women occupied 22.0% of all jobs in the plant and machine operatives category, and 10.7% of all jobs in the craft and related class. By 1995 these proportions had fallen to 19.4% and 9.8% respectively.

Table 2.8: Analysis of job loss/gain by gender and occupational classification, 1991-1995

Occupation	1991			1995			change 1991-1995		% change 1991-1995	
	Male	Female	% female	Male	Female	% female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managers & administrators	2527	1118	30.7	2674	1286	32.5	147	168	5.8	15.0
Professional	1467	914	38.4	1522	1011	39.9	55	97	3.7	10.6
Associate professional	1135	1104	49.3	1188	1106	48.2	53	2	4.7	0.2
Clerical & secretarial	988	3008	75.3	914	2748	75.0	-74	-260	-7.5	-8.6
Craft & related	3377	406	10.7	2840	310	9.8	-537	-96	-15.9	-23.6
Personal & protective services	800	1495	65.1	878	1656	65.4	78	161	9.8	10.8
Sales	750	1231	62.1	700	1213	63.4	-50	-18	-6.7	-1.5
Plant & machine operatives	2002	566	22.0	1929	463	19.4	-73	-103	-3.6	-18.2
Other	1079	1173	52.1	1018	994	49.4	-61	-179	-5.7	-15.3
Not stated or inadequately described	35	19	35.2	87	41	32.0	52	22	148.6	115.8
Total	14160	11034	43.8	13750	10828	44.1	-410	-206	-2.9	-1.9

Source: Labour Force Survey, spring 1991 and spring 1995, in Employment Gazette, April 1992 and Labour Market Trends, March 1996.

2.5.3.4 Marxist segmented labour market theory

Marxist segmented labour market theory places a greater emphasis on divisions within the labour market than the previously discussed approaches. This approach, propounded by writers such as Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973), claims that capital divides the labour into a number of segments as a means of controlling the workforce. This approach has been examined in detail earlier in this chapter, here it is sufficient to say that capital utilises pre-existing gender divisions as part of a divide and rule strategy.

Although this theory provides a convincing explanation of how capital utilises gender divisions to weaken and control the working class, it provides no explanation as to where gender, and also ethnic, divisions derive from. In addition, capitalism can not be seen to be the cause of segregation by gender, because gender inequalities existed before the advent of capitalism.

2.5.4 Dual systems theory

Dual systems theorists argue that the two systems of patriarchy and capitalism are essential to the understanding of gender inequalities. Patriarchy is the theory introduced by radical feminists to explain the subjugation of women by men, and has been defined as: *"a system of social structures and practices through which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women"* (Walby, 1992, p5). Radical feminists themselves have written only briefly on paid employment which is why they have not been discussed earlier.

Hartmann (1979) believes that before capitalism began men established a patriarchal system which controlled the labour of women and children in the family, and that by doing so men learned the skills of hierarchical organisation and control. However with the arrival of capitalism this position was challenged:

"The emergence of capitalism in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries threatened patriarchal control based on institutional authority as it destroyed many old institutions and created new ones, such as a "free" market in labor. It threatened to bring all women and children into the labor force and hence to destroy the family and the basis of the power of men over women (i.e., the control over their labor power in the family)." (Hartmann, 1979, p207).

Hartmann then poses the question 'why are women still inferiorly positioned to men in the labour market?', when theoretically capitalism should have eradicated all arbitrary differences of status amongst workers, to make all labourers equal in the market place. She rejects existing explanations of women's inferiority in the labour market, because they all ignored the role of men.

Job segregation by sex, Hartmann (1979) argues, is the primary mechanism in capitalist societies that maintains men's superiority over women. Women are predominantly segregated into lower paying jobs and low wages keep women dependent on men as it encourages them to marry. Once they marry they perform domestic chores for their husbands which weakens their position in the labour market. Men benefit from higher wages and the domestic division of labour. This process Hartmann sees as the outcome of the interaction of the two processes of capitalism and patriarchy.

The job segregation process is not seen as purely caused by capital, but also by men. Men can exclude women from certain professions by superior organisation. In the Nineteenth Century male craft workers organised into unions and gained the support of

the state to exclude women from certain forms of paid work. Even well into the Twentieth Century unions still resisted the entry of women into certain professions:

"We, as an organisation are opposed to the introduction of women as a general principle" (Jack Tanner, President, Amalgamated Engineering Union, 1940).

Walby (1990), although generally supportive of Hartmann's thesis, expresses a number of concerns with it. The most important of these will be considered briefly. Early dual systems theory such as Hartmann's have come under criticism for underestimating the tensions between the systems of capital and patriarchy. Firstly, a conflict of interest has occurred on a number of occasions, for example during the second world war the engineering employers wanted to recruit women to work in the munitions industries. This resulted in stiff opposition as the above quote from the leader of the Amalgamated Engineering Union demonstrates. The situation was resolved by the intervention of the state, which introduced legislation to secure the removal of women from 'men's' jobs at the end of the war. The role of women workers during the two world wars this century is examined in detail by Braybon and Summerfield (1987) and Summerfield (1984).

Secondly, labour market analysis often treats women as a single group of people, failing to take into account very different labour market behaviour of women of different ethnicities. For example the economic activity rates of white and West Indian women is far higher than that of women of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi origin.

Thirdly, there is a clear spatial dimension to women's employment patterns in the United Kingdom, with participation rates varying widely between regions. Areas of mining or heavy industry, such as south Wales or north east England, typically exhibited the lowest levels of female employment, whilst textile areas such as central Lancashire have a long tradition of female participation in paid work (McDowell and Massey, 1984). McDowell and Massey (1984) argue that when capitalism began it threatened the existing patriarchal system. In different regions capital and patriarchy accommodated themselves to each other in different ways, which has resulted in very different levels of female participation in the workforce (Duncan, 1991). In traditional coalfield regions this accommodation took the form of legislation, which stopped women from working underground, and effectively excluded them from paid work in these areas.

Economic restructuring is affected by the accommodation between capital and patriarchy in an area. Walby (1990) argues that industrial decline in areas of traditional industry has

weakened patriarchal opposition to female employment. These areas are seen as good locations for companies to locate new factories, because the high rates of unemployment may mean they can obtain subsidies to do so. South Wales provides a good example of this process of labour force restructuring, the coal mining and steel industries are in terminal decline, and are being replaced by new electronics and service industries, which need a cheap, flexible and compliant workforce. Consequently men are being made redundant, and employers are recruiting cheaper, less organised (non-unionised) female labour, often on part-time contracts.

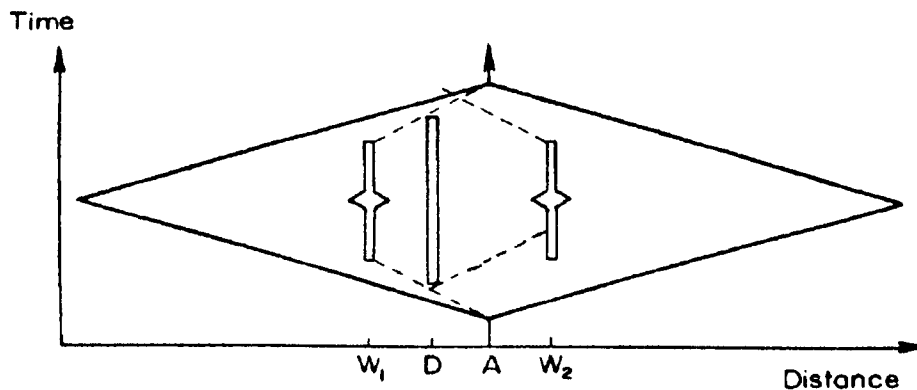
2.5.5 Gender, mobility and occupation

An important new dimension to the gender and labour market debate has been developed over recent years by feminist writers such as Hanson, Pratt and Johnston-Anumonwo (see for example Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Hanson and Pratt, 1995, Johnston-Anumonwo, 1992 and Johnston-Anumonwo, 1995). In essence their work combines elements of economic and sociological theory and adds the geographical concept of space. Occupational segregation occurs, they argue, because men and women operate in different geographical labour market areas, with women often being constrained to seek jobs in a much smaller geographical area than men. For a recent review of literature concerning gender differences in commuting patterns see Blumen (1994).

The origins of this theory can be traced to the work of Swedish geographer Torsten Hagerstrand in the 1960s and 1970s, who developed the theory of 'time-geography'. This work was supplemented by that of Pred and Palm (1978) in the analysis of the time-space constraints of American women. The amount of time-space available to an individual in a day is represented by a 'prism', the size of which is determined by the constraints acting on that person.

Pred and Palm present case studies of the time-space constraints of four different type of women, the unmarried working woman with children, the married working woman with children, the suburban homemaker with teenage children and access to a car, and the suburban homemaker with teenage children without access to a car. Here just the case of the single working woman with children will be considered.

Figure 2.7: The daily prism of an unmarried mother



Source: Pred and Palm, 1978.

Figure 2.7 shows the prism for Jane, an unmarried mother, who lives in an apartment building (A). Before going to work she must drop her 2 year old daughter off at a local day nursery (D), this imposes a time constraint, as it does not open until a certain hour. Jane has two job offers to choose from (W_1 and W_2), both jobs involve the same working hours, and both fall within her daily prism. Job W_2 is her preferred option, as it is more challenging, and offers better career prospects and higher wages. However Jane can not accept job W_2 , because she does not have sufficient time after dropping her child off in the morning to get to the job on time, and in the afternoon she could not leave work early enough to get to the nursery before it shuts. Consequently, Jane is forced to accept job W_1 . Even this decision does not leave Jane free of constraints, as she has no free time to do her shopping or other tasks, unless she does it in her lunch hour (represented by the small prisms extending out of the rectangles depicting the two available jobs).

Although a simple example, Jane's situation highlights the difficulties single mothers may face in gaining employment in the labour market. Whilst single mothers may face the most severe time-space constraints to gaining employment, women generally face greater constraints than men. Surveys show that in most households women still conduct the majority of domestic and childrearing duties (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Pinch and Storey, 1992a), and this will impose severe time-space constraints on employment opportunities available to them.

It is generally agreed that on average women commute shorter distances to work, and spend less time doing so, than men (see for example Camstra, 1994; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1992; McLafferty and Preston, 1992; Mensah, 1995). One of the most popular explanations for this is that they do so because they continue to bear the bulk of

household and childraising duties. Johnston-Anumonwo (1992) refers to this view as the household responsibility hypothesis.

One of the appeals of the household responsibility hypothesis is its simplistic logic, for example a woman's chance of entering paid employment, and whether she works full or part-time, is affected by the age and number of children she has. Some research has supported this hypothesis (Fagnani, 1983; Preston *et al*, 1993; Singell and Lillydahl, 1986) however other studies have refuted it (Hanson and Johnston, 1985; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1992).

Johnston-Anumonwo (1992) conducted research on the different work-trip lengths made by people in single and two-worker households. She found that in two-worker households men travelled significantly greater distances to work than women, and this difference in work-trip distance remained constant amongst parents and non-parents. Johnston-Anumonwo suggested that the difference in work-trip length may be explained by the differences in household division of labour, and that these differences may be measured more accurately by variables other than simply the presence or absence of children.

Another view is that patriarchal relations within a household often results in a residential location decision being made in relation to the male's workplace, which then constrains the female's available job opportunities (Singell and Lillydahl 1986; Dubin 1991). In a similar vein other writers argue that in a household possessing one car it will usually be the male who has access to it, leaving the female reliant on slower, less flexible public transport (Rutherford and Wekerle, 1988), despite the fact that the female, possibly with childrearing activities, would often have the greater need.

Only in recent years has research been conducted into the distance to work travelled by different groups of women. Recent surveys have established that the experiences of African American and Latina women in the United States are often very different from those of white women (Johnston-Anumonwo 1995; McLafferty and Preston 1991). McLafferty and Preston, researching in New York, and Johnston-Anumonwo, working in Buffalo, found that in many cases women from ethnic minority groups spent as long travelling to work as their male counterparts, and much longer than white men and women. Both suggest that this was largely due to the minority groups' dependence upon slow public transport, and also the lack of service sector job opportunities in the areas the minority populations tended to live, leading McLafferty and Preston to conclude: "...the

spatial mismatch remains as evident today as it was in the 1960s" (McLafferty and Preston, 1991, p13).

Camstra (1994), researching in the Netherlands, found that not only did women commute shorter distances than men, but also that women's work trip length varied by age more than men's. Whilst Mensah (1995), conducted research in low income areas in Edmonton, and established that the well known brevity of women's journeys to work, relative to men's, holds in the exclusive case of the urban poor.

This discussion is of great importance because a locality is often defined as a local labour market, which is the area encompassed by the daily commuting patterns of employees. Hanson and Pratt (1995) observe that numerous studies have provided empirical evidence that women typically commute very short distances to work, and this suggests that the traditional definition of spatial labour markets, and hence localities, is based upon men's experiences, particularly those of white, middle-class men. They continue:

"The commuting ranges of many (not all) women tend to be smaller than those of many men, creating a number of separate labor markets within any single large metropolitan area. This suggests that the geography of gender relations is constructed at a very local scale and that the experiences of being in a gender and of occupational segregation may be different from place to place, even within a metropolitan area" (Hanson and Pratt, 1995, p13).

2.6 Conclusions

In the 1990s segmentation theories of the labour market look rather dated. The concept of primary employers offering long-term and stable jobs for workers is now thrown into doubt as companies such as IBM and the high street banks down-size, creating thousands of redundancies. A recent example of this is the merger between the Chemical Bank and Chase Manhattan banks in the United States, causing large scale redundancies in New York.

Of more relevance in the 1990s are Atkinson's model of the flexible firm, and discontinuous labour market theory. Few people would debate that the labour market has become far more flexible over recent years, with the increased incidence of part-time employment, flexible working patterns, temporary contracts and subcontracting. Discontinuous labour market theory is important because it not only acknowledges the power of labour in determining workers position within the labour market, but also introduces a spatial element to the debate.

Whilst all the theories discussed explaining women's position in the labour market have their strengths and weaknesses, I would conclude that the dual systems approach is the most flexible and least flawed.

Functionalist approaches do not take account of the imperfections of the labour market and the power of organised male workers over less organised female ones. The liberal approach, typified by Kanter's work, provides a thorough description of the method by which women are discriminated against in the workforce, but does not explain why this is done.

Of the Marxist approaches Braverman's deskilling concept and the replacement of skilled male workers by less skilled, cheaper female ones appears to have some validity, and can explain why women's participation rates in the labour force are increasing. However some theorists argue that he over-stresses the deskilling process and that it is only one of a series of managerial control methods.

Cyclical reserve army theory encounters very serious problems as empirical evidence during the major recessions in this century contradict it. In times of economic depression women have not left the labour market in greater number than men. However analysis of job loss by occupational class during the early 1990s lends some support to the theory in the case of occupational classes where men were numerically dominant.

Segmentation theory convincingly explains the discrepancies in pay levels between men and women as a consequence of labour market segregation. However theorists of this school fail to consider that it is in men's interests, as well as capital's, to maintain this segregation.

Dual systems provides the least flawed understanding of the subjugation of women in the labour market as it explains how the suppression of women is in the interests of capital as well as the interests of the male workforce. For example labour market segmentation serves the interests of capital in dividing and ruling the workforce, but it also serves the interests of men. When women earn less than men they marry on unequal terms and if one partner gives up paid work for domestic work for economic reasons it will usually have to be the lower paid partner - the woman.

The recent work of academics like Hanson and Pratt usefully combines a spatial dimension with a feminist perspective on the labour market. Their work is an important point of reference, and they argue:

“(In fact) geography lies at the heart of any understanding of how women’s situation in the labor market is different from (and often more difficult than) a man’s. Geography is also essential to any understanding of the different labor market experiences of different groups of women” (Hanson and Pratt, 1995, p93).

Chapters Five, Seven and Eight will consider the situation of women in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool, and will try to apply these theories to their position in the labour force. An initial impression is that patriarchal relationships in the area have more in common with the ones McDowell and Massey identified in the Durham coalfields than the ones they observed in the Lancashire cotton towns.

2.7 Summary

The first sections of this chapter examined neo-classical, institutionalist and radical labour market theory, then proceeded to examine labour market theory in the 1990s. Whilst some of the early theories appear dated, important elements of them can be found in more recent work. For example a primary-secondary division is apparent in both Atkinson’s model of the flexible firm and spatially discontinuous labour market theory.

Empirical evidence was presented in section 2.4 which demonstrated several differences between women and men’s position in the labour market: less women are engaged in paid employment than men (although the difference is declining), women do different jobs than men, women are more likely to work part-time than men, and women typically earn less than men.

A wide variety of theories were examined which explain women’s inferior position in the labour market. The chapter concludes that the most useful of these explanations are dual systems theory and the more recent feminist research conducted by Hanson and Pratt in the United States. However it is important not to disregard all other theories. In concluding their review of various theories of occupational segregation, Crompton and Sanderson make the useful observation that whilst all approaches are vulnerable to criticism, none should be abandoned in their entirety. They continue: *“No single theory*

can encompass the complex reality of occupational segregation” (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990, p32).

3. Urban poverty in the 1990s

3.1 Aims and objectives

"In the last couple of years, poverty has once again become one of the most popular topics in urban and housing research" (Hegedus and Tosics, 1994, p989).

The above quote is taken from the editor's introduction to a special issue of *Urban Studies* devoted to European Housing and related issues. Hegedus and Tosics suggest that the 'new urban poor' are the product of economic recession, caused by changes in the mode of production and the restructuring of large metropolitan areas. There appears to be a general consensus that over the last two decades there has been a dramatic increase in poverty in many Western European and North American cities (see Greene, 1991; Kloosterman, 1994; Knox, 1990; and Wilson, 1987). For a review of recent literature on the social polarisation debate see Woodward (1995).

This chapter will begin by considering what has become known in recent years as the "new urban poverty" (Silver, 1993), and will illustrate the phenomenon by citing examples from Germany, the Netherlands and the United States. These case studies will provide useful comparisons because all three countries, like the United Kingdom, are advanced market economies faced with the similar problems of adapting their major cities to their new service role, and reducing unemployment caused by deindustrialisation. International comparisons are also useful because, as Pinch notes: *"they can help to avoid ethnocentrism and restricted conceptualizations"* (1993, p780). A deprivation index is then presented, which shows the districts and electoral wards of England and Wales experiencing the greatest levels of poverty, drawing upon 1991 census of population data. The chapter concludes with a discussion of a related issue, the informal economy.

3.2 Urban poverty in the 1990s

Defining and measuring poverty is extremely complex, though a consensus appears to exist that poverty must be understood in relation to the respective standard of society, rather than in absolute terms (Dangschat, 1994). Smith observes that:

"poverty is relative, being defined by the lack of those necessities that the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without" (Smith, undated, cited in Henwood, 1994, p111).

Hence poverty in the United Kingdom is different to poverty in India, and different today than it was forty years ago. For example, possessing a television in the United Kingdom

forty years ago might have been considered a luxury, whilst not possessing one in the 1990s is considered very unusual, and may thus be considered an indication of poverty.

In the United States the official definition of poverty is based upon research conducted by Orshansky in the early 1960s. She calculated the minimum income that was needed to purchase the basic necessities of life, and derived a poverty threshold of three times this figure. This was based upon the fact that the average family spent a third of its income on food. This figure could then be adjusted according to household size (Kodras, 1997). The poverty line was fixed at this rate in 1964, and has simply been adjusted by the inflation rate ever since, no allowance has been made for the sharp rise of cost in housing or health care (Henwood, 1994).

A more sophisticated method of measuring 'poverty areas' was experimented with by the United States Census Bureau in the 1960s. The 'poverty area' concept was devised by the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1964, to identify target areas for anti-poverty programmes in large cities. A 'poverty index' was developed by combining five poverty-linked socio-economic indicators. This index was calculated at census tract level for urban areas with populations of over 250,000. The index was abandoned in the late 1960s, when it became apparent that all five variables correlated highly with income, and a pilot study in Ohio and Texas comparing the index with an income only method identified the same areas (Greene, 1991).

In Germany, poverty is defined using an European Union definition. This definition provides three thresholds relating to a weighted average household income. A household is labelled 'really poor' if its income is less than 40% of the average income of the respective household type; the 50% line indicates the 'serious risk' population, and the 60% line defines the 'risk population' (Dangschat, 1994). However Dangschat also observes that the current social science norm does not define poverty as solely low income or dependency on social assistance, but also as exclusion from economic, cultural and social participation in society. He then goes on to argue that in most studies:

"even if scholars accept the theoretical norm, in practice they use in their empirical work income poverty as an indicator for poverty in general, and in so doing, they thereby reduce the complexity of the social meaning of poverty" (Dangschat, 1994, p1134).

van Kempen defines the main feature of the 'modern poor' as *"exclusion from mainstream society and from the world of regular employment"* (van Kempen, 1994, p1004).

In its anti-poverty statement, Liverpool City Council adopt the following definition of poverty:

“Individuals, families or groups are considered to be in poverty if they lack or are denied resources (material, cultural or social) which exclude them from participating fully in the life of the community or from having equal access to education, employment, health care, leisure and social activities, good housing and adequate food and clothing” (Liverpool City Council, 1997, p3).

The above discussion has shown that definition and measurement of poverty is not a simple matter, and varies from country to country, and over time. The next section will present case studies to examine the growth of urban poverty in cities in North America and Western Europe. Examples from Germany, the Netherlands and the USA were chosen because, like the United Kingdom, these countries have all experienced the structural transition from a Fordist system, based upon mass production and consumption, to a post-Fordist mode of production.

3.3 Empirical evidence of increasing poverty in industrialised nations

3.3.1 The case of Germany

Germany provides a very interesting case study. Despite Germany's economic problems since reunification it is still a very rich country, and several of the cities in the former West Germany rank as some of the most prosperous in Western Europe, if not the Western world. However even German cities have not been immune from the effects of deindustrialisation and economic restructuring, to the extent that during the 1970s amongst the country's major cities only Munich saw an overall net employment gain, with the growth of its service sector exceeding the losses in all other sectors (Kasarda *et al*, 1992). The process of reunification is not relevant here, but it is worth mentioning that poverty in former West German cities seems likely to increase with a large influx of migrants from East Germany, looking for employment. For example, in early 1997 Germany is experiencing record levels of unemployment, with over 4 million workers, a tenth of the workforce, out of work (Karacs, 1997).

The increase of urban poverty in the former West Germany is documented by Dangschat (1994). After the first oil crisis in the early 1970s, unemployment rates rose steeply in Germany, as they did in other Western countries. The numbers of people receiving permanent social assistance (subsidies for unemployment, pensions, illnesses, public

housing etc) also rose. The mid 1970s saw a short period of decreasing poverty, but by the end of the decade the unemployment rate grew again, followed by an increase in poverty and the number of socially assisted households. This poverty was named 'new poverty', because for the first time even people educated to a high level were becoming unemployed. This phenomenon was experienced all over the industrialized world, and has been described as the Fordist crisis, and as the beginning of a post-Fordist mode of production (*Ibid*).

From the mid 1980s unemployment rates in Europe declined, but a new phenomenon emerged, with a rise in the number of publicly assisted people. In Germany this polarisation was referred to as the 'two-thirds society', whilst the economy grew strongly, the number of poor people grew as well. Between 1980 and 1990 the major cities of West Germany experienced dramatic growth in the number of people receiving social assistance. West Berlin, Bremen, Stuttgart, Munich, Duisburg and Frankfurt experienced growths of between 50 and 100%, Dusseldorf, Hannover, Essen and Hamburg increases of 100 to 200%, and Cologne and Nuremberg increases of over 200% (Dangschat, 1994).

Neef (1992) stresses that some cities have suffered far more than others. He discusses the problems faced by cities in the Ruhr, with the contraction of the steel industry from the mid-1970s causing serious job losses and factory closures. Within urban conglomerations it is the core cities which are hit the hardest. Citing Krummacher (1989)² and Heinelt (1989b)³, Neef observes that in the cities of Hanover, Essen and Bochum the jobless and the poor are spatially fairly widely spread, but that in some areas, parts of social housing estates or streets of older lower-class areas, there are concentrations of people with unemployment rates of between double and five times the national average, he claims:

"these are not ghettos - but with long periods of continuing unemployment and social exclusion they might easily become so" (Neef, 1992, p213).

In the depressed Ruhr city of Duisburg Neef goes further and, citing Rommelspacher and Oelschagel (1989)⁴, argues that the area of Bruckhausen has become a ghetto. The old working class district of around 8000 people has an unemployment rate at over 20% and

² Text in German, hence not cited directly.

³ Text in German, hence not cited directly.

⁴ Text in German, hence not cited directly.

a third of German households dependent on social assistance. Half of the population are foreigners, and although their unemployment rate is lower, few can claim benefits for fear of deportation. Despite the multifarious problems faced by residents, such as excessive debts, broken homes, child truancy and alcoholism, there is a marked solidarity in minor everyday problems and tolerance of deviant behaviour is high. Neef, citing Meegan (1989), observes: "*a striking similarity here with social relations in the poor districts of Liverpool*" (Neef, 1992, p213).

3.3.2 The Netherlands: the rise of unemployment in Amsterdam

A further example of increasing urban poverty can be found with the example of steeply rising unemployment rates experienced in the Dutch city of Amsterdam. Although unemployment does not directly measure poverty, most people who are unemployed are likely to be living below the poverty line. Kloosterman (1994) describes how Amsterdam changed from a city with a low unemployment rate, comparable with the national average in the 1970s, to a city today with unemployment of over 20%, almost twice the Dutch average. During the 1970s, as in Germany, unemployment rates in the Netherlands rose steadily as a result of the first oil crisis, and by 1979, on the eve of the second oil crisis, unemployment in the Netherlands and Amsterdam stood at 5 and 5.5% respectively. Unemployment levels peaked in the Netherlands in 1984 when a record 822,000 people were unemployed (17% of the labour force); from then on the Dutch economy recovered and began to create a large number of jobs, mainly in the service sector. The national unemployment rate steadily fell, and by the end of the decade 12% of the labour force were out of work.

Amsterdam also reached a turning point in 1984, when after years of relentless employment decline the city's economic fortunes changed. In 1969 a record number of 393,500 jobs were recorded in the city, but by 1984 this number had been reduced by about 80,000 (a decline of 21.3%). Between 1984 and 1988 the number of jobs in the city rose from 314,000 to 352,000, an increase of 12.1%. But unlike the country as a whole unemployment rates continued to rise, from 57,200 in 1984 to 72,300 in 1988, an increase of 25%.

By 1990 it was also apparent that the burden of unemployment was being borne disproportionately by the city's minority populations. The unemployment rate amongst the Surinamese population was twice that of the indigenous population, and amongst the

Turkish population it was three times (De Amsterdamsee Economie in 1992, cited in Kloosterman 1994). The situation was very similar in Rotterdam, where in 1993 the unemployment rate amongst the four largest ethnic minority groups (Surinamese, Antillans, Turks and Moroccans) was over 25%, compared to a rate of 9.5% for the city as a whole (Burgers and Kloosterman, 1996).

van Kempen (1994) provides supporting evidence that poverty in Amsterdam has increased in recent years. Because of a lack of income data at the inner-city level, she measures poverty by 'living on welfare' and 'ethnic origin'. She found that both the percentage of people living on welfare and the percentage of ethnic minority population had increased considerably over the last decade, particularly around the outskirts of the city and most notoriously in Bijlmermeer.

In addition to rising levels of unemployment in Dutch cities, recent research has shown that the rates of long-term unemployment are also increasing alarmingly. Engbersen *et al* (1993) found that the number of people who had been unemployed for over a year rose from below a third (31.3%) in 1982 to over a half (53.0%) in 1990. The number of people who had been unemployed for over 4 years rose even more dramatically, from 2.1% in 1982 to 18.1% in 1989. Perhaps even more worryingly the proportion of long-term unemployed was still rising when the overall unemployment rate was falling (Engbersen *et al*, 1993).

3.3.3 The case of the USA

Wilson (1987) describes in detail the 'urbanization of poverty' in the United States from the late 1950s, using census data and the official definition of poverty. His main findings are summarised in Table 3.1, below. Between 1959 and 1969 the number of people living below the poverty line dropped dramatically in the country as a whole and in metropolitan areas, as a result of a buoyant economy and the massive anti-poverty policies adopted by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Since 1969 however the number and proportion of poor people in the United States has increased. This increase has been unevenly distributed, with the proportion of non-metropolitan poor remaining virtually unchanged between 1969 (17.9%) and 1982 (17.8%). Over the same period the number of metropolitan poor increased from 24.1 million (12.1% of the population) to 34.4 million (15%). However in 1982 the proportion of

people living in poverty was still higher in non-metropolitan areas than metropolitan ones, though the gap was closing. Kasarda (1990) observes that between 1959 and 1985 the proportion of poor living in metropolitan central cities rose from 27 to 43%.

In central cities the number of poor rose from 8 million in 1969 (12.7% of the population) to 12.7 million in 1982 (19.9%). This increase has been disproportionately, but not solely, borne by blacks. The number of central city blacks living in poverty rose from 3.1 million in 1969 (24.3% of the population) to 5.4 million in 1982 (36.9%), whilst the respective figures for whites were 4.8 million in 1969 (9.7%) and 6.8 million in 1982 (14.5%).

Table 3.1: Changing poverty population in the United States

Millions	1959	1969	1982
Percentage			
USA	39.5	24.1	34.4
	22	12.1	15
Non-Metropolitan	No	11	13.2
	Data	17.9	17.8
Metropolitan	17	13.1	21.2
	15.3	9.5	13.6
Central City	No	8	12.7
	Data	12.7	19.9

Source: Wilson (1987).

Kasarda (1990), reviewing current research on the increase of poverty in the United States over the last two decades, concludes that the rise of poverty was most severe in the older industrial cities of the north. Citing Jargowsky and Bane (1988), Kasarda notes that the number of people living in 'extreme poverty tracts' (census tracts where more than 40% of residents lived below the poverty line) grew from 975,000 in 1970 to 1,615,000 in 1980, an increase of 66%. Furthermore, four northern cities (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit) accounted for three-quarters of this increase.

The above three examples have provided empirical evidence which demonstrates the increase in poverty in urban areas, by the use of a variety of different indicators. The American example uses a poverty index, based upon income, whilst the German one uses numbers of persons receiving state benefits, and the Dutch example uses unemployment rates. Now that the empirical evidence of the problems facing cities in the

1990s has been presented, a variety of theoretical perspectives which have been developed to explain the urban crisis will be considered.

3.4 The post-Fordist city: deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation

The three examples above show clearly that a number of common problems, increasing poverty, rising unemployment and decline in number of jobs, are being widely experienced in the major cities of developed countries. Indeed examples could be cited to demonstrate that these problems are being faced in all developed countries.

The German, Dutch and North American cities discussed above can all be viewed as local versions of a global phenomenon, the development of the post-Fordist city. Two important features of post-Fordism are deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation (Lever, 1991).

Economic restructuring has resulted in the dramatic decline of manufacturing employment, and a substantial rise in the number of service sector jobs. However the new service sector jobs are often geographically remote from the disappearing manufacturing ones, and redundant factory workers are often unqualified for them even if they are not.

The decline of manufacturing industry and the accompanying rise of service sector industries is well illustrated by example of the northern cities of the United States, described by Kasarda (1990). Between 1970 and 1986 New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and St. Louis each lost approximately half of their manufacturing jobs, and also experienced significant declines in their retail and wholesale sectors. Whilst this spectacular decline in manufacturing was occurring, an equally dramatic rise took place in white-collar service employment. New York, for example, added 440,000 jobs in the service sector, but lost 735,000 jobs in all other industries. Of the five cities Kasarda studied, only Boston added more jobs in the service sector than it lost in the non-service sector.

In a further piece of research Kasarda *et al* (1992) shows that the northern city of Detroit is facing a particularly bleak future. Like the 5 northern cities discussed above it has experienced massive job loss in the manufacturing, wholesale and retail sectors, but unlike them it has also experienced a significant decline in the numbers of service sector

jobs, losing almost a fifth (18%) of jobs in this sector between 1970 and 1980. The poverty rate in Detroit has risen remorselessly in recent years, from 15% of the population in 1969, to 23% in 1979, and to 32% in 1989. Most of this increase has been disproportionately borne by blacks (Kodras, 1997).

The United Kingdom has also experienced severe deindustrialisation. The numbers of people employed in manufacturing occupations declined from 8.5 million in 1965 to 3.8 million in 1995. The proportion of the workforce employed in manufacturing industry fell from 37% in 1966 to 18% in 1995 (Beynon, 1997; Lever, 1991).

The impact of deindustrialisation is geographically uneven, with the most severe effects experienced by specialist industrial cities, such as Duisburg (steel production) and Detroit (car production). However, as the examples of New York and Amsterdam show, even 'world cities' are not immune from its effects.

Table 3.2, below, shows the effect of deindustrialisation in terms of employment change in five major English cities between 1981 and 1991.

Table 3.2: Employment change in selected major English cities

Year	Birmingham	Liverpool	Manchester	Newcastle	Sheffield
1981	507300	253500	296800	152000	241700
1991	464200	194500	265700	153600	211800
% change 81-91	-8.5	-23.3	-10.5	1.1	-12.4

Source: 1981 and 1991 censuses of employment.

The parallel process to deindustrialisation has been counterurbanisation. This has involved the movement of residential and subsequently employment location from major cities to smaller towns and rural areas (Lever, 1991). This movement of population is well illustrated by the decline of the major cities in England, illustrated in Table 3.3, below.

Table 3.3: Population change in selected major English cities

Year	Birmingham	Liverpool	Manchester	Newcastle	Sheffield
1961	1183101	745750	662021	336436	584806
1971	1097837	610113	543859	308276	572673
1981	1006800	510300	449200	277700	536800
1991	937763	449560	400254	264069	502840
% change 61-91	-20.7	-39.7	-39.5	-21.5	-14.0
% change 81-91	-6.9	-11.9	-10.9	-4.9	-6.3

Source: 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 censuses of population.

By comparing the two tables it can be seen that whilst Liverpool has experienced considerable loss of population and employment, the loss of jobs has been greater. Between 1981 and 1991 the population of Liverpool declined by 11.9%, but the number of jobs declined by 23.3%. None of the other cities have experienced this phenomenon to anything like this degree. Manchester experienced a similar level of population loss between 1981 and 1991 (10.9%), but had a much smaller decline in employment in the city (10.5%). Over the 30 year period 1961-1991, Liverpool also lost a higher proportion of its jobs than population. Over half the city's 400,000 jobs in 1961 had disappeared by 1991, whilst the population declined by about two-fifths (Liverpool City Council, 1987).

Residential migration from large cities has often been a very selective process, with the population that leaves generally being younger, richer, better qualified and more highly skilled than the population that remains (Kloosterman, 1994). This offers some explanation for rising poverty rates in urban areas. The more affluent population vacates the area, leaving behind a poorer, residual population, which is often unable to adapt to changing labour market conditions. The effects of deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation on Vauxhall and Liverpool will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Five.

3.5 The global economy

Another related issue to the change to a post-Fordist mode of production has been the development of a global economy, increasingly dominated by a small number of global

cities. It is important to distinguish this new phenomenon from the concept of a world economy. Castells defines the global economy as:

“an economy that works as a unit in real time at a planetary scale. It is an economy where capital flows, labour markets, commodity markets, information, raw materials, management, and organization are internationalized and fully interdependent throughout the planet” (1993, p249).

Sassen (1991) in her influential book *The Global City*, argues that whilst economic activity has become more spatially dispersed, it has also become more globally integrated. A small number of cities, most notably New York, London and Tokyo, have developed new functions which enable them to control the global economy. Sassen suggests these cities act in four new ways:

“first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations, in these leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced” (Sassen, 1991, p3-4).

Later in the book she goes on to show how global cities have an historically unprecedented influence on the fortunes of other places nationally and internationally. For example in Japan a large volume of car production has shifted out of Toyota City (Nagoya) to foreign locations (Thailand, South Korea, and the United States), whilst the headquarters of Toyota have moved to Tokyo.

In this thesis the concern is not so much what is occurring in the global cities of the world, but the effect that their development is having on other cities in the urban hierarchy. As cities such as London, New York, and Tokyo grow in global importance the influence of other regional centres change, and in many cases decreases. As Hamnett observes:

“This is particularly true of some of the older industrial cities of Europe and North America which have fallen in importance as manufacturing industry has closed down or moved abroad. Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow, Pittsburgh and Baltimore, for instance, are no longer as important as they once were” (Hamnett, 1995, p115).

Sheffield is a particularly good example of a city which has declined in world importance as it sustained a catastrophic decline in its dual economies of steel and cutlery. In 1971 the steel industry in Sheffield employed 16% of the city's workforce, but by 1993 this figure had decreased to just 2.2% (Taylor *et al*, 1996). Consequently unemployment rates, particularly amongst men, have remained persistently high.

It is somewhat ironic that some of the worst effects of deindustrialisation, brought about partly by the development of a global economy, are experienced in regions of the United Kingdom and the United States, countries which are home to two of the most important global cities. Few would argue that Detroit and Liverpool possess some of the most severe social and economic problems in the industrialised world.

The next section will focus upon the two alternative theories which, according to van Kempen (1994), dominate the debate on the consequences of economic and social restructuring. These perspectives are known as "polarisation" and "mismatch" theories.

3.6 Polarisation theories

Pinch (1993) and Hamnett (1994) identify two distinct versions of polarisation theory. The first, developed mainly in the United States, focuses upon the decline of traditional manufacturing industry and the growth of high-technology manufacturing industry and the service sector (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Nelson and Lorence, 1988). The traditional manufacturing sector employed a large number of people on reasonably good incomes, often facilitated by a strongly unionised workforce. These jobs have largely been replaced by a highly polarised employment structure, with a few very highly paid professional and managerial jobs at the top end, and a vast number of casual, informal or insecure jobs at the bottom (van Kempen, 1994).

Sassen (1991, 1994) takes the polarisation theory further in her global cities thesis, and argues that the polarisation process is most pronounced in world cities, where economies have become dominated by financial and business services, and at the same time experienced dramatic declines in their traditional manufacturing base. This has led to increased polarisation, as high paying jobs in the financial and business sectors are created, and middle income skilled manual jobs from the manufacturing sector disappear. In their place a large number of low skilled, low paying jobs are being created to service the financial and business sector. This occupational polarisation can lead to growing social, tenurial and ethnic segregation, gentrification in the inner city and the concentration of the low paid in the less desirable sectors of the housing market (Hamnett, 1994). This employment bifurcation can be viewed using Atkinson's model of the flexible labour market (discussed in Chapter Two). The high paying financial sector jobs are in the core group, whilst the low skilled, low paying jobs are in the peripheral groups, with little job

security. The subcontracting of business and financial services is also of increasing importance.

Sassen's global cities thesis has come under attack for a number of reasons. Whilst it may hold true in cities such as New York and Los Angeles, which are still experiencing an influx of immigrants who are likely to accept low wage jobs, the evidence is less convincing for major cities in Europe. Hamnett (1994), citing census data, suggests that rather than experiencing increasing social polarisation London is experiencing professionalisation, as the proportion of professional and managerial workers has increased whilst all other occupational groups have declined.

The scale of recent ethnic immigration to New York is startling. In 1970 the non-Hispanic white population of the city was 63%. By 1990 this figure had fallen to 39.5% (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995). Also in 1990 over 2 million (28%) of New York's population was non-US born (Hamnett, 1994). It appears unlikely that any other global city, with the exception of Los Angeles, has experienced this scale of recent ethnic immigration, and this leads Hamnett to conclude that: "*Sassen's social polarisation theory may be a slave to New York which she has erroneously generalised to all global cities*" (Hamnett, 1994, p408).

The second version of polarisation theory has emerged from the work of Pahl (1988), who is concerned with the development of what he terms 'work-rich' households and 'work-poor' households. Much of Pahl's article is concerned with work in the 'informal economy', and this will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. What is of concern here is Pahl's argument of increasing polarisation between households with dual or multiple workers, and households with no workers. A key premise of Pahl's thesis is the emphasis on the household, rather than the individual, as the unit of analysis, hence households with more than one member in employment are able to achieve and sustain high household incomes, despite the individually weak labour market position of some of their members.

Pahl also suggests that part-time workers are more likely to be in households in which there is an established full-time worker, and much less likely to be in households headed by an unemployed worker. Pahl concludes that 'work-rich' households are able to accumulate more income from a combination of different forms of employment, from more self-provisioning, and from other forms of informal economic activity (Pahl, 1988).

Almost ten years after the publication of Pahl's influential paper, his views on the 'work-rich' and 'work-poor' households appear increasingly relevant, as the number of 'dual earner' households continue to grow. In a recent piece of research it is claimed that: "*the divide between work-rich and work-poor households is deepening*" (Hatt, 1997, p52). This cleavage appears to be widening because certain household types are caught in a benefits trap:

"Single mothers or women whose partner is on benefit are deterred by the welfare payments system from accepting part-time jobs. In these cases it is not worthwhile financially for the woman to take a part-time job since any earnings will merely be deducted from their benefit entitlement" (Hatt, p27-28).

The phenomenon of women with unemployed husbands being less likely to be engaged in paid employment than the wives of working men has been widely observed in recent years (Davies *et al*, 1994; Martin and Roberts, 1984; Morris, 1995). It seems likely that this situation could lead to women becoming involved in more informal, undeclared activities, which would afford them less rights and protection, and also lower wage levels. These forms of work might include homeworking, with notoriously low rates of pay, or cash-in hand cleaning jobs. Whether this phenomenon is experienced in Vauxhall will be discussed in the later chapters of this thesis.

3.7 Mismatch theories

Leading proponents of the mismatch thesis define the term mismatch as:

"a discordant distribution of labour qualifications vis-a-vis qualifications required for jobs available at a point in time" (Kasarda *et al*, 1992, p251).

Kasarda *et al* then proceed to identify two processes of mismatch, one at a non-spatial (or national) level, and one and a spatially specific (or local community) level. Non-spatial mismatch is broadly synonymous with the industrial transition model, with mismatch occurring as national economic structures change.

Mismatch theorists argue that high rates of unemployment occur in areas where the labour force is unable to adapt sufficiently quickly to the process of transition of the local demand for labour (Kloosterman, 1994). This is exemplified in cities experiencing substantial decline in traditional manufacturing industry, accompanied by a rapid growth in the service and financial sectors. The new jobs which are created in industries such as information processing usually require a better trained and educated workforce. Kasarda *et al* (1992) argue that the mismatch is greatest in cities with expanding minority populations, who do not possess the levels of education and training to fill the jobs

created in growth areas. They demonstrate this phenomenon with evidence from a study of US and former West German cities (*Ibid*). In an earlier piece of research Kasarda (1990) argues that the new knowledge intensive white-collar jobs are not functionally accessible to many black inner city residents, because of inadequate levels of education, but they are spatially accessible, as they are located close to these areas.

Spatial mismatch theory can explain the simultaneous growth of unemployment and employment in the same locality, as local workers made redundant by declining industries are unable to find work in the new growth industries. In addition these workers are often unable to move to places where job opportunities would be better (Kloosterman, 1994). In Liverpool recent employment growth has been centred in areas such as Wavertree Technology Park and Brunswick Business Park. Research by Tang (1995), reveals that there was a mismatch between the nature of jobs created by employers locating in Wavertree Technology Park and the skills that the local labour force had to offer. Consequently he found that a considerable number of jobs were taken by commuters from outside Liverpool or even outside Merseyside. For example amongst employees at the Central Retail Service Division of Barclaycard (which accounted for about a third of all jobs in the Technology Park), 30% lived outside the city, and a further 30% lived outside the conurbation. Tang did not ask where the 40% of employees living in Liverpool lived, but it seems likely that many would not live in the immediate area. This mismatch can help explain why very different levels of unemployment are experienced within a geographically small area, for example in Liverpool the central wards of Everton, Granby and Vauxhall experience unemployment rates of over 40% whilst in suburban Grassendale, less than 5 miles away, the rate is just 7.9% (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

Mismatch theories have been criticised for downplaying the significance of racial discrimination (Fainstein, 1992). Recent research in the Red Hook district of Brooklyn has shown that recruitment through social networks can exclude certain types of people from gaining employment (Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996). A survey of employers found that blue-collar jobs in the area were not going to local people, particularly African Americans, because they lacked the connections and references, the 'social capital', to gain these jobs. In addition it was noted that race and place discrimination acted against local people gaining employment. In their concluding comments, the researchers note that:

"Simply locating low-skilled jobs near where poor people live is no guarantee that they will have access to these jobs" (Kasinitz and Rosenberg, 1996, p193).

In many cities in the United States, the decline of the industrial sector has been exacerbated by the exodus of the white middle class, which not only reduces the tax base of cities, but also reduces the number of blue-collar service sector jobs (Kasarda, 1990). The subsequent out migration of middle and working class blacks has increased the proportion of disadvantaged people living in the inner city, and leads Wilson (1987) to conclude that:

“the exodus of middle- and working class families from many ghetto neighbourhoods removes an important “social buffer” that could deflect the full impact of prolonged and increasing joblessness that plagued inner-city neighbourhoods in the 1970s and early 1980s, joblessness created by uneven economic growth and periodic recessions. This argument is based on the assumption that even if the truly disadvantaged segments of an inner-city area experience a significant increase in long-spells of joblessness, the basic institutions in that area (churches, schools, stores, recreational facilities, etc.) would remain viable if much of the base of their support comes from the more economically stable and secure families” (Wilson, 1987, p56).

He then goes on to observe that the presence of working and middle class families during periods of recession can act as important role models.

Mismatch theories are closely associated with the controversial underclass debate, which has raged furiously since the term was first used by Gunnar Myrdal in the early 1960s.

Myrdal's definition of an underclass was:

“an unprivileged class of unemployed, unemployables and underemployed who are more and more hopelessly set apart from the nation at large and do not share in its life, its ambitions and its achievements” (Myrdal, 1962, p10; cited in Woodward, 1995, p82).

Myrdal used the phrase in a structural way, describing the unemployed as economic victims, however by the late 1970s the expression was usurped by right wing economists and journalists as a behavioural term to describe the criminal and deviant behaviour of poor, mainly black, Americans. Today, although rejected by some, the term 'underclass' is still used by social scientists, mainly in a structural manner (Gans, 1993).

Probably the most influential right wing text on inner cities in recent years was Charles Murray's 'Losing Ground' (Murray, 1984). Appraising social policy over the years 1950 to 1980, Murray concludes that rather than alleviate poverty, social assistance programs have actually caused it to increase, and should be stopped. Not only have these programs increased poverty, Murray argues, but they also been the cause of increasing joblessness, crime, out-of-wedlock births, female headed families, and welfare dependency. Indeed the very policies which were implemented to reduce poverty have led to the creation of an underclass, which Murray defines as:

“a subset of poor people who chronically live off mainstream society (directly through welfare or indirectly through crime) without participating in it. They characteristically take jobs sporadically if at all, do not share the social burdens of the neighborhoods in which they live, shirk the responsibilities of fatherhood, and are indifferent (or often simply incompetent) mothers” (Murray, 1990b, p5).

More recently Murray, funded by the Sunday Times, has been applying his theories to the development of an underclass in Britain (Murray, 1990a, 1990b, and 1995). Murray focuses on three symptoms which he claims are synonymous with the creation of an underclass, crime, illegitimacy, and economic inactivity amongst working-aged men. He presents evidence to show that over recent years levels of crime, illegitimacy and economic inactivity amongst working-aged men have all risen sharply, particularly in working class communities. He appears particularly concerned with the rise of illegitimacy, and suggests:

“The England in which the family has effectively collapsed does not consist just of blacks, or even the inner-city neighbourhoods of London, Manchester, and Liverpool, but lower-working-class communities everywhere” (Murray, 1995, p11).

Murray predicts that the working class in Britain will split politically, socially, and geographically into a skilled working class, consisting predominantly of two-parent families, and a less-skilled, predominantly unmarried working class. The 'English underclass', he predicts, will not be small (Murray, 1995).

Although it is tempting to dismiss Murray's work as simplistic, poorly researched, racist and sexist, it has become popular recently to blame the poor for their plight, particularly in the United States and increasingly in the United Kingdom. As an American researcher recently observed:

“Conservative pundits have so effectively framed the terms of the debate and recentered public opinion that at this point no political figure dares to speak strongly in support of welfare programs or initiatives designed to assist the poor” (Kodras, 1997, p68).

She goes on to observe that President Clinton has had to move into traditional Republican territory to find his political audience (*Ibid*). Clear similarities can be noted here with the 1997 election campaign in the United Kingdom, with the Labour Party achieving victory with large parts of its agenda indistinguishable from the outgoing Conservative administration. On at least one occasion during the 1997 British election campaign, the then Home Secretary, Michael Howard, was heard quoting Charles Murray effusively.

Murray's work appears fundamentally flawed, as he makes the assumption that rising illegitimacy is the cause of the growth of an underclass:

"The most likely scenario is that illegitimacy in the lower classes will continue to rise and, inevitably, life in lower-class communities will continue to degenerate - more crime, more widespread drug and alcohol addiction, fewer marriages, more dropout from work, more homelessness, more child neglect, fewer young people pulling themselves out of the slums, more young people tumbling in" (Murray, 1995, p18).

The cause of rising illegitimacy rates does not appear to concern him. A possible explanation for the rise in illegitimacy rates can be linked to the dual-systems work of Hartmann (1979). She suggests that the occupational segregation of women into low skilled, low paying jobs is beneficial to men as it encourages women to marry, and take up household responsibilities. The logic behind this argument is that because of occupational segregation women earn less than men, marriage offers them more financial security, and if one partner has to give up work it makes sense for it being the lower paid one, usually the woman. Illegitimacy rates could rise in a deprived area, where unemployment rates are high, and women see no financial benefits to marriage. If this is the case then it is economic factors which lead to the rising level of illegitimacy.

Another fundamental criticism is that 'the underclass' is an umbrella term used to bring together very disparate types of people:

"...long-term unemployed men with criminal records, and households headed by single women are two (of many) groups that have been lumped together under the underclass label. Yet the processes affecting these people's lives and personal circumstances may be extremely dissimilar, for example the former's unemployment being the result of economic restructuring and the latter's lone parenthood being the consequence of socially changing gender relations" (Woodward, 1995, p83).

This is possibly one of the most unpleasant aspects of the right wing underclass theory, that people who have become unemployed as the result of processes of economic restructuring far beyond their control are viewed in the same way as criminals who surely have more control over their actions.

According to Murray, society in areas like Vauxhall and Everton, with their high levels of illegitimacy and low levels of male labour market participation, should be breaking down. This certainly does not appear to be the case in Vauxhall, where years of adversity have strengthened community resolve, epitomised by the achievements of the Eldonians. Some of Murray's ideas will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

In conclusion to this discussion on poverty, social polarisation, and the underclass I would concur with the view of Mingione, that:

“Poverty as a process of being deprived of sufficient entitlements and resources may well drive subjects towards forms of behaviour which differ from those typically adopted by the non-poor population, particularly when the deprivation is so long lasting and severe as to prevent any form of ‘rational’ project. But the poor are such because they are deprived and excluded and not because they behave differently or are dangerous or disturb the tranquil lifestyle of the non-poor”
(Mingione, 1993, p325).

The next section will attempt to identify the poorest areas of England and Wales by the use of an index of deprivation. Goodwin (1996) argues that an index of deprivation, although somewhat crude, is a good way of measuring social polarisation, because it allows analysis at a much finer geographical level than would be possible if income data were used.

3.8 Poverty in England and Wales

3.8.1 Index of deprivation approach

Numerous combinations of variables could be chosen to create an index of deprivation. Forrest and Gordon (1993) devised two indexes, one of material deprivation and one of social deprivation. The material index was calculated from 4 variables: more than one person per room; households with no car; households lacking basic amenities; and households with no central heating. The social index was calculated from 6 variables: unemployment; lone parenthood; youth unemployment; single pensioners; long-term limiting illness; and dependants in household. It was decided to adopt an index of deprivation using variables from both Forrest and Gordon’s indexes. Four variables from the 1991 census of population were selected, the unemployment rate amongst people of working age, the proportion of households not owning a car, the proportion of households that were not owner occupied, and the proportion of overcrowded households. These variables were chosen because they are good measures of deprivation or poverty, and have been frequently used in this combination to derive an index of deprivation (see for example Goodwin, 1996; Liverpool City Council, 1988; Merseyside TEC, 1994; Townsend *et al.*, 1987).

The index of deprivation was calculated by converting the observations for each variable into Z scores, which measure how much each value varies from the mean value of that variable, in terms of standard deviations. For example a district with a Z score value of +2 for the variable unemployment indicates that it has an unemployment rate 2 standard deviations above the mean unemployment rate for all English and Welsh districts.

The index was calculated for the 403 districts of England and Wales. Figure 3.1 maps the deprivation index for the whole of England and Wales, whilst Table 3.4 highlights the 15 most and least deprived districts in England and Wales. It is very clear that the most deprived districts in England and Wales in 1991 were in large urban areas, with the poorest districts of all being in inner London. In fact 35 of the 50 most deprived districts in England and Wales were from the 7 metropolitan counties, whilst at the opposite end of the spectrum no district from a metropolitan county featured in the 50 least deprived districts in England and Wales (the least deprived metropolitan district being Bromley, the 137th least deprived district in England and Wales).

Table 3.4 clearly shows that Inner London, possessing the 9 highest scoring districts, is the most deprived part of England or Wales. The north-west districts of Manchester, Knowsley and Liverpool also fair poorly on the index. At the other extreme the 15 least deprived districts of England and Wales are less urban in character. They tend to be either rural areas (such as South Norfolk, Chiltern, East Dorset and Ribble Valley) or suburban, commuter areas near to major cities (Surrey Heath, Northavon, Hart and Wokingham). With the exception of Ribble Valley, in Lancashire, these districts are all located in the south of England. This is not to say that prosperous areas do not exist in Inner London, Manchester or Merseyside, or that deprived areas do not exist in South Norfolk, Chiltern or East Dorset, but that generally on the criteria considered the people living in these areas are at opposite ends of the social and economic spectrum.

Figure 3.1 shows very clearly evidence of this North/South divide. If a line is drawn from the Severn to the Wash only a small number of districts do not fall into the least deprived category, with the notable exception of London. The areas in the south that are more deprived are mostly urban in nature and include the large southern cities of Plymouth, Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth and Brighton, and towns such as Reading and Oxford. The few exceptions to this are the more peripheral rural districts of the Isles of Scilly (which includes the mainland Lizard area), Thanet and Great Yarmouth. North of the

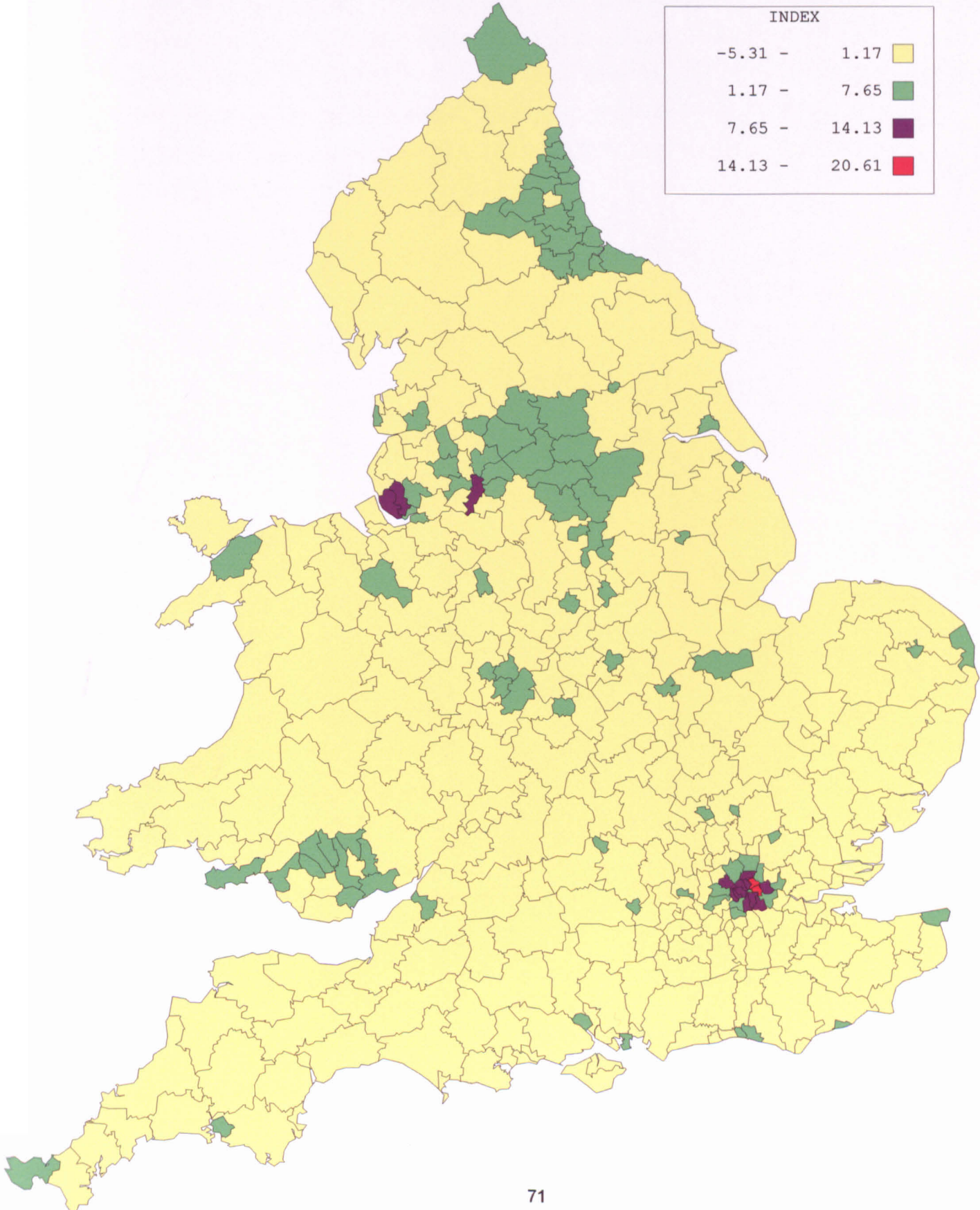
Severn/Wash line the picture is very different, with large areas of south Wales, South and West Yorkshire, and the north east, experiencing higher levels of deprivation.

Table 3.4: The 15 most and least deprived districts in England and Wales

Rank	District	Z-score index
1	Tower Hamlets (Inner London)	20.61
2	Hackney (Inner London)	17.19
3	Southwark (Inner London)	13.62
4	Newham (Inner London)	13.12
5	Islington (Inner London)	12.92
6	Lambeth (Inner London)	11.78
7	Westminster (Inner London)	11.12
8	Camden (Inner London)	10.65
9	Haringey (Inner London)	10.02
10	Manchester (Greater Manchester)	9.97
11	Hammersmith and Fulham (Inner London)	9.56
12	Knowsley (Merseyside)	9.53
13	Kensington and Chelsea (Inner London)	9.39
14	Liverpool (Merseyside)	9.23
15	Brent (Outer London)	8.69
389	South Norfolk (Norfolk)	-3.88
390	Oadby and Wigston (Leicestershire)	-3.89
391	Rochford (Essex)	-3.96
392	Chiltern (Buckinghamshire)	-4.02
393	Wealden (East Sussex)	-4.04
394	Ribble Valley (Lancashire)	-4.19
395	Harborough (Leicestershire)	-4.31
396	Surrey Heath (Surrey)	-4.40
397	Northavon (Avon)	-4.41
398	Fareham (Hampshire)	-4.49
399	Blaby (Leicestershire)	-4.52
400	East Dorset (Dorset)	-4.65
401	Broadland (Norfolk)	-4.69
402	Hart (Hampshire)	-4.88
403	Wokingham (Berkshire)	-5.31

Source: 1991 Census of Population

Figure 3.1: Deprivation index for English and Welsh boroughs



To analyse deprivation levels at a finer spatial level the same index was re-calculated using the 1591 component wards of the 7 metropolitan counties in England; Greater London, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands and West Yorkshire. Unfortunately this means that medium sized towns and cities in non-metropolitan counties have been excluded from the analysis. The cities in non-metropolitan counties which fared particularly poorly on the index of deprivation were Kingston upon Hull (17th most deprived district in England and Wales), Nottingham (20th), Middlesbrough (28th), whilst the towns included Easington (34th), Hartlepool (35th), Harlow (36th) and Blackburn (37th). However, after much consideration, it was decided that this was preferable to attempting to include urban parts of non-metropolitan counties and excluding rural parts of metropolitan counties.

The 10 most and least deprived wards in metropolitan England are shown in Table 3.5, below. Spitalfields, in Tower Hamlets, is the most deprived ward of all, with an index score of 17.88. St. Alphege ward in Solihull is the least deprived ward in the metropolitan counties, with an index score of -6.42. Of the 10 most deprived wards in the country, 3 are in inner London, 4 are in Merseyside and one each are in the West Midlands, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. At the other extreme 5 of the least deprived 10 wards are in outer London, 3 are in the West Midlands and 2 are in Greater Manchester.

The social and economic differences between the most and least deprived wards in the metropolitan counties of England are enormous. The unemployment rate in Everton and Vauxhall wards in Liverpool was over 13 times that experienced in East Bramhall ward in Stockport. In Hulme ward in Manchester, 96.7% of households did not own their own home. This compared to just 3.3% in Cranham West ward in Havering, and Streetly ward in Walsall. In the Liverpool inner-city wards of Everton and Vauxhall over 85% of households did not own a car compared to 5.4% in Woodcote ward in Sutton, south London.

Table 3.5: The 10 most and least deprived wards in metropolitan England

Rank	Ward	District	Unemployed (%)	Not owning home (%)	Overcrowded (%)	Not owning car (%)	Z-score index
1	Spitalfields	Tower Hamlets	33.5	81.9	29.7	73.6	17.88
2	St. Dunstan's	Tower Hamlets	28.1	83.8	16.2	68.5	11.43
3	Liddle	Southwark	31.1	96.5	12.1	74.2	11.24
4	Everton	Liverpool	45.1	94.0	3.4	86.6	10.68
5	Vauxhall	Liverpool	45.1	90.7	3.5	85.5	10.47
6	Sparkbrook	Birmingham	32.9	65.3	13.5	68.7	10.23
7	University	Bradford	31.6	46.4	16.7	63.8	10.04
8	Princess	Knowsley	41.1	82.6	6.0	76.9	9.89
9	Granby	Liverpool	41.6	85.1	4.7	81.6	9.86
10	Hulme	Manchester	39.2	98.0	3.6	81.3	9.67
1582	Cranham West	Havering	5.1	3.3	0.4	13.3	-5.97
1583	Biggin Hill	Bromley	4.6	7.9	0.9	8.0	-5.98
1584	Cheam South	Sutton	4.3	7.5	0.5	11.1	-5.99
1585	Norden and Bamford	Rochdale	4.2	5.7	0.5	12.4	-6.04
1586	Packwood	Solihull	3.6	9.4	0.4	10.8	-6.08
1587	Selsdon	Croydon	3.9	4.8	0.7	11.5	-6.08
1588	Woodcote	Sutton	6.3	4.8	0.4	5.4	-6.23
1589	Streetly	Walsall	4.5	3.3	0.5	9.3	-6.29
1590	East Bramhall	Stockport	3.4	4.2	0.5	9.9	-6.40
1591	St. Alphege	Solihull	3.6	6.0	0.2	9.4	-6.42

Further analysis was conducted to measure the extent of polarisation in each metropolitan county. Sassen (1991) suggests that social polarisation is likely to be most pronounced in global cities. To establish whether this was the case, the inter-quartile range of the deprivation index was calculated, and the number of each wards appearing in each quartile was calculated, these results are summarised in Table 3.6, below. If the metropolitan counties were all equally socially polarised, then it would be expected that a quarter of each county's component wards would appear in each quartile. However Table 3.6 clearly shows this is not the case.

Merseyside appears the most socially polarised metropolitan county, with almost a third (33.1%) of its component wards featuring in the most deprived quartile, and 28.0% of its wards featuring in the least deprived quartile. Less than two-fifths of the county's wards (38.9%) appear in the two middle quartiles. London, (Inner and Outer combined for this analysis), appears less polarised than Merseyside, although it should be noted that a high percentage of wards (30.2%) appeared in the most deprived quartile. Fewer wards than might have been expected (23.4%), appeared in the least deprived quartile.

Table 3.6: Social polarisation in metropolitan England

Metropolitan county	Quartile 1 (least deprived) (-6.42 to -2.79)	Quartile 2 (-2.78 to -0.41)	Quartile 3 (-0.40 to 2.33)	Quartile 4 (most deprived) (2.34 to 17.9)
London	23.4	23.2	23.2	30.2
Greater Manchester	30.8	30.8	19.6	18.7
Merseyside	28.0	16.9	22.0	33.1
South Yorkshire	19.1	34.0	36.2	10.6
Tyne and Wear	12.4	24.8	33.6	29.2
West Midlands	27.2	22.2	32.1	18.5
West Yorkshire	34.9	30.2	23.0	11.9
All wards	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0

In the remaining metropolitan counties social polarisation between wards appeared less extreme than in Merseyside. This is not to say that poverty, or extreme wealth, does not exist in these counties, but rather the contrasts between rich and poor areas are less pronounced. For example Tyne and Wear exhibited a high percentage of wards in the two most deprived quartiles, but only an eighth (12.4%) of wards featured in the least deprived quartile.

Overall these findings do not appear to offer support to Sassen's contention that social polarisation is greatest in global cities, as it appears greater in Merseyside than in London. However it should be noted that most poverty in Merseyside is concentrated in the city of Liverpool and the borough of Knowsley, whilst the remaining three boroughs are generally more affluent.

3.8.2 Cluster analysis approach

The main drawback of using an index of deprivation is that a single rogue value can skew an area's total score. For example Spitalfields' appalling level of overcrowding propels it to the top of the index, whilst on other criteria it compares favourably to wards such as Everton, Vauxhall and Hulme. Also the fact that two wards may have a very similar index score does not necessarily mean that the two wards are similar in character, because the Z scores for each variable may be very different. For example Sparkbrook in Birmingham and Vauxhall in Liverpool have similar index scores, yet they have very different levels of unemployment, non-owner occupation, overcrowding and households with no car. To

overcome these problems a cluster analysis was conducted, to identify areas with similar urban problems. As the research is mainly concerned with deprived areas, only the 159 most deprived metropolitan wards (10% of all metropolitan wards), identified by the deprivation index, were included in this analysis.

Cluster analysis is a multivariate statistical technique which aims to identify relatively homogeneous groups of objects ('clusters') which possess the same, or similar, characteristics, and is employed in a wide range of fields. Biology, for example, uses it to classify species of plants or animals, whilst medicine utilises it to identify disease. Several methods exist for combining objects into clusters, one of the most commonly used methods is hierarchical cluster analysis, and it is this technique which will be used here. For further details on this, and other methods see Everitt (1993), and Kaufman and Rousseeuw (1990). In the 1990s cluster analysis is gaining in popularity amongst social scientists (see for example Burchell and Rubery, 1994; Green et al, 1994 and Morrill, 1994), probably due in part to the relative ease of running such analysis on powerful personal computers. The technique is also used in the recent Department of the Environment's Socio-Demographic Change and the Inner City report (Boddy et al, 1995).

A key decision before a cluster analysis can be conducted is the choice of variables to be analysed. On this occasion this was a straightforward choice, the same variables that were used to create the index of deprivation. The next stages are to decide how the distances between the cases (the electoral wards) are measured, and how the cluster membership is to be calculated. For the measurement of distance between cases the commonly used squared Euclidean technique was chosen, whilst Ward's method of agglomeration was chosen to calculate the cluster membership. The same combination of methods was used by Boddy *et al* (1995).

In simple terms agglomerative hierarchical clustering is a two stage process. At the beginning each case is considered an individual cluster. The distance between each case is measured, as the sum of the distances between each of the chosen variables. This results in a distance matrix being created, which is then examined to identify the two most similar cases. These cases are then combined into a cluster of two cases, with the method of agglomeration determining the precise position of the newly formed cluster. The distance matrix is then recalculated, and the two most similar clusters are combined. This process continues until all the cases are combined into a single cluster.

Although any level of cluster solution could have been chosen, it was decided that the 6 cluster solution was the most useful. The 5 cluster solution was rejected because more than half the 159 wards formed just one cluster, created by the merging of clusters 4 and 6. A higher cluster solution was rejected because it would have made the results harder to interpret. These six clusters can be compared by calculating the average scores for each cluster on the four variables, see Table 3.7, below. Because geographical location was not included in the analysis, where wards from the same metropolitan borough appear together they do so due to their similarity on the four selected variables. The full membership of the 6 cluster solution is included as Appendix Two. The next section will briefly describe the characteristics of these 6 clusters.

Table 3.7: Characteristics of the clusters

Cluster	Cluster size	Unemployed (%)	Not owning home (%)	Overcrowded (%)	Not owning car (%)
1	1	33.5	81.9	29.7	73.6
2	19	24.7	61.0	13.6	59.6
3	9	40.9	85.0	3.9	79.2
4	53	22.9	69.2	8.4	63.9
5	40	28.1	74.2	3.6	70.1
6	37	21.1	83.7	6.0	65.7
Total	159	25.1	73.8	7.1	66.3

Cluster One: Spitalfields, very deprived

Cluster one contains a single ward, Spitalfields, which is in the inner London borough of Tower Hamlets. According to the index of deprivation calculated above, Spitalfields is the most deprived ward in metropolitan England. The ward is unique in its extraordinary high level of overcrowding, and it is solely for this reason that it appears as a cluster in its own right. It is also the only cluster which compares unfavourably with the average figures for the 159 poorest wards on all the variables used to derive the index.

Cluster Two: Mainly Inner London, overcrowded

This cluster comprises 19 wards, mainly in London, with the exceptions being 2 wards each in Birmingham and Bradford. In fact 13 of these wards were from just 2 Inner London boroughs, with Tower Hamlets accounting for 9 wards, and Newham for 4 wards. The main features of this cluster are higher than average levels of overcrowding, and below average rates of non-owner occupation and households with no car. The average

rate of unemployment in this cluster was similar to the overall average for the 159 most deprived wards.

Cluster Three: Northern, very deprived

This small cluster of just 9 wards is composed of wards from three northern metropolitan counties, Merseyside, Greater Manchester and Tyne and Wear. Seven of the wards are located in Merseyside, with three being in Liverpool and four in neighbouring Knowsley. In many respects these 9 wards are the most economically deprived areas of urban England. The average unemployment rate for wards in this cluster is 40.9%, compared to 25.1% for all the poorest 159 wards. This cluster also has the highest levels of non-owner occupied households (85.0%) and households without a car (79.2%). Only on the overcrowding variable does this cluster compare favourably with the average for the 159 poorest wards, with only 3.9% of households being overcrowded.

Cluster Four: Mixed, most favoured

This is the largest of the 6 clusters, comprising 53 wards. Although cluster four contains more wards from different metropolitan areas than any other cluster, the majority of wards (67.9%) are from Inner London. Only Merseyside and South Yorkshire have no wards featuring in this cluster. Overall this is the least deprived of the 6 clusters, only on the overcrowding variable does it compare unfavourably to the mean figure for the 159 poorest metropolitan wards.

Cluster Five: Mainly Northern, deprived

The 40 wards in cluster five are mainly from the northern metropolitan counties of England, the exceptions being 2 wards from Newham, one from Greenwich and one from Birmingham. Wards in this cluster are characterised by a relatively low level of overcrowding, an average level of non-owner occupation, and above average levels of unemployment and households with no car.

Cluster Six: Mainly London, non-owner occupied

The 37 wards in cluster six are all in London, with the one exception of the University ward in Leeds. The wards in this cluster have below average levels of unemployment and

overcrowding, an average level of households not owning a car, and above average levels of non-owner occupation.

Overall 3 of the 6 clusters (one, two and six) comprise almost exclusively London wards, whilst clusters three and five comprise almost exclusively wards from northern metropolitan counties. Only cluster four is of a more geographically mixed nature. Several of the clusters appear to form on the basis of one of the particular dominant variable. For example all the wards in cluster two exhibit high levels of overcrowding, but the other variables differ widely, whilst the wards in cluster six are characterised by low levels of owner-occupation. Only clusters one and three stand out as appearing deprived on several or all of the variables considered.

What also comes across clearly is the generally lower levels of unemployment experienced in London wards. Conversely many London wards fare more poorly on the 2 housing related variables, with levels of non-owner occupation and overcrowding generally higher in the capital than elsewhere. Car-ownership levels appear closely associated with unemployment levels, and are consequently lowest in the clusters comprising predominantly northern wards.

The cluster analysis and deprivation index approaches provide a useful starting point in identifying areas where poverty is most extreme. What the cluster analysis establishes is that wards in the same cluster are more similar in character to each other than they are to wards in a different cluster. For example Vauxhall and Everton wards in Liverpool have more in common with Hulme ward in Manchester and West City ward in Newcastle, than they do with Spitalfields, St.Dunstan's, and Liddle wards in inner London. However it tells us nothing about the particular character and uniqueness of any of these places, and as such paints only a partial, although useful, picture of deprivation in inner cities.

3.9 The informal economy

The final substantive section of this chapter will consider the phenomenon which is generally referred to as the informal economy. In recent years much interest has developed in what is also known as the 'black', 'hidden', 'underground' or 'lower circuit' economy (see for example Castells and Portes, 1989; Pahl, 1980 and 1987; Roberts, 1994; Thomas, 1992; and Williams and Windebank, 1993). This section will provide a

brief discussion of the subject; to avoid confusion it will be termed the informal economy, except when it has been referred to as something else by a specific writer.

There is no generally agreed definition of the informal economy, as scholars differ as to what activities it comprises. However there is a consensus that informal economic activities are unregistered. Castells and Portes (1989) observe that attempting to strictly define what is a common-sense notion, with moving social boundaries, would only result in prematurely closing the debate. Smith (1986) notes that the variety of terms used has tended to obscure important distinctions between the social and economic phenomena involved:

"on the one hand, writers have often used different terms for the same phenomenon; whilst on the other hand, similar terms have been used with rather different meanings" (Smith, 1986, p6).

Some theorists argue that the informal economy excludes activities that are inherently illegal, thus:

"the economic activities of the informal economy, such as selling goods or making garments, are legal activities that are carried out illegally by avoiding one or more applicable state regulations" (Roberts, 1994, p7).

However other writers include illegal activities within their definition of the informal economy (Sik, 1994). Others have observed that what constitutes informal economic activity will very much depend upon the wider system to which it is being related:

"this, along with the different disciplinary interests, accounts for why there are upward of thirty different terms for the activity, each with a different scope and connotations" (Ferman et al. 1987, p157).

What is certain is that the informal economy is not a clearly bounded set of activities (Roberts, 1994).

Table 3.8: The structure of informal economic activity

Sector	Market transactions	Output	Production/distribution
Household	No	Legal	Legal
Informal	Yes	Legal	Legal
Irregular	Yes	Legal	Illegal
Criminal	Yes	Illegal	Illegal

Source: Thomas, 1992.

Thomas (1992) usefully classifies informal economic activity into four sectors, based upon criteria of market transactions and legality, shown in Table 3.8, above. Considering each sector in turn; the household sector produces goods and services within the home which

are also distributed and consumed within this sector. Output is not traded, and the absence of market transactions make it particularly difficult to evaluate. The informal sector is found mainly in developing countries, alongside traditional agricultural sectors of production, and the modern industrial sector. This sector generally comprises small-scale producers and their employees, the self-employed, and people engaged in commerce, transport and the provision of services. Activities in the irregular economy all involve some illegality, such as tax evasion, avoidance of minimum wage regulations, and social security fraud. The main characteristic of activities in this sector is that whilst the goods and services that form the output are entirely legal, the production and/or distribution of them involves some illegality. A good example of this is a decorator accepting cash payment to avoid incurring VAT. The final sector is the criminal economy. In this sector the output as well as the production and distribution is illegal, examples are theft, extortion, drug dealing and prostitution. Because most criminals do not divulge their activities to the authorities, they are also likely to indulge in tax evasion (Thomas, 1992).

Williams and Windebank (1993) maintain that the informal economy comprises three principal forms of economic activity; black market work which is paid activity, hidden from the state for tax and social security purposes; domestic work which is unpaid and undertaken by household members for themselves and each other; and voluntary work which is unpaid work undertaken in the service of the wider community. Others suggest that the informal economy comprises a variety of sub-economies, which include a cash-based unregistered irregular economy, a criminal economy, and a social economy, which involves exchange that is unregistered and does not involve cash (Ferman *et al*, 1987). Dicken and Lloyd (1981) regard the informal sector, as they term it, as a subset of the secondary labour market, with activities in it broadly divisible into legal and illegal categories.

3.9.1 Size and scale of the informal economy

Measuring the size of, and level of activity in, the informal economy is also difficult.

Because of its very nature few people engaged in activities in the informal economy are going to admit to it:

“The dubious legality of much informal economic activity is one factor that makes it difficult to investigate. Participants are frequently motivated to conceal such activities when they involve either avoidance of taxes or regulation, or outright criminal activity. Income may also be concealed to avoid specific taxes or denial of welfare benefits” (Gaughan and Ferman, 1987, p22).

For a detailed discussion of the problems of measuring the size of the informal economy see Smith (1986) and Thomas (1992).

Several recent surveys have provided very different estimates as to the size of the informal economy (Chote, 1995; Coyle, 1996a and 1996b). An analysis of official statistics by Taylor Nelson AGB claimed that Britain's black economy generated about £66 billion in 1994, and that the poorest 20% of the population financed about a third of their spending from income undeclared to the Inland Revenue. They also claimed that in 1994 people in the UK made an average £1,140 each in activities disguised from the tax authorities. Research by the Inland Revenue and Institute for Fiscal Studies suggested a rather lower figure for the size of the informal economy, at between £44 billion and £55 billion, equivalent to between 6 and 8% of gross domestic product (Chote, 1995). Other research puts the figure much lower, according to 1995 national accounts the figure was between £7 billion and £8 billion, accounting for about 1.25% of gross domestic product (Coyle, 1996b).

Views vary as to whether the informal sector is growing or declining. According to 1995 national accounts the size of the hidden economy, measured as a proportion of GDP, decreased by 1.5% from its 1981 level and as much as 3% from its level in the mid 1970s. This rather contradicts the popular belief that the informal economy is booming:

"The popular view derives from the fact that some areas of the economy - car boot sales, self-employment and so on - have grown enormously. But they are not very hidden. Deregulation means that things that might have been illegal a decade ago are not now. What would once have been a sweatshop counts now as one of the thrusting small businesses that is making Britain the enterprise centre for Europe".
(Coyle, 1996b, p23).

However the increase of self employment in the 1980s and 1990s provides increasing opportunity for the growth of the cash payments for services, and the avoidance of VAT payment (Coyle, 1996a).

The central concern here is not so much to quantify the exact size of the informal economy, but rather to be aware of its existence in its various forms and, more importantly, to examine how, and to what degree, the informal economy is substituting the formal economy. In addition, the formal and informal economies should not be regarded as mutually exclusive, as many individuals operate in both economies at the same time.

3.9.2 Theory development

"In the early 1970s in the United States and Europe, scholars began to rediscover a long-ignored phenomenon. Goods and services did not have to be produced and consumed in officially recognized and registered enterprises. Instead they could be made, traded, swapped, and bartered among members of informal networks" (Ferman et al. 1987, p10).

This re-emergence of interest led to a number of surveys designed to examine the survival strategies of the urban poor in American cities (Ferman and Ferman, 1973; Stack, 1974; and Lowenthal, 1975). Comparable research was conducted in Europe a few years later (Henry, 1978; Gershuny, 1979; and Gershuny and Pahl, 1980). The North American surveys revealed that low-income communities were increasingly relying on informal economic activities, as employment opportunities within traditional manufacturing industries were rapidly declining. A possible explanation for the growth of the informal sector amongst the urban poor was that it was more appealing than the available employment in marginal, low paying, labour intensive, insecure and non-unionised occupations (Gaughan and Ferman, 1987).

The development of informal economic activities by the urban poor cause the state a dilemma. Whilst informal activity results in loss of tax revenue, it also serves as an invaluable safety net for the poor (Ferman et al. 1987; Pahl, 1987). However Pahl observes that there is a side to the development of such an alternative means of surviving in contemporary society that is less acceptable to those running the economy:

"If a component of contemporary economic strategy is the belief that high unemployment benefits employers by ultimately reducing the overall wage level, then such a strategy would be undermined if the unemployed were busily engaged in various forms of hidden work" (Pahl, 1987, p38).

Although interest in the informal economy developed around the idea of it being adopted as a survival strategy amongst the urban poor, more recent research suggests that it is a misconception to think that informal economic activity is the exclusive preserve of the poor. Indeed some recent research has shown that poorer households actually engage in less activities in the informal economy than richer households (Williams and Windebank, 1993). This is the case for a number of reasons; firstly lack of money may preclude an individual from purchasing materials needed to partake in the informal economy. Secondly, the people with the time to carry out activities in the informal economy do not necessarily have the skills needed to do so. If the skills possessed by the unemployed are inappropriate for gaining access to the formal labour market, it seems likely that they

will also be inappropriate for participating in the informal economy. Thirdly, with specific relation to black market work, the unemployed feel more inhibited about engaging in such activities because of the fear of discovery by the relevant authorities. Finally, unemployment often reduces the size of one's social network, and this may limit information about black market activities, and restrict the possibility of borrowing a piece of equipment needed to undertake an activity (Williams and Windebank, 1993).

Recent research in the Netherlands supports Williams and Windebank stance. A survey of long-term unemployed people found that only 17% of respondents admitted to earning money from activities in the informal economy (Engbersen *et al*, 1993). Amongst the remaining respondents, almost two-fifths said they did not work informally because they did not have the opportunities to do so; *"when they lost their job, they also lost the chance to earn an informal income on the side"* (Engbersen *et al*, 1993, p80). A greater proportion of respondents (51%) said they did not work in the informal sector because of the risk of being caught, and the consequent loss or reduction of benefit that might occur. Fraudulent work was less widespread amongst respondents with children, even though these were often the most deprived households, because it was feared that the children would suffer if they were caught.

Other research in the Netherlands suggests that the immigrant poor are increasingly forced into informal economic activities:

"processes of social exclusion and marginalisation seem to contribute to an increased participation of immigrants in informal activities. More or less permanent high levels of unemployment are pushing an increasing number of immigrants towards entrepreneurship" (Kloosterman *et al*, 1997, p1).

Amongst respondents who worked in the informal economy, Engbersen *et al* (1993) found that approximately half of them did so on a regular basis, and viewed welfare payments as a type of basic income to be supplemented by informal earnings. These type of people, whom Engbersen *et al* termed 'entrepreneurs', were generally young, single, relatively well educated and had extensive networks of friends. Almost half of entrepreneurs regarded the advantages of unemployment to outweigh the disadvantages, and they looked for formal employment less actively than others. The type of people who worked in the informal economy on a less regular basis Engbersen termed 'moonlighters'. These people were rather different from the entrepreneur, tending to be slightly older, not living alone, and had not given up wanting a formal job. Informal work

for them was more a case of making ends meet, and only a tenth of this group regarded the advantages of unemployment greater than the disadvantages.

3.9.3 Gender and the informal economy

Research by Hoyman (1987) suggests that women participate in the irregular and household sectors of the informal economy as much, and probably more, than men, although their financial rewards for doing so are probably less, partly because:

“...the roles that women play in the informal economy - and certainly the occupations they fill in the informal economy - closely mirror their status in the formal economy” (Hoyman, 1987, p77).

Hoyman's views are supported by other research, such as Pahl's study of the informal economy on the Isle of Sheppey: *“as in the formal economy, women were more likely to do caring work and men to do practical, manual work”* (Pahl, 1987, p43).

In contrast Morris (1987), based upon her research in Hartlepool, reports that wives of unemployed men are more apprehensive than their husbands about taking up undeclared employment.

A particular type of informal economic activity that women are heavily represented in is homeworking. Felstead and Jewson (1997) claim that whilst there has been much debate recently about the flexible workforce and the growth of non-standard forms of employment, less attention has been paid to the growth of homeworking. They proceed to argue that this could be to do with the lack of a consistent agreed definition of the term 'homeworking'. Phizacklea and Wolkowitz's (1995) research into homeworking used a broad definition of homeworking, which encompassed any work conducted in the home, and included the self-employed, free-lance writers, and labour only contractors. Felstead and Jewson (1997), on the otherhand, adopt a far narrower definition, which only identifies people involved in manufacturing or low level service sector tasks.

It is this latter type of homeworking which is of particular interest here. Tasks commonly undertaken by homeworkers include manufacture of clothing, packing items such as screws and fittings for self-assembly furniture and envelope stuffing. This type of work offers extremely low rates of pay, with workers enjoying very few, if any, legal rights, and usually working in isolation from other workers. Recent research in Coventry reported the following levels of pay amongst Asian women homeworkers:

“Two assemble Christmas crackers for 8-16 pence per hour, one packs paper nappies for 53p per hour, and one is a child-minder charging only 33p per hour for each child” (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995, p52-53)

As with most types of informal economic activity, measuring this type of work is extremely difficult, although it is generally agreed that it is most common in inner city areas and amongst ethnic minority communities (Felstead and Jewson, 1997).

3.10 Summary

This chapter considered the rise of urban poverty in advanced market economies, and presented case studies from Europe and North America to demonstrate the phenomenon. The structural transformation from a Fordist to post-Fordist mode of production, resulting in deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation, was identified as one of the main causes of the increase in poverty. Two major theories, ‘polarisation’ and ‘mismatch’, which consider the consequences of economic restructuring were identified and discussed. The latter led into a debate about the controversial subject of the ‘underclass’.

An index of deprivation, conducted at a district level, confirmed that in the 1990s the greatest levels of poverty and deprivation in England and Wales are experienced in urban areas, most notably in larger cities in the metropolitan counties. Several inner London boroughs, Manchester, Liverpool and Knowsley emerged as the most deprived areas of all. The index was then conducted at the ward level to identify more precisely areas of deprivation. This index was also topped by inner London wards, but several wards in northern cities also emerged as being very deprived. Because of the inherent problems in using a deprivation index, a cluster analysis was conducted to identify wards experiencing similar types of deprivation. This analysis identified a small cluster of wards in northern cities experiencing very high levels of unemployment, non-car ownership and non-owner occupation. Vauxhall featured in this cluster, identifying it as one of the most deprived parts of urban England.

The concept of the informal economy was considered, and included a discussion on the difficulties of defining and measuring the phenomenon. The development of theory was also considered, and the section concluded by looking at the position of women in the informal economy.

In conclusion, I would concur with Pinch (1993), who observes that the issue of increasing polarisation in cities in the advanced economies is complex, because a wide range of processes are cited for its cause. These include deindustrialisation and increasing levels of unemployment; the bifurcation of the expanding service sector into high-paid and low-paid jobs; the increase of temporary and part-time work; changes in household structure such as the increase in lone parent and dual-income families; the continuing economic and social marginalisation of ethnic minorities.

4. Research methods

4.1 Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of this thesis are realised through the use of a variety of primary and secondary data sources. This chapter considers in detail the methods of information collection that were utilised, and provides critical reflection on their use.

The decision that the Job Link Survey be essentially quantitative in nature was determined in the contract drawn up between the Eldonians, Liverpool Polytechnic and the Training Agency. This chapter discusses the various methods that were used to administer this large social survey, and highlights some of the difficulties that were encountered. A qualitative dimension to the research was developed in order to supplement the main survey findings.

A number of secondary data sources were drawn upon to help provide an understanding of the Vauxhall area, and these will now be considered in detail.

4.2 Secondary data sources

The 1991 census of population is the main source of secondary data used in Chapter Five, which examines the social and economic growth of Vauxhall, and its characteristics in the early 1990s. The problem of the widely reported under-enumeration that occurred during the 1991 census is discussed in detail in section 4.2.1.

Liverpool City Council's 'Employers Survey' (1991) was used to find what employers operated in Vauxhall ward, what they did, and perhaps most importantly of all how many people they employed. Reports such as the Liverpool Quality of Life Survey (Liverpool City Council, 1991) and Health Inequalities in Liverpool (Hayes, undated) were examined to provide additional information on the social and economic situation in Vauxhall.

The results of two other skills audits, the Granby/Toxteth Skills Audit (Nutter, 1993) and the Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994), are also heavily drawn upon for comparative purposes in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Several other sources such as the Census of Employment and the Labour Force Survey, which provide information on employers and the structure of the labour market, would have been very useful, but unfortunately are either not collated at ward level, or are unavailable due to issues of confidentiality. These sources are however used to provide information at the Liverpool level.

4.2.1 Under-enumeration and the 1991 census of population

No census can ever achieve a 100% response rate, and by July 1991 the Registrar General admitted that the 1991 census response rate would not match the 99.5% rate achieved in 1981, due to the inability to contact 130,000 households (The Guardian, 1991a). The 1991 census undercounted the population of England and Wales by about 1.1 million people. This figure is derived by subtracting the census count of usual residents taken on 21 April 1991 from the revised final rebased mid-1991 population estimate for England and Wales issued in August 1993. (Hall and Hall, 1995).

Thompson (1993), writing on behalf of the OPCS, claims that overall under-enumeration in the 1991 census was 2% nationally. Under-enumeration amongst males was higher at 3%, and females lower at 1%. Amongst people aged in their 20s under-enumeration was three times as high, at 9% for males and 3% for females. Thompson suggests that levels of under-enumeration amongst males in their 20s was considerably higher than average in Inner London and other metropolitan areas.

Hall and Hall (1995) provide a detailed explanation of why the 1991 census under-enumerated the population by such a large amount, and also consider what type of people were undercounted, and their geographic distribution. The community charge or "Poll Tax" is commonly cited as the major reason for the under-enumeration, but Hall and Hall also mention that people living alone were less likely to open the door to strangers than in 1981, presumably due to increased fear of crime. The community charge theory appears to be borne out by Hall and Hall's article, as they provide evidence that the highest levels of under-enumeration occurred in Inner London boroughs with some of the highest levels of community charge, such as Camden, Haringey and Lambeth, and also in other metropolitan areas. Later in the article they identify an under-enumeration of elderly people, which is consistent with the idea of lone pensioners not answering the door to casual callers, or census enumerators. They also report a large under-enumeration of young people, particularly males aged in their twenties.

The level of under-enumeration in Liverpool was much higher than for the country as a whole. The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) estimated that nationally 1.7% of the population was not counted in 1991, whilst for Liverpool the figure was 3.1%, an under-enumeration of about 14,500 people (Liverpool City Council, 1993). If it is assumed that the level of under-enumeration in Vauxhall was the same as for Liverpool then calculation shows that the census undercounted the wards population by 236 people (7,381 enumerated, 7,617 calculated). However this undercount of about 14,500 is unlikely to be evenly spread across the city, and the under-enumeration is likely to be higher in inner city wards if the theory about community charge evasion is correct. This is because the community charge, unlike rates, was not a wealth related tax and people living in the inner city in properties of low rateable value faced the same bills as people living in the high rateable properties in suburban Liverpool. Another explanation for higher rates of under-enumeration in inner city districts is that the population of these areas is often more transient than the population as a whole, and consequently harder to count. If under-enumeration is highest amongst young adults, in particular males, the appalling high unemployment rates recorded in the inner city and outer wards of Liverpool may even be an underestimation of the true situation.

Liverpool City Council's census publication Key Statistics (1993), advises researchers to treat any ward data in raw format with caution. The data on occupational category were calculated from raw data. This warning was reinforced when analysis of occupational category figures, calculated from raw data, found that no males in Vauxhall worked in sales related jobs. This statistic is hard to believe, even if the census data were from a 10% sample.

In conclusion, the census data used in this thesis are unadjusted data, unless otherwise specified. Where it is felt the validity of the data is particularly suspect it will be mentioned. Despite its flaws, the census of population is the most comprehensive social and economic data source available on the population of Vauxhall.

4.3 Background to the Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The reasons why the Vauxhall Job Link Survey was conducted were mentioned briefly in the introduction to this thesis, and are outlined in more detail in Tunnah and Shepton's (1991) Vauxhall Job Link Final Report, an extract from which is reproduced in Appendix

One. This section will explain how the survey was organised and conducted, and will also consider the issue of how representative the survey is of the areas population.

The Vauxhall Job Link Survey was conducted by a small research team which I supervised, during my employment with the Eldonian Development Trust. I was supervised by the development managers at the Eldonian Development Trust, Margaret Jackson and Christine Bailey, and Doctors Ian Cook and Steve Jackson from the Department of Social Science at what was then Liverpool Polytechnic. The whole project was funded by the Training Agency.

In the contract between the Training Agency and the Eldonian Development Trust it was agreed that data collection would be conducted by five local people as part of an Employment Training course in 'Professional Survey Methods'. Nine local people were interviewed on 22 January 1990. Six of these people expressed an interest in enrolling on the Professional Survey Methods course, however only three of them were eligible to undertake an Employment Training scheme.

These three people plus one other, who was too old to go on an Employment Training scheme but happy to do some voluntary work, began the training course in February 1990. This course ran for 6 months, and consisted of:

1. One day a week at Liverpool Polytechnic learning about interview techniques and the theory of social surveys. Plus basic training in computing skills.
2. Four days a week at the Eldonian Development Trust; three days spent interviewing local residents and inputting the results on to a database, one day a week developing competence in computing.

Three of the four local people who enrolled completed the training course in Professional Survey Methods. All three were judged to have passed the course, and were accordingly awarded a polytechnic certificate.

4.3.1 Sampling frame

The original intention of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey was to interview everyone of working age living in the ward of Vauxhall, but it quickly became apparent that this was

impractical, due to people refusing to participate, and the inability to contact others. Consequently the aim was revised to offering every adult the opportunity to participate in the survey. This would be achieved by door to door visits to all homes in the area.

4.3.2 Questionnaire design

The first draft of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey Questionnaire was designed by Doctor Ian Cook and myself in December 1989. Some revisions were made to it after it was presented to a meeting of the Vauxhall Regeneration working group (comprising representatives of local community groups, the Training Agency and the careers service) in early January 1990. This questionnaire was piloted in the Vauxhall area in February, with 50 people being interviewed, resulting in a few minor amendments. The final version of the questionnaire, comprising just over 50 questions, is included as Appendix Three.

The questionnaire contained a mixture of closed and open ended questions. Several questions required the use of show cards. The questionnaire was designed with a different section for people who were working and those who were not.

The questions on the front sheet of the questionnaire were designed to filter out people aged under 16 or over 65. During the door to door phase of the survey, if the person who answered the door refused to participate they were asked if anyone else in the household would like to take part, this was to ensure that one person did not prevent a whole household from being surveyed.

Unlike many social surveys, the Vauxhall Job Link Survey began by asking the respondent their name and address. This information was needed to enable the Eldonian Development Trust to set up a community data base, one of the main aims of the survey (see Appendix One for full aims of Job Link Survey), and it was considered that it would be better to be refused this information at the beginning rather than the end of the interview. To ensure the respondents confidentiality, the Data Protection Act was adhered to. This section also contained questions regarding age, dependants, and mobility.

The second section of the survey was related to personal skills (not job related), leisure interests and activities which respondents found hard or easy. These questions were designed to uncover skills that people might possess, even if they claimed to have no work skills later in the survey.

In the education section respondents were asked if they possessed any formal qualifications. Those that did were then asked in which subjects, and at what level, these qualifications were held.

Two parallel sections were designed on training details. Those in work responded to the questions in section 4, and those not in work answered the questions in section 5. People in work were asked what job they did, and also exactly what it involved, to avoid the situation of respondents saying that they, for example, "worked for the council", which could entail anything from being a cleaner to a senior executive. This level of detail also allowed the information to be coded into Standard Occupational Classification (SOC). People not in work were asked for details of their most recent job, and also how long it was since they had been employed. Both working and non-working respondents were asked if they had been trained in any workskills, if they wanted to learn any new work skills, and if they had ever been, or wanted to be, self employed.

The penultimate section of the questionnaire asked people about their aims and ambitions. People were asked what job they would like, followed by other questions regarding which jobs they could do, and any training they would need to do it. Respondents were also asked how far they would be prepared to travel to work, and were given four possible options, ranging from within the Vauxhall area to outside the Liverpool area. Finally in this section people were asked if they were interested in pursuing any adult education courses, and if so in which subjects.

The final section asked a series of questions regarding any constraints respondents had which affected their ability to work. Questions were also asked about where people went to obtain information on education and training, and if they would use a local facility if one were set up.

The main survey, using the amended questionnaire, began in late February 1990.

4.3.2.1 Short questionnaire

A shortened questionnaire, comprising 19 questions, was designed to be used in situations where there was insufficient time to conduct a full interview. This short questionnaire was designed to be used in tandem with the longer version rather than to

supersede it. The shortened version was also used as a self-administered questionnaire which was linked to a prize draw, conducted at the end of the survey period.

The shortened questionnaire was produced by excluding all the questions in sections two and seven, and considerably reducing the length of the remaining sections.

4.3.3 Questionnaire delivery

The Vauxhall Job Link Survey was conducted throughout 1990, with the vast majority of interviews taking place during the summer months. Three different versions of the Job Link questionnaire and a variety of delivery methods were experimented with in order to obtain as high a response rate as possible.

Initially it was decided that because of the length and complexity of the questionnaire it would have to be conducted in the form of a face to face interview, rather than as a postal survey. It was also thought that a postal survey would only yield a very low response rate and would not be cost effective.

4.3.3.1 Door to door surveying

Once it was decided to conduct the skills audit by face to face interview, the decision to conduct door to door interviews was inevitable. The initial aim was to call at every house in the area and interview as many adults of working age as possible. To raise awareness of the survey an introductory leaflet was delivered to each house before an interview was attempted. If nobody was at home a leaflet was left and a further call was made. At the beginning of the survey it was intended that up to three calls would be made, however due to the time taken surveying and the small size of the survey team, it was only possible for two visits to be made in some cases. The survey was also publicised by a press release to the local media which culminated in myself being interviewed by the local BBC radio station, Radio Merseyside.

In March it was decided to supplement the door to door surveying by conducting interviews in a number of venues in Vauxhall where people gathered.

4.3.3.2 Vauxhall Health Centre and Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council

Vauxhall Health Centre, situated on Lime Kiln Lane, and the Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council (VNC), on Silvester Street, were identified as local institutions with a potential supply of respondents. Permission was obtained from the appropriate authorities, and interviewing began at the Health Centre in March, and at the VNC in May. Interviews were carried out in the waiting rooms at the health centre and in the reception area at the VNC. About 40 questionnaires were completed at the health centre and 20 at the VNC.

Following the success at Vauxhall Health Centre, it was decided to seek other venues where interviews could be completed. In late March a team of interviewers attended an evening meeting of a newly formed housing co-operative group, and almost 50 full length questionnaires were completed. This exercise was not repeated using the full length questionnaire, as a large number of interviewers and a lot of time was required, which infringed into the main business of the meeting. However, over the summer interviewers attended various evening meetings and a sports day at some of the local schools. At these sessions the shortened questionnaire was used and proved to be far more useful than the full length one, reducing the amount of time required for each interview.

4.3.3.3 Local schools

The short questionnaire was first used in conjunction with schools in the area. Headteachers of local schools agreed to deliver the questionnaires to parents via their children, a cheap and effective method of distribution frequently used by the Eldonians. A covering letter was included with each questionnaire, signed by the myself and headteacher of each school, explaining the nature of the survey and asking parents to return completed questionnaires by the same method.

The method was piloted at Our Lady of the Reconciliation Junior School in June. The response was poor, only 8 questionnaires were returned out of the 150 sent out, a response rate of 5.4%. However it was decided to continue with other schools in the area as although the response was low the method was cheap, and also raised local awareness of the Job Link Survey. The 5 other schools surveyed were St. Alban's, St. Gerard's, St. Sylvester's and Our Lady and St. Nicholas, all primary schools, and St. Brigid's, the local comprehensive.

4.3.3.4 The prize draw

The final method of data collection used was to organise a prize draw. The draw had two main objectives, firstly to enable more local people to participate in the survey, and secondly to give the survey more publicity and hence greater credibility. The first prize was a £50 cash prize, supplied by the Eldonian Development Trust, and other prizes were donated by members of the Eldonian Development Trust Board.

The prize draw form was an improved version of the shortened questionnaire, and was included in the Eldonian newsletter, circulated widely to local people. It was designed to be simple to fill in, and to make it look unofficial questions were not numbered and graphics were used. To enter the draw a person simply completed the form and returned it to one of four local collection points by the closing date. Copies of 'The Eldonian' containing the prize draw entry forms were sent to people on the housing waiting lists, and were also available at Vauxhall Health Centre, the VNC and Vauxhall Adult Education Trust. Everyone who had already completed a questionnaire was automatically entered into the draw.

4.3.4 Coding and analysis of data

The information from the completed questionnaires was input into the database software package Dataease. I was personally responsible for the vast majority of the data inputting. Several questions, particularly those regarding qualifications and occupation, needed coding before the questionnaires could be input. The occupation data were subsequently recoded using Standard Occupation Category, to make them comparable with the 1991 census results.

Information from this database was subsequently exported into SPSSX (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Extra) for detailed statistical analysis. Initial analysis was conducted using SPSSX on Liverpool John Moores University's mainframe computer. When the more modern, and versatile, package SPSS for Windows became available the data were transferred to this for the remainder of the analysis.

4.4 Survey results and representativeness

The Vauxhall Job Link Survey was not designed to provide a representative sample of the population of Vauxhall ward, and consequently has not done so. Due to the vast majority

of interviews being conducted in the daytime it has produced a biased sample, because certain types of people were less likely to be at home than others. What it has provided however is a large volume of information from a large number of people living in the area. It is one of the largest and most comprehensive social surveys that has taken place in the area, with the obvious exception of the decennial census.

The survey yielded a total of 790 completed questionnaires from people resident in the Vauxhall area. A small number of questionnaires (22) were completed by people over retirement age, and to allow comparability with the 1991 census these have been excluded from the analysis. The vast majority of these interviews were conducted by the team of local people, whilst I personally administered about a fifth of the total.

According to the 1991 Census of population there were 4,199 people living in Vauxhall aged between 16 and retirement age (60 for women, 65 for men) (Liverpool City Council, 1993). The skills audit's 768 completed interviews therefore represents 18.3% of the area's population of working age.

From the 1991 Census it was also established that there were 3,171 households in the Vauxhall ward. Discounting the 802 pensioner-only households left 2,369 households with at least one person of working age. The 768 respondents came from 638 different households, which means that 26.9% of households with at least one person of working age were surveyed. The interviews were spread evenly throughout Vauxhall, with no parts of the ward being over- or under-surveyed.

4.4.1 Gender and age structure of the surveyed population

Of the survey respondents 302 (39.3%) were male and 466 (60.7%) female. Just under 14% of all males of working age were interviewed during the survey, compared to almost a quarter (23.0%) of all females. According to the 1991 Census, the accuracy of which is under some doubt due to under-enumeration (see section 4.2.1), the population of working age in Vauxhall comprised 2,168 men (51.7%) and 2,027 women (48.3%) (Liverpool City Council, 1993). The gender imbalance in the survey occurred for two main reasons; firstly, women tended to be at home more when the survey was conducted (for reasons of safety, for both interviewers and respondents, most interviews took place during the daytime); and secondly, survey records show that women were also less likely to refuse to be interviewed. Other skills audits have resulted in similar gender

imbalances, for example a survey conducted in two areas of Leeds in 1990 elicited 56% of responses from women and 44% from men (Brady *et al*, 1990), and a survey in Farnworth, Greater Manchester, produced a gender balance practically identical to the Vauxhall one (Hollings *et al*, 1990). The Dingle Skills Survey and Granby Toxteth Skills Audits, both conducted by Merseyside Information Service in the early 1990s, produced responses representative of the male:female ratio in the adult population (Bates, 1994; Nutter, 1993).

The mean age of the 763 people interviewed who gave their age was 35.0, whilst the standard deviation was 12.4. The most frequently occurring age, the mode, was 16. The median value was exactly 34, which indicates that 50% of all the interviews were conducted with people aged 34 and under. Only 5 people were unwilling to provide their age.

In order to ascertain the survey response rate by age and gender, the age data was divided into ten-year age groups, which matched those used by the 1991 Census of population. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1, below, show clearly that response rates varied widely according to age and gender. The highest female response rate was obtained from women aged in their thirties, with 29.0% being interviewed. This figure was almost double the lowest female response rate, obtained from women aged in their fifties (15.4%). Although response rates amongst males were far lower than amongst females, the same age groups supplied the highest and lowest response rates. Amongst males aged in their thirties the response rate was 20.2%, whilst amongst men aged in their fifties it was just 8.5%.

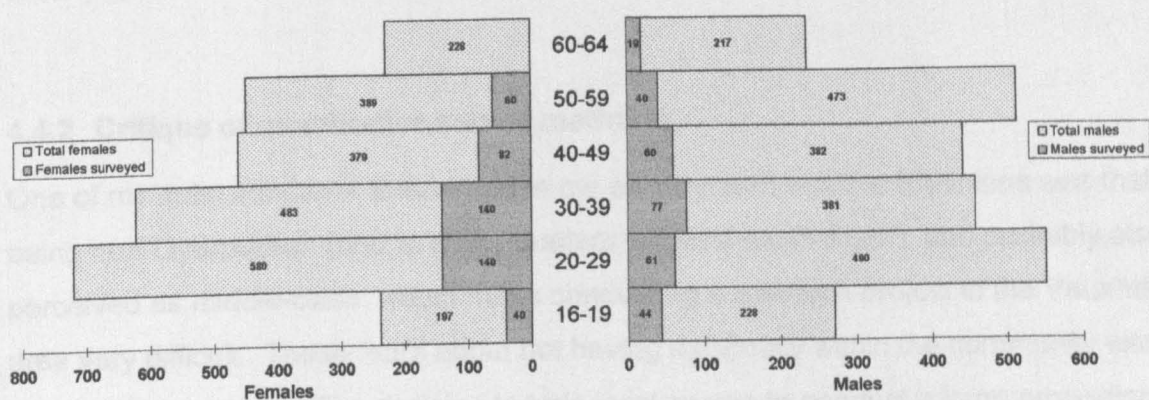
Table 4.1: Population of Vauxhall, survey response rate and ideal sample size, by gender and age

Age group	Total males	Males surveyed	% of males surveyed	Total females	Females surveyed	% of females surveyed	Male sample size	Female sample size	Total sample size
16-19	228	44	19.3	197	40	20.3	19	17	36
20-29	490	61	12.5	580	140	24.1	41	49	90
30-39	381	77	20.2	483	140	29.0	32	41	73
40-49	382	60	15.7	379	82	21.6	32	32	64
50-59	473	40	8.5	389	60	15.4	40	33	73
60-64	217	19	8.8	N/A	0	0.0	18	0	18
Unknown	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	2171	302	13.9	2028	466	23.0	182	172	354

Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright.

The response rate quite clearly declined as age increased. It is reasonable to conclude that older people saw less to be gained from taking part in the survey, and that older non-working respondents were probably more apathetic about ever working again than younger people. This idea will be explored further in later chapters. It is less easy to explain the very low response rate (12.5%) obtained from males aged in their twenties, although it is worth pointing out that this is the age group that Hall and Hall (1995) found was severely under-enumerated in the 1991 Census, suggesting that males of this age are difficult to contact or hard to persuade to participate in such surveys. It could also relate to the survey method, which did not focus specifically on 'male' locations, such as pubs, clubs and betting shops. The locations where interviews were conducted, such as Vauxhall Health Centre and local schools, were locations where young females are probably more likely to be found than young males.

Figure 4.1: Total and interviewed population of Vauxhall ward by age and gender



Sources: Vauxhall Skills Audit and The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright.

Other skills surveys have also obtained widely varying response rates from different age groups. The Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994), for example, obtained a 32% response rate amongst males aged 60 to 64, but a rate of only 15% amongst males aged 16 to 19. The situation for females was similar with a response rate of 42% amongst women aged 30 to 34, but only 13% amongst women aged 16 to 19. Both the Dingle Skills Survey and Granby Toxteth Skills Audit (Bates, 1994; Nutter, 1993) overcame the variation in response rate by age and gender by weighting the results to the Census statistics for the survey areas.

Because of this gender and age imbalance it was decided to draw a sample of questionnaires from the 768 interviews which was representative of Vauxhall wards

gender and age profile, according to the 1991 Census of population. This would enable the results to be compared with the Census of population and other skills audits, and is used in Chapter Six. The lowest response rate obtained from any age group was the 8.5% obtained from males aged between 50 and 59. This figure of 8.5% was chosen as the overall sample size. Table 4.1, below, shows the number of interviews that were needed to provide a sample of 8.5% from each age group for males and females. The sample of completed questionnaires was selected randomly using the 'Select Cases' option in the software package SPSS for Windows.

Drawing a sample of 8.5% from the population of working age in Vauxhall provided 354 questionnaires for analysis.

In Chapters Seven and Eight the full sample of 768 is used, because the intention here is to compare the surveyed respondents rather than attempt to generalise results to the wider population.

4.4.2 Critique of quantitative survey methods

One of my main concerns when I began my employment with the Eldonians was that being non-Liverpudlian (and to make matters worse a southerner!), and probably also perceived as middle-class, would make conducting a research project in the Vauxhall area very difficult. These fears about not having legitimacy within the community were largely not borne out. The decision to train local people to conduct a large proportion of the interviews was a key factor behind this, as was the support of Liverpool Polytechnic and community groups in the area. In the south of Vauxhall the credibility and achievements of the Eldonians ensured good response rates. In other areas, where the Eldonians were perceived more neutrally, or even negatively and hostilely in some cases, more emphasis was placed on the collaborative nature of the project, with the Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council and Liverpool Polytechnic's involvement being stressed. This method appeared effective, as response rates were fairly even across the ward.

The decision to conduct the Vauxhall Job Link survey by face to face interview rather than as a postal survey appears to have been vindicated by the extremely low response rate achieved when local schools were surveyed and the prize draw conducted. Of the 768 interviews, 728 (94.8%) were completed using the full length questionnaire, whilst just 40 (5.2%) used the shortened version. All the full length surveys were completed as face to

face interviews, with 85 to 90% of them being completed on the door step. The remaining 10 to 15% were completed at the Vauxhall Health Centre, the VNC, or at evening meetings. About half the shortened questionnaires were completed as face to face interviews, whilst the remaining ones were completed as self-administered questionnaires.

The shortened, self-administered questionnaire, sent out through the schools and later in the form of a prize draw, produced a very poor response rate. Only twelve questionnaires, out of several hundred sent out, were returned from the six schools surveyed. This low response rate was probably partly due to poor timing, the questionnaires going out just before the summer holidays. The response to the prize draw was even more disappointing, with only ten completed forms being returned. Also, children are not very reliable messengers.

Views differ widely as to the response rates of postal surveys, from some who claim that response rates as low as 10% are not unknown (Moser and Kalton, 1985), to others who suggest that the level and quality of responses are frequently equal to, and sometimes better than, those achieved in interview surveys (Hoinville *et al*, 1978). Dillman (1978) suggests that a well organised mail survey of the general public would typically achieve a response rate of between 60 and 75%. On the otherhand Bourque and Fielder claim that:

“when a single mailing that incorporates no incentives is made to a sample of the general community, the surveyor can probably expect no better than a 20% response rate” (Bourque and Fielder, 1995, pp14-15).

They proceed to suggest that premailings, follow-up contacts, incentives and various other methods may improve response rates, but conclude:

“response rates for mail questionnaires will be lower than those for telephone and face-to-face interviews” (Bourque and Fielder, 1995, p15).

It is also worth noting that Vauxhall is not a typical community, if such a thing exists. As will be seen in the next chapters the population is less qualified than the national average, and illiteracy levels are higher. These factors combined offer further reasons as to why the response rate to the self-administered survey were poor.

Postal questionnaires are also the most difficult type of questionnaire to design. A poorly designed questionnaire can be made to work if the interviewers are very competent, but a poorly designed postal questionnaire is likely to end in the rubbish bin. Hague (1993) identifies 5 factors which affect the response rate of a postal survey, these are; the interest factor, the incentive, the layout, the convenience factor and the covering letter.

The interest factor is obviously the most important, as no matter how well a questionnaire is designed people will not respond if they have no interest in the subject matter. Recent personal experience also leads to the conclusion that an overlong questionnaire is also unlikely to be completed, or completed poorly, even if incentives are offered. The length of many lifestyle questionnaires received through the post is often unbelievable.

Lack of interest must have been a major factor with the low response obtained by the prize draw survey, although it should be remembered that a large number of people in the area had already made a decision to participate or not participate in the main survey. If the prize draw had taken place before the door to door surveying, the response rate might have been higher.

The chance of winning a £50 cash prize, plus several other prizes, was obviously not such an incentive as it was thought it would be. Ascertaining whether the layout was poor is difficult, those who did complete questionnaires appeared to have no problems filling it in. Perhaps the greatest reason for the low response rate was the convenience factor. Respondents were asked to drop their completed questionnaires to one of several locations in the area. In hindsight it appears likely that unless they lived very near one of these locations, or had another reason to call in there, they would not go out of their way to do so. Presumably the covering letter published in the Eldonian with the questionnaire was not very persuasive, although how many people actually read the publication must be open to question.

Although the self-administered questionnaires failed to obtain a good response rate, at least it gave some people who had not been interviewed previously the chance to become involved in the survey.

4.5 The qualitative dimension

In recent years the use of qualitative research methods in the social sciences has become increasingly important. Put simply "*qualitative data are sexy*" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p1). A qualitative dimension to the research was developed to complement the findings of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey. The Job Link Survey produced a large volume of information about a large number of people, but it did so by necessity within the rigid constraints of a tightly structured questionnaire. Introducing a qualitative

dimension enabled a far greater understanding to be developed about a limited number of individuals, in the words of Miles and Huberman:

“Qualitative data are useful when one needs to supplement, validate, explain, illuminate or reinterpret quantitative data gathered from the same setting” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p10).

Qualitative techniques are generally intended more to determine what things exist than to determine how many things there are (Walker, 1985). Because qualitative techniques, unlike quantitative ones, are not concerned with measurement they can be less structured which enables them to be more responsive to the respondent's needs; as Walker puts it:

“typically qualitative methods yield large volumes of exceedingly rich data obtained from a limited number of individuals and whereas the quantitative approach necessitates standardised data collection, qualitative researchers exploit the context of data gathering to enhance the value of the data” (Walker, 1985, p3).

Dey (1993) goes further than Walker, arguing that quantitative techniques involve selection from a limited range of researcher defined alternatives, for example from a multiple response questionnaire; whereas with a qualitative approach the length, detail, content and relevance of the data are not determined by the researcher but is recorded 'as spoken' or 'as it happens', usually in the form of notes, or by tape recorder.

Finally the use of qualitative techniques can add life to research, and help provide a better understand of complicated situations:

“Another feature of qualitative data is their richness and holism, with strong potential for revealing complexity; such data provide “thick descriptions” that are vivid, nested in a real context, and have a ring of truth that has strong impact on the reader” (Miles and Huberman 1994, p10).

4.5.1 Types of qualitative research

Although a wide variety of qualitative approaches exist, in a recent review of qualitative data analysis Tesch (1990) distinguishes over forty types of qualitative research, there is a consensus that three or four general approaches can be identified. Patton (1990) contends that qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection: in-depth, open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents. Tesch (1990), also identifies three distinct methods, but her definitions include how data is treated rather than purely how it is collected; she identifies: 'language-orientated' approaches, interested in the use of language and meaning of words; 'descriptive/interpretive' approaches, which are orientated to provide a comprehensive description and interpretation of social

phenomena; and lastly 'theory building' approaches which are intended to identify connections between social phenomena. Walker (1985) identifies four methods of qualitative research which contributors to his edited volume discuss in length; in addition to in-depth interviews and observation he also adds group interviews and projective techniques. The five methods that Walker (1985) and Patton (1990) identify will be discussed briefly below.

Both Patton and Walker identify the in-depth open ended interview. This is a 'one to one' interview, that provides much more information than a quantitative survey, because it allows the interviewer the opportunity to probe more deeply. In-depth interviews use open ended questions rather than researcher defined alternatives. Three main types of in-depth interviews can be distinguished, and these are considered in section 4.5.2, below. These types of interviews are often tape recorded.

Walker identifies the group interview, with a group ideally comprising 6 to 8 participants. In these interviews the task of interviewer is not to conduct individual interviews simultaneously, but rather to facilitate a comprehensive exchange of views. Participants are encouraged to speak their minds and respond to other people's ideas. Through group dynamics ideas may be generated that would have not occurred to any one individual, or indeed the interviewer. In recent years the use of the term "focus group" has become popular to describe this type of research. Much was made by the media of the Labour Party's use of focus groups of voters in the 1997 general election campaign in the United Kingdom.

Both Patton and Walker discuss participant observation. Walker argues that any interview is essentially artificial as it generally occurs between complete strangers. Participant observant is less artificial as the subjects of observation are usually unaware of it. The degree of participant can vary widely from complete participation to complete observer. Observation techniques are rarely used in isolation, but are often combined with other techniques such as interviews or use of documents.

Walker discusses the use of projective techniques, which are even more artificial than ordinary in-depth or group interview. The general idea with this technique is that respondents are encouraged not to talk about themselves or their own feelings, but about other people and their presumed feelings, or about imaginary situations. The theory

behind the technique is that people will 'project' their own beliefs which would otherwise have remained hidden.

Finally Patton identifies document analysis, which involves the use of excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from any written documents, ranging from official publications and reports, to personal diaries, and open ended written responses to questionnaires and surveys.

After consideration of the alternative qualitative research approaches, discussed above, it was decided that the most appropriate method would be to conduct a small number of in-depth interviews. The most feasible alternative to this would have been to conduct one or more group interviews, but the practicalities of organising such an undertaking were immense, and the information yielded could have proved very difficult to interpret and present. The other three techniques were all incompatible with the overall aims of the thesis.

Having made the decision to conduct in-depth interviews, several further decisions had to be taken; how many and which people would be interviewed, how structured would the interviews be, how would the interviews be recorded and how would the information yielded from these interviews be treated? The following sections will deal with these issues.

4.5.2 Types of qualitative interview

A central issue in the conduct of in-depth interviews is the degree of structure in the interview. Patton (1990) asserts there are three basic approaches to data collection through open-ended interviews, these are: the informal conversational interview; the general interview guide approach; and the standardised open-ended interview. These three approaches differ in preparation, conceptualisation and instrumentation and are described briefly below (Patton, 1990).

The informal conversational interview is the least structured of the three, with questions being generated as interaction occurs. This approach is common during participant observation fieldwork, and may be so informal that the respondent is unaware an interview is taking place.

The general interview guide approach entails the researcher outlining a number of issues that are to be discussed with each respondent. These issues can be raised in any order, and question wording can be decided upon as the interview proceeds. The interview guide serves as a checklist to ensure all relevant subject areas are covered. This approach allows the interviewer the flexibility to adapt the sequence and wording of questions to suit the individual interview situation.

The standardised open-ended interview comprises of a number of precisely worded questions to be asked in a predetermined sequence. Of the three approaches listed here this is clearly the least flexible, as it allows no facility to follow interesting leads by asking supplementary questions. This style of questionnaire would be used when it is important to minimise variation in the questions respondents are asked. It is important to stress the word 'open', for although this might sound very similar to a quantitative approach, the questions do not have a limited choice of answers set by the researcher but are 'open' for the respondent to reply as they see fit.

Jones (1985a) disagrees with Patton. She argues that an interview in which the interviewer prepares a long list of questions which they are determined to ask in a set period of time is not an in-depth interview, even if the wording of the questions is altered, as the researcher has predicted, in detail, what is relevant and meaningful to the respondent about the research subject. Jones goes on to suggest that in such a scenario the researcher is so keen to cover all the questions that even if they hear something of interest which they should follow up they are unlikely to do so.

After consideration of these alternative methods it was decided to adopt an approach similar to the general interview guide, several subject areas would be discussed and a number of questions posed. These questions however would be kept to a minimum, to allow time to follow up any interesting avenues that emerged during the interview. This approach involves some instant value judgements on the researcher's part as to what is worth supplementary probing and what is not, and may result in some blind alleys being explored, whilst more lucrative seams of information may be overlooked.

Each interview would begin with some general questions about the Vauxhall area, and the interviewee's thoughts about it, to relax both myself and the respondent, and give the latter the opportunity to get used to the presence of a tape recorder (see below). The

other topics would follow in no rigid order and would be posed when the time seemed most appropriate. The main subject areas were work, transport and education, to discuss issues of occupation, mobility and qualification. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix Four.

4.5.3 Choice of respondents

Because of the huge amount of data that qualitative research yields it was quickly decided that only a small number of people needed to be interviewed; given this the choice of who to interview became crucial. As one major aim of conducting this section of the research was to examine different situations faced by different individuals, it was obvious that the people interviewed should be different from each other. Interviewing only unemployed young women would provide only a limited amount of information, whilst interviewing some unemployed and employed women of all ages would yield a far greater diversity of material.

As one of the main aims of the thesis was to examine factors restricting people's access to employment opportunities with particular reference to gender, it was decided to interview only women. Eventually it was decided to interview 7 women, as it was felt this would generate a sufficient volume of data.

As a form of pilot, two women that I knew through my contacts with the Eldonians were interviewed. Other people were then selected to be interviewed and were sent a letter (on university headed paper), explaining to them the nature of the research and why they had been selected for interview. The letter did not ask them to respond, but said I would contact them, either by telephone or by personal call, over the next few days. A random selection of women of different ages and occupations was made from the Job Link database⁵.

In order for the interview situation to remain as informal as possible, I decided to dress smartly but casually. From my year working with the Eldonians I knew that to wear a suit would almost certainly alienate me from respondents, and would make it much more difficult to establish rapport.

⁵ A cluster analysis was conducted using a number of variables from the skills audit to identify different types of female respondent. A random selection was then made from each of the 7 clusters identified.

4.5.4 Recording and transcription of interviews

The decision to record each interview onto audio tape was an easy one to make, the main reason being my lack of knowledge of shorthand and an inability to write quickly whilst keeping a conversation flowing freely. Some researchers voice concerns over the intrusiveness of a tape recorder at an interview, but Jones (1985a) considers that people quickly forget the presence of a tape recorder and that the success or failure of an interview is far more likely to be determined by factors such as how the respondent perceives the researcher and whether s/he believes in the research. Patton (1990) observes that use of a tape recorder allows the interviewer to be much more attentive to the respondent, as s/he does not have to make verbatim notes during the interview.

To minimise the possible distraction of a tape recorder a very small dictaphone machine was chosen, which also offered the advantage of enabling the tapes to be transcribed on a dictaphone system afterwards. The decision was also taken not to use the tape recorder if any respondents felt unhappy with it.

Once interviews have been completed, and before analysis can begin, tape recorded interviews are usually transcribed, which is often a very time consuming process. Patton (1990) observes that the transcription time of an interview is approximately four times the interviews length. Hull (1988) suggests that this transcription process is one of most serious problems with qualitative techniques. He argues that in practically all cases hesitations and repetitions will have to be eliminated and punctuation introduced to preserve the texture of the speech, and that because few people speak to a single point at a time certain parts of the text may have to be re-arranged to maintain the continuity of an argument. Jones (1985b) claims that because of the cost of transcription she does not always bother with it, preferring instead to code the information directly from the tape. She also astutely observes that transcription can remove non-linguistic data, such as emphasis and mood, which can crucially elaborate meaning.

4.5.5 Data analysis and presentation

The following quotation succinctly describes the purpose, and difficulties of qualitative data analysis:

"Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion: it is not neat."

Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data; it builds grounded theory” (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p112).

Whilst a large and ever expanding literature exists on conducting qualitative analysis, less material has been published specifically on the analysis and presentation of information collected. Recently however several important texts have emerged, including Bryman and Burgess (1994), Dey (1993), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Silverman (1993).

Qualitative research typically produces massive volumes of data (Patton, 1990), and the research in Vauxhall proved no exception. Data collection in itself is merely a means to an end; in this situation to provide a better understanding of the labour market position of women in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool. Once a large amount of data has been generated a suitable method must be chosen to reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating what the data reveals (Patton, 1990). Various methods of presenting the data are available, four of the most important are discussed below.

Firstly, a simple narrative approach involves presenting a complete transcript of each interview, which is included in the research document. This approach obviously has problems if interviews are long, or many are conducted. Also, significant amounts of an interview may consist of repetitions, or material not totally relevant to the research.

A more practical method is the structured narrative approach, such as the one adopted by Hull (1988) in his doctoral thesis on rural inaccessibility in East Kent. With this approach quotes are taken from the text of interviews and are placed under a series of subject headings.

A case study approach involves developing a profile of a person, and intends to take the reader into the respondents life and understand that person as a unique individual. A more thorough understanding of a person is achieved than by using a narrative approach. Once a number of case studies have been developed they can be compared and contrasted with each other.

Content analysis is an approach which attempts to quantify textural information, and became popular in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. The technique

involves breaking the narrative into specific key words or phrases which are then coded and reassembled to provide a composite measure.

After consideration of the alternative methods of data presentation it was decided to use a combination of three of these approaches. Content analysis was rejected because it appears overly concerned with quantifying qualitative information, and in so doing can only reduce the richness of depth of such material. In Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight quotes taken from the in-depth interviews will be used to provide supporting material to secondary data sources and the Job Link Survey. This can be considered a hybrid of the structured narrative and case study approaches. In addition, the full transcript of one interview is presented in Appendix Five. The use of a combination of methods has several factors in its favour. It allows for a more thorough understanding of an individual than a narrative approach on its own, and it also allows the utilisation of material from the earlier quantitative survey to be used to fill in gaps in an individual's life/career history.

4.5.6 Critique of qualitative survey methods

Setting up the qualitative interviews proved more problematic than envisaged. Of the original 6 letters sent out, only 2 culminated in successful interviews. Two of the potential respondents had forgotten about the Job Link survey, probably because of the length of time that had elapsed since it was conducted, and were not interested in participating. A further 2 respondents could not be contacted despite 2 visits to their homes.

Security was also a concern. Because of the nature of the interviews they needed to be conducted indoors, which entailed gaining access to respondents homes. Although 2 interviews were conducted within respondents homes, the situation was not ideal. Both interviews were successfully completed, but one was briefly interrupted by a telephone call. If other family members had been present it may have made the interview problematic to conduct, as it would be difficult to tell the respondent or family members that you do not want them in the room.

It was in light of these factors that the decision was taken to make use of my contacts within the community, and arrange the remaining interviews through these contacts. This meant that the sampling procedure was less random, but the disadvantages of this were offset by the ability to conduct an interview in a more relaxed atmosphere. Moser and Kalton's views lend support to this approach;

“if a survey is to be confined to a few case studies, their choice is dictated by availability and willingness of the persons to co-operate rather than by principles of selection” (Moser and Kalton, 1985, p56).

The final interviews were conducted in neutral venues, so neither interviewer or respondent felt too intimidated. This also meant there was less chance of an interview being disrupted.

The value of utilising my contacts within the local community can not be over stressed. As with the quantitative section of the research the qualitative section also drew upon my connections with the Eldonians and Liverpool John Moores University to gain trust from respondents, and to enable me to be perceived as an “insider” rather than as an “outsider”. Without these contacts it is doubtful if I could have overcome being viewed as an intruder, and it would have been difficult to conduct as many interviews of either a quantitative or qualitative nature.

The use of a tape recorder did not prove problematic. No one objected to the presence of the recorder, and Jones’ (1985a) comment about people soon forgetting about being recorded was vindicated.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has examined both primary and secondary data sources that were used to realise the aims of this thesis. The main secondary sources which are used in Chapter Five have been discussed, and the problem of the under-enumeration of the 1991 census of population has been considered in detail.

The methodology of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey has been discussed in detail. The design of the questionnaire and the various techniques of data collection have been explained, and problems encountered during the survey reported. It was acknowledged that crucial to the successful completion of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey was the collaborative approach adopted between the Eldonian Development Trust, the Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council, Liverpool Polytechnic, the Training Agency, local schools and other community groups in the area.

The case for a qualitative dimension to the research has been argued, and various methods of qualitative research have been examined. The decision to conduct a small number of in-depth interviews was explained.

5. Social change and economic restructuring in Vauxhall

5.1 Aims and objectives

This chapter focuses specifically on the Vauxhall ward of Liverpool, and provides an economic and social profile of the area. According to the index of deprivation, calculated in Chapter Three, Vauxhall is the fifth most deprived ward in metropolitan England, marginally behind the neighbouring ward of Everton. The chapter begins with a personal view of the area. The development of the area over the last two centuries is then examined, to provide a context to help explain the problems the area is experiencing today. In order to understand the changes that have occurred in Vauxhall, the economic and social restructuring of Liverpool is also reviewed. The chapter ends with a detailed consideration of the problems that Vauxhall faces in the 1990s.

5.2 A personal view of Vauxhall

The 15 minute walk from Sandhills station to the Eldonian Development Trust's offices at the bottom of Vauxhall road is one of my most indelible memories of the year I spent working on the Vauxhall Job Link Survey. Getting off the train from Walton I was immediately confronted by two things; the hulking mass of the recently closed British American Tobacco cigarette factory on Commercial Road, which in its heyday had employed thousands of local women; and the unpleasant smell of a grain feed processing plant, or a tannery, I was never to discover which.

Walking down Commercial Road could be a cold, bleak and lonely experience, the lack of employment opportunities in the area meant that I could complete the whole journey without passing another soul on foot, although a number of commuters passed through the area to their offices in town. To the right, over the canal, a demolition crane dwarfed Logan Towers, a 22 storey block of flats, signifying the demise of a 1960s housing estate. And in the distance the Tobacco Warehouse, the largest in the world, built at the beginning of this century when Liverpool was a key player in the global tobacco trade.

And yet there was also hope in that journey. The reclamation of derelict land to build new houses, the clean up of the Leeds/Liverpool canal, and perhaps most of all the sight of the recently completed Eldonian Village.

Over the course of that year, and during subsequent visits, I viewed the dramatic transformation of the area, new houses springing up at a phenomenal rate, sports facilities and social clubs opening, an outdoor bowling green being developed, with a sense of awe. The resilience of the people of an area that have always lived hand in hand with poverty, and been decimated by depopulation and the de-industrialisation of the late Twentieth Century, to be able to rebuild their community into an area that people are beginning to move back to is truly astonishing.

5.3 Area profile

Vauxhall ward is a dockside community, situated about a mile north of Liverpool city centre, and is 460 hectares in area. The ward stretches north to the Sefton district boundary, west to the river Mersey, east, with some discrepancies, to Great Homer Street and Stanley Road, and south to the line of the Liverpool/Wallasey Mersey tunnel (see Figure 5.1). Almost all of the area's population, 7,935 in 1991 (Liverpool City Council, 1993), live in the eastern half of the ward, whilst the west of the ward is dominated by docks, warehouses, and largely derelict industrial land.

Over the years Vauxhall ward has changed and expanded its boundaries on several occasions, which makes attempting to chart its population change difficult. To complicate matters further, none of the area that was Vauxhall ward prior to the early 1950s is in the Vauxhall ward of today, but is in the neighbouring Everton ward.

In the early 1950s the original Vauxhall ward became part of Central ward, whilst to the north the wards of Scotland South and Scotland North were merged and renamed Vauxhall. In the early 1970s the area that is Vauxhall ward today came into existence, with the merging of the 1950s Vauxhall ward and Sandhills ward to the north.

Figure 5.1: Location of Vauxhall ward



Source: Liverpool City Council Central Policy Unit, undated.

The Vauxhall area of Liverpool has experienced phenomenal change since it became part of the city in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. In the mid 1990s Vauxhall ward is a relatively sparsely populated area exhibiting most of the distinctive features of an inner city locality. Much of the ward is dominated by physically decaying docks and dock-related buildings, though environmental improvement programmes are occurring. The northward shift to Seaforth of dock activity, and the decline of dock-related processing industries, has resulted in the area possessing one of the highest levels of unemployment in the country, with much of it being long-term. According to the 1991 census of population the unemployment rate amongst the economically active population stood at 45.1%, a level only equalled in the country by the neighbouring ward of Everton (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

The Vauxhall area grew with the development of the Liverpool docks in the mid Nineteenth Century, and the area has always had a tradition of casual, low skilled employment, with high levels of unemployment and underemployment. Even during the areas most dynamic period of growth, the demand for labour was always exceeded by the supply. Today the area can be seen to be suffering from this legacy of casual and low skilled employment, as a large proportion of the population is unqualified or untrained for the admittedly limited number of job opportunities that arise.

For much of this century Vauxhall has been experiencing dramatic population decline. This has been the result of several processes, initially in the first half of this century, people left the area as other parts of Liverpool were still developing. After the second world war large scale slum clearances caused population displacement, and this was added to in the late 1960s with the displacement of thousands of people by the building of the second Mersey road tunnel. Recently migration can be seen as more economically led, with people leaving Liverpool in search of employment elsewhere in the country.

Ethnically the population of Vauxhall, like most of north Liverpool, is almost exclusively white. A large proportion of the population have Irish ancestry, dating back from the mid Nineteenth Century, when the area received a huge influx of migrants from Ireland. During this century the area has experienced a much smaller influx of Italian and Polish peoples. Vauxhall is strongly Roman Catholic, and the church plays an important role in the area.

One of the consequences of the high levels of unemployment and poverty is that Vauxhall has a very low level of home ownership. The majority of households rent from the local authority, though an increasing number rent from housing associations. There is not a great deal of private renting in the area. Housing types vary quite widely in the area, from traditional terraced streets in the north, to mid-rise blocks of flats in the east, to new build housing in the middle and south of the ward. Although Vauxhall possesses a few high rise blocks, the area generally escaped the architectural excesses of the 1960s, unlike the neighbouring ward of Everton.

Vauxhall exhibits several other characteristics indicative of inner city areas in the late Twentieth Century. The level of car ownership in the area is extremely low, and has barely changed over the last twenty years. The incidence of lone parent families is also well above the national average. Vauxhall is one of the least healthy areas in the country with a high death rate, particularly from respiratory diseases.

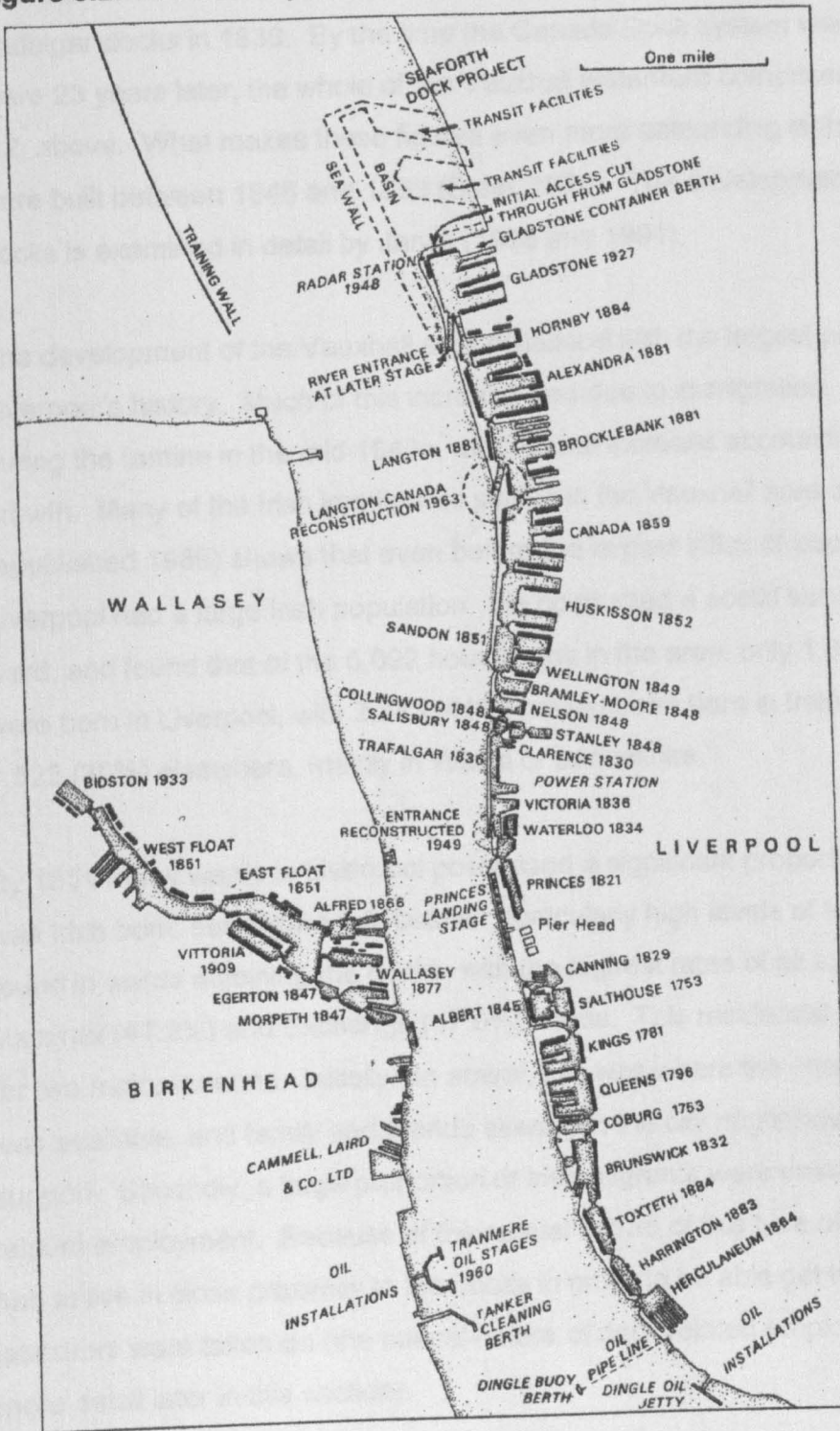
Despite, or possibly because, of these severe social and economic problems, Vauxhall is a strong community, or rather comprises a number of strong, competing, communities. The area's image is undoubtedly changing, with new houses being built for rent and sale, and people are beginning to move back to the area. Vauxhall, and in particular Scotland Road, a name once synonymous with disorderly behaviour (O'Mara 1933, republished 1990s), now has a relatively low level of crime for an inner city area. In the mid 1990s it is claimed that the Eldonian Village has not experienced a single burglary since its construction in the late 1980s (Eldonians, undated).

The remainder of this chapter will examine in detail the development of Vauxhall, in order to provide a better understanding of the problems the area faces today. These problems will then be examined in detail, with particular emphasis on the area's very high levels of unemployment.

5.4 The rise of Liverpool and Vauxhall

The dramatic demographic and economic growth of Liverpool during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries is well documented by, amongst others, Marriner (1982), Langton (1983) and Lawton (1982), and it is not my intention to dwell too long upon it. However an understanding of it is essential, as the fortunes of Vauxhall are inextricably linked to the fortunes of the city as a whole.

Figure 5.2: The development of the Mersey dock system



Source: Steel, R.W in Patmore, J.A and Hodgkiss, A.G (eds) (1970)

Until the early years of the Nineteenth Century the area that is Vauxhall ward today was sparsely populated. In the early Nineteenth Century housing gradually spread northwards into the area, but it was not until the building of the northern docks that the areas population significantly increased. The development of the docks north of the city centre

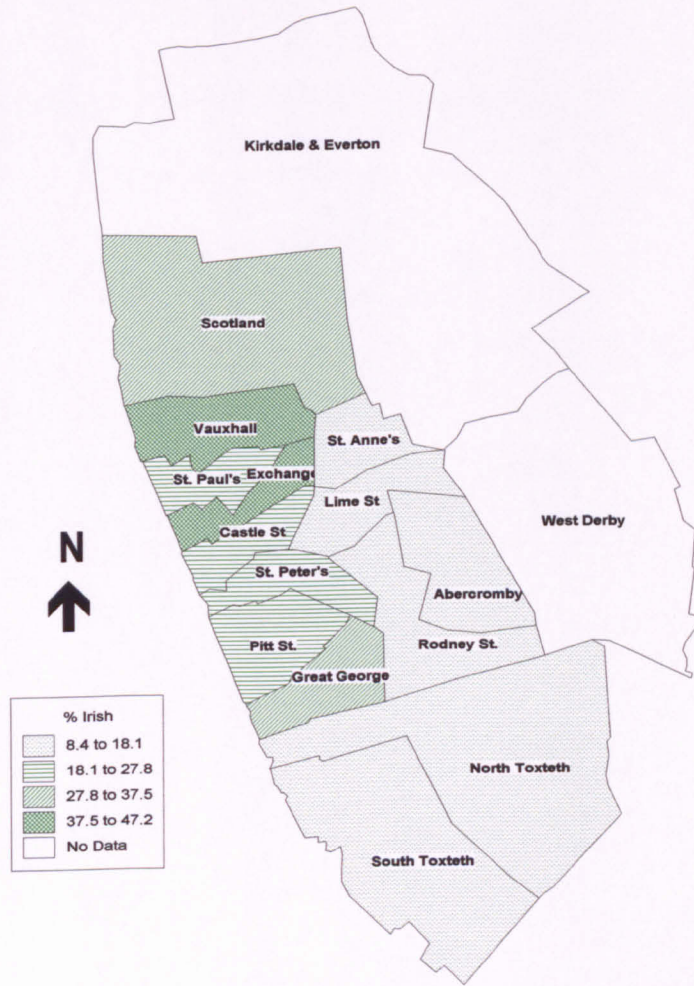
was dramatic. The first docks to be built in the Vauxhall ward were the Victoria and Trafalgar docks in 1836. By the time the Canada Dock system was completed in 1859, a mere 23 years later, the whole of the Vauxhall waterfront comprised of docks, see Figure 5.2, above. What makes these figures even more astounding is that most of these docks were built between 1848 and 1859 (Steel, 1970). The development of the Liverpool docks is examined in detail by Jarvis (1988 and 1991).

The development of the Vauxhall area coincided with the largest population increase in Liverpool's history. Much of this increase was due to in-migration, particularly from Ireland during the famine in the mid 1840s, with natural increase accounting for the rest of the growth. Many of the Irish immigrants settled in the Vauxhall area of the city. Finch (1842, republished 1986) shows that even before the largest influx of population from Ireland, Liverpool had a large Irish population. He conducted a social survey in the old Vauxhall ward, and found that of the 5,092 households in the area, only 1,326 (26%) of their heads were born in Liverpool, with 2,243 (44%) having been born in Ireland and the remaining 1,523 (30%) elsewhere, mainly in Wales or Lancashire.

By 1851 many wards in Liverpool possessed a significant proportion of population that was Irish born, see Figure 5.3, below. Particularly high levels of Irish born population were found in wards adjoining the docks, with the highest rates of all experienced in the Vauxhall (47.2%) and Exchange (47.0%) wards. This residential concentration occurred for two major reasons. Initially, on arrival, this was where the cheapest accommodation was available, and family and friends already in the city might have been able to offer support. Secondly, a large proportion of Irish migrants were unskilled and sought dock related employment. Because of the casual nature of this type of employment, workers had to live in close proximity to the docks in order to be able get to the stands where dock labourers were taken on (the casual nature of dock related employment is discussed in more detail later in this section).

This concentration of Irish born people, and their descendants, enabled the Liverpool Irish to gain a greater presence in politics than elsewhere in the country. In Edwardian Liverpool there were more than a dozen Irish Nationalist city councillors, and Liverpool Scotland, encompassing the Scotland and Vauxhall wards, became the first, and only, English parliamentary constituency to return an Irish Nationalist MP, T. P. O'Connor (Bohstedt, 1992).

Figure 5.3: Irish born population in Liverpool by ward, 1851



Source: Neal, 1988.

The population growth of the area that is Vauxhall ward today was spectacular, see Table 5.1. The original Vauxhall ward, covering the Dale, Tithebarn and Leeds Street area, reached a peak population of 27,942 in 1851. The population then declined, as housing was cleared for the building of Exchange Station and other commercial activities (Harley and Laxton, 1970). By 1891 the population of Vauxhall had fallen to just 7,166.

In marked contrast, the population's of Scotland and Everton and Kirkdale wards expanded rapidly over this period. The whole of the Nineteenth Century Scotland ward is encompassed in today's Vauxhall ward. This area experienced its greatest population increase between 1841 and 1861, when the population grew from 35,478 to 81,228. After this time the population began to fall, and this coincides with the growth of the Everton and Kirkdale ward. This ward, which covers some of the area that is Vauxhall today, grew from a population of 892 residents in 1801 to one of 176,687 residents in 1891. The

growth of the north end of Liverpool was so rapid that by 1871 the Scotland and Kirkdale and Everton wards accounted for 41% of the city's total population, see Figure 5.4.

Table 5.1: Growth of North Liverpool wards and Liverpool borough, 1801 to 1891

Year	Vauxhall	Scotland	Everton and Kirkdale*	Liverpool
1801	N/A	N/A	892	77653
1811	N/A	N/A	1578	94376
1821	N/A	N/A	3382	118972
1831	N/A	N/A	7109	165175
1841	26197	35478	13489	286656
1851	27942	61777	35776	375955
1861	24816	81228	70983	443938
1871	18958	77033	123915	493405
1881	15382	70606	167957	552508
1891	7166	53713	176687	517980

* became part of Liverpool borough during 1860s.

Sources: Census of England and Wales, 1801 to 1891.

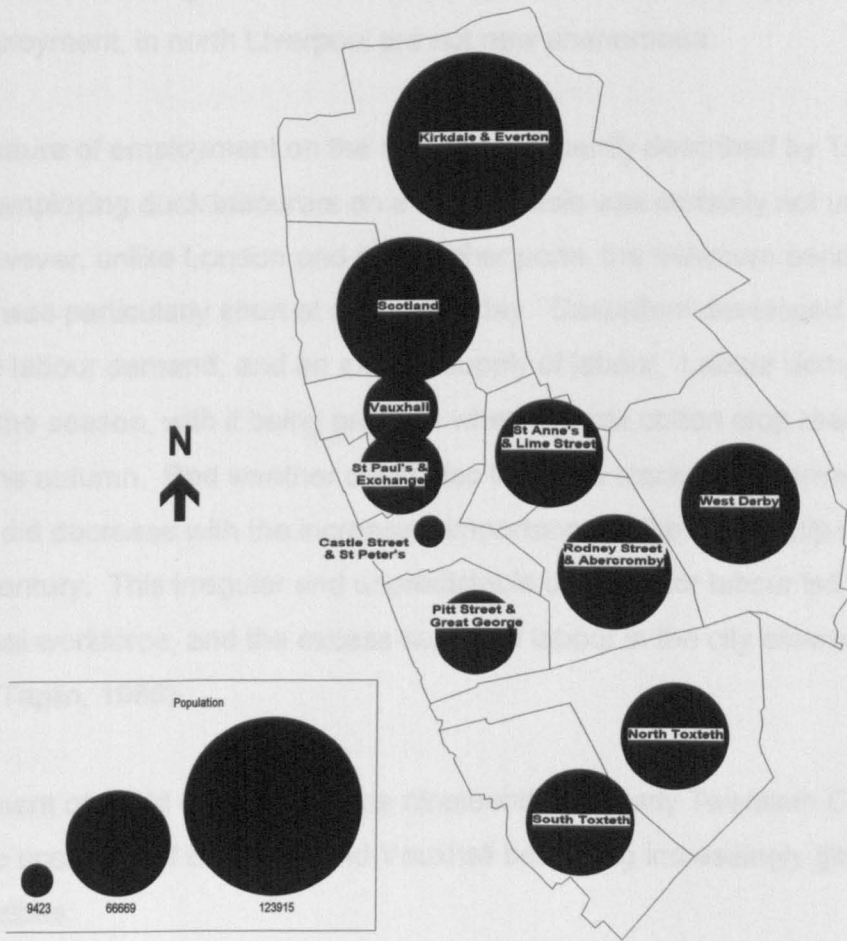
Calculating the peak population of the area that comprises Vauxhall ward today is impossible. However it is reasonable to estimate that in the mid to late Nineteenth Century it probably exceeded 100,000, based on the fact that the Scotland ward alone peaked at 80,000, and today's Vauxhall ward also comprised a significant part of Everton and Kirkdale which, by 1871, housed an even larger population, see Figure 5.4.

The rapid growth of the north Liverpool dockland area led to appalling social conditions, as a vast quantity of poor quality housing was built. Much of this housing was interspersed with industry, for example in the Cotton Street/Carlton Street area in the 1850s, the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company Works, a smithy, a foundry, several corn stores, a corn mill, coal yards and a shipbuilders yard were all inter-mixed with courts and cellar dwellings (O'Connor 1990).

In addition to the above mentioned activities, a number of chemical works, alkali and soap works, varnishing works, tanneries, glass works, potteries, distilleries and sugar refineries all developed in the area. In 1870 the old sugar house was taken over by Tate and Lyle

and vastly expanded, providing a major source of employment in the area. For more detail on the areas development see O'Connor (1990) and Lane (1987).

Figure 5.4: Population of Liverpool wards in 1871



Source: 1871 census

The social conditions in Vauxhall and other areas of Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century are hard to imagine. They were well articulated in an article called "Squalid Liverpool" in the Liverpool Daily Post in November 1883. Describing the western strip of the city from Dingle to Sandhills, the article stated:

"it is barely a mile at its widest part, and the habitable portion of it, after dock space has been deducted, is still less. It is about 4 miles long, and probably contains something over two square miles of land on which people live..... Yet on this narrow strip it is said some 250,000 persons live, or nearly half the population of the city..... it is admitted that on this particular portion of Liverpool there resides a population more dense than is to be found in any city in the civilised world". (cited in O'Connor, 1990, pp12-13)

It is important to stress that despite the numerous industries that were set up in Vauxhall during the mid and late Nineteenth Century, employment opportunities were limited due to the vast influx of population into the area. Much of the work, especially on the docks, was

poorly paid and of a very insecure nature. In his social survey of Vauxhall in the 1840s, Finch (1842, reprinted 1986) found that of the 5,032 households, 1,737 of their heads were not in employment (34.5%), 1,490 (29.6%) were in full employment (which would have meant working six days a week), and 1,587 (31.5%) were working between one and five days a week. These figures show that the high levels of unemployment and insecure, part-time employment, in north Liverpool are not new phenomena.

The casual nature of employment on the docks is eloquently described by Taplin (1986). The habit of employing dock labourers on a casual basis was certainly not unique to Liverpool, however, unlike London and some other ports, the minimum period of engagement was particularly short at only half a day. Casualism developed because of unpredictable labour demand, and an excess supply of labour. Labour demand varied according to the season, with it being greatest when the raw cotton crop reached Liverpool in the autumn. Bad weather could also lead to a slackening demand for labour, although this did decrease with the increasing importance of the steamship in the late Nineteenth Century. This irregular and unpredictable demand for labour led employers to favour a casual workforce, and the excess supply of labour in the city allowed them to achieve this (Taplin, 1986).

The development of world trade during the nineteenth and early Twentieth Century resulted in the economy of Liverpool and Vauxhall becoming increasingly globally linked, as Lane describes:

“The British American Tobacco Company made cigarettes and Ogden’s pipe tobacco from leaf brought in by Harrison boats from South and East Africa and the USA..... The mills of Rank and Spiller and Wilson ground the grains of Canada and the US mid-West as Joseph Heap’s mill husked the rice of India and Burma. The Crawford family’s factories mixed, so to speak, Rank’s flour with Tate and Lyle’s sugar to bake their biscuits. Meanwhile and nearby, other factories - Read’s and Tillotson’s - made tins and cartons for the biscuits and cigarettes” (Lane, 1987, p43).

This quote also demonstrates how the port of Liverpool managed to withstand and adapt to the demise of the slave trade, which had been instrumental in the city’s development between the late Seventeenth and mid Nineteenth Century (Meegan, 1995).

5.4.1 Female employment in Vauxhall and Liverpool in the early Twentieth Century

Although Liverpool never had a strong tradition of large scale female participation in the labour force, such as in the Lancashire mill towns, by the early Twentieth Century a large

number of women worked in a limited range of occupations. Indeed in 1911 there were more women working in service than there were men employed as dockers (Liverpool Education Committee, 1916). Table 5.2, below, shows the numbers of men and women working in a selection of occupations, all of which were major sources of employment in Vauxhall.

Grant (1987) explains how Liverpool retained a large number of domestic servants, cleaners, and laundry workers well into the Twentieth Century, because no significant manufacturing sector existed, offering alternative employment. Liverpool, she claims, was unique in exhibiting this phenomenon. This also demonstrates that much female employment in the city, like male employment, was often of a very casual nature.

Table 5.2: Employment in Liverpool in 1911, selected occupations relevant to the Vauxhall area

Occupation	Number of Firms	Male workers	Female workers
Cardboard box makers	13	72	911
Coopering	40	1108	3
Dock Labourers	Unknown	19446	0
Domestic Service	Unknown	417	21555
Oil, Tallow & Grease Refiners	20	2496	34
Paper Bag Makers	11	195	1420
Sack & Bag Makers	26	135	1313
Ship Builders (Repair Only)	Unknown	3410	1
Sugar Workers*	9	1017	50
Tobacco	5	607	2793

* Also related jobs in coopering and bag making.

Source: Liverpool Education Committee, Handbook of Employments in Liverpool, 1916.

Table 5.2 clearly shows gender segregation in different types of employment. In the sugar industry, a major source of employment in the Vauxhall area at the time, in addition to the thousand or so jobs in refining sugar, companies also employed large numbers of people in packaging the products, in jobs such as coopering and bag making. Of the thousand plus jobs in actually refining sugar, over 95% were occupied by men, and in the related coopering trade the figure was even higher at over 99%. On the packaging side the

situation was reversed, with nearly 90% of paper bag makers, and over 90% of sack and bag makers being women. In 1911 mechanisation was beginning to occur in the packaging industries, and the better paying, machine operating jobs were generally carried out by men (Liverpool Education Committee, 1916).

In 1911 the tobacco and cigarette manufacturing industry was very important to Liverpool's economy in general and to the Vauxhall area's in particular, with British American Tobacco's factory on Commercial Road being a major source of local employment. This industry was an important source of female employment, with over 80% of the 3,400 jobs in the city being occupied by women (Liverpool Education Committee, 1916).

Grant (1987) explains in detail how women's employment in the tobacco industry became "deskilled" through the process of mechanisation. In the late Nineteenth Century the tobacco processing industry not only provided a large number of jobs for women, but was also one of the few women's trades that was recognised as "skilled". Consequently these types of jobs offered higher wages than most other female employment, although the working conditions were often equally atrocious. The work was considered skilled as considerable dexterity and speed were required and a long apprenticeship was served to attain journeywoman status. By the 1920s most tasks within the tobacco industry had become mechanised, and women were displaced into low skill, low paying packaging and labelling occupations, whilst men were employed as machine minders and engineers. In the face of these technological innovations, the relatively high female wages in the tobacco industry were not maintained (Grant, 1987).

An explanation for this loss of status, Grant suggests, is that the women in the Liverpool tobacco industry lacked the organisation of male workers, by the time women were first admitted to the Tobacco Workers Union (1925) (E.Rathbone, cited in Grant, 1987) the designated skill level of their work had been reduced. In contrast Cockburn (1983) has shown how male printers have retained the status of their work through their strength of union. This is also an interesting variant of the phenomenon of "deskilling", as outlined by Braverman (1974). Braverman claimed that as technology advances skilled male employees are replaced by less skilled, cheaper, female employees. In this case skilled female employees have seen their work mechanised and "deskilled", whilst the newly created machine operative jobs have been labelled "skilled" and have gone to men. It appears that men have taken advantage of technological innovation, through superior

organisation, and have gained the “skilled” jobs from women, and consequently better levels of pay. This is a clear demonstration of the dual systems of patriarchy and capitalism colluding, to the clear detriment of women’s interests.

A further example of this collusion occurred in 1916, when for the first, and only time, women were employed on the Liverpool waterfront as dockers. This situation arose because of the lack of available male workers, due to enlistment into the armed forces. For a period of a few days in March 1916 a number of women were employed on several docks as porters. However male dockers, supported by their union, threatened to withdraw their labour and go to work for other companies not using women workers. The employers gave way to the male dockers demands, and the women were quickly dispensed with (Liverpool Women’s History - Women’s Lives Group, undated).

During the 1920s and 1930s the opportunity of full-time employment for women increased, most significantly in the food processing, electrical manufacturing, and pools industries (Ayers, 1990). However the practice of women being forced into leaving employment upon marriage endured, although Ayers goes on to note:

“This does not mean that women did not work within marriage, only that it became less visible” (Ayers, 1990, p277).

However whilst these figures show that occupation type in the early Twentieth Century was very heavily segregated by gender, large scale employment of women did take place in Liverpool, and particularly in industries which were located in the Vauxhall area.

5.5 The economic decline of Liverpool and Vauxhall

Liverpool’s economic decline began just after the end of the First World War, although the causes of its decline can be traced back much further than this. Even by 1800, whilst the rest of the country industrialised, Liverpool began to de-industrialise (Power, 1992). Rather than establishing a diverse economic base investment was concentrated on trade and the development of the port rather than on manufacturing. Although a large amount of port related processing industries developed, a large number of industries left the area in the early Nineteenth Century. Shipbuilding crossed the Mersey to Birkenhead, the chemical industry moved to Widnes and Runcorn, salt refining moved to Garston then Widnes, and the cotton mills and potteries, developed in the late Eighteenth Century, failed (*ibid*).

Liverpool was severely hit by the economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s. The first industries to be hit were the traditional ones of shipbuilding, cotton textiles, coal and heavy engineering, which severely affected Lancashire and the surrounding areas. Liverpool's decline quickly followed, as its economic success relied almost totally on the prosperity of its industrial hinterland. Unemployment in Liverpool rose sharply to peak at 28% in 1932, against a national rate of 22% (Lawton, 1982).

Although Liverpool's economic decline probably began before 1920, its population continued to grow for another 20 years, see Table 5.3 below. This was due in part to the expansion of the city's boundaries on a number of occasions, the last major one being the addition of Speke in 1932. By the 1931 census the city's population was just over 800,000, and it is thought to have reached a peak of 867,000 in 1937 (Gould and Hodgkiss, 1982). Since then the population has been in decline, gradually at first, but more recently at an unprecedented rate. Between 1961 and 1991 the population of Liverpool fell from 745,750 to 449,560, a decline of 39.7%. This dramatic fall in population is similar to the loss sustained by Manchester (39.5%) and is significantly greater than the losses experienced by Newcastle (21.5%), Birmingham (20.7%) and Sheffield (14.0%) over the same period (see Table 3.3). Projections by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys predict that Liverpool will continue to experience substantial population loss, from 466,000 in 1989 to 344,000 in 2011, a decline of 26% (The Guardian, 1991b). If this projection proves to be correct the population of Liverpool will have more than halved in just 50 years.

Table 5.3: Population change in Liverpool and Vauxhall during the Twentieth Century

	Liverpool	Vauxhall*
1901	684958	78506
1911	753353	71261
1921	802940	71789
1931	856072	66784
1941	No census due to WWII	
1951	790838	39145
1961	745750	31494
1971	610114	17734
1981	516700	12589
1991	474522	7935

* figures for Vauxhall prior to 1971 calculated by adding together figures for its component wards.

Source: 1901 to 1991 Censuses of Population

It was established in section 5.4 that the population of the area that is Vauxhall ward today probably reached a maximum population of over 100,000 between 1860 and 1890. In 1901 the population of the area was just under 80,000, see Table 5.3. Over the next thirty years this figure declined gradually to about 67,000. No census took place in 1941 due to the Second World War, and by 1951 the areas population had decreased sharply to under 40,000. Much of this decrease was due to the destruction of housing during the war, the area's close proximity to the docks making it a key target for the Luftwaffe. The generally prosperous decade of the 1950s saw a slight slowing in the areas population loss, and by 1961 the population stood at 31,494.

Depopulation in Vauxhall accelerated during the 1960s, with large scale slum clearance occurring in the area. Migration tended to be local rather than national, with large numbers of people moving to peripheral estates in Liverpool or Knowsley, such as Netherley, Belle Vale, Cantril Farm and Halewood, or to new towns, such as Kirkby and Runcorn. By 1971 the population of Vauxhall was 16,291. This large loss of population during the 1960s was also in part due to the construction of the second Mersey Road tunnel, which led to a large number of houses being cleared to make way for approach roads. Little or no consultation appears to have occurred with the people who were displaced from the area.

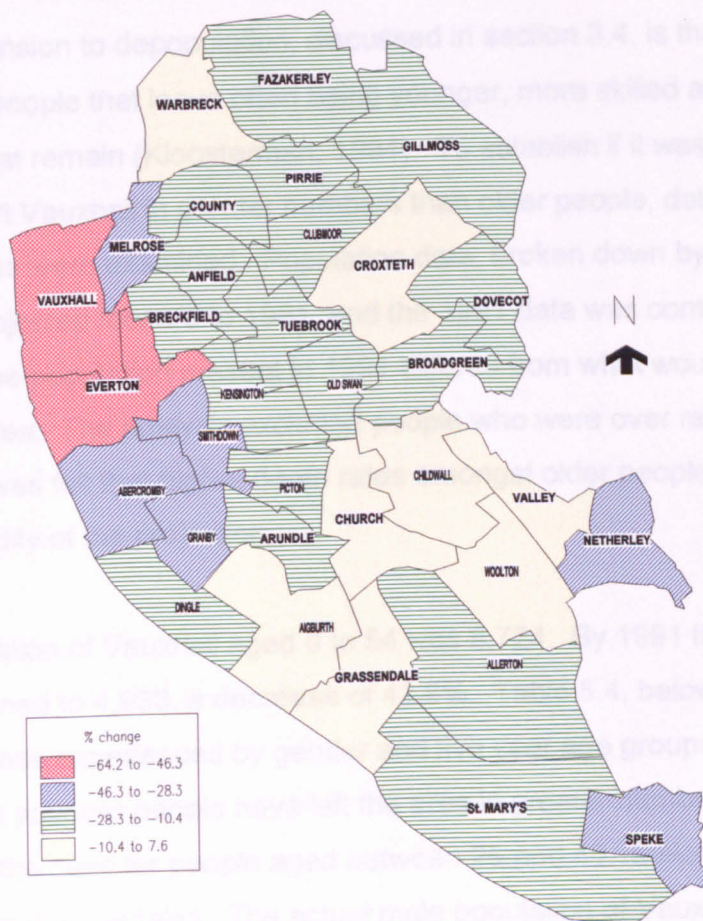
Because of substantial depopulation in the inner city, the ward boundaries were redrawn in the early 1970s, when Sandhills and Vauxhall wards were merged, in addition the new ward took in a small part of Westminster ward, at the northern end of Scotland Road. This explains why the population for the new Vauxhall ward was slightly greater in 1971 (17,734) than the figure that was derived by simply adding together the populations of Sandhills and the old Vauxhall wards (16,291).

5.5.1 Recent population change in Vauxhall, 1971 to 1991

Vauxhall ward is not alone in Liverpool in experiencing huge population growth, followed by massive decline, but, along with the neighbouring ward of Everton, the phenomenon is most pronounced in this area. The following section will briefly compare the population change experienced in Vauxhall and the rest of Liverpool over the last 20 years.

Whilst Liverpool's population declined from 608,503 in 1971 to 474,522⁶ in 1991 (a loss of 22.0%), it is important to emphasise that some areas of the city lost considerably more people than others, see Figure 5.5, below. Only three wards, Aigburth (7.5% increase), Croxteth (2.8%) and Valley (1.4%) experienced population growth over the 20 year period. Vauxhall sustained the second highest loss of population loss over this period, with a 55.3% decrease in its population. Everton lost rather more (64.2%), and the other inner city wards, Abercromby (44.2%), Granby (41.1%), Smithdown (39.4%) and Melrose (32.6%) somewhat less.

Figure 5.5: Population change in Liverpool, 1971-1991



Source: Liverpool City Council, 1993.

The rate of population loss for Abercromby and Granby are lower than Everton and Vauxhall for 2 reasons. Firstly these areas did not experience the scale of slum clearance during the 1960s that Vauxhall and Everton did; and secondly these areas are home to a

⁶ This figure is rather higher than the one of 449,560 cited in Section 5.5, above. This is because for comparative purposes between cities, the earlier figure was not adjusted to the 1991 mid-year estimates,

large proportion of the city's ethnic minority population, and have experienced some recent in-migration. Granby, for example, has a large Somali community, which has grown during the 1980s and 1990s. Two other areas which have experienced high loss of population are the peripheral wards of Netherley (37.3% decrease) and Speke (38.2%). These wards both exhibit high levels of unemployment, above average levels of council tenancy and below average levels of owner occupation.

The remaining wards of the city all experienced smaller rates of population decline. The lowest rates of decline were experienced by the suburban wards of Childwall, Church and Grassendale.

An important dimension to depopulation, discussed in section 3.4, is that it is not a uniform process, with the people that leave often being younger, more skilled and better qualified than the people that remain (Kloosterman, 1994). To establish if it was the case that younger people left Vauxhall in greater numbers than older people, data from the 1981 and 1991 censuses were examined. Population data, broken down by age and gender, from 1981 was projected forward to 1991, and the 1991 data was compared to this to see by what amount the population present in 1991 differed from what would be expected if no one had left the area. The analysis excluded people who were over retirement age in 1991, because it was felt that higher death rates amongst older people could seriously impact on the validity of the projection.

In 1981 the population of Vauxhall aged 0 to 54 was 8,724. By 1991 the population aged 10 to 64 had declined to 4,993, a decrease of 42.8%. Table 5.4, below, shows the percentage decrease experienced by gender and five year age groups. It is very clear from the table that younger people have left the area in greater numbers than older ones, this is particularly the case for people aged between 25 and 40. Males have left the area in greater numbers than females. The actual male population of Vauxhall is 46.7% below the projected male population, whilst the equivalent figure for females is 38.3%. The 30-34 age group has experienced the greatest level of out migration, with the actual male population in this group being 69.5% smaller than the projected figure, and the female population being 54.8% smaller.

which allow for under-enumeration. The figures used in this section include the mid-year estimate adjustment in order to derive a more accurate picture.

An apparent anomaly to this pattern is the high decrease for males, relative to females, over the age of 55. This is probably due to the shorter life expectancy of men than women, rather than men simply migrating out of the area to retire, as statistically more men will die in these age groups than women.

This information clearly demonstrates, even allowing for under-enumeration in the 1991 census, that the depopulation of Vauxhall has been a very uneven process, with younger people, especially males, leaving the area in far greater numbers than older people. Although no information was available on the skills and qualifications possessed by the people who left the area, it seems likely these people would have been better skilled and qualified than those who remained.

Table 5.4: Decrease in population of Vauxhall, by gender and age

Age Group	Change, 1981-91 (%)		
	Male	Female	Total
10 to 14	-48.7	-43.6	-46.3
15-19	-32.5	-33.5	-33.0
20-24	-31.3	-28.1	-29.7
25-29	-58.8	-46.7	-52.6
30-34	-69.5	-54.8	-62.1
35-39	-56.6	-46.0	-51.6
40-44	-48.0	-38.6	-43.8
45-49	-35.0	-24.7	-30.1
50-54	-29.0	-28.2	-28.7
55-59	-34.0	-21.7	-28.8
60-64	-49.1	-30.7	-41.1
Total	-46.7	-38.3	-42.8

Source: 1981 and 1991 Census of Population

5.6 Recent employment restructuring in Liverpool

It was established in Chapter Three, Tables 3.2 and 3.3, that between 1961 and 1991 Liverpool's population declined by 39.7%, whilst over the same period the city lost 51.5% of its jobs. In comparison the population of Great Britain increased by 5.6% over the same period, and the decline in jobs was just 0.5% (Census of Population; Employment Gazette, October 1994). These job losses were most heavily concentrated in the manufacturing and distribution sectors, whilst jobs in the service sector actually increased. Table 5.5, below, compares percentage change in major employment sectors and selected industries in Liverpool and the Great Britain, over the period 1961 to 1985.

The effects of deindustrialisation and the strong growth of the service sector are clearly illustrated by Tables 5.5. What is also very apparent is that whilst Liverpool has suffered far more from deindustrialisation than the country as a whole, it has benefited far less from the expansion of the service sector. This is particularly the case in blue collar service employment, where the city has lost 50% of jobs of this type between 1961 and 1985, whilst in Great Britain employment actually increased in this sector by 8%.

Table 5.5: Employment changes by sectors and selected industries in Liverpool, 1961 to 1985.

Employment sector	Numbers		% change 1961-85	
	1961	1985	Liverpool	Great Britain
Manufacturing	130140	47455	-64	-37
Other Production Industries	30140	10662	-65	-39
Blue Collar Services	174820	87500	-50	+8
White Collar Services	64750	85000	+31	+68
Total	400940	230617	-43	-5
Selected Industries				
Food, Drink & Tobacco	28080	11000	-61	-29
Engineering	26860	8100	-70	-25
Vehicles (inc. shipbuilding)	12880	10750	-17	-48
Transport & Communications	65250	29000	-56	-20
Distribution	77240	31000	-60	+5

Source : Liverpool City Council, 1987.

Between 1967 and 1972, over 20% of the 20,000 industrial jobs in the Vauxhall dockland area disappeared (Hodgson, 1979), and more recently the area's largest employers have also left. Tate and Lyle's sugar refinery, for example, closed in April 1981 with the loss of 1,600 jobs, and British American Tobacco's cigarette factory closed with the loss of a further 500 jobs in 1990. Before closure both companies rationalised production, laying off large numbers of workers in the process. Tate and Lyle made 600 people redundant in 1976, and British American Tobacco laid off a large number of its workforce during the 1980s.

An important feature of the Vauxhall and inner Liverpool labour market in the 1970s was that a large proportion of the population worked locally (Department of the Environment, 1977). With very low levels of car ownership the population of Vauxhall were not well placed to compete for new jobs which were created in the outer areas of Merseyside during the 1970s, such as those at the Ford plant in Halewood.

Between 1981 and 1995 the economic restructuring of Liverpool continued relentlessly, see Table 5.6, below. If anything these figures make even more gloomy reading than those in Tables 5.5. Whilst the process of deindustrialisation has continued, employment in the non-service sector decreased by 61.1% over this period, employment in the service sector also experienced a decline of 15.4%. These figures are put into context when compared to the fortunes of other English cities of similar size. Manchester has suffered similar levels of decline in employment in the non-service sector, but has experienced no significant change in employment in the service sector. Birmingham, Newcastle and Sheffield have all experienced lower levels of employment decline in the non-service sector, but have all experienced a growth of over 10% in employment in the service sector.

Nationally the decline of the industrial sector and growth of a service dominated economy has resulted in the decline of male employment and the substantial growth of female employment. This process has resulted in the male economic activity rate declining from 94.7% in 1961 to 86.6% in 1991, whilst over the same period the female rate has risen from 46.4% to 67.6%. This accounts for why women made up 44% of the workforce in 1995 (Sly, 1996) compared to 33.6% in 1948 (Dex, 1985).

Birmingham, Newcastle and Sheffield have all experienced significant growth in female employment in the service sector. In Birmingham and Sheffield this growth has been offset by the decline in female employment in the production and construction sector, to the extent that the number of women in employment has not significantly changed. In Newcastle growth in female employment in the service sector has outstripped the decline in the non-service sector, resulting in an increase of total female employment by 14.6% over the period 1981-1995. Manchester experienced a 3.1% decrease in female employment over the period 1981-1995, with a large decrease in employment in the non-service sector (51.5%) being partially offset by a small increase in employment in the service sector (5.8%).

Liverpool was not so fortunate. Female employment in the non-service sector declined substantially from 22,100 in 1981 to 8,100 in 1995, a decrease of 63.3%. In percentage terms this was greater than the decline in male jobs in these sectors (59.9%). Additionally female employment in the service sector also declined over the period, by 5.2%. This resulted in overall female employment in the city declining by 16% over the 14 year period. The sharp decline in the number of women employed in the non-service sector in

Liverpool is due to the almost total decimation of the food and tobacco processing industries in the dockland areas. As previously mentioned, both Tate and Lyle's and BAT had large female workforces, and these factory closures hit women particularly hard.

Despite the net loss of jobs to women over the past decade and a half, women now occupy over half of all jobs in Liverpool. In 1995, 54.3% of all employees in Liverpool were women, compared to 46.9% in 1981. Part-time employment is also on the increase, with it accounting for 28% of all employees in the mid 1990s, compared to 24% ten years previously (Liverpool City Council, 1997). The feminisation of the Liverpool labour market and the growing use of part-time workers are both evidence of employers seeking numerical and financial flexibility, to adapt to changing market conditions. In a city where unemployment rates and poverty levels are high, the growth of low paying part-time employment at the expense of full-time employment must be of great concern.

Whilst the female economic activity rate rose nationally from 60.8% in 1981 to 67.6% in 1991, in Liverpool it fell over this period, from 62.8% in 1981 to 61.3% in 1991 (Liverpool City Council, 1993). However this change was not experienced uniformly over the city. The more affluent, suburban wards of Aigburth, Allerton, Childwall, Church, Croxteth, Grassendale and Woolton experienced an increase in activity rates, whilst the remaining areas suffered declining economic activity rates. The wards which experienced the greatest decline of all were Vauxhall (21.7%) and Pirrie (13.5%). Overall an increasing polarisation in female economic activity rate can be discerned. In 1981 rates ranged from a minimum of 54.3% (in Speke) to a maximum of 67.3% (in Fazakerley). By 1991 the lowest rate was 47% in Vauxhall, and the highest 70.5% in Aigburth and Grassendale wards.

Nationally between 1981 and 1991 the male economic activity rate declined from 90.4% to 86.6%. In Liverpool over the same period the decline was more pronounced, falling from 88.5% to 79.9% (Liverpool City Council, 1993). Once again Vauxhall sustained the greatest decline in economic activity rates. In 1981 88.0% of males of working age in the area were economically active; by 1991 this had fallen to 71.1%, a decline of almost a fifth (19.1%). Other wards experiencing the greatest decrease were Abercromby (17.7%), Everton (17.8%) and Breckfield (14.5%). No wards experienced an increase in male activity rates, but the decrease was least marked in the more affluent suburban wards. The spatial pattern of the decline in economic activity rates for both men and women is shown in Figure 5.6, below.

Table 5.6: Change in employment sectors by gender in Liverpool and selected cities, 1981-95

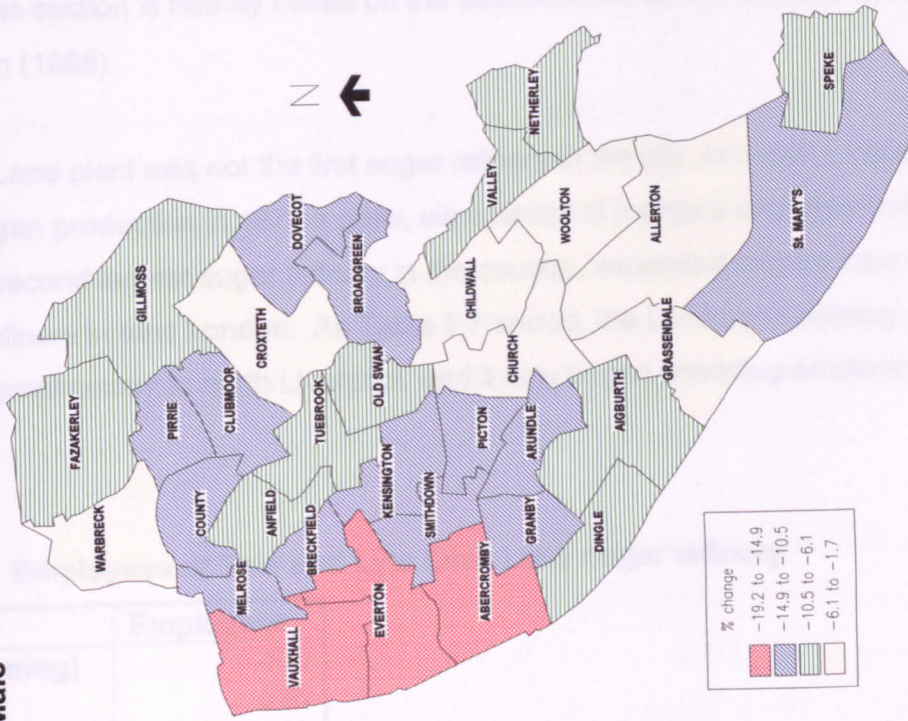
	1981		1995		change 1981-95		% change 1981-95			
					Liverpool	Birmingham	Manchester	Newcastle	Sheffield	
Male non-service*	44400	17800	-26600		-59.9	-42.7	-60.1	-53.5	-49.9	
Male service	90200	66400	-23800		-26.4	8.5	-7.8	5.5	5.3	
All male	134600	84200	-50400		-37.4	-20.8	-26.6	-18.8	-26.3	
Female non-service*	22100	8100	-14000		-63.3	-46.0	-51.5	-44.2	-52.4	
Female service	96800	91800	-5000		-5.2	16.3	5.8	23.0	16.4	
All female	118900	99900	-19000		-16.0	0.6	-3.1	14.6	0.6	
All non-service*	66500	25900	-40600		-61.1	-43.5	-57.9	-51.6	-50.5	
All Service	187000	158200	-28800		-15.4	12.8	-0.9	15.2	11.6	
Total	253500	184100	-69400		-27.4	-12.0	-16.2	-3.6	-15.0	

* Non-service sector comprises production, manufacturing and construction industries

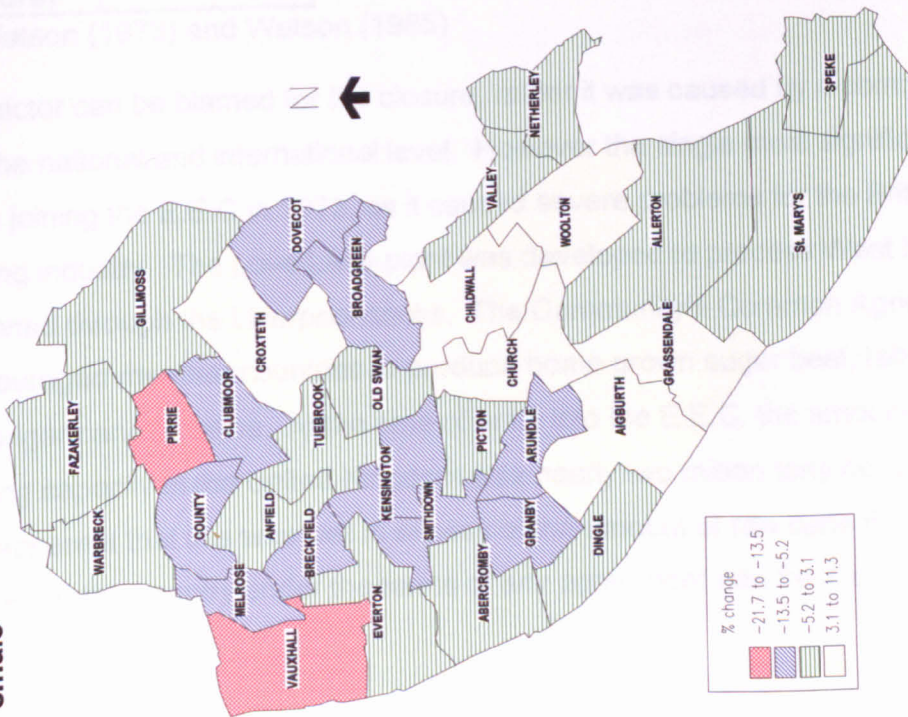
Sources: 1981 Employment Census and 1995 Census of Employment.

Figure 5.6: Change in female and male economic activity rates, 1981-1991

Male



Female



Source: Liverpool City Council (1993)

5.6.1 Closure of Tate and Lyle's Love Lane sugar refinery

The closure of the Tate and Lyle's Love Lane sugar refinery in April 1981, with the loss of 1,600 jobs, was one of the lowest points in Vauxhall's and Liverpool's, recent industrial history. This section is heavily based on the definitive text on the closure, written by J.A.Watson (1985).

The Love Lane plant was not the first sugar refinery in the city, or even in Vauxhall, but since it began production in 1872 it grew, via a series of mergers and take-overs, into being the second largest sugar refinery in the country, exceeded only by Tate and Lyle's Thames refinery in east London. As Table 5.7 shows, the Love Lane refinery was a major source of employment in north Liverpool, and it only began shedding employees in the 1960s.

Table 5.7: Employees at Tate and Lyle Love Lane sugar refinery

Date	Employees
1872 (opening)	400
1889	538
1897	642
1919	1350
1929	1850
1939	2500
1949	2750
1959	3000+
1972	2200
1981 (closure)	1600

Source: Watson (1973) and Watson (1985)

No single factor can be blamed for the closure, rather it was caused by a combination of events at the national and international level. However the single most significant factor was Britain joining the E.E.C in 1973, as it caused severe problems for the British sugar cane refining industry. The Love Lane plant was developed to process West Indian sugar cane, imported through the Liverpool docks. The Community's Common Agricultural Policy encouraged member countries to produce home grown sugar beet, rather than importing sugar cane to refine. At the time of entry into the E.E.C. the amount of sugar cane refining capacity in the United Kingdom was nearly two million tons per year, and it was quite apparent that this was well in excess of the amount of raw cane that would be allowed to enter the country under the terms of any agreement with the Community.

The Labour government of the 1970s must also bear some of the responsibility for the Love Lane refinery's ultimate closure. In 1975 they published the "Food from Our Own Resources" plan, which aimed to increase the amount of home grown food and reduce the country's dependency on imports. Unfortunately for the sugar cane refining industry the plan envisaged a substantial increase in the production of beet sugar.

The initial rationalisation phase between 1973 and 1976 saw Tate and Lyle take over Manbre and Garton sugar refining company, and become the only remaining sugar refining company in the country. By 1978 the closure of some smaller refineries, in London and Sankey, meant that only three cane refineries remained in Britain, one in London, one in Greenock and one in Liverpool. Also in 1978 rationalisation began at the Love Lane refinery, with production being reduced to around 300,000 tonnes per year, a level which it remained at until its closure three years later.

The Love Lane refinery might have survived if the home consumption of sugar remained stable. However for various reasons it did not, during the 1970s it dropped by some 300,000 tonnes per annum. This meant that even with the closure of the smaller refineries, and the Love Lane refinery operating at half capacity, there was still excess refining capacity. The Love Lane refinery also suffered a severe locational disadvantage compared to its Scottish and London competitors. In the 1870s the choice of location on the Leeds to Liverpool canal appeared ideal, with coal supplies being readily available in yards along the canal, and the raw sugar cane being carted in from the nearby docks. After the Second World War significant branches of the canal had shut, and the raw sugar cane had to be driven in from the docks in a number of specially designed lorries. The Thames refinery had the advantage of being on the dockside, and the cane could be simply unloaded off the boats at a specially built jetty.

The final decision by Tate and Lyle to close the Love Lane refinery from a purely business point of view appears to have been logical:

"It had become evident that that the only realistic way of putting T.L.R. on a sound footing for the future was by closing the Liverpool refinery; this would bring the United Kingdom market back into balance and leave the two remaining refineries operating at maximum throughput and thus efficiently" (Watson, 1985, p46).

On 22 January 1981 it was announced that the Love Lane refinery would close on 21 April 1981. Lord Jellicoe, chairman of Tate and Lyle, claimed that the Liverpool plant had become "a victim of our EEC membership" (The Guardian, 1981, p1). Following the

announcement a huge campaign began to reverse the decision. This campaign was unprecedented in drawing support from a wide range of Liverpool's and Merseyside's community, including MPs, MEPs and councillors of all political persuasions, the city's Protestant Bishop and Catholic Archbishop, and local union representatives. The campaign however was unsuccessful, with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher even refusing to meet a high level delegation to discuss the proposed closure.

The impacts of the closure on the area are hard to over-exaggerate. Before the closure the area had a high unemployment rate relative to Liverpool. Many families had several members working in the factory, and were totally dependent upon it. This was starkly illustrated by a quotation from an in-depth interview conducted with a resident of the Eldonian Village:

"when Tate & Lyle got notice to quit my sister's family, six of her family worked at Tate's, her husband, 4 sons and a daughter in law, that was in one family - 6 jobs went" (Anne)

In addition many families had also worked at the refinery for generations. Perhaps most importantly of all the Love Lane workforce was relatively old, and many of them were unlikely to ever work again.

As a result of the Tate and Lyle closure, and other factories in the area, unemployment rates in Vauxhall have been consistently higher than the city average (which is itself frequently twice the national average). According to census returns for April 1991, 51.4% of men and 34.8% of women in the ward are unemployed, compared to the city rate of 26.1% and 15.5% respectively (Liverpool City Council, 1993). These appalling unemployment figures will be discussed in greater detail in section 5.7, below.

5.7 Vauxhall in the 1990s

This section will consider the social and economic character of Vauxhall in the 1990s, drawing mainly upon the 1991 population census.

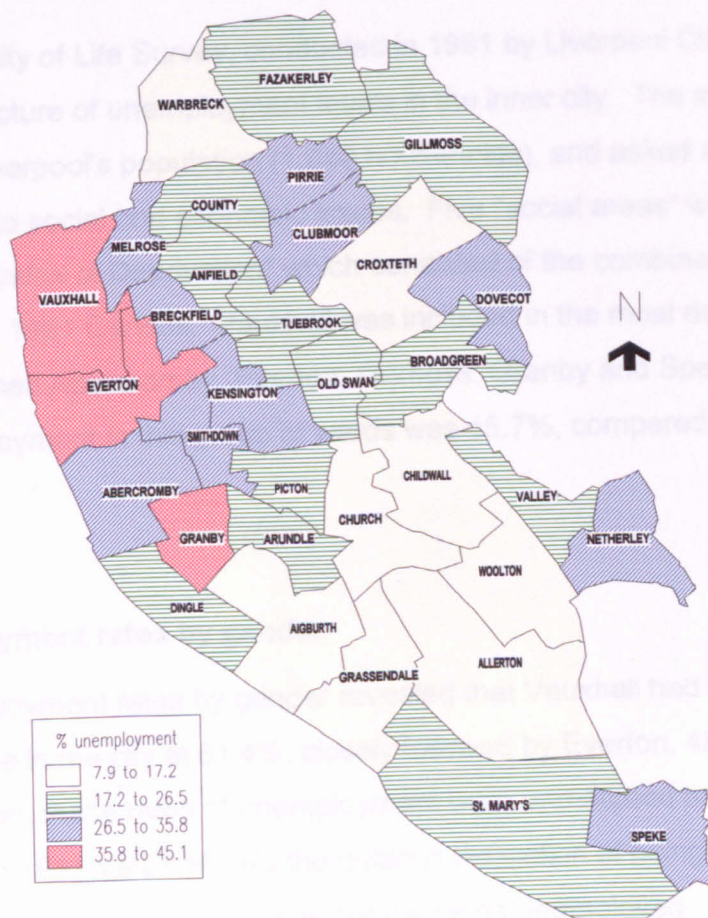
5.7.1 Unemployment in Vauxhall and Liverpool

As with population change, the unemployment situation in Vauxhall can not be explained without an understanding of the unemployment situation in Liverpool as a whole. Over the period 1971 to 1991, when Liverpool's population decreased by a quarter, its unemployment rate more than doubled, from 9.7% to 23.6% (Liverpool City Council,

1993). Over the same period unemployment in Great Britain increased from 5.2% to 9.5%, whilst its population did not significantly change (OPCS, 1983; OPCS, 1993).

One of the most striking characteristics about unemployment in Liverpool is the enormous variation in rates between areas, see Figure 5.7 below. In 1991 Vauxhall and the adjoining Everton ward exhibited not only the highest unemployment levels in the city, an incredible 45.1%, but also in the entire country. A further five other wards had rates of over 30%, Abercromby (33.4%), Breckfield (32.3%), Granby (41.6%), Smithdown (32.5%) and Speke (32.0%). Of these wards all are in the inner city with the exception of Speke, which is located at the south east periphery of the city. At the other extreme three wards, Grassendale (7.9%), Childwall (9.1%) and Woolton (9.3%) had unemployment rates below the national average.

Figure 5.7: Unemployment in Liverpool by ward, 1991



Source: Liverpool City Council, 1993.

It should be noted however, that whilst unemployment rates in inner Liverpool wards have risen to unprecedented levels, the actual number of people unemployed in these areas

has declined in recent years. For example in 1981 there were 2,120 unemployed people in Abercromby, 2,240 in Everton, 2,205 in Granby and 1,982 in Vauxhall, and by 1991 these figures had fallen to 1,226, 1,013, 1,944 and 1,123 respectively. In Abercromby this decrease was exceeded by population loss and consequently the rate of unemployment fell by 4.6%. In Everton, Granby and Vauxhall this was not the case and unemployment rates rose by 7.5%, 7% and 8.5% respectively. In fact because of the substantial decline in population experienced by inner city and peripheral wards raw unemployment, with the exception of Granby, is actually highest in other areas, such as Kensington (1,759 people), Clubmoor (1,731), Melrose (1,699) and Breckfield (1,680).

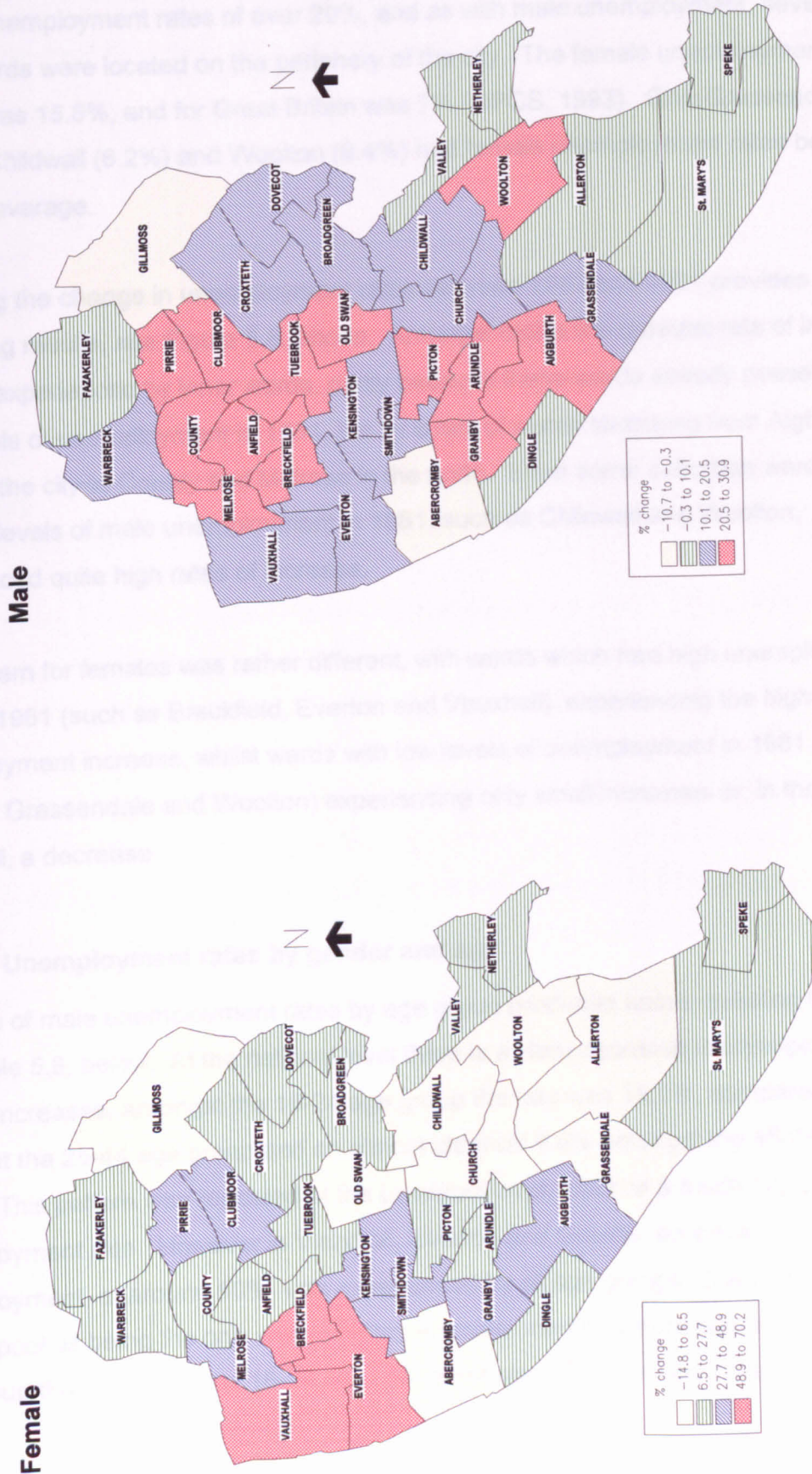
However population decrease is not the only reason why the number of unemployed has fallen in inner city areas of Liverpool. Another factor is the increasing level of economic inactivity amongst the population of working age in Vauxhall and other inner city areas, mentioned above in section 5.6.

The Liverpool Quality of Life Survey, conducted in 1991 by Liverpool City Council, painted an even bleaker picture of unemployment levels in the inner city. The survey interviewed a 1% sample of Liverpool's population (1,840 households), and asked a variety of questions relating to social and economic issues. Five "social areas" within the city were defined using an "Index of Deprivation" which consisted of the combined scores of four indicators from the 1981 Census. Vauxhall was included in the most deprived group, which also comprised Abercromby, Everton, Gillmoss, Granby and Speke. The survey found that unemployment in this group of wards was 45.7%, compared to a city average of 22.5%.

5.7.1.1 Unemployment rates by gender

Examining unemployment rates by gender revealed that Vauxhall had the highest male unemployment rate in the city at 51.4%, closely followed by Everton, 48.2%, and Granby, 47.5%. Once again, these rates of unemployment were unmatched anywhere else in the country. Indeed in 1991 Vauxhall held the dubious distinction of being the only ward in the country with over one in two of its male workforce being unemployed. The male unemployment rate for the city was 26.1%, whilst Great Britain had a male unemployment rate of 11.3% (OPCS, 1993). A further eleven wards in the city had male unemployment rates of over 30%. Only Grassendale ward (9.7%) had a male unemployment rate below the national average.

Figure 5.8: Change in unemployment rates in Liverpool wards, 1981-1991



Source: Liverpool City Council, 1993.

The distribution of female unemployment was very similar to that of male and overall unemployment. In Vauxhall in 1991 more than one in three women (34.8%) were unemployed. This figure is well below the astonishing 40.5% rate experienced in neighbouring Everton, and similar to the 32.6% rate in Granby. A further ten wards had female unemployment rates of over 20%, and as with male unemployment, several of these wards were located on the periphery of the city. The female unemployment rate for the city was 15.5%, and for Great Britain was 7% (OPCS, 1993). Only Grassendale (5.6%), Childwall (6.2%) and Woolton (6.4%) had female unemployment rates below the national average.

Analysing the change in unemployment rates between 1981 and 1991 provides some interesting results, see Figure 5.8, above. Amongst males the greatest rate of increase was not experienced by inner wards, partly because these wards already possessed very high levels of unemployment in 1981, but by a belt of wards stretching from Aigburth in the south of the city to County and Melrose in the north. Even some suburban wards which had low levels of male unemployment in 1981, such as Childwall and Woolton, experienced quite high rates of increase.

The pattern for females was rather different, with wards which had high unemployment rates in 1981 (such as Breckfield, Everton and Vauxhall), experiencing the highest rate of unemployment increase, whilst wards with low levels of unemployment in 1981 (such as Allerton, Grassendale and Woolton) experiencing only small increases or, in the case of Childwall, a decrease.

5.7.1.2 Unemployment rates by gender and age

Analysis of male unemployment rates by age group produced some revealing findings, see Table 5.8, below. At the national level there is a clear decrease in unemployment rate as age increases; amongst the 16-24 age group the rate was 18.1%, compared to 9.9% amongst the 25-44 age group and an almost identical 9.8% amongst the 45-64 age group. This pattern was repeated at the Liverpool level, albeit at a much higher unemployment rate. However in Vauxhall, Everton and Granby, an equally high level of unemployment, at around 50%, was experienced by all age groups. Everton was unique in Liverpool as being the only ward with higher male unemployment amongst the 45-64 age group than amongst the 16-24 one. No other wards experienced this phenomenon to

anything like this degree, and in most wards unemployment rates did decrease as age increased, see for example the figures for Gillmoss and Netherley in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Unemployment rates by gender and age in Great Britain, Liverpool and selected wards

	Male				Female			
	16-24	25-44	45-64	All	16-24	25-44	45-59	All
Great Britain	18.1	9.9	9.8	11.3	7.9	5.9	5.2	7.0
Liverpool	36.4	23.6	23.5	26.1	25.4	13.2	11.4	15.5
Vauxhall	53.5	51.1	50.0	51.4	41.8	34.1	28.5	34.8
Everton	50.3	45.3	50.9	48.2	54.1	38.6	29.4	40.5
Granby	52.0	45.5	46.6	47.5	39.2	30.1	28.5	32.6
Gillmoss	45.9	27.2	29.9	31.5	29.4	15.0	13.0	17.9
Netherley	42.9	35.2	23.6	33.6	32.3	17.6	13.7	20.6

Source: Merseyside Information Service / Kerrigan, undated, and OPCS, 1994.

It is also worth noting the scale of youth unemployment in the city. This is exemplified by the fact that no ward possessed a level of male youth unemployment below the national average, not even suburban wards like Grassendale and Woolton.

The situation amongst women in Vauxhall was different to that of men, with unemployment rates clearly decreasing as age increased. For example the female unemployment rate in Vauxhall was noticeably lower amongst the 45-59 age group than in the 25-44 one. However the rate of 28.5% amongst the 45-59 age group was still over 2.5 times the Liverpool average and over 5 times the Great Britain average. The same situation applied for the wards of Everton and Granby.

In 1991 the unemployment rate amongst young adult females in Vauxhall was 41.8%. Only Everton, with a staggering 54.1%, had a higher unemployment rate. Unemployment amongst young adult females in Everton was higher than amongst young adult males in any ward in the city, and anywhere in the country. Vauxhall's rate was over 1.5 times the city average and over 5 times the Great Britain average. Amongst the 25-44 age group the unemployment rate stood at 34.1%, over twice the city figure and nearly 6 times the national average.

5.7.1.3 Long-term unemployment

To compound these problems of high levels of unemployment in Vauxhall and Liverpool, many people have been out of work for long periods of time. According to Merseyside Information Service's "Long-term Unemployed in Liverpool" report (1991) figures from benefit offices showed that only just over a quarter (26.1%) of the unemployed had worked within the last year, and three-tenths (30.3%) had not worked for over 4 years.

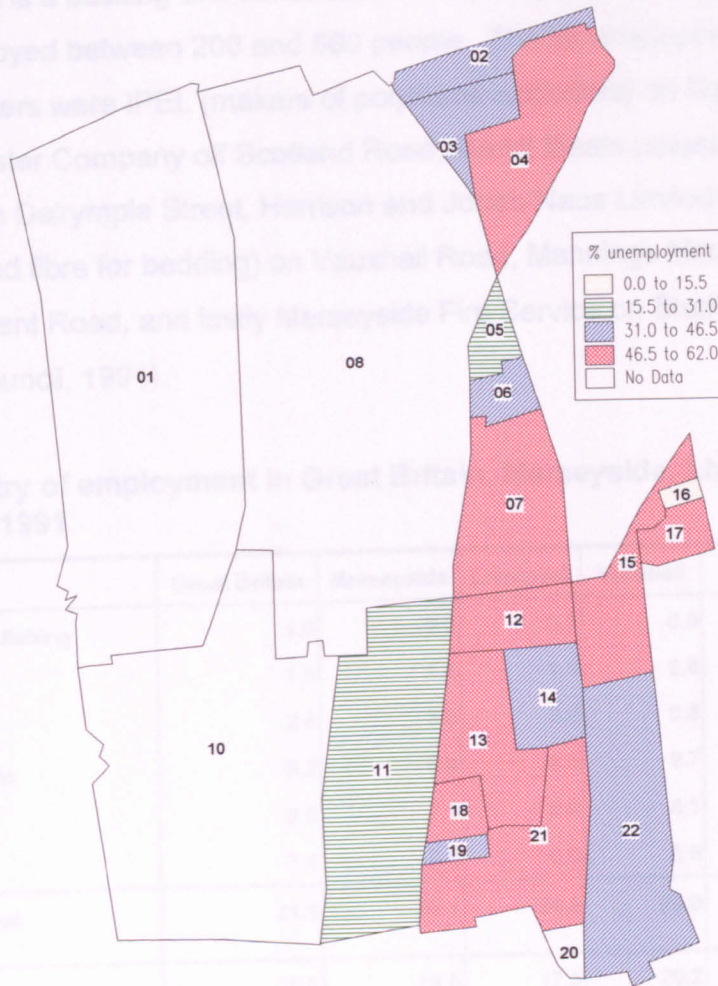
The Liverpool Quality of Life Survey suggested an even grimmer picture in inner city areas. It showed that in area 1 (comprising the wards of Abercromby, Everton, Gillmoss, Granby, Speke and Vauxhall), 76.6% of the unemployed had been out of work for over a year, and an astonishing 43.1% had been unemployed for over 5 years. The average for the city was 72.5% of the unemployed had not worked for over a year and 35% of the unemployed had not worked for over 5 years (Liverpool City Council, 1991).

5.7.1.4 Unemployment variations within Vauxhall

Ward level data is useful for comparing unemployment across the city, but to look at discrepancies within a ward enumeration district data is required. In Liverpool in 1991 an enumeration district (ED) comprised an average of 185 households and 434 people. Vauxhall ward is made up of 21 enumeration districts, of which 4 had no available unemployment data. Within the remaining 17 EDs unemployment rates varied widely, see Figure 5.9, below. In ED number 16, which comprises two tower blocks owned by Liverpool John Moores University and was occupied entirely by students, the unemployment rate was 0%. The only other ED with unemployment below 25.0% was ED number 5, situated between Commercial Road and Stanley Road, which encompasses the 'flower' streets; Crocus, Snowdrop, Pansy, Daisy, Woodbine and Harebell. This ED also had the highest level of owner occupancy in the ward at 43%, and the highest level of car ownership at 33%. With the exception of ED16, which is atypical because of its small and nomadic student population, this ED is also the healthiest in the ward with only 15% of its population suffering from a limiting long-term illness. It appears reasonable to suggest there is a relationship between unemployment and these three variables. Six EDs had unemployment rates between 31.0% and 46.5% and 8 EDs had unemployment rates of over 46.5%. The highest unemployment rate of all, 62.0 was found in ED 17.

Enumeration District 17, which comprises largely of 3 storey tenement flats built in the 1960s, also had the highest proportion of council tenancy in the ward (97%), the joint lowest level of owner occupation (1%), the joint lowest level of car ownership (8%) and by far the highest level of permanently sick residents (52%).

Figure 5.9: Unemployment rates within Vauxhall, 1991



Source: Claymore Services Ltd, 1994.

5.7.2 Employment in Vauxhall

In the early 1990s, the number of large employers remaining within Vauxhall was very limited. According to Liverpool City Council's "Employment Survey" (1991) there was only one company in Vauxhall employing over 500 people, one employing between 200 and 500 people and six employing between 100 and 200 people. In the whole of Liverpool there were 43 employers with over 500 staff, 78 with between 200 and 500, and 137

employing 100-200. In total then there were 258 employers in Liverpool employing over 100 people, and only 8 of these companies were in the Vauxhall ward. The majority of large companies were located in either the city centre or in industrial estates located in areas such as Speke (Ravenside Retail Park) and Wavertree (Edge Lane Retail Park).

The company in Vauxhall which employed over 500 people was Tyson's Contractors on Dryden Street and is a building and construction firm, whilst the Whitbread brewery on St. Anne Street employed between 200 and 500 people. The six employers with between 100 and 200 workers were IPEL (makers of polythene excluders) on Regent Road, the Central Tin Cannister Company off Scotland Road, Markit Meats (sausage manufacturers) on Dalrymple Street, Harrison and Jones-Naue Limited (manufacturers of rubberised hair and fibre for bedding) on Vauxhall Road, Mannings Marine Limited (ship repairers) on Regent Road, and lastly Merseyside Fire Service on Studholme Street (Liverpool City Council, 1991).

Table 5.9: Industry of employment in Great Britain, Merseyside, Liverpool and selected wards, 1991

SIC	Great Britain	Merseyside	Liverpool	Vauxhall	Everton	Granby
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	1.9	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Energy & water	1.9	1.6	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.5
Mining	2.8	3.8	2.0	0.8	1.0	2.0
Manufacturing metal etc	9.2	8.6	8.3	9.7	3.9	11.1
Other manufacturing	8.6	7.1	6.9	8.1	10.7	4.0
Construction	7.4	6.6	6.6	5.6	7.8	4.5
Total manufacturing and construction	31.8	28.1	24.8	25.0	24.3	23.1
Distribution & catering	20.5	19.5	17.5	20.2	18.4	17.6
Transport	6.4	7.0	8.3	8.9	2.9	5.5
Banking & finance etc	12.0	10.7	10.5	8.1	8.7	9.0
Other services	28.4	33.8	37.6	31.5	43.7	41.2
Total service	67.3	70.9	74.0	68.5	73.8	73.4
Not stated or inadequately described	0.9	1.0	1.2	6.5	1.9	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1991 Census, table 73

Table 5.10: Social class in Great Britain, Merseyside, Liverpool and selected wards, 1991

Social Class	Great Britain		Merseyside		Liverpool		Vauxhall		Everton		Granby	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
I	6.7	1.8	5.2	1.3	4.6	1.5	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	3.4	3.2
II	27.0	27.0	22.5	24.8	17.8	23.2	13.0	15.5	9.1	10.9	16.6	23.0
III (N)	10.7	38.3	11.9	39.4	11.7	37.7	8.0	21.4	2.3	16.4	8.0	21.4
III (M)	31.6	7.0	33.0	6.6	33.1	7.0	32.0	3.6	34.1	14.5	21.7	5.6
IV	15.1	16.5	16.7	16.7	19.2	16.5	22.0	23.8	25.0	20.0	26.3	21.4
V	5.3	7.2	6.2	8.0	8.1	10.2	10.0	27.4	17.0	34.5	10.9	14.3
Armed forces	1.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.0
Government scheme	1.4	1.2	2.9	2.4	3.5	2.9	4.0	6.0	5.7	3.6	8.0	7.1
Not stated or inadequately described	1.2	0.9	1.3	0.9	1.6	1.1	9.0	2.4	3.4	0.0	4.6	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1991 Census, Table 91

The industry of employment of Vauxhall residents is compared to the national, city and local level in Table 5.9, above. The lack of a manufacturing base in Liverpool is very apparent, with only about a quarter of residents in Vauxhall, Everton and Granby wards employed in manufacturing and construction industries, compared to 28.1% in Merseyside and 31.8% in Great Britain. The picture for Vauxhall is rather confused because of the high level of unstated or inadequately described employments (6.5%).

Table 5.10, above, considers the social class of the economically active population, based upon occupation, or in the case of the unemployed, most recent occupation. This clearly shows that in Vauxhall over half the female population (51.2%) and about a third of the male population (32.0%) are in social classes IV and V, which comprise partly skilled and unskilled occupations. In Everton these figures are even higher, at 54.5% and 42.0% respectively, whilst in Granby they are somewhat lower. In comparison, in Great Britain 23.7% of women and 20.4% of men were in social classes IV and V, whilst in Liverpool the figures were 26.7% and 27.3% respectively.

It would be wrong to conclude from these figures that women in Vauxhall are necessarily less skilled than men. In section 2.5.1 it was observed that male occupations are often labelled as more skilled than female ones, due to the ability of men, through superior organisation, to get their work recognised as skilled. Given that wage levels are based partly upon skill levels required for a job this suggests that workers perceived as less skilled will receive lower wages.

However the usefulness of the conventional 6 class model must be questioned given the large number of people in Vauxhall who are excluded, either temporary or permanently, from the world of work. A large proportion of the population of Vauxhall could be classified into what Runciman (1990) identifies as a 7th class, an underclass, situated below the two working classes:

“But the term must be understood to stand not for a group or category of workers systematically disadvantaged within the labour market,.....but for those members of British society whose roles place them more or less permanently at the economic level where benefits are paid by the state to those unable to participate in the labour market at all” (Runciman, 1990, p388).

He proceeds to suggest that many of the members of this underclass will be the long-term unemployed.

5.7.3 Other characteristics of Vauxhall

This section will briefly consider some other social and economic features of the Vauxhall ward.

5.7.3.1 Ethnic profile

In 1991 Vauxhall had an extremely small ethnic minority population numbering just 82 people, accounting for 1.1% of the area's total population. The largest ethnic group amongst this population were the Chinese, numbering 24 individuals (Claymore Services Ltd, 1994). In comparison, in Liverpool 3.8% of the population were from an ethnic minority group, whilst the figure for Great Britain was 5.5% (Liverpool City Council, 1993; OPCS, 1993).

5.7.3.2 Educational attainment

The 1991 census of population revealed that population of Vauxhall was one of the least formally qualified in Liverpool. The census asked if residents possessed post 'A' level qualifications, and in Vauxhall only 1.4% of the population did so, compared to a city average of 8.4%. The lowest rates of all were in Netherley (1.2%), Speke (1.2%) and Breckfield (1.3%). Males were generally better qualified than females, with 9% of men in the city possessing post 'A' level qualifications, compared to 7.9% of women. In Vauxhall 2.3% of men were formally qualified, compared to 0.7% of women (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

Perhaps a more useful source of information on formal qualification can be obtained from school league tables, which were first published in November 1992. By this date no comprehensive schools remained in Vauxhall ward, the last, St Brigid's, having shut in 1991. Given that most people in Vauxhall are not affluent, and few have cars, it is a fair assumption that most would have to send their children to local, non-fee paying, schools. The school nearest to Vauxhall ward, excluding those in Bootle, which is not in Liverpool, are those in Breckfield and Everton wards. In 1992 there were four comprehensive schools in these two wards, Notre Dame RC High School and Breckfield Community in Breckfield, and Champion High School and Our Lady of Fatima High School in Everton. Two of these schools were single sex and two were mixed. Champion, Our Lady and Breckfield schools all had about a quarter of their pupils leaving school with no qualifications, whilst the figure for Notre Dame was nearer a sixth. The schools which

fares the poorest were Nugent Roman Catholic High (46% pupils leaving without any qualifications), Shorefields Community (34%) and Childwall Comprehensive (33%). With the notable exception of Childwall Comprehensive, most of the schools with poor results were located in the inner areas of Liverpool. However this is not to say that all schools in the inner Liverpool had bad results, for example only 2% of pupils left Archbishop Blanch school, in Arundle ward, with no qualifications. But it is generally true to say that the schools which attained better examination results were in the more affluent wards.

5.7.3.3 Car ownership

The 1991 census of population found that 85.5% of households in Vauxhall did not own a car. This was the second lowest figure in the city, just behind neighbouring Everton's rate of 86.6%. In fact car ownership rates have changed little in either Vauxhall or Everton over the last 20 years. In 1971 89.8% of households in Vauxhall and 91.1% in Everton did not own cars. Over the same period the proportion of households in Liverpool not possessing a car decreased from 67.4% to 56.9% (Liverpool City Council, 1993), whilst nationally the proportion decreased from 49.0% to 33.4% (OPCS, 1973; OPCS, 1993).

5.7.3.4 Housing tenure

In 1991 Vauxhall had one of the lowest levels of owner occupation (9.3%) and highest levels of council tenancy (70.3%) in Liverpool. Renting from private landlords and housing associations accounted almost equally for the remaining 20.6% of tenures (Liverpool City Council, 1993). Most of the owner occupation and private renting occurred in the terraced streets between Commercial and Stanley Road to the north of the ward, whilst the housing association stock was in the middle and south of the ward, with the Eldonian Village off Vauxhall Road accounting for over half the total amount. Council properties were spread throughout the ward, and include 1960s mid-rise and high-rise flats, especially at the north end of Scotland Road, 'topped down' 1930s tenement blocks off Burlington Street, and newer properties near Boundary Street, built under the 'Urban Regeneration Strategy' initiative during the 1980s.

Although there have been a number of improvements recently, much of Vauxhall suffers from a poor quality residential environment, with an increasing amount of derelict land and vacant buildings on the west of the ward.

5.7.3.5 Household structure and lone parent families

Vauxhall has one of the highest incidence of lone parent families in Liverpool. In 1991 11.0% of all households in the ward comprised of one lone adult and one or more children aged under 16. This figure has risen rapidly in recent years, in 1971 Vauxhall had a lower proportion of lone parent households (1.3%) than the city average (1.6%). In 1991 only the wards of Granby (14.3%), Speke (12.0%), and Dovecot (11.1%) had a higher proportion of lone parent households in the city. The average for Liverpool was 7%, and Great Britain 3.8% (OPCS, 1993). According to Liverpool City Council (1993) these already high figures are quite likely an underestimate, as a lone parent and his/her children living in a household with other adults would be classified as a household with two or more adults and children, rather than as a lone parent household.

In Vauxhall in 1991 the most common household type comprised of a lone adult female (30.8% of all households), with or without children. The "conventional" household of one adult male and female accounted for 27.7% of all households, see Table 5.11. The figures for Everton and Granby were broadly similar, but all three were markedly different from those for Liverpool, Merseyside and Great Britain. In Liverpool, two adult households, comprising one male and one female accounted for 38.0% of all households, at the Merseyside level the figure was 43.0%, and nationally it was 48.7%. Almost half (48.8%) of all households in Vauxhall comprised a lone adult, with or without children. This is of importance because it means that half of all households have potentially only one wage earner, and could not be what Pahl (1988) terms 'work-rich' households, comprising two or more wage earners. In reality the vast majority of households in Vauxhall are 'work-poor', possessing no wage earner, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Table 5.11: Household structure in Great Britain, Merseyside, Liverpool and selected wards

%	Great Britain	Merseyside	Liverpool	Vauxhall	Everton	Granby
1 adult male	10.6	11.1	13.7	18.0	22.9	23.4
1 adult female	20.4	23.2	25.6	30.8	29.8	33.5
2 adults (1 male + 1 female)	48.7	43.0	38.0	27.7	25.7	24.0
2 adults (same sex)	3.3	3.7	4.5	5.7	6.7	6.2
3+ adults	17.0	18.9	18.3	17.7	15.0	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1991 Census, Table 31

The difficult economic position of lone parents in Vauxhall is illustrated in Table 5.12, below. This shows how few female lone parents are able to balance the complexities of arranging childcare, and undertaking paid employment. In 1991 only 2.9% of lone parents in Vauxhall worked full-time, whilst 5.0% worked part-time and 1.5% were self employed. In comparison, nationally a third (33.3%) of female lone parents were in employment, whilst at the city level the figure was about a fifth (20.5%). Even in Everton and Granby slightly more female lone parents were engaged in paid employment than in Vauxhall.

Table 5.12: Economic activity of female lone parents in Great Britain, Merseyside, Liverpool and selected wards

	Employed full-time	Employed part-time	Self employed	Other	Students	Economically inactive
Great Britain	14.9	16.6	1.8	6.5	0.2	59.9
Merseyside	9.8	12.8	0.8	9.1	0.1	67.3
Liverpool	9.3	10.5	0.7	11.5	0.1	68.0
Vauxhall	2.9	5.0	1.5	13.8	0.3	76.5
Everton	4.1	9.1	0.0	20.5	0.0	66.2
Granby	7.0	5.2	0.8	15.4	0.1	71.5

Source: 1991 Census, Table 40

Runciman (1990) suggests that single mothers as a group member are vulnerable to membership of the underclass. This certainly appears to be the case in Vauxhall on the basis of the above figures.

5.7.3.6 Health

Whilst the population of Vauxhall today is probably healthier than it has ever been, it is still very unhealthy compared to most of Liverpool and the rest of the country. Vauxhall is one of the least healthy wards in Liverpool, which itself has a standardised mortality rate 21% above the national average (Hayes, undated). Between 1985 and 1989 Vauxhall had a standard mortality rate (SMR) of 168 amongst the population aged 14-64, which means that over this period for every 100 people who died in Great Britain, 168 died in Vauxhall. Breaking this down by gender showed a male SMR of 176, and a female one of 152 (Mawle, 1991).

Lung cancer and respiratory diseases are particularly prevalent in Vauxhall, with SMRs at over twice the national. Death rates amongst men in Vauxhall from lung diseases such

as pneumonia and bronchitis are extremely high, and rising. In 1981 the SMR for men was 295, and by 1988 had risen to 322 (Mawle, 1991).

For the first time in 1991 the census of population asked people if they had a long-term illness or other condition (including the effects of old age) which limited their daily activity or the work they could do. Vauxhall emerged as the second least healthy ward in Liverpool, behind Everton, with 22.2% of its population suffering from a limiting long-term illness, compared to a city average of 17.3% and a national one of 13%. Amongst adults aged 45 to pensionable age nearly two-fifths (38.3%) in Vauxhall suffered from a limiting long-term illness.

A link between ill health and poverty appears irrefutable. The Equity in Health in Liverpool Report (Liverpool Healthy City 2000, 1992) reported a strong correlation, when an index of deprivation was correlated against an index of ill health at ward level. The least healthy ward they identified, Vauxhall, had 4 times as many people unemployed, more than twice as many households with no car, more than 5 times as many overcrowded households, and more than 3 times as many households not owning their own homes as the healthiest ward, Childwall.

5.8 The Eldonian movement

The adversities faced by the population of Vauxhall have resulted in the growth of several successful grass roots community based organisations in the area. Most notable, and internationally renowned, is the Eldonian movement. This section will briefly trace the organisation's development, from its origins as a protest group fighting demolition plans and forced removal, through to the development of the Eldonian Village.

The Eldonian movement arose as a result of Liverpool City Council's decision in the late 1970s to demolish the tenement blocks on Eldon and Burlington Streets, and rehouse the population in peripheral estates. The area had already experienced this phenomenon on a large scale, most notably when large numbers of houses were demolished to make way for the construction of the second Mersey tunnel in the late 1960s, and the residents of Eldon and Burlington Streets had no wish to see their close-knit community destroyed. The difficulties faced by people uprooted from inner Liverpool and rehoused in the city's periphery are described in detail by Meegan (1989). In addition by the late 1970s job prospects in peripheral areas were deteriorating, as places such as Kirkby and Speke

were beginning to experience economic decline, following their rapid growth in the post-war years. Vauxhall residents increasingly wanted new homes on the site of their existing ones.

The 1981 announcement of the closure of the Tate and Lyle sugar refinery, in which many of the Eldonians had worked, further united an already close-knit community. Although unsuccessful in opposing the closure, the event made the Eldonians even more determined to regenerate their own area, and rather ironically eventually provided the site for the development of the Eldonian Village.

The Eldonians first housing scheme was the conversion of the Portland Gardens tenement block, which was “topped-down” and refurbished, to form 100 two storey houses and sheltered units (Eldonians, undated). Although this scheme was municipalised, following the election of a radical “Militant Tendency” led Labour council in 1983, the Eldonians had begun a new era of community based regeneration.

The centrepiece of the Eldonian’s achievements, the Eldonian Village, was constructed on the site of the Tate and Lyle sugar refinery. Although faced by a local government hostile to housing co-operatives and housing associations, the Eldonians managed to bypass them and gain the support of the government, who provided the money required to purchase the Tate and Lyle site. The Eldonians formed the Eldonian Housing Co-operative, and proceeded to redevelop the site with 145 houses. The Eldonian Village was designed by architects Wilkinson Hindell Halsall Lloyd Partnership, and involved a large amount of community participation. Consultations occurred with future tenants having a major input into the design of their new homes.

The first phase of the Eldonian Village was officially opened by Prince Charles in 1989, and was completed in 1990. Also in 1990, the Eldonian Housing Co-operative became the Eldonian Community Based Housing Association, which enabled it to further expand. The second phase of the Eldonian Village, to the north of Burlington Street, was completed in 1995, and comprises a further 150 houses. Other Eldonian schemes include: Eldonian House, a residential home for the frail elderly; the Eldonian Village Hall, providing social facilities; the Tony McGann Centre, comprising office accommodation for the various branches of the Eldonian movement; Eldon Woods, a nursery for pre-school age children; and several sports facilities, including an outdoor bowling green and an “all-weather” five-a-side football pitch.

In addition to providing housing for rent, the Eldonians have been involved with Wimpey in the development of houses and flats for sale. The apartments on the Kingsway Court and Princes Garden sites are owner occupied, but are managed and serviced by the Eldonian Community Based Housing Association.

In the mid 1990s the Eldonian movement comprises three arms, the aforementioned Community Based Housing Association, responsible for housing provision, management and development, the Development Trust, which concentrates on social infrastructure, community business, fund-raising, project development and employment/training, and the Community Trust, which is responsible for social welfare, and organising community events.

Evaluating the success of the Eldonians is difficult, partly due to my own associations with the organisation. In many respects the Eldonians must be viewed as a successful grass roots community organisation, with an international reputation. Since their inception they have constructed over 300 homes, built to a very high standard. In addition they have developed a residential home for the elderly, a nursery, a market garden (subsequently sold) and various sports facilities. Perhaps most importantly they have achieved one of their key aims, to keep their community together. Not only that, but through the development of new housing for rent and sale people are actually moving back into Vauxhall in significant numbers.

From a more pessimistic viewpoint, it can be argued that the Eldonians were used by the right-wing Conservative government in its conflict with the left-wing Labour city council. It is quite conceivable that under different circumstances the Eldonians would not have received the funding necessary to purchase the Tate and Lyle site. This view is strengthened by the fact that in 1981 Margaret Thatcher was unwilling even to meet a delegation of high ranking officials opposing the closure of Tate and Lyle's refinery, but a few years later she was prepared to visit the Eldonian Village and bask in the achievements of the local community.

Whilst the Eldonians achievements on the housing and social front have been impressive, their economic success has been less so. In the introduction to this thesis it was noted that very few, if any, jobs accrued to local people in the building of the first phase of the Eldonian Village. To some extent this situation has improved in the last few years.

The Eldonians have developed contacts with a new contractor, Warwick Group Construction, who employ 100% Merseyside labour, and use their own bricklayers, joiners, apprentices and trainees.

Jobs have been provided for local people in several of the Eldonian schemes, including Eldonian House, and Eldon Woods. However the numbers are relatively small, and at the present time appear unlikely to stem the unrelenting rise of unemployment in the area. In addition many of the jobs which have been created are in poorly paid caring and related occupations, and may only result in the perpetuation of the existing rigid gendered division of labour in the area.

5.9 Recent policy initiatives affecting Vauxhall

Although this thesis is not concerned with policy initiatives, it is worth briefly mentioning some of the national and local policies which have affected the Vauxhall area over recent years. Given the information that has been presented in this chapter about the social and economic conditions in Vauxhall in the 1990s, it is fair to conclude that the earlier initiatives affecting the area were not particularly successful.

In 1969 the Vauxhall area of Liverpool was one of four areas selected to pilot the Home Office Community Development Project (CDP) programme. The key aims of the overall CDP programme nationally were to discover more about deprivation, improve the co-ordination of existing services, and to develop self-help and community services (Topping and Smith, 1977). The local structure of the Liverpool CDP involved an action team, which comprised representatives of interested parties, local and central government departments, other professionals, voluntary agencies, and local people. The proposal to base a research team at Liverpool University fell through after protracted negotiation, and a team from Oxford University was eventually brought in.

In their definitive account of the Liverpool CDP, Topping and Smith (1977) detail the work undertaken during the 5 year lifetime of the initiative. They conclude that the project set up a wide range of institutions which linked the community and local authority. Twenty years on many of the social and economic problems identified in Topping and Smith's report have worsened considerably. However the CDP identified the potential importance of community groups, and several are now very much at the forefront of the fight against deprivation. Possibly the most enduring legacy of the CDP was the establishment in 1971

of the *Scottie Press*, which claims to be Britain's longest running community newspaper, and is still being produced to this day.

During the 1980s the Vauxhall area was greatly affected by Liverpool City Council's radical, and controversial, Urban Regeneration Strategy (URS). Introduced in 1983 as the central policy of the Militant Tendency controlled Labour administration, the URS involved massive investment in council house building, improvements, and environmental and leisure developments in a number of designated priority areas. Vauxhall, and the neighbouring ward of Everton, benefited considerably from the policy, in both the building of new houses, and repairs and improvements to existing stock. Of the 22 Priority Areas declared in the city by 1987, a total of 10 were in Vauxhall and Everton wards. The administrations other main impact on Vauxhall was the aforementioned municipalisation of housing co-operatives.

In 1981 the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC) was one of two urban development corporations created by the Conservative government. Established partly as a response to major civil unrest in the Toxteth area of Liverpool, the MDC expanded its boundaries in 1988, taking in much of the southern and western parts of Vauxhall ward, including the Eldonians area of influence. As Meegan (1993) notes, the Eldonians actively lobbied for this expansion of the MDC, to enable them to escape from the city council's control. Fortunately relations between the Eldonians and the city council have subsequently improved, but at the time it allowed the Eldonians the opportunity to develop the Eldonian Village site for housing.

The MDC's most visible achievement has been the restoration of the Albert dock complex, which comprises the largest group of Grade 1 listed buildings in the country. By the late 1980s the Albert dock had become one of the most popular tourist destinations in the country (Parkinson and Bianchini, 1993). However the number of permanent jobs that the MDC has created in its area appear almost totally inadequate when compared to Liverpool's continuing rate of job loss. Since its inception in 1981 and up until 1992 2,000 permanent jobs were created in the MDC area (Meegan, 1993); between 1981 and 1995 Liverpool lost nearly 70,000 jobs (Employment Census, 1981; Census of Employment, 1995).

In 1993 the Merseyside region was assigned European Union Objective One status, due to its economic and social position compared to the European Union average (Tang,

1995). This designation made Merseyside eligible for grants from the European Union of up to £1 billion over the period 1994 to 1999. In the past Objective One status had been predominantly reserved for peripheral, rural areas of the European Union, such as regions of Portugal, Spain and Greece. In a national context only Northern Ireland had previously been granted Objective One status, whilst the Highlands and Islands region of Scotland was designated at the same time as Merseyside.

The overall vision of the Merseyside Objective One programme is summarised in the following statement:

“To establish Merseyside as a prosperous European city region with a diverse economic base, which provides access to employment for all sections within the local community, which develops its people, their skills, talents and well-being, and emphasizes its role as a gateway between Europe and the rest of the world, establishes it as a region of learning, arts and cultural excellence and innovation, and establishes it as a region of environmental excellence that supports a high quality of life”. (European Commission, 1995, p23)

To achieve this overall vision 7 strategic objectives are identified:

- investing in industry
- investing in people
- enhancing technology
- increasing employment opportunities for people in deprived communities
- assisting Merseyside’s role as a major gateway between Europe and the World
- developing Merseyside’s strengths in the cultural/media tourism field
- maintaining a high quality of life through policies of sustainable development.

For fuller details of these objectives see European Commission (1995).

The programme aims to achieve these 7 strategic objectives by concentrating on key dynamic forces within Merseyside which are capable of acting as “drivers for change”.

Five key drivers are identified:

- the key corporate sector enterprises
- the home-grown small business sector
- the knowledge-based industries and advanced technologies
- the cultural, media and leisure industries
- the people of Merseyside

The first 4 of these 5 drivers are designed to ensure private sector investment in industry and services, and were jointly entitled “Action for Industry” (Pieda plc, 1996). Driver 5

focuses upon improving the skills and education of the population of Merseyside. Within Liverpool driver 5 is spatially focussed, with 12 "Partnership Areas" designated to receive targeted funding. These areas, comprising 55% of the city's population, were identified on the basis of deprivation indicators, derived from the 1991 census. Vauxhall, along with Everton and parts of Breckfield wards are in the North Liverpool Partnership Area. By targetting resources into these areas it is hoped that residents will be well placed to gain employment created by drivers 1 to 4, reducing concentrations of unemployment in Liverpool.

Vauxhall ward is also a recipient of funding from the Liverpool Central Urban Initiative, along with the other inner wards of Abercromby, Everton and Granby. By matching European Regional Development Fund / European Social Fund money with funding from the public and private sector the initiative has secured in excess of £10 million for the Liverpool Central area, to be used by December 1999. This money will be made available to community groups, or agencies working with community groups, to support innovative schemes that complement rather than duplicate the activities of existing agencies and initiatives.

The Liverpool Central Urban Initiative has two principal aims; firstly to ensure that communities become stakeholders in regeneration, and secondly to increase opportunities for employment for residents by removing barriers such as ill health, poor environment, low skill levels, low aspirations and expectations, childcare and racism (Liverpool Central Urban Initiative, undated). Community groups in the 4 wards can bid for financial support to run schemes under one of four categories; Community Partnership, Young People, Young Learning, and Health, Employment and Environment. The success of funding bids is determined by a co-ordinating group, which comprises local councillors, community, business and public sector representatives, and representatives from the relevant Local Partnership areas.

It is too early to offer any serious evaluation of the effects that the Objective One programme and the Urban initiative have had upon the Vauxhall area. Funding from both sources expires in 1999, and possibly the best indicator of their achievements will be the 2001 census of population.

5.10 The development of an underclass?

In his controversial work on the development of an underclass in Britain, Murray (1990a, 1990b, 1995) defines three key features of an underclass, illegitimacy, voluntary unemployment, and crime. Section 5.7.5.3 has shown that in Vauxhall the number of lone parent households has risen dramatically over the last 20 years, whilst sections 5.6 and 5.7.1 demonstrate the rise of economic inactivity and unemployment amongst the population of working age. Data from Merseyside Police's Central Statistical Unit provide some evidence that crime levels in the Vauxhall area have risen over recent years, see Table 5.13. Over the same period recorded crime in Liverpool and the crime rate has remained fairly static. However in the 1995 recorded crime showed a marked increase in both Vauxhall and Liverpool, before falling back in 1996. Most of the recent rise in crime in Vauxhall is connected to motor vehicles, whilst crimes of a violent nature have actually been decreasing for much on the 1990s (Merseyside Police Central Statistical Unit, 1997).

Table 5.13: Recorded crime and crime rates in Vauxhall and Liverpool

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Vauxhall	1301	1166	1343	1632	1364	1598	1462	1836	1640
Crime rate⁷	164.0	146.9	169.3	205.7	171.9	201.4	184.2	231.4	206.7
Liverpool	61674	58044	58354	61910	62642	62074	60674	68600	64648
Crime rate⁷	130.0	122.3	123.0	130.5	132.0	130.8	127.9	144.6	136.2

Source: Merseyside Police Central Statistical Unit, 1997.

The rise in illegitimacy, unemployment levels and economic inactivity, and crime rates would probably lead theorists like Murray to conclude that an underclass was developing in Vauxhall. However other evidence would appear to refute this argument. If society is disintegrating and an underclass is forming in Vauxhall, it is reasonable to assume that participation in the electoral system would decrease. To establish if this has occurred the turnouts in council elections were examined over the last 20 years, see Figure 5.10, below. What is evident is that turnouts have varied notably over the whole period. Although a slight downward trend is apparent from the late 1980s, turnouts in the mid 1990s are higher than those in the mid 1970s⁸. A similar pattern can be discerned for

⁷ Crime rate is recorded crime per 1000 people. This has been calculated for Vauxhall and Liverpool by using the 1991 estimated population figures, which take into account under-enumeration. No attempt has been made to project these population figures forwards or backwards.

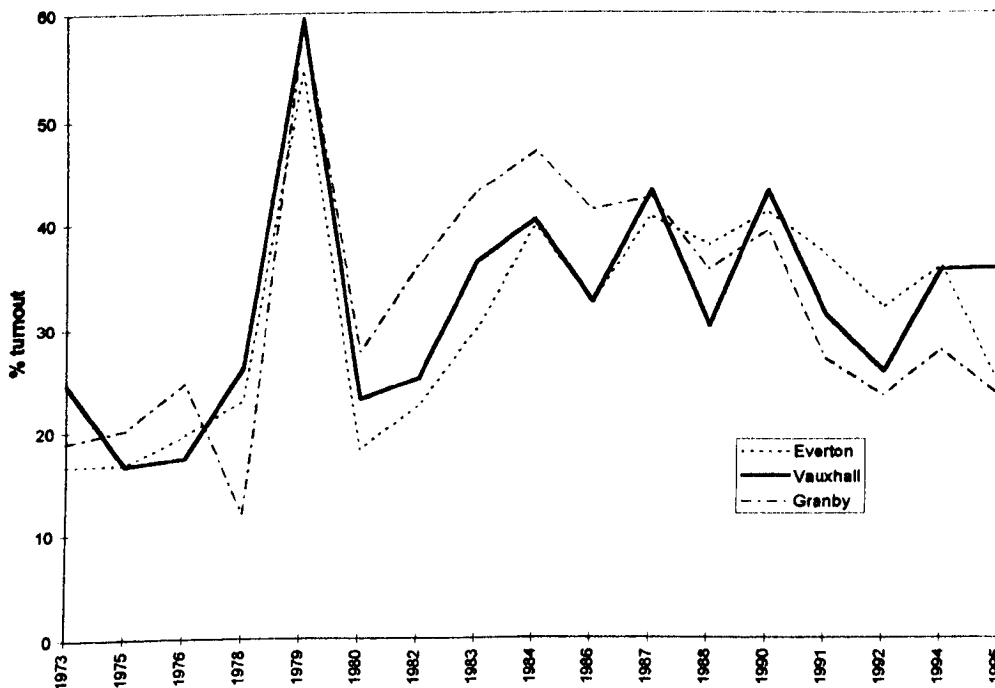
⁸ The 1979 turnout is disproportionately high as polling day coincided with the general election.

Everton and Granby wards, which are included for comparison. These figures add no support to the notion that an underclass is developing in Vauxhall.

Material from the in-depth interviews suggest that there is a strong sense of community in the area, rather than signs of a community experiencing disintegration. Marie, who spent her early years living in Highfield Gardens just off Leeds Street before moving north into a flat on James Clarke Street in 1970, commented:

"I like the sense of community in this area. At first when we first moved along here we didn't like it, because we lived on the top floor in the walk up flats and that was brilliant down there because it was the only life I'd ever known. But then when I came up here my Mum only lived for 12 months in the house up here and I think that she was melancholy, she missed the landings and the people going into her house, there wasn't much to look at out of the window or anything and it made a difference, but I do think there's a marvellous sense of community up in this area" (Marie, born 1940s, unmarried, no children).

Figure 5.10: Turnout rate in local elections in Vauxhall, Everton and Granby wards, 1973 to 1995



Source: Liverpool City Council electoral records, unpublished, various years.

Another respondent also liked the area and felt it was improving:

"It's friendly and everyone like helps if there's ever a death or anything, everyone spreads the burden between them..... some people call the area but it's better than most areas.....it's getting better because they're building houses, it's creating jobs, building a nursery, making it nicer as well to look at" (Sharon, born 1970s, unmarried, no children).

However Margaret, a mother with young children, felt very differently about the area she lived in:

"I don't like living here. I'd rather live at the other end, Great Homer Street end, than this end. The gangs down on the corner of a night, taking drugs and things, that's what I don't like about it, always on the corner of a night. I wouldn't go out of a night on my own. The other thing is the sewers are disgusting" (Margaret, born 1960s, married, 3 children).

In addition to the problem of gangs Margaret explained that vermin were also a problem:

"It's all right, I liked it when I first moved in but, I had trouble with rats in the house, the first day we moved in and they never told us, so we had that all over Christmas. And then I've had a lot of trouble with the sewers outside, with the rats coming up the grid, and I've had them outside. The council dug all the drains outside in the street, but mostly it's the one outside the gate where the kids play, which smell".

These 3 cases show clearly the differences experienced by women in different parts of Vauxhall. Marie and Sharon both live in the south of the ward, where the achievements of the Eldonians were very visible and tangible. Margaret lives in a block of flats off the north end of Great Homer Street, an area which has not experienced regeneration over recent years. Indeed the flat in which Margaret lives is in enumeration district 17, one of the most deprived in the whole ward, with an unemployment rate of 62.0%.

5.11 Summary

This chapter has considered in detail the characteristics of the population of the Vauxhall ward. The poverty and deprivation that is experienced by a large proportion of the population in the 1990s is not a new phenomenon, as information from the Nineteenth Century clearly demonstrates. The population of the area has never enjoyed full employment, rather the local labour market has always been characterised by an excess of labour, which enabled employers in the last century to impose a system of casualisation. This casualisation occurred not just in predominantly male, dock related employment, but also in female occupations such as domestic service.

A gendered division of labour developed in the area, with the physically demanding dock related employment becoming the exclusive preserve of males, whilst women were more likely to enter domestic service, an almost equally exclusive female preserve. Even in industries where men and women both worked, such as sugar refining, they undertook very different tasks. On two occasions early in the Twentieth Century there is evidence of collusion between men and employers, to the detriment of women. As will be seen in

Chapter Seven, these factors are important in understanding why there are still very clear differences in the types of jobs undertaken by men and women in Vauxhall.

The declining importance of Liverpool nationally and internationally has had very far reaching consequences for Vauxhall. The area has experienced massive depopulation and job losses over recent years. Although the population that remains in the 1990s is relatively small, it exhibits some of the highest unemployment rates in the country, and there is also evidence that significant numbers of the population of working age are becoming economically inactive. The existence of a Murray style underclass has been rejected, as there is no evidence of social disintegration in the area. Pahl's notion of 'work-poor' and 'work-rich' households is a more useful conceptualisation.

6. The Vauxhall Job Link Survey: profiling the surveyed population

6.1 Aims and objectives

This chapter provides a detailed statistical description of the skills audit conducted in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool in 1990. Where possible the results of the survey have been compared to local and national statistics, to provide an insight into how economic and social conditions in Vauxhall compare to other places. In particular the survey has been compared to the results of two skills audits conducted by Merseyside Information Service in the Dingle and Granby Toxteth areas of Liverpool, in the early 1990s.

Although the skills audit yielded 768 completed questionnaires with people living in Vauxhall ward, for the purpose of this chapter a sample of questionnaires which is more representative of the gender and age structure of the population has been examined. This was considered necessary because more females were interviewed than males, and also more young people than old people. If, for example, all 768 interviews had been analysed it would have been concluded that the population was better qualified than it actually was, because qualification levels were significantly higher amongst the over represented younger population. The random removal of the excess number of interviews has enabled more meaningful conclusions to be drawn about the overall population of Vauxhall. The rationale and method of drawing a sample from these 768 interviews was discussed in detail in section 3.4.1. The remainder of this chapter will statistically profile the characteristics of these 354 people.

6.2 General information

6.2.1 Possession of a driving licence and use of a car

Almost a quarter (24.6%) of respondents possessed a driving licence whilst three-quarters (75.1%) did not, see Table 6.1, below. In comparison, in Great Britain in 1990, 64.0% of all adults possessed a driving licence (Department of Transport, 1996). Possessing a driving licence enables a person to consider working further from their home, even if they do not have access to a car at the time. The ability to drive is also an increasingly important work skill in today's society and not being able to do so obviously excludes an individual from a wide range of occupations.

Table 6.1: Possession of driving licence, telephone, and use of car

	Yes	No	No Response
Driving Licence	24.6	75.1	0.3
Use of Car	21.2	70.9	7.9
Telephone	43.8	56.2*	N/A

* Includes no response.

In comparison to Vauxhall, the Dingle Skills Survey found that 46.0% of respondents possessed a driving licence (Bates, 1994). This figure is unsurprising as in 1991 34.7% of households possessed at least one car in Dingle, compared to just 14.5% in Vauxhall (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

Table 6.1 also shows that just over a fifth (21.2%) of respondents had access to a car, whilst over two-thirds (70.9%) did not. This is a rather higher figure than the one obtained from the 1991 Census, which found only 14.5% of households in the ward owned a car (Liverpool City Council, 1993). The discrepancy may have been due to the question wording in the Job Link Survey, which asked if a respondent had access to a car rather than whether their household owned a car. In Vauxhall with its strong sense of community, some respondents may have claimed access to a car if their family or neighbours gave them lifts. The figure of 70.9% of respondents not having access to a car compares poorly to the city average of 56.9% of households not owning a car, and even more poorly to the national average of 33.4% (Liverpool City Council, 1993; OPCS 1992c), and is an illustration of the level of deprivation in the area. Not having use of a car severely limits the distance a person can travel to work, and hence restricts their employment prospects to a very local area. A single mother, for example, may only be able to work if she can drop her children off at school and then get to work in a very short space of time. Possessing a car may make the crucial difference to whether she can do this or not. The issue of gender, possession of a driving licence, and use of a car will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

Just over two-fifths (43.8%) of respondents lived in a household possessing a telephone, see Table 6.1. Nationally in 1990 88% of households possessed a telephone (OPCS, 1992a). This figure is a further indication of the economic hardship faced by many of the area's inhabitants. Also for the non-working population not possessing a telephone is likely to make the search for employment harder.

6.3 Educational attainment

6.3.1 Possession of qualifications

The education section of the survey asked respondents whether they possessed any formal qualifications at CSE level or above. Of the 354 respondents, 104 (28.8%) possessed some kind of formal qualification, whilst 248 (70.1%) did not, the remaining 4 people (1.1%) did not respond to the question, see Table 6.2, below. This compared to a national average of 62% of the population possessing one CSE or more in 1990 (OPCS, 1992a). These figures show that less than half as many people possessed some form of qualification in Vauxhall than in Great Britain.

The Dingle Skills Survey found that 49% of respondents possessed a qualification of some kind (Bates, 1994), whilst the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit reported a figure of 54.1% (Nutter, 1993).

Table 6.2: Possession of qualifications in Vauxhall and Great Britain

Qualification	Vauxhall (%)	Great Britain (%)
No	70.1	38
Yes	28.8	62
No response	1.1	0
Total	100	100

Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a)

6.3.2 Highest level of qualification

The highest qualification level attained by respondents is shown in Table 6.3 below, figures from the 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a) are included for comparison. Whilst Table 6.2 showed quite clearly that a far higher percentage of people in Vauxhall possessed no qualifications than in Great Britain, Table 6.3 reveals that those that were qualified were generally qualified at a much lower level. For example the Vauxhall Job Link Survey found that only 1.4% of respondents possessed a degree, whilst the 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a) reported that nationally 8% of the population possessed degrees. Similar figures were found at 'higher education below degree' and 'A level' standards.

Over four-fifths (81.4%) of respondents who possessed qualifications were educated to GCSE level, or equivalent (GCE or CSE for older residents). Slightly over a quarter (25.5%) of qualified respondents possessed at least one GCSE (or equivalent) at grades D-G, whilst over half (55.9%) possessed at least one GCSE (or equivalent) at grades A-C. Few people possessed GCE 'A' levels (2.9% of qualified respondents), or were educated to higher education below degree level (5.9%), or degree level (4.9%).

The only data the 1991 Census provided on qualification levels was the number of people possessing qualifications at above 'A' level. The Census, from 10% sample data, reported that 1.4% of Vauxhall's population possessed qualifications at this level (Liverpool City Council, 1993). The skills audit results were somewhat higher, showing that 3.1% of the surveyed population possessed qualifications above 'A' level standard.

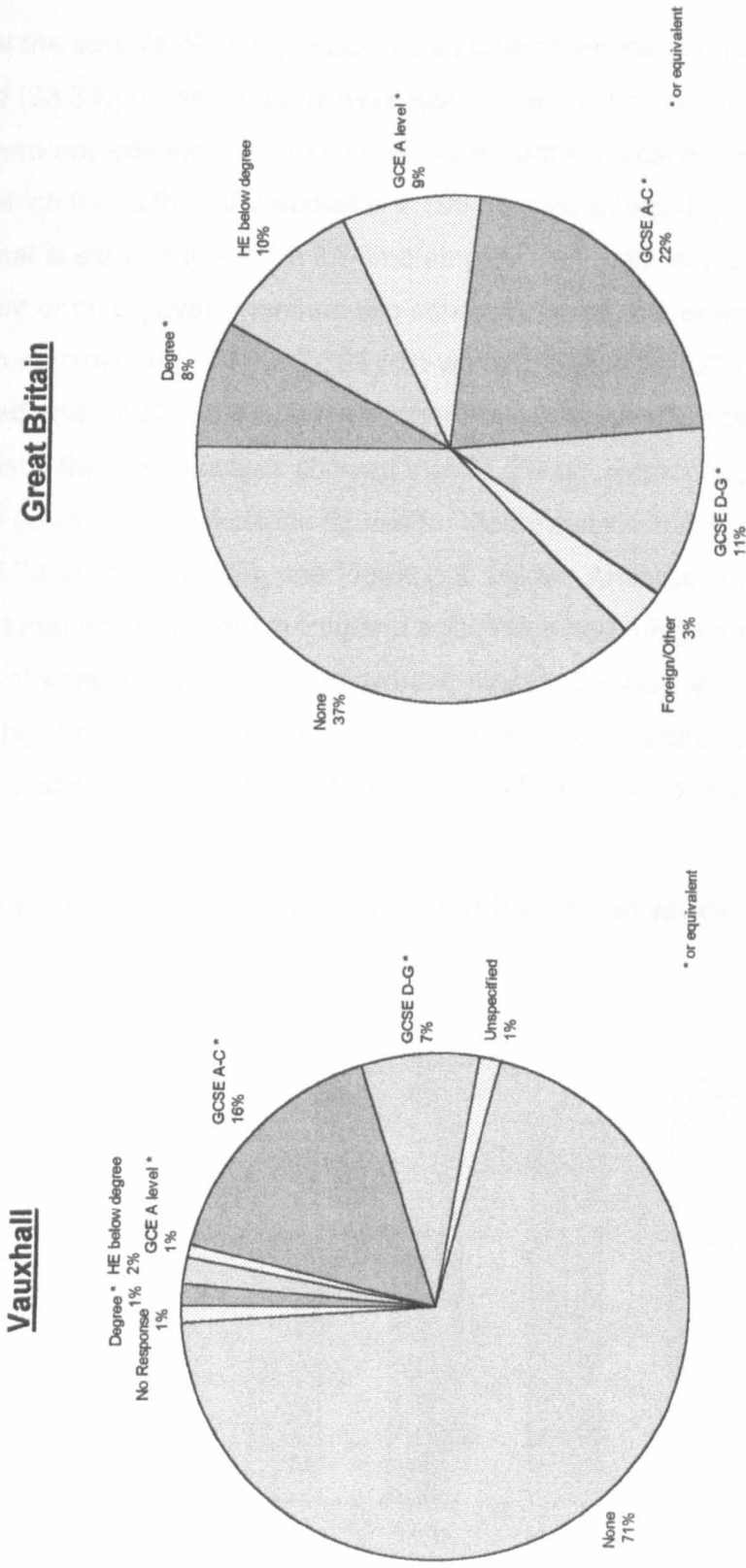
Whilst the general level of education in Vauxhall was found to be low, certain people were better qualified than others, and were consequently likely to fare better in the labour market. The next chapter will analyse possession and level of qualification by age, gender and employment status.

Table 6.3: Highest level of qualification in Vauxhall and Great Britain in 1990

Level	Vauxhall (%)	Vauxhall (% of qualified)	Great Britain (%)	Great Britain (% of qualified)
Degree or equivalent	1.4	4.9	8.0	13.0
HE below degree	1.7	5.9	10.0	16.0
GCE 'A' level or equivalent	0.8	2.9	9.0	14.0
GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	16.1	55.9	22.0	35.0
GCSE grades D-G or equivalent	7.3	25.5	11.0	18.0
Unspecified qualification (VJLS)/ Foreign/Other (GHS)	1.4	4.9	3.0	5.0
No Response	1.1	Excluded	0.0	Excluded
None	70.1	Excluded	38.0	Excluded
Total	100.0	100.0	101.0*	101.0*

* not 100 due to rounding. Nb: General Household Survey includes people upto 69 years of age.
Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a)

Figure 6.1: Highest qualification possessed by population of Vauxhall and Great Britain



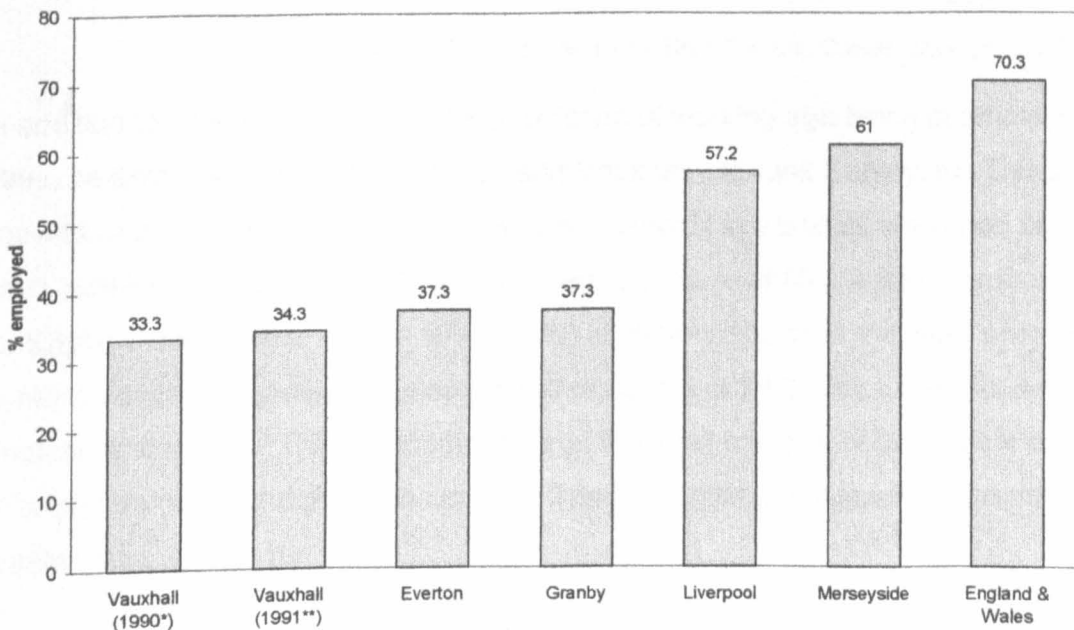
Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a)

6.4 Employment and unemployment

6.4.1 Engagement in paid employment

Analysis of the sample of 354 questionnaires taken from the Job Link Survey established that a third (33.3%) of respondents were working at the time of interview, whilst two-thirds (66.7%) were not working. These figures are almost identical to those from the 1991 Census, which found that of Vauxhall's 4,195 persons of working age of, 34.3% were working (that is either engaged in full-time employment, part-time employment, self employment or on a government training scheme), whilst the remaining 65.7% of people were not in employment. Of the 2,755 non-working people, 1,123 (26.8%) were unemployed and 1,632 (38.9%) were economically inactive (Liverpool City Council, 1993). In comparison the 1991 Census showed that 57.2% of Liverpool's population of working age was in employment, whilst the figures for Merseyside and England and Wales were 61.0% and 70.3% respectively, see Figure 6.2, below. Analysis of the 1991 Census has established that no other ward in England and Wales had a higher proportion of its population of working age not in employment; even in Everton, which exhibited a marginally higher rate of unemployment, 37.3% of adults of working age were engaged in employment compared to just 34.3% in Vauxhall (The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright).

Figure 6.2: Population of working age in employment at various spatial levels

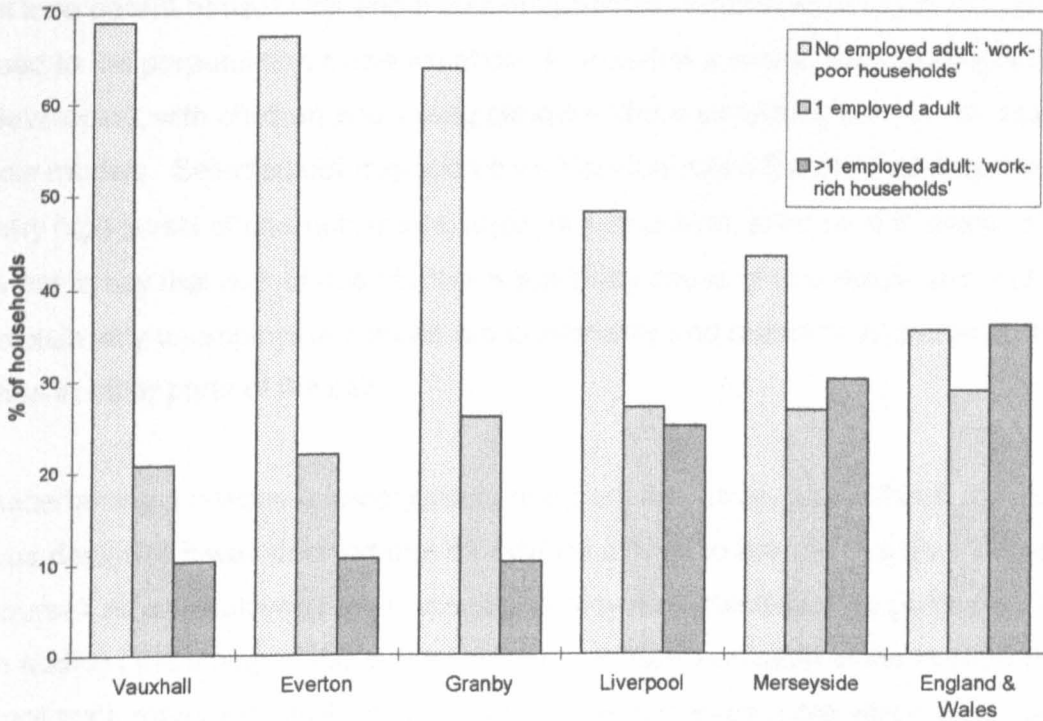


* Vauxhall Job Link Survey, ** Census

Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright, ESRC purchase.

Comparison with the results of the Dingle and Granby Toxteth Skills Audits revealed similar low rates of labour force participation. In Dingle only 26% of respondents were in paid employment (Bates, 1994), whilst the figure in Granby Toxteth was even lower at only 23.2% (Nutter, 1993). However, these rates are artificially low, as the large number of retired people interviewed were not excluded from the analysis.

Figure 6.3: Household employment structure at various spatial levels



Source: OPCS (1993) and The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright, ESRC purchase.

In addition to only one in three of the population of working age being in employment in 1991, as demonstrated by the Census and Vauxhall Job Link Survey, the Census also showed that over two-thirds (68.9%) of all households in Vauxhall contained no employed adult, see Figure 6.3, above. This compared to a figure of 48.2% for Liverpool and 35.4% for England and Wales. One in ten (10.3%) of all households in the ward possessed two or more employed adults, which compared to figures of 24.9% for Liverpool and 35.9% for England and Wales. This demonstrates that Vauxhall has one of the largest proportions of 'work-poor' households in the country. The implications of this will be examined in greater detail later in the thesis.

This extraordinarily high level of non labour market participation in Vauxhall, and consequent high rate of unemployment, has undoubtedly been caused by local, national and international processes of deindustrialisation and economic restructuring, exemplified

by the decline and closure of the area's multinational owned sugar and tobacco processing industries. More than a decade after these closures, sustained levels of high unemployment have resulted in a large number of children being brought up in an environment where the majority of adults of working age are not in employment, suggesting that a 'culture of unemployment' could be developing in Vauxhall. Wilson (1987 and 1993) was concerned that in US inner cities in the frostbelt high levels of unemployment, caused by deindustrialisation, coupled with spatial segregation, could lead to the reproduction of a new social order. Hence Wilson was concerned that high levels of lone parent households and a lack of successful middle-class black role models could lead to the perpetuation of the situation. In Vauxhall a similar situation might be developing, with children and young people in the area lacking successful, mainly white, role models. Selected out-migration from Vauxhall has left a residual population, beset by very high levels of unemployment, much of it long-term, and low skill levels. However, this is not to say that lack of role models is a primary cause of unemployment, but it may help explain why unemployment levels are persistently and markedly higher in north Liverpool than in other parts of the city.

Ascertaining a precise unemployment rate from the survey was difficult. When the survey was designed it was decided that it would be unwise to ask the question 'do you consider yourself as unemployed?' as respondents may have mistaken the purpose of the survey. In addition the timing of the survey, during the implementation of the community charge ('poll tax'), made sensitivity to respondents' feelings even more vital than usual. Whilst the survey agreed almost exactly with the Census on the proportion of the population who were in work, the problem remained as to how many of the remaining people could be considered unemployed.

Eventually it was decided to calculate an approximate 'unemployment rate' by coding non-working respondents into those who said they wanted a job and those who said they did not. This information was obtained by recoding the question which asked respondents what type of job they wanted, into whether or not they wanted a job. This calculation revealed that only 10.2% of respondents not in employment did not desire a job of some description, whilst 80.5% did. The remaining 9.3% of respondents did not answer the question, and for the purpose of this calculation it was assumed that these people did not want a job. Dividing the number of non-working respondents seeking work by the total number of respondents yielded an 'unemployment rate' of 53.7%. As mentioned above a

third of respondents were employed, and the remaining 13% could now be considered 'economically inactive'.

Analysis of the 'economically inactive', the 46 respondents who did not want a job or did not answer the question, revealed these people to be older than the survey average, with a mean age of 45.0, compared to 37.4 for the overall sample. Only 4 of these 46 respondents (8.7%) had been employed in the last year, and only 15 of them (32.6%) had worked in the last 5 years. The younger respondents in this group were mainly women, many of whom required childminding facilities to enable them to go to work. A substantial minority of respondents in this group, 28.3%, said they had health problems which would prevent affect their ability to work. Several of the older respondents would probably have taken early retirement or been on invalidity benefit, however the Vauxhall Job Link Survey did not ask questions of this nature. It is important to note that not all the people considered here as 'economically inactive' will be permanently inactive; in the case of women raising families their withdrawal from the labour market is liable to be a temporary process.

Table 6.4: Economic status of respondents

Economic status	Percentage
Employed	33.3
Non-working (Desire Employment) 'unemployed'	53.7
Non-working (Do not desire employment) 'inactive'	13.0
Total	100.0

Two other unemployment measures were available to compare with the figure derived from the survey. Merseyside Information Service (MIS) provide unemployment rates based on benefit claimants, this information is available at ward level and is produced 4 times a year. In April 1991 MIS reported unemployment in Vauxhall at 28.2%, whilst the figure for Liverpool was 26.5% (MIS, 1991).

The other unemployment information available at ward level is from the 1991 Census. This, discussed in detail in Chapter Five, showed the unemployment rate in Vauxhall to be 45.0%, and the rate in Liverpool 21.6% (Liverpool City Council, 1993). What is instantly apparent here is the large discrepancy between the unemployment rate in Vauxhall according to MIS and the Census, whereas both sources agree almost exactly on the

figure for Liverpool. The Census figure for the unemployment rate in Vauxhall is closer to the figure derived from the skills audit than the claimant based rate.

Table 6.5: Differing 'unemployment' rates in Vauxhall

Source	Percentage 'Unemployment'
Merseyside Information Service (April 1991)	28.2
Census 1991 (April 1991)	45.0
Survey (1990)	53.7

Sources: Merseyside Information Service (1991), Liverpool City Council (1993) and Vauxhall Job Link Survey.

Measuring unemployment rates is notoriously difficult. The claimant-based figure is almost certainly a gross underestimate of the real situation, especially where women are concerned. The Census figure may give a truer indication of the unemployment rate, but suffers the major disadvantage of being conducted only once every ten years. Claimant-based unemployment figures only show people eligible for and claiming state benefits, a criterion which excludes many people, especially women with working partners, from appearing in the figures. For a detailed discussion on different types of unemployment measures see Green (1995). For reasons already mentioned, the Vauxhall Job Link Survey question asked people if they were working or not working, rather than if they were in receipt of state benefit.

6.4.2 Full-time/part-time

Slightly over two-thirds (66.9%) of employed respondents worked full-time, 29.7% worked part-time, and the remaining 3.4% of respondents did not respond to the question. These results are fairly similar to those from the 1991 Census, which showed that of the 1,440 people in employment, 72% worked full-time, 21.1% part-time, whilst the remaining 6.9% were self employed (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

It is quite likely that the Census figures have underestimated the numbers of people working part-time. Sly (1994), in an article comparing the Census and Labour Force Survey, cites two main reasons why the Census undercounts part-time employment. Firstly the Labour Force Survey found many more people working very short hours, which is consistent with the hypothesis that many people doing jobs of this nature failed to report them in the Census. Secondly, the Census reported more people working hours of between 31 and 40 hours than did the Labour Force Survey, and this could be due to

people including overtime and meal breaks, despite being asked not to do so. She concludes that on average the Census records part-time employment at 5% less than the Labour Force Survey. Unfortunately the Labour Force Survey only goes down to the standard region level, so cannot be directly used for comparison with the Vauxhall survey.

If Sly's claim that the Census undercounts part-time employment by an average of 5% is accurate, then the results of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey and the 1991 Census match closely, with only a slight discrepancy occurring, due in part to the survey not ascertaining whether respondents were self-employed, see Table 6.6. The skills audit, like the Labour Force Survey, left the respondent to decide whether they were working part-time or not, whereas the Census defines part-time employment as working less than 30 hours a week.

Table 6.6: Employment status of working respondents in Vauxhall

Employment Status	VJLS	1991 Census
Full-time	66.9	72.0
Part-time	29.7	21.1
Self employed	N/A	6.9
No response	3.4	N/A
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and Liverpool City Council (1993).

The results from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey are similar to those of the Dingle and Granby Toxteth skills audits. The Dingle survey found an almost identical proportion of employed respondents working part-time as the Vauxhall survey (29.0%), whilst the Granby Toxteth survey reported a slightly lower figure of about a quarter (24.6%) (Bates, 1994; Nutter, 1993). In both cases the incidence of part-time employment was higher than the 1991 Census reported, though it should be stressed that neither survey matched ward boundaries precisely, making direct comparison with the Census difficult.

Having established in the previous section that only one in three adults of working age in Vauxhall were in employment, the full-time/part-time question enabled it to be ascertained that only 22.3% of all respondents were engaged in full-time employment. The Census put this figure rather higher at 24.7%. At the city level the Census showed that 41.2% of Liverpool's adults of working age were engaged in full-time employment (Liverpool City Council, 1993). Once again these figures highlight the lack of economically successful role models in the area, and this is before the nature of occupations engaged in by working respondents has even been considered.

6.4.3 Occupational classification

The occupation of respondents in employment, and the last occupation of respondents not in employment, were coded using the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC). This classification system was devised in the late 1980s by the OPCS in collaboration with the Employment Department Group and the Institute for Employment Research at Warwick University, for use as a single standard classification in the Census and other official statistics. This classification replaced both the OPCS 1980 Classification of Occupations, and the Classification of Occupations and Directory of Occupational Titles (CODOT) which was widely used in the employment service field (OPCSb 1992).

The Standard Occupational Classification is hierarchical, and comprises the following:

- 9 Major groups, subdivided into
- 22 Sub-major groups, subdivided into
- 77 Minor groups, subdivided into
- 371 Unit groups created from
- 3800 CODOT occupational titles

(from 1991 Census Definitions, OPCSb 1992).

The coding was conducted using a list of the 371 unit groups, taken from the 1991 Census Economic Activity for Great Britain, volume one (OPCS, 1994). Using this list of 371 unit groups, occupations were coded into the 77 minor groups. This was achieved by using the job title and details provided by respondents. Obviously in such an exercise coding mistakes are bound to occur, and in a few cases respondents are likely to have been assigned to the wrong occupation.

The tables and piecharts in the next few sections show the current occupation or last occupation of respondents, using the following nine major occupational groups:

1. **Managers and administrators**
2. **Professional occupations**
3. **Associate professional and technical occupations**
4. **Clerical and secretarial occupations**
5. **Craft and related occupations**
6. **Personal and protective service occupations**
7. **Sales occupations**
8. **Plant and machine operatives**
9. **Other occupations.**

Occupations with high levels of skill are at the top of the above list whilst lower skilled occupations are at the bottom. A small number of respondents had never worked, and these were coded to zero.

6.4.3.1 Occupational class of all respondents

The vast majority of respondents were employed, or had last been employed, in lower skilled occupations, see Table 6.7 and Figure 6.4, below. Only 11.0% of respondents were employed in managerial, professional, associate professional or clerical occupations (groups 1 to 4). Almost half (46.1%) of interviewees were employed, or had been employed, in groups 8 and 9, the least skilled occupations. The type of work people in these occupational groups were engaged in included operating machines, packing, cleaning and labouring. These figures demonstrate that the surveyed population in Vauxhall were generally excluded from the higher skilled professional occupations available in the geographically close city centre. The type of occupation respondents were engaged appears consistent with the level of qualifications that they possessed, discussed in section 6.3.2, above.

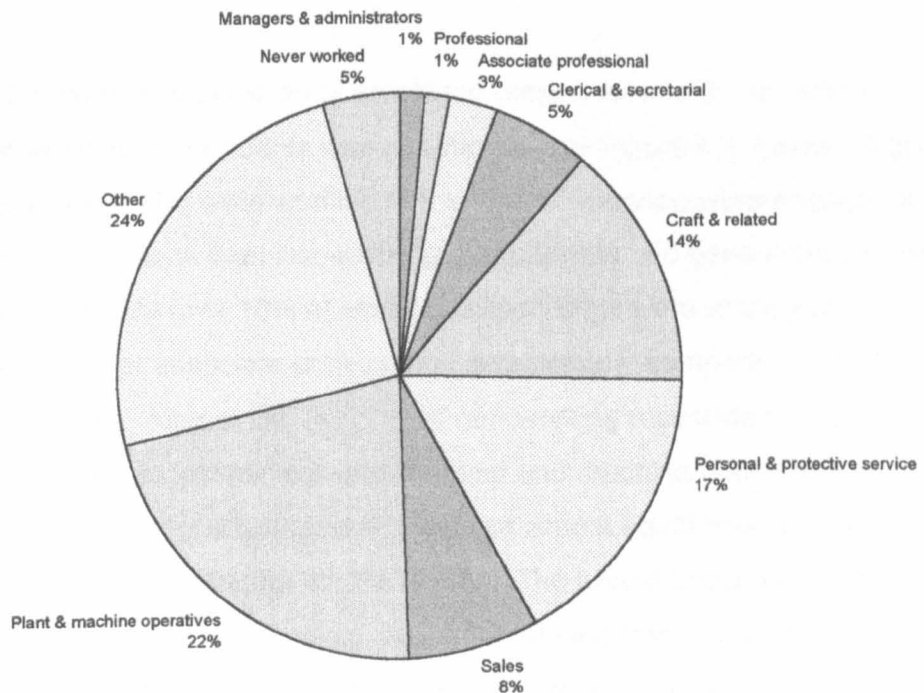
Table 6.7: Occupational class of respondents

SOC	Occupation	All	Working	Working (Census)	Non-working	Working (part-time)
1	Managers & administrators	1.4	0.8	10.5	1.7	0.0
2	Professional	1.4	4.2	1.6	0.0	2.9
3	Associate professional & technical	2.8	5.1	4.8	1.7	0.0
4	Clerical & secretarial	5.4	6.8	15.3	4.7	2.9
5	Craft & related	14.1	15.3	12.9	13.6	2.9
6	Personal & protective service	16.7	19.5	9.7	15.3	22.9
7	Sales	7.6	5.1	2.4	8.9	5.7
8	Plant & machine operatives	21.8	19.5	13.7	22.9	5.7
9	Other*	24.3	23.7	29.1	24.6	57.1
0	Never worked	4.5	N/A	N/A	6.8	N/A
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* includes occupations not stated or inadequately described.

Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright, ESRC purchase.

Figure 6.4: Occupational class of all respondents



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

6.4.3.2 Occupational class of working and non-working respondents

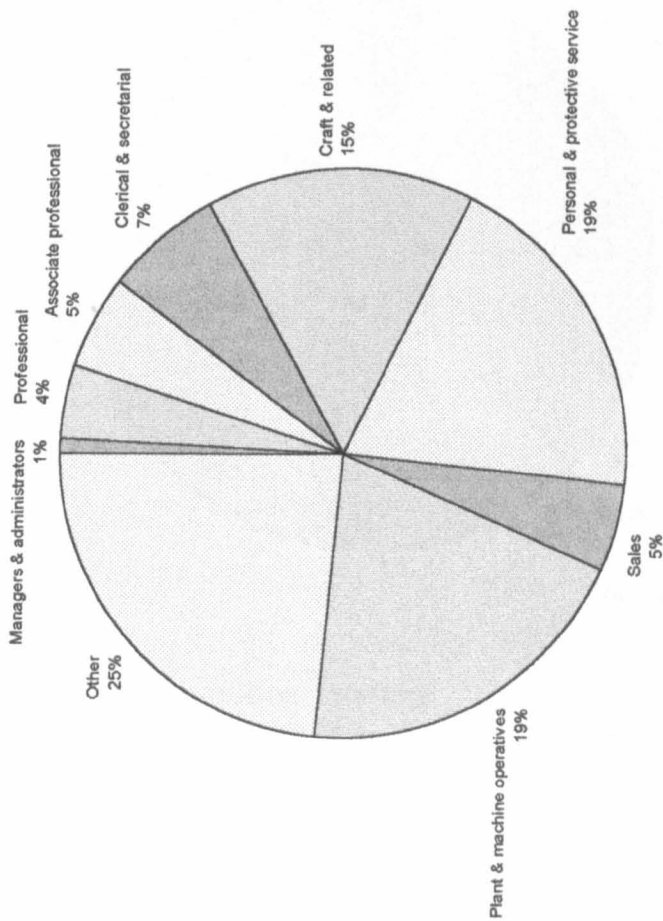
The occupation of working respondents was compared with results from the 1991 Census of population for Vauxhall, see Figures 6.5 and 6.6, below. The Job Link Survey found very few respondents working in occupational class 1, comprising managers and administrators; in comparison the Census reported 10.7% of the working population employed in this category. Rather surprisingly this figure from the Census is slightly

higher than the city average (9.7%), and considerably higher than the figure for neighbouring Everton (5.6%). The lower than expected figure from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey could be due to miscoding of data. The most likely mistake could have been miscoding shop managers into the 'sales' category rather than the 'managers and administrators' one. However the Census results at ward level must also be subject to question. The figure of only 2.3% of Vauxhall's population working in sales related jobs seems incredibly low, given the close proximity of Liverpool city centre to the south of the ward, and Bootle town centre to the north of the ward. More surprising is the proportion of residents in the neighbouring ward of Everton working in sales related occupations. The Census claims 0% of Everton's population worked in a sales-related job. Half of Liverpool city centre is situated in Everton ward, although admittedly few people actually live in this part of the ward. If these sales figures are inaccurate, as appears likely, then doubt is cast on the validity of all the occupational information from the 1991 Census at ward level in Liverpool. It should also be noted that the 10% Census data used to derive occupational class is only based on 124 people in employment.

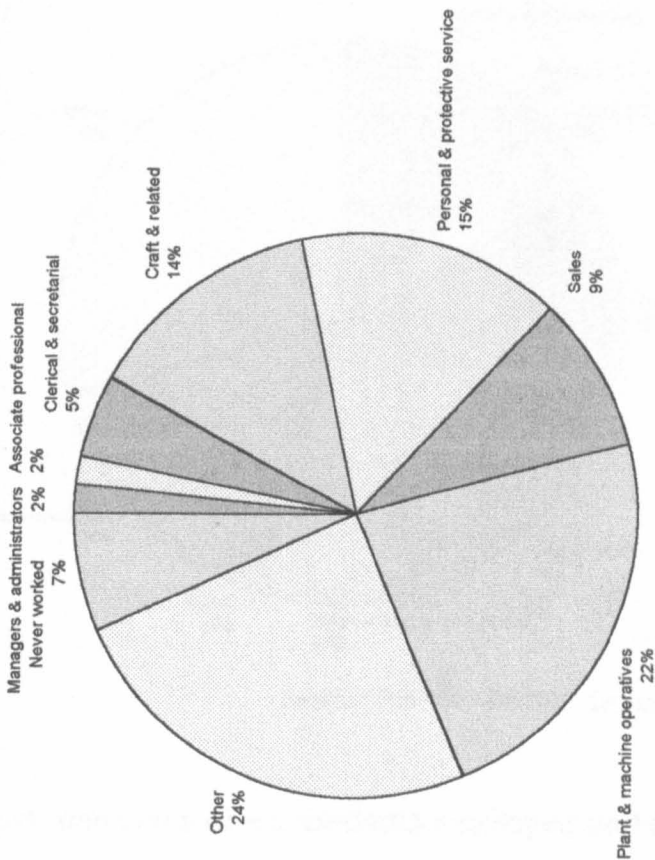
A comparison of the current occupation of employed respondents with the most recent occupation of non-working respondents was conducted, see Figure 6.5, below. A greater proportion of respondents who were working at the time of interview were engaged in more highly skilled occupations than non-working respondents had been in their most recent employment. Slightly over 10% of working respondents were employed in managerial, professional or associate professional occupations, compared to only 3.4% of non-working respondents. Almost half (47.5%) of non-working respondents had previously been employed in just two categories, plant and machine operatives and other occupations. These two occupational classes were of almost equal importance amongst employed respondents, accounting for 43.2% of jobs. The lowest occupational skill group of all, termed "other" and comprising mainly cleaners and labourers, accounted for approximately a quarter of both respondents in work and respondents not in work. The figure of 23.7% for respondents in work engaged in "other" occupations is slightly lower than the 29.1% figure the 1991 Census supplied for this occupational group (The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright).

Figure 6.5: Occupational class of working and non-working respondents

Working

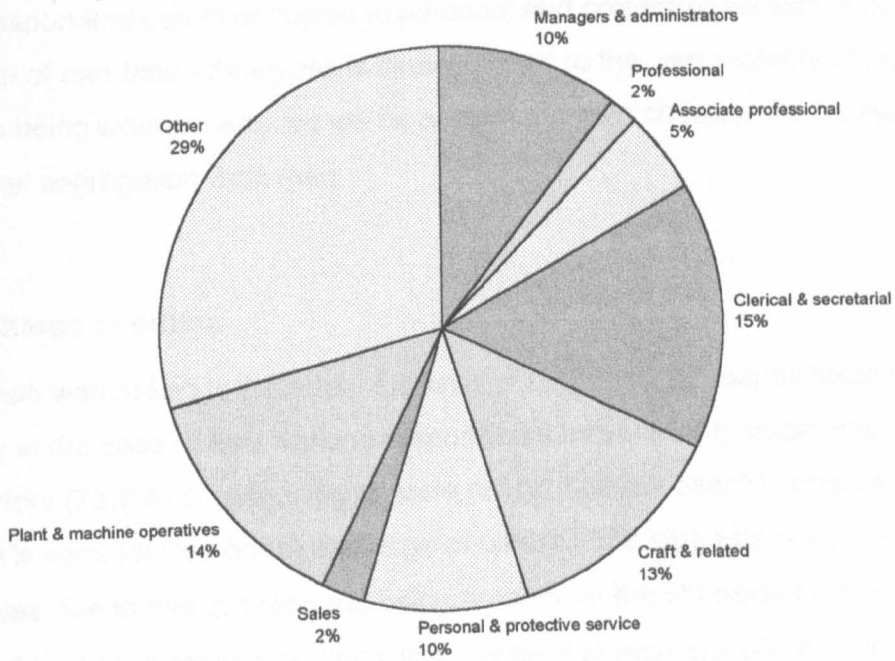


Non-working



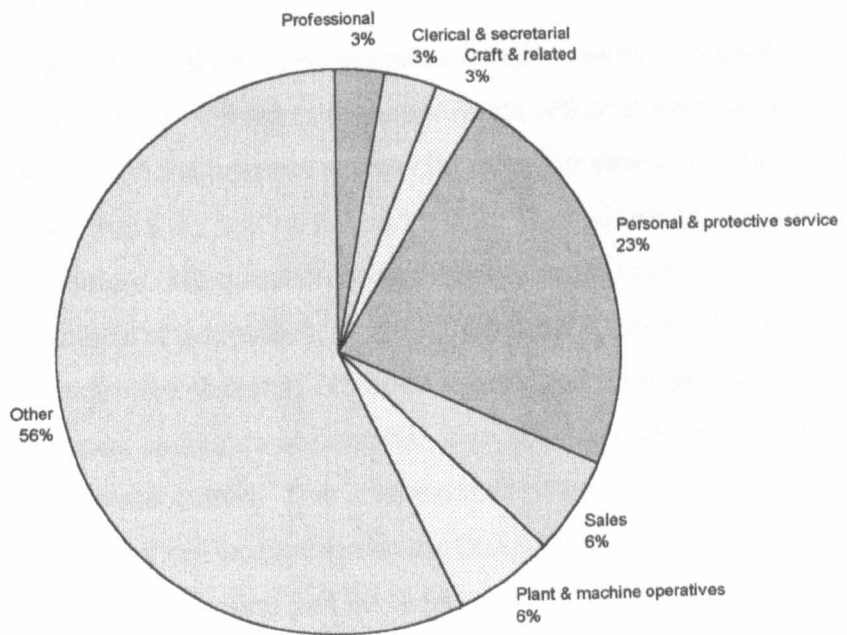
Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Figure 6.6: Occupational class of population of Vauxhall, from 1991 Census



Source: The 1991 Census, Crown Copyright, ESRC purchase.

Figure 6.7: Occupational class of respondents employed part-time



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

6.4.3.3 Occupational class of part-time workers

Analysis of the occupations of respondents employed part-time revealed an even greater degree of segregation into predominantly low status occupations, see Figure 6.7, above. Over half (57.1%) of these respondents were engaged in the occupations in the

classification "other", the vast majority being employed as cleaners. A further quarter (23%) of respondents were occupied in personal and protective service occupations. This segregation of part-time employees is closely linked to the vast majority of part-time employees being women, who, as will be seen in the next chapter, are far more subject to occupational segregation than men.

6.4.4 In charge of others

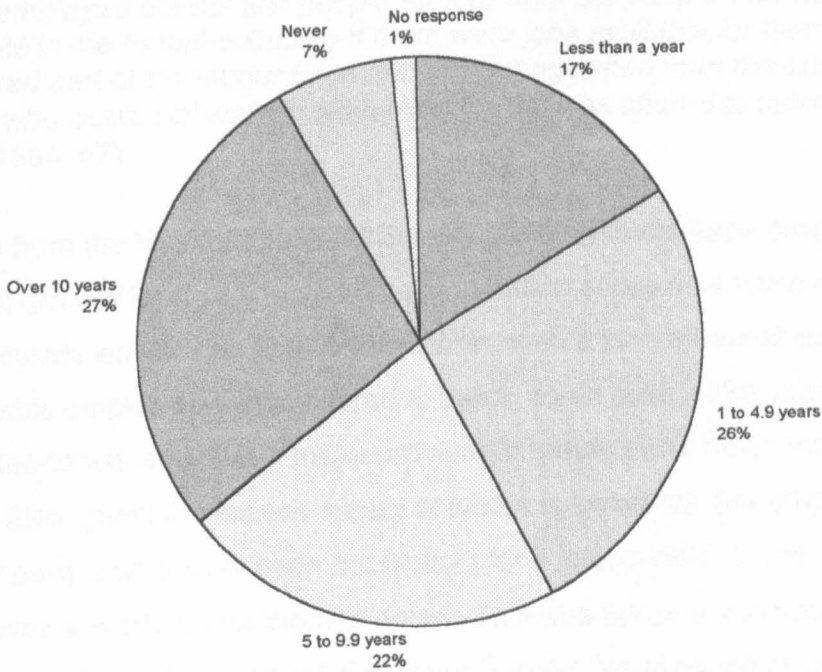
This question was asked to ascertain the level of responsibility respondents had in their present, or in the case of non-working respondents most recent, employment. Almost three-quarters (73.7%) of respondents were not (or had not been) in charge of others, whilst 16.8% were (or had been) in charge of others. The high rate of no response to this question was due to this question not being present on the shortened version of the questionnaire. These responses imply that the level of responsibility people have or had in their employment is, or was, low.

6.4.5 Time since last worked

The survey found that only 16.5% of the 236 respondents not in work had been employed within the last year. Almost half of non-working respondents (49.5%) had not worked within the last five years, and 27.5% had not worked for over ten years. A small number of respondents (6.8%) said that they had never had a job. The full results are shown in Figure 6.8 and Table 6.8, below. No question regarding the duration of unemployment was asked in the 1991 Census of population, or in any previous Census. Labour Market Trends (formerly The Employment Gazette) provides information quarterly about duration of unemployment, based upon claimants of benefits. The quarterly figures for 1990 were taken and the mean average calculated. This showed that nationally just under a third (32.4%) of benefit claimants had not worked within the last 12 months, a fifth (20.1%) had not worked within the last 24 months, and just under a sixth (15%) had not worked within the last 36 months (Employment Gazette, 1990 and 1991).

The Long-Term Unemployed in Liverpool report (Nutter, 1991) interviewed a sample of the city's unemployed, and found that the mean duration of unemployment was about 3.5 years. The distribution was bimodal, with the majority of claimants having been unemployed either a short time or a long time, with 30% of respondents having been out of work for over 4 years.

Figure 6.8: Length of time since last employed



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Table 6.8: Length of time since last employed

Time Since Last Worked	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Over 10 years	27.5	27.5
5 to 9.9 years	22	49.5
1 to 4.9 years	25.8	75.3
Less than a year	16.5	91.8
Never	6.8	98.6
No response	1.3	100
Total	100	

Ascertaining exactly how many of these respondents could be considered long-term unemployed was difficult. The figures quoted above sound appalling, but it must be remembered that approximately half of the respondents were female, and many of these women would have taken several years out of the labour market to raise families, and would not consider themselves 'unemployed'. Even using the criterion of desiring a job, as used to calculate an unemployment rate in section 6.1, could not be used, as a woman might be ready to return to the labour market after a ten year break to raise a family, and would be falsely classed as being unemployed for ten years.

The importance of duration of unemployment cannot be over stressed. Gallie and Marsh (1994) state that:

“The unemployed are not just people without work but people who would participate in the formal economy if there were jobs available for them. They are considered part of the labour force and are distinguished from the economically inactive who would not want to work even if a job was offered to them” (Gallie and Marsh, 1994, p7).

With the figures from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey showing that a large proportion of people have not worked for a very long time, the question arises how many of these people would actually want, or be able, to work after such a long period of economic inactivity, if suitable employment was offered to them. Even basic skills, such as time keeping and attendance, could be a major problem for people who have not worked for several years. Also, given the excess supply of labour in Liverpool, few employers are likely to employ people who have been out of work for a long period of time, unless financial incentives are offered for them to do so. This was borne out to some degree by a question asked in the Pathways 1995 Employer Survey; “what period of unemployment did you consider to be detrimental to applicants?” Over half of respondents (51.3%) said that they considered over 12 months of unemployment to be detrimental to applicants, the full results are shown in Table 6.9, below. Three-quarters (75.3%) of non-working respondents of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey had not been employed within the last year, and combining this figure with the result from the Pathways Employer Survey suggests that these people could be at a significant disadvantage when applying for employment. If over half of employers thought that a year of unemployment was detrimental to an applicant’s employment prospects, presumably more would consider longer periods of unemployment to be detrimental. Gershuny and Marsh (1994) observe that this may occur because potential employers could view a long period of unemployment as an inability to hold down a job, regardless of actual circumstances.

Haughton *et al* (1993) usefully observe that workers who are largely confined to jobs in the secondary labour market are far more likely to experience temporary employment, interspersed by periods of unemployment, than are workers in the primary labour market. This may result in this type of person being discriminated against by employers for possessing an intermittent work record, whereas in reality it is often employers in the secondary labour market who are the cause of this volatility, not employees.

Table 6.9: Length of unemployment considered detrimental to employment prospects

Detrimental period of unemployment	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
< 3 months	2.1	2.1
3 to 6 months	9.9	12
6 to 12 months	16	28
Over 12 months	23.3	51.3
Not detrimental	48.7	100
Total	100	

Source: Liverpool City Council, Central Policy Unit (June 1995).

This section clearly demonstrates the problem that many people in Vauxhall face. The longer the period that a person is excluded from the labour market the harder it is likely to be for them ever to return to work. This issue, along with the relationship between duration of unemployment, gender and age, will be considered in more detail in the next chapter.

6.4.6 Possession of work skills

Slightly over a quarter (26.6%) of respondents said they possessed one or more work related skill, whilst just over two-thirds (68.6%) said they did not, see Table 6.10, below. This question probably shows whether people think they possess work skills rather than whether they actually do, and appears to suggest that working people in Vauxhall have little confidence in their own abilities. Even people who worked in the most basic factory work must have possessed some skills, even if that skill is now redundant. Slightly surprisingly, a higher proportion of people not in work (27.1%) said they possessed work skills than did people in work (25.4%).

Table 6.10: Possession of work skills for all, working and non-working respondents

Respondents	Work skills (%)	No work skills (%)	No response (%)
All	26.6	68.6	4.8
Working	25.4	69.5	5.1
Non-working	27.1	68.2	4.7

Respondents who possessed work related skills were then asked to identify these skills and say a little more about any training they had received. These skills were then coded into the 7 broad categories shown in Table 6.11, below. If a respondents possessed two skills within the same broad field area the skill was only counted once, for example a

respondent trained in bricklaying and roofing would be counted once, as possessing a building and related skill. Most respondents possessed only one of the 7 broad work skills, however 15 people possessed a second skill.

Table 6.11: Skills possessed (including first and second response)

Skill type	Frequency	Percent
Building & related	31	33.0
Caring, personal service & related	22	23.4
Driving & related	9	9.6
Clerical, business, sales & related	27	28.7
Arts & craft related	3	3.2
Engineering & related	5	5.3
Miscellaneous & other	7	7.4
No response	84	
Total	188	

The most commonly possessed work skill was “building and related”, which accounted for a third (33%) of respondents. Slightly fewer possessed clerical, business, sales and related skills (28.7%), whilst just under a quarter (23.4%) possessed skills in the caring, personal service and related field. Only a small number of respondents possessed skills in the other broad skill areas.

6.4.7 Self employment

Only a small number of respondents (5.4%) were, or had ever been, self-employed. Examining self employment by employment status revealed that a far higher proportion of people in work (9.3%) were or had been self employed, compared to non-working respondents (3.4%), see Table 6.12. The 1991 Census reported that 6.9% of employed people in Vauxhall were self employed (Liverpool City Council, 1993).

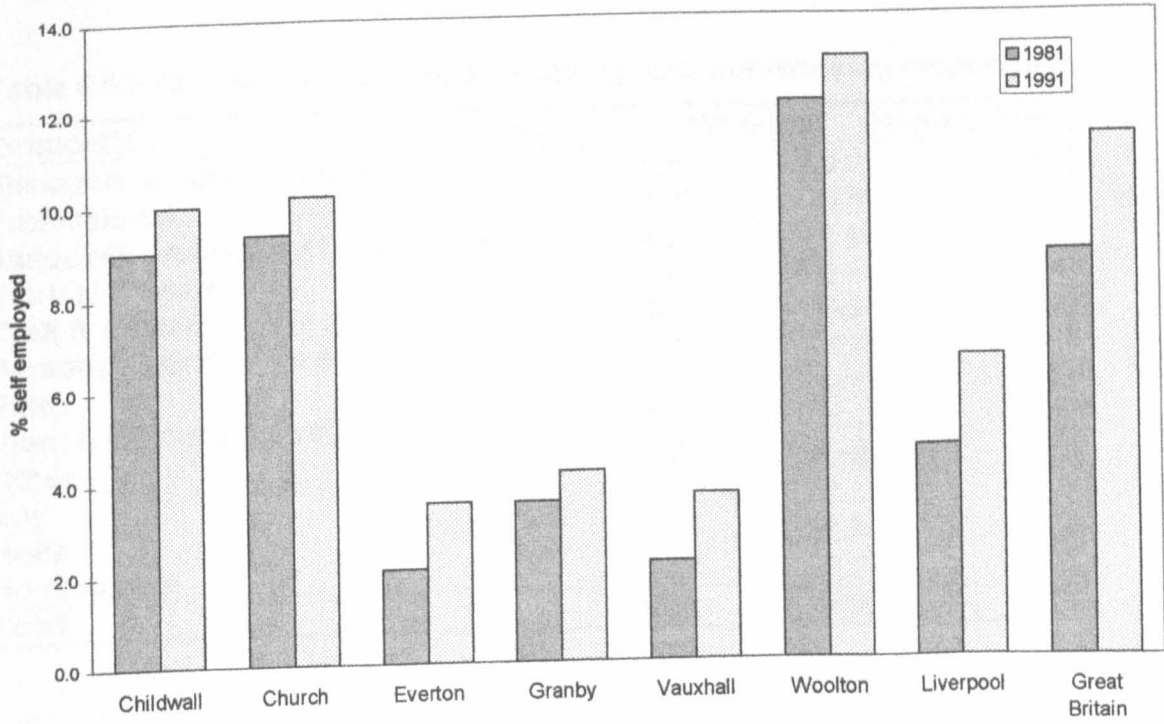
Table 6.12: Self employment for all, working and non-working respondents

Respondents	Self employed (%)	Not self employed (%)	No response (%)
All	5.4	92.9	1.7
Working	9.3	89.0	1.7
Non-working	3.4	94.9	1.7

Over recent years the number of people engaged in self employment has risen dramatically. This is one characteristic of a move to a more flexible labour market.

Nationally, between 1981 and 1991, the proportion of the economically active population engaged in self employment increased from 8.8% to 11.3% (OPCS, 1983; OPCS, 1992c). Recent research in both Britain (Jones *et al*, 1994) and the Netherlands (Kloosterman *et al*, 1997), suggest that persistent high levels of unemployment amongst ethnic minority groups has contributed towards their increased participation in entrepreneurship. Has the population of Vauxhall reacted to high levels of unemployment in the same manner? Analysis of 1981 and 1991 Census for Vauxhall and other Liverpool wards does show an increase in self employment, but the levels of self employment in Vauxhall and other deprived wards in the city are very low, compared to more affluent wards, such as Childwall, Church and Woolton, and nationally, see Figure 6.9. Former dock workers and factory employees probably lack the skills, qualifications and expertise to set up and run small businesses, and it is also likely that most people in Vauxhall lack the financial capital required to set up in business. The Vauxhall Job Link Survey did not attempt to identify the level of activity within the informal economy, and it is quite possible that entrepreneurial activity is flourishing in this area, but that it is doing so in a very hidden manner.

Figure 6.9: Engagement in self employment at various spatial levels, 1981-1991



Source: Claymore Services Ltd, 1994; Liverpool City Council, 1993; OPCS, 1983 and 1992c.

6.5 The future: aims and ambitions in employment, training and education

6.5.1 Occupation desired

Respondents were asked what job they would like to do. If they were employed and happy with their present job they were asked to say so, consequently the most recorded response was 'none'. The responses coded into the Standard Occupational Classification to correspond to present and previous occupations. The most popular occupations desired were in the craft and related category (19.2%), followed by the personal and protective service group (13.0%). Relatively few people expressed a desire to work in the higher skilled professional occupations. Table 6.13 and Figure 6.10, below, show the occupations people desired. Over a third (34.5%) of all respondents desired no occupation or did not respond to the question.

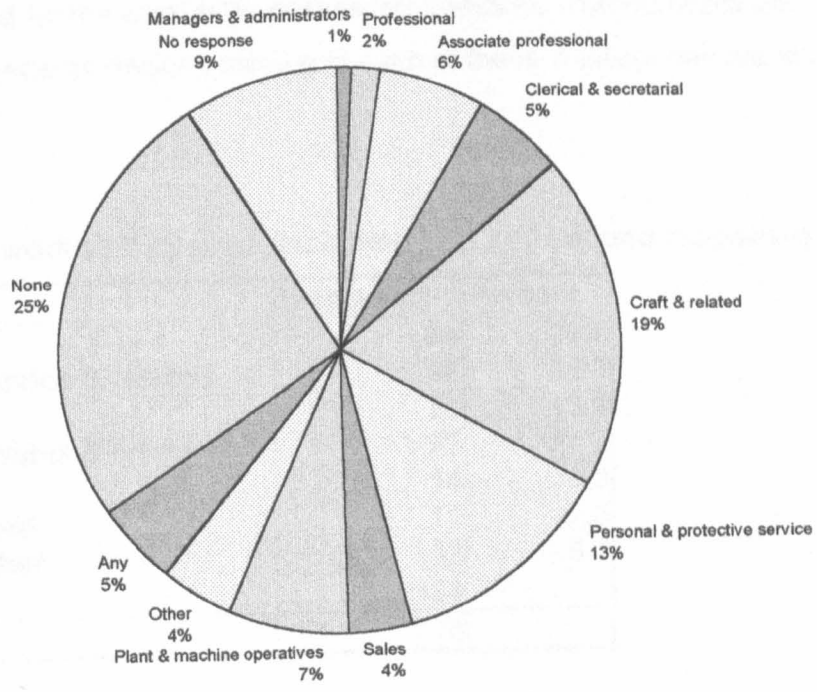
The occupation respondents desired was then examined by employment status, see Table 6.13, above. Over half (56.8%) of employed respondents expressed no desire for any other occupation. Of the respondents who did, the most popular choices were personal and protective service (8.5%), associate professional and technical (7.6%), craft and related (6.8%) and clerical and secretarial occupations (3.4%).

Table 6.13: Occupation desired, all, working, and non-working respondents

Occupation	All	Working	Non-working
Managers & administrators	0.8	0.8	0.8
Professional	1.7	0.8	2.1
Associate professional & technical	5.9	7.6	5.1
Clerical & secretarial	5.4	3.4	6.4
Craft & related	19.2	6.8	25.4
Personal & protective service	13	8.5	15.3
Sales	3.7	2.5	4.2
Plant & machine operatives	7.1	2.5	9.3
Other	4	0.8	5.5
Any	4.8	2.5	5.9
None	25.7	56.8	10.2
No response	8.8	6.8	9.7
Total	100	100	100

Amongst non-working respondents, the most desired occupations were craft and related (25.4%), personal and protective service (15.3%) and plant and machine operatives (9.3%). A tenth (10.2%) of non-working respondents said they did not want a job.

Figure 6.10: Occupation desired by all respondents



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

6.5.2 Future training

Just over two-fifths (42.1%) of all respondents said they would like to be trained in new work skills, see Table 6.14, below. Slightly more non-working respondents (43.6%) wanted to learn new skills than working respondents (39.0%). This figure for non-working respondents is disturbingly low when it is considered that one of the main reasons unemployment in Vauxhall is so high is that too many of the area's inhabitants possess few, or redundant, work skills. Many non-working respondents who said they either possessed no work skills or factory related skills, such as machine operatives or packers, did not wish to be re-trained, even though their existing workskills are probably obsolete. Chapter Eight will investigate whether there was a gender and age dimension to the desire to learn new skills work skills.

Table 6.14: New work skills desired, all, working and non-working respondents

Respondents	Future training (%)	No future training (%)	No response (%)
All	42.1	49.7	8.2
Working	39.0	51.7	9.3
Non-working	43.6	48.7	7.6

The work skills people said they wanted to acquire were then coded into the same 7 broad categories used for the work skills possessed question. The numbers and percentages of respondents desiring training in each of these 7 categories are shown in Table 6.15, below.

Table 6.15: Type of work skill desired (including first and second response)

Skills wanted	Frequency	Percent
Building & related	34	22.7
Caring, personal service & related	38	25.3
Driving & related	20	13.3
Clerical, business, sales & related	37	24.7
Arts & craft related	14	9.3
Engineering & related	11	7.3
Miscellaneous & other	12	8.0
No response	134	
Total	708	

The most popular type of training desired was in the caring, personal service and related category, with just over a quarter (25.3%) of all respondents wanting future training expressing an interest in it. Almost as popular were the clerical, business and sales related (24.7%) and building and related (22.7%) fields. Smaller number of respondents expressed interest in the remaining categories.

6.5.3 Desire to be self-employed

It was found that 45.2% of respondents said they would like to be self-employed, whilst 49.7% said they would not. The desire to be self employed was noticeably higher amongst respondents in employment (50.8%) than amongst respondents not in employment (42.4%), see Table 6.16. However all these figures are probably an overestimate of entrepreneurialism in the area, as the question simply asked "would you like to be self employed", rather than whether it was a serious possibility. Perhaps an additional question asking what action people had taken towards gaining information on self employment would have been useful.

Table 6.16: Desire to be self employed

Respondents	Yes (%)	No (%)	No response (%)
All	45.2	49.7	5.1
Working	50.8	45.8	3.4
Non-working	42.4	51.7	5.9

6.5.4 Adult education

A third of respondents (33.1%) expressed an interest in undertaking an adult education course, whilst three-fifths (59.3%) of respondents were not interested. Respondents who expressed an interest in adult education were then asked the type of course they wished to study. Practically all respondents named a subject area rather than a level of qualification. The responses interviewees gave were coded into a series of categories which are shown in Table 6.17, below. Most people interested in adult education only named one subject, but 52 named a second or third. The table includes the first two subjects respondents chose, so for example, 5.1% of respondents interested in adult education included literacy/numeracy as their first or second choice.

Table 6.17: Adult education, subjects respondents interested in

Course type	Frequency	Percent
Literacy/Numeracy	6	5.1
English	11	9.4
Mathematics	11	9.4
Computing/Clerical	13	11.1
Business	4	3.4
Caring/First Aid	7	6.0
Catering/Hairdressing	4	3.4
Craft	17	14.5
Electrical/Engineering	7	6.0
Construction	6	5.1
Other vocational	2	1.7
Other non-vocational	14	12.0
Access	2	1.7
Any	3	2.6
Don't Know	32	27.4
No response	95	
Total	234	

Table 6.17 reveals that respondents were interested in a wide range of adult education, from basic literacy/numeracy through to Access to higher education courses. A large number of people were interested in vocational courses such as catering, hairdressing, or

craft related. Over a quarter (27.4%) of respondents did not know what they were interested in studying. The most popular options were for craft related courses (14.5%), other non-vocational courses (12.0%), and computing/clerical courses (11.1%). Further analysis in Chapter Eight will attempt to identify the type of people interested in adult education.

6.5.4.1 Basic literacy and numeracy

It seems likely that the Vauxhall Job Link Survey failed to pick up on the true scale of the literacy and numeracy problem in the area. Literacy and numeracy problems are sensitive issues, and people with such problems may have been reluctant to participate in the survey, or if they did take part unwilling to reveal such information.

From the adult education questions it emerged that only 3 people wanted to improve their basic literacy and numeracy, whilst a further 3 people desired help with just basic literacy. A second question earlier in the questionnaire asked people if they required help with anything, and from this a further 13 people were identified. Of these 13, 9 respondents desired help with literacy only, 3 with numeracy only, and one with both literacy and numeracy. Combining all these results together revealed that a total of 19 people (5.4% of all respondents) required help with literacy or numeracy. This can be broken down into 12 respondents (3.4%) requiring help with literacy, 3 (0.8%) desiring help with numeracy only, and 4 (1.1%) wanting help with both.

Recent research, which combined the results of four skills audits conducted by Merseyside Information Service in the Granby/Toxteth, Dingle, Marybone/St Joseph and Cornwallis areas of inner Liverpool, revealed that 23.9% of respondents desired help with basic English, and 31.6% wished for help with basic mathematics (Tunnah, 1995). Because of the large number of residents of black and other ethnic groups in Granby/Toxteth area, some of whom may be recent immigrants with a limited knowledge of English, the analysis excluded black and other ethnic group respondents from the analysis and established that 21.7% and 29.4% of white respondents wanted help with basic English and basic mathematics respectively (Tunnah, 1995). It seems reasonable to propound that the level of literacy/numeracy problem in Vauxhall has been undercounted by the Vauxhall Job Link Survey, however the figure derived from the combined Merseyside Information Service's skills audits seems extremely high. The true proportion of Vauxhall's population experiencing problems with literacy and numeracy

probably lies somewhere between the two figures. Therefore it appears rational to conclude that in the desire to avoid respondents' embarrassment about literacy/numeracy difficulties, the Vauxhall Job Link Survey was too cautious and failed to identify the real scale of the problem.

6.6 Constraints to employment

6.6.1 Childminding, minding others and ill health

About a seventh (14.1%) of respondents they required childminding facilities whilst they worked, see Table 6.18. The relatively high rate of no response (10.2%) is because this question was not included in the shortened version of the questionnaire.

Table 6.18: Constraints to employment

	Yes	No	No Response
Childminding	14.1	75.7	10.2
Minding others	5.4	84.7	9.9
Health problems	11.6	79.1	9.3

A small number of respondents (5.4%) said that they needed help minding an adult if they worked, or wanted to work. As for the previous question the rate of non-response was about 10%, due to the question being excluded from the shortened questionnaire.

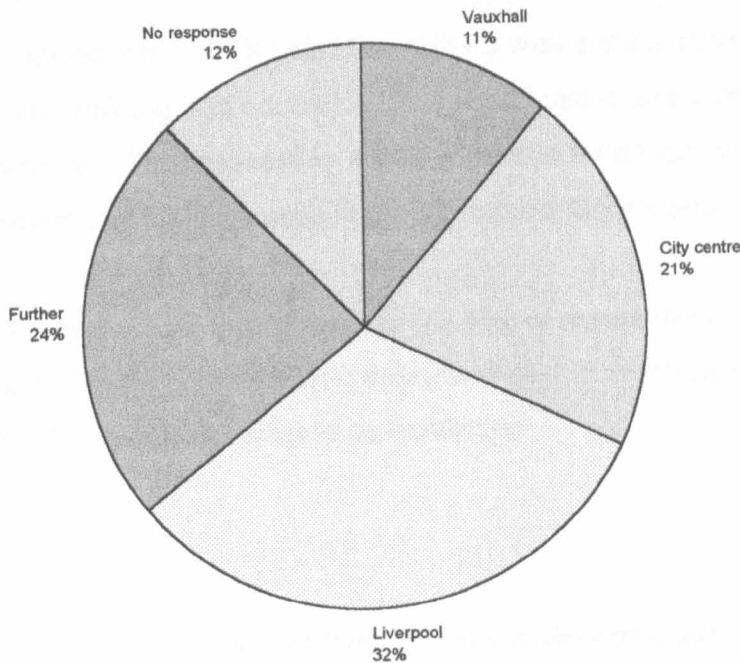
Slightly over a tenth (11.6%) of those interviewed said that they had health problems which affected their ability to work. This figure is lower than might be expected, given that the 1991 Census found that Vauxhall ward had one of the highest levels of limiting long-term illness in the country (Liverpool City Council, 1993). The Census reported that 11.7% of people in Vauxhall aged between 16 and 44 had a long-term illness that limited their daily activities or the work that they could do. Amongst people aged between 45 and 59/64 this figure rose to 38.3%.

6.6.2 Travel to work distance

Respondents were asked how far they were prepared to travel to work and were given four choices, only within the immediate area (Vauxhall), to the city centre or an equivalent distance, within Liverpool, and further afield, see Figure 6.11, below.

The most frequent response was 'Liverpool', with slightly under a third (32.2%) of respondents willing to work anywhere in the city. Just under a quarter of respondents (23.7%) said they would travel beyond Liverpool, whilst just over a fifth (20.9%) said they would travel as far as the city centre, or an equivalent distant. Finally, 11.0% of respondents said they were prepared to work only in the immediate Vauxhall area. In Chapter Eight these figures are analysed by gender and age, to provide a much more meaningful insight into the mobility of different types of respondents.

Figure 6.11: Travel to work distance



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

6.7 Advice, employment search and related issues

6.7.1 Go for advice

Almost half (49.7%) of respondents did not go anywhere for advice on education and training related issues. Just under a sixth (15.8%) of respondents used Job Centres to get advice, whilst 11.3% of respondents used other methods, which included getting advice from friends and family. A small proportion of respondents (5.1%) went to the Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council for advice, and an even smaller number (0.6%) used the Eldonians, see Table 6.19, below.

Table 6.19: Advice on education and training issues

Advice	Percentage
Nowhere	49.7
Job Centre	15.8
Eldonians	0.6
Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council	5.1
Other	11.3
No response	17.2
Do not know	0.3
Total	100.0

6.7.2 Use of local information centre and contact

A large majority of respondents (78.2%) said that if there was a place in Vauxhall providing information on training and education, they would use it, whilst only 8.7% of people said they would not. This appears to show a demand for a local facility, at the time of the survey the nearest Job Centres were in the city centre, Bootle and Everton.

The survey also found that almost three-quarters (72.6%) of respondents expressed a desire to be contacted about any relevant job opportunities that arose as a result of the skills audit, whilst only 22.3% did not want to be contacted.

6.8 Summary

This chapter begun by explaining that a sample of 354 people was drawn from the 768 completed questionnaires, to allow maximum comparability with local and national statistics. The chapter has clearly established that the population of Vauxhall is severely socially and economically disadvantaged compared to the local and national populations in a number of ways.

Analysis of the survey sample revealed a population with very limited access to paid employment. Only a third of respondents were in work, and those that were tended to be concentrated in low skilled occupations. A large minority of workers were employed part-time. Few respondents claimed to possess work skills, and few had experience in supervising other staff. Only a small number of respondents were, or had ever been, self-employed. Many of the non-working population had not worked for years.

Qualification levels were well below the national average, and those that were qualified were generally educated to a low standard, with few people possessing qualifications at 'A' level or above. Few respondents possessed a driving licence, and even fewer had access to a car. On a more positive note, a large minority of respondents were interested in pursuing work related training and adult education courses in the future.

Several barriers appeared to exist in gaining access to employment opportunities. Almost a fifth of respondents required either childminding facilities, or help minding an adult, to enable them to work. Transport was another potential barrier, with a tenth of respondents only prepared or able to work in the immediate Vauxhall area, effectively barring them from the more numerous employment opportunities in the city centre. Few respondents used Job Centres for information on employment or training, although most respondents said they would use a local information facility if one existed. Most respondents also wanted to be contacted if any relevant employment vacancies occurred.

Having established severe levels of social and economic deprivation in Vauxhall in this and the previous chapter, Chapter Seven will now investigate whether the population of Vauxhall is uniformly disadvantaged, or if some groups of people, such as women and older residents, experience greater degrees of social and economic exclusion than others.

7. Gender segregation in the Vauxhall labour market

7.1 Aims and objectives

In Chapter Two it was established that in Britain in the 1990s occupational segregation by gender is common place, as is the propensity of women to engage in part-time employment in far greater numbers than men. This chapter will establish if these patterns occur differently at the local level in Vauxhall, by detailed analysis of the Job Link Survey.

Chapter Six identified the problem of very long-term unemployment in Vauxhall, and this chapter will investigate the gender and age dimension of this phenomenon. The characteristics of non-working respondents are then compared to those of the employed. The possession of formal qualifications and work skills will also be examined.

To help understand the results of the skills audit, material from a small number of in-depth, tape recorded interviews will be used in this chapter (see Chapter Four for a discussion of qualitative techniques). The interview schedule used for these interviews was designed to expand on findings of the skills audit, see Appendix Four. For example, as it was found women were engaged in part-time employment in far higher numbers than men, part of the interview schedule was designed to find out whether or not this situation occurred by choice, or was due to constraints.

Unlike Chapter Six, this chapter will use information from all 768 completed questionnaires, as the intention is to compare the economic position of respondents relative to each other, rather than to the general population as a whole.

A large amount of bivariate analysis is conducted in this chapter, with the results being presented in summary tables. Because a lot of the information collected during the Vauxhall Job Link Survey was nominal and ordinal data, the most applicable method to measure association between variables was the chi-square test. Where these tests have been conducted the degree of association is indicated at three levels of significance, 95%, 99% and 99.9%. The results of these tests are shown in Appendix Six.

7.2 Engagement in paid employment

The survey found that very similar proportions of men (35.1%) and women (33.4%) were engaged in paid employment. A chi-square test confirmed that there was no association between gender and engagement in paid work. The proportions of men and women interviewed who were employed match figures from the 1991 Census of population almost exactly, with the Census reporting that 35.2% of the male population of working age in Vauxhall, and 33.4% of the female one were engaged in paid employment (Liverpool City Council, 1993), see Table 7.1. These figures suggest that whilst there was an obvious imbalance in the sample regarding the male:female ratio, the sample accurately reflected the proportion of men and women engaged in employment. The comparative figures for Liverpool and Great Britain are included to emphasise the severity of the economic situation faced by men and women in Vauxhall.

Table 7.1: Engagement in paid employment in Vauxhall, Liverpool and Great Britain

	Male		Female	
	Employed	Not employed	Employed	Not employed
Vauxhall (Job Link Survey)	35.1	64.9	33.4	66.6
Vauxhall (Census)	35.2	64.8	33.5	66.5
Liverpool	60.0	40.0	54.4	45.6
Great Britain	76.8	23.2	62.9	37.1

Sources: OPCS (1992c); Liverpool City Council (1993), and Vauxhall Job Link Survey.

As in Chapter Six, ascertaining how many of the non-working males and females of working age were unemployed proved difficult. Unlike the Census a direct question about economic activity was not asked, as it was felt such questions might seriously reduce the survey response rate.

The 1991 Census found that amongst the 2,168 males of working age in Vauxhall, 35.2% were employed (that is either engaged in full-time employment, part-time employment, self employment, or on a government training scheme), 36.5% were unemployed, and the remaining 28.3% were economically inactive. The situation amongst the 2,027 females of working age was somewhat different, once again about a third (33.4%) were in employment, but a much lower proportion were unemployed (16.3%) and a much higher proportion (50.3%) were economically inactive. Obviously the male and female unemployment rates are much higher than the percentages quoted above, because the

unemployment rate is calculated as a percentage of the economically active population of working age rather than as a percentage of the entire population of working age.

An approximate 'unemployment rate' was calculated, by coding non-working respondents into those who said they wanted a job and those who said they did not. This method has already been explained in detail in section 6.4.1. It was found that 7.7% of males not in work did not want a job, and an additional 6.1% of respondents did not answer the question, see Table 7.2. A rather higher proportion of women not in work did not want a job and in addition the rate of non-response was higher. The derived 'unemployment rates' were 56.0% for males, and 51.1% for females.

Table 7.2: Desire employment by gender (non-working only)

Gender	Desire Job		
	Yes	No	No Response
Male	86.2	7.7	6.1
Female	76.8	12.9	10.3

Table 7.3, below, shows that Merseyside Information Service, the 1991 Census, and the Vauxhall Job Link Survey produced broadly similar figures for the rate of male unemployment in Vauxhall. The situation for female unemployment is markedly different however. The claimant based count produced by Merseyside Information Service reported that female unemployment was only 14.0% in February 1991, whilst the Vauxhall Job Link Survey produced a figure of 51.1%.

Table 7.3: Differing unemployment rates in Vauxhall, by gender

Source	Male Unemployment (%)	Female Unemployment (%)
Merseyside Information Service (February 1991)	47.0	14.0
Census 1991 (April 1991)	51.4	34.8
Vauxhall Job Link Survey (1990)	56.0	51.0

Sources: Liverpool City Council (1993); Merseyside Information Service (1991) and Vauxhall Job Link Survey.

Claimant based unemployment figures often undercount female unemployment, because they only show people eligible for and claiming state benefits, and exclude many people,

especially women with working partners. The Census, which provides a user-defined measure of unemployment, found that 34.8% of women were unemployed in Vauxhall in April 1991. However the approximate 'unemployment rate' calculated is substantially (50%) above the Census figure. This occurred because the skills audit failed to identify large numbers of economically inactive women. These might well include women who have temporarily left the labour market to raise families, but who intend to return to it at a later date. The survey coded any non-working person who said they wanted a job as economically active, but failed to ask whether they wanted it immediately or not. In consequence, whereas the Census and Vauxhall Job Link Survey agree almost exactly on the percentage of women not in employment, they differ substantially on the proportions of these women who are unemployed and economically inactive.

When compared to the results of other skills audits conducted in Liverpool in recent years, the estimated male and female unemployment rates do not appear to be exaggerated. The Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994) reported a male unemployment rate of 55% and a female one of 38%, whilst the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit reported male and female unemployment rates of 62% and 55.5% respectively (Nutter, 1993).

Analysis of the 'economically inactive', the 99 respondents who did not want a job or did not answer the question, revealed these people to be older than the survey average, with a mean age of 40.8, compared to 35.0 for all respondents. Only 11 of these 99 respondents (11.1%) had been employed in the last year, and only 30 of them (30.6%) had worked in the last 5 years. Breaking these 99 respondents down by gender revealed that 27 of them (27.3%) were male, and the remaining 72 (72.7%) female.

The males in this group tended to be older, with an average age of 49.4, whilst the females had an average age of 37.6. Well over a third (37.0%) of economically inactive men said they suffered health problems which affected their ability to work, whilst the equivalent figure for women was just under a fifth (19.4%). In addition, over a quarter of economically inactive women said they required childminding facilities to enable them to work and, although it was not asked, it seems likely that some of these women, unlike the men, might wish return to work at some time in the future.

An explanation for the discrepancy between the Census and skills audit figures for female unemployment is linked to the notion of work-poor and work-rich households (Pahl, 1988). Figure 6.3 graphically illustrates that Vauxhall has one of the highest levels of households

containing no employed adult in the country. The theory argues that bifurcation is occurring, between households with no workers and households with two or more workers. Women who live with a male partner who is in full-time employment are more likely to work than single women, or women with unemployed partners. This is because the latter's earnings are often offset by loss of benefit. It has already been established that the conventional 2 adult, male female household is not the norm in Vauxhall, and that 30.8% of households in the ward comprise lone adult females, with or without children (see Table 5.11). In addition the area has the highest level of male unemployment in the country (section 5.7.1). These two facts suggest that a large number of women may be caught in the benefits trap, and consequently be forced into unemployment or economic inactivity. The figures would appear to support this view, with a high level of female unemployment, and also the lowest female economic activity rate in Liverpool, of just 47.0% (Liverpool City Council, 1993). What the Job Link Survey findings suggest is that a large number of women, many possibly caught in this benefits trap, actually want to work, with only a few saying they did not.

What is perhaps of even greater concern is that without changes to the benefit system, even an increase in employment opportunities for women may not lead to women accepting jobs, if male unemployment rates remain persistently high. More likely these jobs would be taken by people from different areas where unemployment levels are lower, or by women in Vauxhall in households with partners in employment, causing an even greater rift between 'work-poor' and 'work-rich' households to occur.

Despite the very high levels of unemployment identified by the skills audit, the in-depth interviews found that several respondents had few problems finding employment at various stages in their working lives. During the 1970s, when the unemployment rate in Vauxhall was much lower, but still well above the city and national averages, getting a job, for some people at least, appeared relatively easy:

"I've always been lucky in that when I've finished on the Friday I always have a job to go to on the Monday, I've never really been unemployed, apart from by choice. Even when I went to Italy for the 12 months I gave my notice in at work, and when I actually came back from Italy I'd been in town to put my photographs from the holidays in, and as I came back I bumped right into my boss on North John Street and after I embarrassed him by being used to being in Italy, throwing my arms round him and kissing him on both cheeks, he said to me your jobs waiting when you come in on Monday. So even then after working away for 12 months I was only out of work for about 2 days when I got back, I started my job right away." (Marie, born 1940s, unmarried, no children)

Another female respondent, on being made redundant from the Docks and Harbour Board in 1972, sometimes found it difficult to decide which job to take:

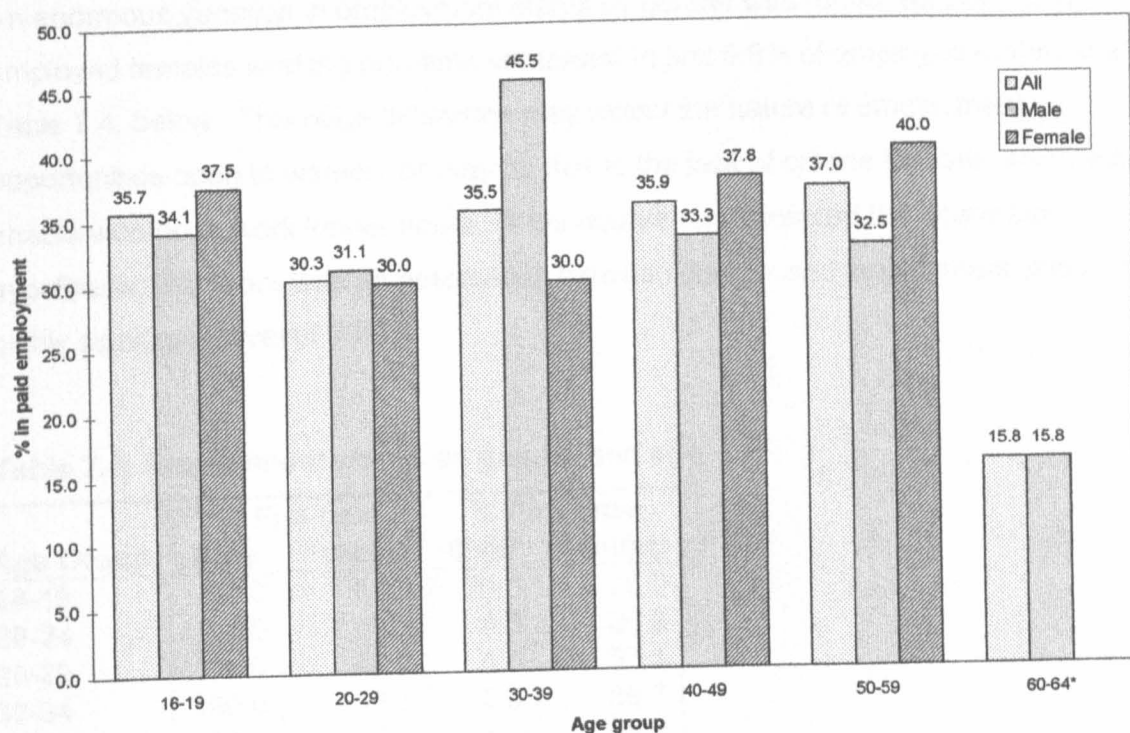
"After that I did mostly temporary work because my mother wasn't well at the time, work was so easy to find, I just registered for temporary work and believe it or not one day I was offered three jobs and I didn't know which one to take!"
(Anne, born 1930s, unmarried, no children)

A possible explanation for these two women maintaining almost unbroken periods of employment for many years, is that neither took an enforced career break to raise families. A prolonged period out of employment could have resulted in the obsolescence of their work skills, particular as both worked mainly in clerical and secretarial occupations where skill depreciation is rapid, as computer technology is constantly evolving. In Liverpool, where the supply of workers frequently outnumbers employer demand, a clerical worker returning to the labour market with outdated skills is unlikely to be able to successfully compete for employment without retraining. It should also be noted that both respondents were unmarried, without children, and were less likely to have been caught in the benefits trap.

Analysis of engagement in paid employment by age showed little difference between the age groups, with only the over 60 group exhibiting a significantly higher proportion of people not in work, which is probably due to some retired people having been interviewed, see Figure 7.1. A chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between age and engagement in paid employment.

Although it was found that there was no association between engagement in paid employment and gender, and engagement in paid employment and age, it was decided to look at the relationship between engagement in paid employment, gender and age, see Figure 7.1, below. It can be seen that amongst males, the proportion of respondents working was highest in the 30-39 age group, with 45.5% in employment. In virtually every other age group the proportion in employment was about a third, with the only exception being the 60-64 age group, where only about a sixth (15.8%) were in work.

Figure 7.1: Engagement in paid employment



* Men only

Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The situation amongst women was rather different. In three of the age groups, 16-19, 40-49 and 50-59, approaching two-fifths of women were in employment. In fact in all three of these age groups a greater proportion of women were in work than men. In the two remaining age groups, 20-29 and 30-39, only 30% of women were in work. This is unsurprising, as these two age groups cover the majority of a woman's potential childbearing years, and the higher rate of employment in the 40-49 and 50-59 age group is consistent with women returning to the labour market. The next section will attempt to establish if women are more likely to engage in part-time employment on their return to the labour market after a career break.

7.3 Employment status: full-time and part-time work

In Chapter Six it was found that 66.9% of the survey sample worked full-time and 29.7% worked part-time. This section will consider the gender and age dimension of part-time employment. The issue of part-time employment was also raised in the qualitative interviews conducted, in an attempt to establish whether women worked part-time out of choice, or through necessity. Several of the responses obtained are discussed in this section.

An enormous variation in employment status by gender was found, with 64.5% of employed females working part-time compared to just 5.8% of employed males, see Table 7.4, below. This huge difference may reflect the nature of employment opportunities open to women, or may be due to the lack of crèche facilities which would enable women to work longer hours. A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between gender and employment status, at the highly significant level of 99.9%.

Table 7.4: Employment status by gender and age

Age Group	% Full-time		% Part-time	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
16-19	80.0	80.0	20.0	20.0
20-24	100.0	73.1	0.0	26.9
25-29	100.0	42.9	0.0	57.1
30-34	100.0	13.3	0.0	86.7
35-39	94.1	32.0	5.9	68.0
40-44	100.0	11.8	0.0	88.2
45-49	100.0	7.1	0.0	92.9
50-54	85.7	10.0	14.3	90.0
55-59	83.3	7.1	16.7	92.9
60-64*	100.0	N/A	0.0	N/A
All ages	94.2	35.5	5.8	64.5

* Males only

In comparison, the Dingle Skills Survey found a very similar number of employed men working part-time (6%), but a lower proportion of women engaged in part-time work (52%) (Bates, 1994). The Granby Toxteth Skills Audit reported a higher proportion of men working part-time, 9.8%, but a much lower proportion of women doing so, 40.9% (Nutter, 1993).

The fact that so many women were employed part-time is not necessarily a bad thing, particularly if it is through choice and workers enjoy equal opportunities and benefits. However the bulk of evidence suggest they do not. Gallie (1994), for example, reporting on the findings of The Social Change and Economic Life Initiative (SCELI) argues that in the 6 local labour markets surveyed, a process of skill polarisation has occurred between workers⁹. Employees who possessed high levels of skill enjoyed an increase in their skill level, whilst workers with low skills levels have experienced stagnation. Gallie concludes:

⁹ The 6 localities surveyed were Aberdeen, Coventry, Kirkcaldy, Northampton, Rochdale and Swindon

"It is men above all who have benefited from the progress of skills in the 1980s, while women are much less likely to have seen their skills increase. The central factor connected with this would appear to be the existence of a major sector of part-time female work, in which the existing levels of skill are typically low and which has remained untouched by the processes that have elsewhere contributed to skill enrichment" (Gallie, 1994, p76)

The relationship between the possession of work skills and employment status will be examined later in the chapter, but with so many women in Vauxhall working part-time their opportunities to increase skills would not appear good.

The in-depth interviews provided a mixed picture on the reasons why people worked part-time, for one respondent, an employed woman aged in her fifties, it was not through choice:

"The only part-time job I've had is working here for the _____¹⁰. If I could get a full-time job I'd work full-time. It was just that this part-time job came available at a time when I was looking for it." (Marie, born 1940s, unmarried, no children)

However a respondent who had left work to raise a family, was fairly sure she did not want to return to full-time work:

"Don't know whether I'd go back to the same job as I did before, I couldn't do it now to be honest! Cleaning or something really, a part-time job". (Margaret, born 1960s, married, 3 young children)

Another respondent observed that it was not unusual for women in the area to be doing several part-time jobs at the same time:

"I think that one thing you might find, from people I know personally, is that many husbands are unemployed but the women are working, quite often two or three part-time jobs. The women round here are not lazy, they will go out and do anything, they will get any sort of a job, which is one of the pluses, I wouldn't". (Helen, born 1950s, separated, 4 children)

This quote rather contradicts the general believe that women married to unemployed men are less likely to be employed than those with employed partners. It also demonstrates the ability of women in the area to juggle several jobs, whilst presumably still undertaking the bulk of household work. Recent research in inner city Sheffield also found that women were often engaged in multiple employment (Smith, 1997).

Another key feature of part-time employment is that workers usually earn relatively less than their full-time counterparts. Although no question regarding wages was asked by the survey, the fact that such a high proportion of working women were engaged in part-time

¹⁰ Employer name excluded to ensure interviewees anonymity.

employment, combined with the nature of the jobs they did (see section 7.4), suggests that income levels in the area are very low. Citing their research in Southampton, Pinch and Storey (1992b) observe that women part-time workers were less able than their full-time equivalents to supplement their wages through methods such as overtime, bonuses, commission, or tips.

In addition to earning relatively low wages, several surveys have shown that women working part-time often spend a greater proportion of their time on household duties than full-time or non-working women (Horrell, 1994; Pinch and Storey, 1992a). It has been found that this is the case, even in areas where male unemployment levels are high, and it might be thought men would be available to participate more in household work. It has been suggested that this could be due to the reluctance of working class men in areas with clearly defined gender roles to take up domestic work, combined with an unwillingness of working-class women to give up any of this work (Morris, 1988). Writing about her research in South Wales, Morris observes:

“The general impression was that within working-class culture there are strong feelings against male involvement in tasks commonly regarded to be essentially female” (Morris, 1988, p389).

This situation is quite likely to occur in Vauxhall, with its working class character, and a similarly clear demarcation between male and female roles.

Having established that an association existed between gender and employment status, age was considered. This revealed that most employed women aged under 25 worked full-time, with 80% of the 16-19 age group and 73.1% of the 20-24 age group doing so, see Table 7.4. As age increased the proportion engaged in full-time employment decreased rapidly, with 42.9% of the 25-29 age group working full-time, and just 13.3% of the 30-34 year age group doing so. This trend changed for women aged 35-39, with just under a third (32.0%) engaged in full-time employment; however it was generally continued amongst women aged over 40, with levels of full-time employment falling to between 7 and 12%.

The vast majority of employed men worked full-time. The only age groups where the levels were significantly below 100% were the 16-19, 50-54 and 55-59 ones, but even in these cases 80%, or over, still worked full-time.

Amongst women an association was found between age and employment status, at the 99.9% level of significance. A chi-square test for males was invalid because, despite

recoding the data, over 20% of cells in the cross tabulation contained expected frequencies of less than 5. However simply looking at the data for males suggests that there is unlikely to be an association between the variables.

The most likely explanation for the percentage of women engaged in full-time employment falling so markedly over the age of 25 is that women change their working patterns to fit around having and rearing children. However it might be expected that amongst older women, who have raised families, or when all their children reach school age, an increase in the percentage engaged in full-time employment would occur. With the possible exception of the 35-39 year old age group this has not occurred.

Analysis of the 1989 Labour Force Survey by Harrop and Moss (1993), cited in Glover and Arber (1995), established that mothers with higher education qualifications were considerably more likely to be in full-time employment than mothers with no qualifications. The very low level of qualification possession in Vauxhall could help explain why few women aged over 30 were employed full-time. Results from the 1991 Census, which showed that few women in Vauxhall with children were employed full-time, supports this argument. Only 4.1% of women with children aged under 16 in the area were employed full-time, compared to 12.0% in Liverpool (Claymore Services Ltd, 1994). The situation for female lone parents was even worse, with just 2.9% of those in Vauxhall engaged in full-time employment (see Table 5.12).

These figures from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey, supported by the 1991 Census, suggest that a large proportion of women in Vauxhall operate in what Atkinson (1985) terms the second peripheral group of the labour market. This section of the labour market generally provides little job security, is financially poorly rewarded, and offers little career development prospects (*Ibid*).

Watson (1994), using data from the spring 1993 Labour Force Survey, estimated that 52.1% of women in employment in the United Kingdom worked in the flexible workforce¹¹. Using this criterion, the skills audit found that 64.5% of employed women in Vauxhall were operating in the flexible workforce, based purely on their engagement in part-time

¹¹ The flexible workforce comprising anyone not in full-time permanent employment, i.e. all temporary employees, part-time permanent employees, all self employed, and persons on government training schemes.

employment. If the small number of self employed and unknown number of temporary full-time employees were included, this figure would be even higher.

Material from the in-depth interviews suggests that younger women in full-time employment would prefer to work on a part-time basis if they had families:

"I'd prefer part-time with a family and that, you know, if you had children or whatever. It works better for you". (Sharon, 19 year old, single, no children)

Asked whether she would envisage returning to full-time work, Sharon continued:

"I don't know really. I think part-time when they're younger, but when they're going to school, full-time. I suppose the money's better full-time. But when you've got no ties you can do full-time work".

This comment suggests that for Sharon at least, part-time employment was seen as only temporary stage, before reverting to full-time employment. The Job Link Survey results show that very few older women are engaged in full-time employment, demonstrating how difficult it can be for women to return to full-time employment after raising a family. Even for Marie, who did not leave the labour market to raise a family, obtaining a full-time job proved difficult.

Material from another in-depth interview highlight the difficulties that a woman with young children experienced when working full-time:

"I had two children when I lived in Walton. I moved into there just before the first child was due, and I had two children within 13 months, so I was a full-time mum. I did work for a couple of months, as a travel agent again in Linacre Lane, when the girls were 2 and 3, but I didn't like to leave them. It was a full-time position and I tried it for about 2 to 3 months". (Helen, single parent, 4 children)

The financial and emotional pressures of using a childminder ultimately led to Helen leaving this job, and not engaging in full-time employment again for several years:

"I was lucky because I found a childminder, not too far away. It did work out in the end that it was a lot of hassle and a lot of money and it wasn't worth it, so I left. It was upsetting me rushing the girls there of a morning, picking them up when it was dark because it was winter time, and I thought no, it's better to spend days with them. And I never went back to work then until my son went to school, he's the youngest of the eldest¹²".

An important factor behind so many older women in Vauxhall engaging in part-time rather than full-time employment may be that the tradition of the area has been for women to leave full-time employment upon marriage. In the 1920s some tobacco companies even introduced regulations which forced women to resign their positions upon marriage (Grant,

¹² The youngest child from her first marriage.

1987). The idea of men ever being forced into such action is inconceivable, and demonstrates the ability of employers and male workers to manipulate the labour market to women's disadvantage. An in-depth interview with an older woman, Anne, suggested that this situation endured in Vauxhall until at least the time of the Second World War:

"when the war started it was unheard of for a woman with a family to go out to work."

Anne's own mother took a job during the war, her first time paid employment since she married at the age of 18.

This raises the issue of what role is expected of women and the impact of patriarchy on women's employment patterns. Duncan's (1991) analysis of 1981 Census data has shown that the areas of Great Britain with the highest levels of women engaged in full-time employment are places where there are long histories of female full-time work. The areas he identifies are central Lancashire, west central London and central Scotland. Vauxhall has more in common with areas of heavy industry or coalmining, where women were expected to be full-time homemakers to service their husbands. Work on the docks was very physical, and was the exclusive preserve of men, with the notable exception of during the First World War. In addition, the casual nature of dock work and irregular hours worked by men would have made it difficult for their wives to take regular rather than casual work, even if any had been available.

What is also of interest is that in Vauxhall the 'conventional' household of two adults is in decline, and the number of lone female households is on the increase. Does this enable women to free themselves from the constraints of patriarchy, and engage in greater numbers in paid employment? Evidence from both the Vauxhall Job Link Survey and the 1991 Census suggests that it does not, instead they become unemployed or are forced into economic inactivity. The position of female lone parents is particularly disturbing, with Table 5.12 showing how few female lone parents in Vauxhall are engaged in paid employment. The overall skills and qualifications profile of the areas population suggests that few lone mothers would be able to obtain the type of employment that would provide high enough earnings to pay for the crèche facilities they would need to enable them to go to work.

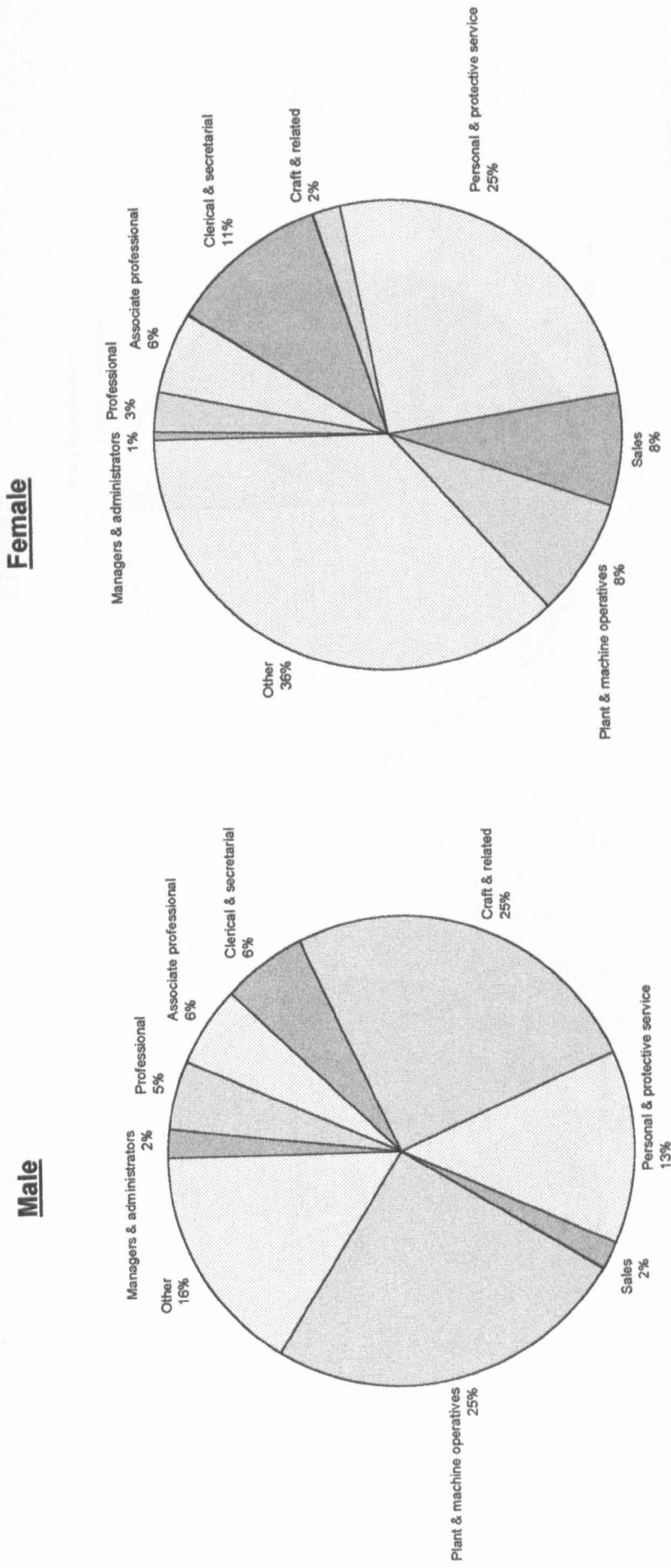
Table 7.5: Occupational classification (SOC) by gender

SOC	Great Britain				Dingle (working)		Granby Toxteth (working)		Vauxhall (Working)			Vauxhall (Women, working)		Vauxhall (Non-Working)		
	M	F	Ratio M:F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Ratio M:F	M	F	FT	PT	M	F
Managers & administrators	19.3	11.6	1.7	6.0	6.0	6.3	5.2	1.9	0.6	3.2	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.6	
Professional	9.5	7.6	1.3	6.0	6.0	8.3	10.6	4.7	2.6	1.8	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Associate Professional	7.8	9.9	0.8	4.0	6.0	13.2	16.5	5.7	5.8	1.0	14.8	1.0	1.5	1.9		
Clerical & Secretarial	6.7	28.1	0.2	4.0	17.0	6.6	13.2	5.7	10.9	0.5	20.4	5.1	2.0	6.1		
Craft & Related	23.1	3.5	6.6	26.0	1.0	17.6	3.6	25.5	1.9	13.4	5.6	0.0	26.5	3.2		
Personal & Protective Service	6.1	13.0	0.5	12.0	28.0	13.9	22.5	13.2	25.6	0.5	18.5	29.6	9.7	21.3		
Sales	4.5	10.5	0.4	7.0	13.0	7.3	13.4	1.9	7.7	0.2	11.1	6.1	4.6	9.4		
Plant & Machine Operatives	14.3	5.1	2.8	16.0	2.0	14.4	2.1	25.5	8.3	3.1	16.7	3.1	15.8	30.0		
Other	7.5	9.9	0.8	18.0	21.0	12.3	12.9	16.0	36.5	0.4	5.6	54.1	26.5	19.7		
Never Worked	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12.2	5.8	
Not stated / inadequately described	1.1	0.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Total*	100.0	100.0	N/A	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	N/A	100.1	100.0	99.8	100.0		
Cases	N/A	N/A	N/A	308	314	575	521	106	156	N/A	54	98	196	310		

* may not equal 100.0 due to rounding

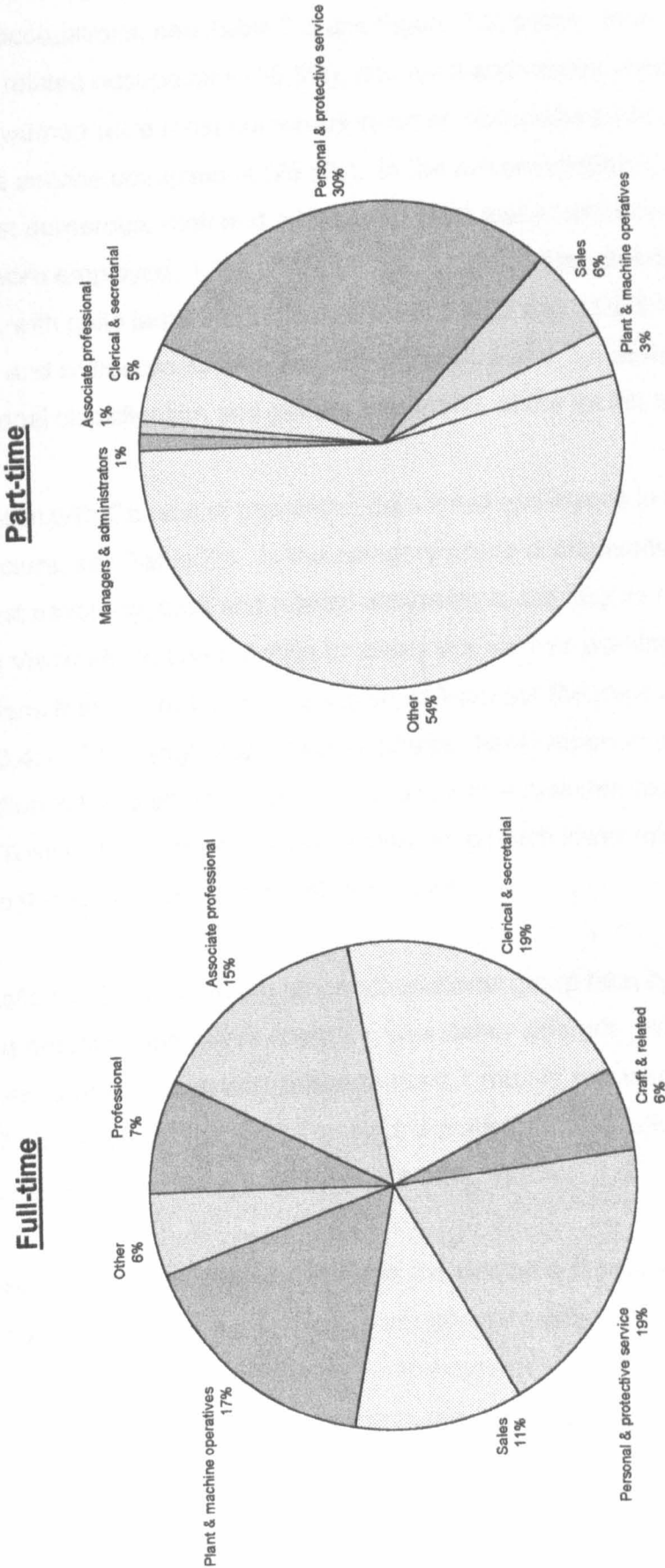
Sources: OPCS, 1993; Bates, 1994; Nutter, 1993; Vauxhall Job Link Survey.

Figure 7.2: Current occupation of employed respondents by gender



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Figure 7.3: Current occupation of females by employment status



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

7.4 Occupational classification

Amongst working respondents it is very apparent that men and women were engaged in different occupations, see Table 7.5 and Figure 7.2, below. Men were most numerous in craft and related occupations (25.5%), and plant and machinery operative occupations (25.5%); women were most numerous in 'other' occupations (36.5%), and personal and protective service occupations (25.6%). In the two occupational categories where men were most numerous, craft and related and plant and machinery operatives, only few women were employed, 1.9% and 7.7% respectively. The reverse is not the case however, with quite large proportions of men, 13.2% and 16.0% respectively, working in personal and protective service and 'other' occupations. An association between occupational classification and gender was found, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Comparison with Census of population data for all employees in Great Britain provides a mixed picture, see Table 7.5. In the category where occupational segregation by gender is greatest nationally, craft and related occupations, the degree of segregation is even higher in Vauxhall. In Great Britain for every one woman working in craft and related occupations there were 6.6 men doing so; in Vauxhall the male to female ratio was double this at 13.4:1. The Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994) reported an even higher level of segregation in the craft and related category, with a male:female ratio of 26:1. The Granby Toxteth Skills Audit however produced a much lower ratio of 4.9 males to one female in this type of occupation (Nutter, 1993).

The situation with regard to the other occupational group heavily dominated by males, the plant and machine operatives category, was rather different. In this case the national ratio of 2.8 men to one woman was similar to the 3.1 men to one woman ratio found in Vauxhall. In Dingle and Granby Toxteth the male to female ratios were much higher, at 8:1, and 6.9:1 respectively (Bates, 1994; Nutter, 1993).

Nationally women were most prevalent in the clerical and secretarial, sales and related, and personal and protective services occupational categories, with female to male ratios of 4.2:1, 2.3:1 and 2.1:1 respectively. In the cases of clerical and secretarial and personal and protective services occupations these ratios were lower in Vauxhall, both at 1.9 women to 1 man, whilst in the sales category it was higher at 4.1:1.

Human capital theory explains occupational segregation as the result of women, anticipating an interrupted work pattern, choosing employment in occupations that offer relatively high starting wages and low rates of appreciation. Men on the other hand can afford to accept a lower starting wage as they do not expect to take a career break (Polachek, 1979; Polachek and Siebert, 1993; Zellner, 1975). In an area like Vauxhall, with male unemployment at over 50%, it seems extremely unlikely that men in the area make a decision which assumes they will remain in employment for all their working life. Equally, few women in Vauxhall are likely to have the luxury of choosing between a job with a high starting wage and a low rate of appreciation, or a job with a low starting wage and a higher level of appreciation. This demonstrates a fundamental flaw in human capital theory, in that it appears to assume the universal availability of employment opportunities.

In the early part of the Twentieth Century large numbers of women in Liverpool were engaged in personal service related occupations due to the lack of a large scale manufacturing sector in the city (Grant, 1987). In the 1990s most of these limited number of manufacturing sector jobs, in for example sugar refining and cigarette manufacturing, have gone, and once again large proportions of women in Vauxhall are working in low paying, low status and predominantly part-time, personal and protective service occupations.

Comparisons of the occupations of employed men, women employed full-time and women employed part-time were made. Because so few males were employed part-time it was decided that it was unnecessary to split males into those employed full-time and those employed part-time. The results of these comparisons, shown in Table 7.5 and Figures 7.2 and 7.3, above, are striking. Over a fifth (22.2%) of women employed full-time worked in professional and associate professional occupations, compared to just 1.0% of women employed part-time. A further fifth (20.4%) of women employed full-time worked in clerical and related occupations, compared to 5.1% of women employed part-time. Over half (54.1%) of women employed part-time worked in low status, low skilled, jobs in the 'other occupations' category, with the majority of these women working as cleaners; whilst a further 29.6% worked in personal and protective service occupations.

Comparing the occupations of women employed full-time with the occupations of employed men revealed that a higher proportion of women (22.2%) were employed in the first three occupational classifications (managerial, professional, associate professional)

than men (12.3%). This phenomenon can be explained by the relationship amongst employed women between age and employment status. Because many of the women that were employed full-time were young, the comparison between women employed full-time and employed men reflects the fact that greater proportions of younger respondents worked in managerial, professional, and associate professional occupations than older ones. This is supported by the fact that only 2.0% of women employed part-time, who tended to be older, worked in occupations in these three categories.

The position of women employed part-time in Vauxhall is of particular concern, with 54.1% of them working in the lowest skilled occupational class. These women are working on the periphery of the labour market, indulging in work of a casual, insecure and poorly paying nature. Many of these women are probably operating in the informal rather than the formal labour market, which may very well involve cash in hand payment and no employment rights. The poor working conditions faced by many women in the area were summed up well by Helen, talking about her daughters' experiences of work:

"The women round here are not lazy, they will go out and do anything, they will get any sort of a job, which is one of the pluses, I wouldn't. I wouldn't do that menial task for that pay, my girls do, I cry when I see them sometimes, they come home and they're tired, and they've been abused in the shop by people, especially Siobhan who works in the newsagents, have drug addicts coming in, the low wages she gets and for the way she gets treated by her employer, and he's not even a scouser he's from Coventry! I say leave, we'll manage, especially this time of year because my Gran comes, it doesn't matter, financially it doesn't bother me, but it does with the girls because they want their social life. Nicola wants things for the baby and the house, but I wouldn't do the jobs that they do for the money that they're getting" (Helen, single parent, 4 children).

This quote also once again demonstrates the commitment women in the area have to work, and helps refute the belief of right-wing underclass theorists, such as Murray, that the working class poor just want to live off benefit.

A chi-square test was conducted to establish the relationship amongst working women between occupation and employment status. In order for this test to be valid the number of occupational classes had to be reduced into two categories. An association between occupation and employment status was found, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Material from the in-depth interviews offer some explanation as to why women returning to the labour market after child raising often do not re-enter at the level they left, or even into the same occupations:

"I didn't want to go back to doing the jobs that I thought I was qualified to do, partly because I realised that there was so much change, I couldn't have

worked in a travel agents, there was computers and at the time I didn't have a clue how to plug one in, never mind how to use it. I didn't want to go back to being a pharmacist's assistant because it was just paperwork and filing, it had a grand title but you ended up putting stock on the shelves when there wasn't anything to do. There was nothing I could do, that I wanted to do" (Helen, single parent, 4 children).

This highlights a key issue, especially with regard to jobs involving technology which is constantly evolving, of skills becoming redundant and obsolete. It may also explain why quite a lot of younger women are employed in clerical and related occupations, but this figure declines rapidly as age increases. Without a large amount of re-training, someone skilled in basic word-processing skills 10 years ago would be quite unable to cope with today's technology. Whilst men may experience skill loss during periods of unemployment, it will not necessarily happen to most men, whereas in Vauxhall the majority of women will leave the labour market to raise children at some stage during their working lives. Minimising the duration of an enforced career break may be extremely hard, as was demonstrated by the quote from Helen in section 7.3.

Recent analysis by Glover and Arber (1995) found a large cleavage between the labour market experience of mothers in professional/intermediate occupations and those in skilled non-manual and manual groups. They established that women with high degrees of human capital could minimise the impact of motherhood on their employment patterns, whilst women with little human capital were more likely to find motherhood a barrier to their employment rights. The fact that few older women in Vauxhall were in full-time employment suggests that many have not been able to minimise the impact of motherhood, possibly due to low levels of human capital, or depreciation of skills during absence from the labour market. This argument is supported by the following quote:

"Women with no investment in human capital are more likely to withdraw from the labour force after children are born or to return only on a part-time basis" (Hatt, 1997, p74).

The most recent occupations of non-working males and females were compared, see Table 7.5, and Figure 7.4, below. These show that not only were working men and women employed in different occupations, but that those who are not in work were also previously employed in different occupations. For example non-working females were most prevalent in the plant and machine operatives (30.0%), personal and protective services (21.3%), and 'other' occupations (19.7%) categories; whilst non-working males were most prevalent in craft and related (26.5%), 'other' (26.5%) and plant and machine

operatives (15.8%) occupations. As in the case of employed respondents, an association between gender and previous occupation was found, at a 99.9% level of significance.

That 30.0% of non-working women were last employed as plant and machine operatives, whilst only 8.3% of employed women worked in jobs of this type, starkly demonstrates the deindustrialisation that the Vauxhall area has experienced over recent years, and the impact that this has had upon women. In contrast the survey found that 25.5% of working male respondents were still employed in jobs of this type. Many of the women interviewed had not worked since the closure of Tate and Lyle's Love Lane sugar refinery in 1981, 9 years before the Vauxhall Job Link Survey took place.

Comparing the current jobs of employed men and women with the last jobs of non-working men and women is revealing. Over least half (51.0%) of all employed men were working in manufacturing occupations (i.e. in craft and related, or plant and machine operative categories), whilst the comparative figure for women was just 10.2%. Consequently employed women in Vauxhall are heavily concentrated in service sector employment. Amongst non-working respondents a third (33.2%) of women were previously employed in manufacturing occupations. This is an interesting finding, as the general conception of economic restructuring places emphasis on the loss of male full-time employment from manufacturing industry, and its replacement by part-time female employment in the service sector. Whilst deindustrialisation has decimated Vauxhall, the survey findings suggest that a considerable number of the manufacturing jobs that have been lost from the area have been lost to women.

Two possible theoretical explanations could be posited as to why women appear to have been shed in greater numbers than men from manufacturing employment in the Vauxhall area. Marxist reserve army theory, propounded by the likes of Beechey (1978) and Bruegel (1979), would suggest that women can be made redundant more easily and cheaply than men because of weaker labour organisation, and, in the case of part-time workers, fewer employment rights. However, in this case it seems more likely that the loss of jobs to women has been greater because of the segmentation of the labour market. Women have traditionally been employed in large numbers by the food and tobacco processing industries in the area, which have experienced severe decline in recent years. Two major employers to leave Vauxhall in the last twenty years, Tate and Lyle and British American Tobacco, both had particularly large female workforces.

Figure 7.4: Most recent occupation of non-working respondents by gender



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Having established an association between gender and occupational classification, the relationship between age and occupational classification was considered. For this analysis the ages of respondents were coded into three categories, under 30 years, 30 to 49 years, and 50 years and over, the results are summarised in Table 7.6, below.

Table 7.6: Occupational classification (SOC) by age

SOC	Working			Not Working		
	16-29	30-49	50-59/64	16-29	30-49	50-59/64
Managers & administrators	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.5	2.2	2.5
Professional Associate Professional	3.3	3.9	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Clerical & secretarial	8.8	5.5	0.0	3.1	0.4	2.5
Craft & related	14.3	6.3	2.5	6.7	4.3	0.0
Personal & Protective Service	14.3	9.4	12.5	13.4	11.7	11.4
Sales	25.3	17.2	17.5	22.2	14.3	10.1
Plant & Machine Operatives	7.7	5.5	0.0	7.2	8.2	6.3
Other	14.3	15.6	17.5	11.9	33.3	30.4
Never Worked	12.1	34.4	47.5	13.4	24.7	36.7
Total*	N/A	N/A	N/A	20.6	0.9	0.0
Cases	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
	91	128	40	194	231	79

* may not equal 100.0 due to rounding

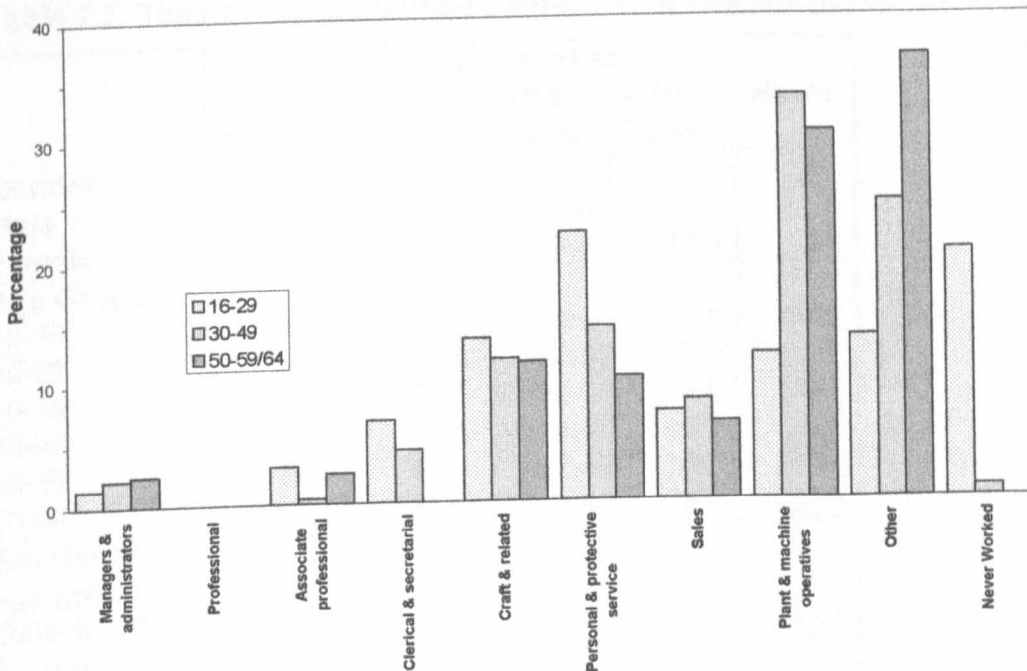
Amongst working respondents it is apparent that occupation varied widely according to age. This is most clearly illustrated by the case of the 'other occupations' category, which comprise the lowest skilled jobs. About an eighth (12.1%) of 16-29 age group worked in jobs in this category, compared to a about a third (34.4%) of the 30-49 one, and nearly half (47.5%) of the 50-59/64 one. Similar proportions, about an eighth in both cases, of the younger two age groups worked in managerial, professional and associate professional occupations, but notably fewer respondents aged over 50 were employed in jobs of these type. An association between occupational status and age was found at the 99% level of significance.

Amongst non-working respondents, once again it was found that older people tended to have last worked in lower skilled occupations. Over two-thirds (67.1%) of the 50-59/64 age group had last been employed in either plant and machine operatives or 'other'

occupations, compared to 58% of the 30-49 age group and 25.3% of the 16-29 one, see Figure 7.5. An association between occupational status and age was found at the 99.9% level of significance.

These findings reinforce the idea, discussed in section 5.5.1, that the people that have left the area were more skilled and better qualified than those that remained. It could also help explain the very high levels of unemployment amongst older people, especially men, identified by the 1991 Census and supported by the survey findings. Large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs have been lost from the area over recent years, and the people that lost them are having to compete with younger, better qualified residents for jobs requiring different types of skill.

Figure 7.5: Most recent occupation of non-working respondents by age



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

7.5 Length of time since last worked

In the previous chapter it was established that a large proportion of non-employed respondents had not worked for a very long time. The seriousness of this situation is demonstrated by the following quotation:

"a period outside the work-force certainly does remove people from the circuits of information exchange which provide those currently in jobs with privileged access to new and better jobs" (Gershuny and Marsh, 1994, p74).

Analysis of gender against length of time since last employed revealed that women tended to have been out of work for longer than men, see Table 7.7 and Figure 7.6, below. Only 15.9% of women not in employment had worked within the last year, compared to 21.2% of men. Over half (52.9%) of women had not worked within the last 5 years, compared to 37.8% of men. Almost three-tenths (29.5%) of females and a fifth (20.2%) of males had not had a job for over ten years. Ascertaining exactly how many of the females interviewed had voluntarily left the labour market to raise children is impossible from the questions asked. However the male position is more clear cut, and a figure of one in five men having been out of work for more than ten years is appalling. Twice as many men (11.4%) than women (5.8%) had never worked, although in most cases these respondents were teenagers who were still in full or part-time education.

Table 7.7: Time since last worked (non-working only) by gender and age

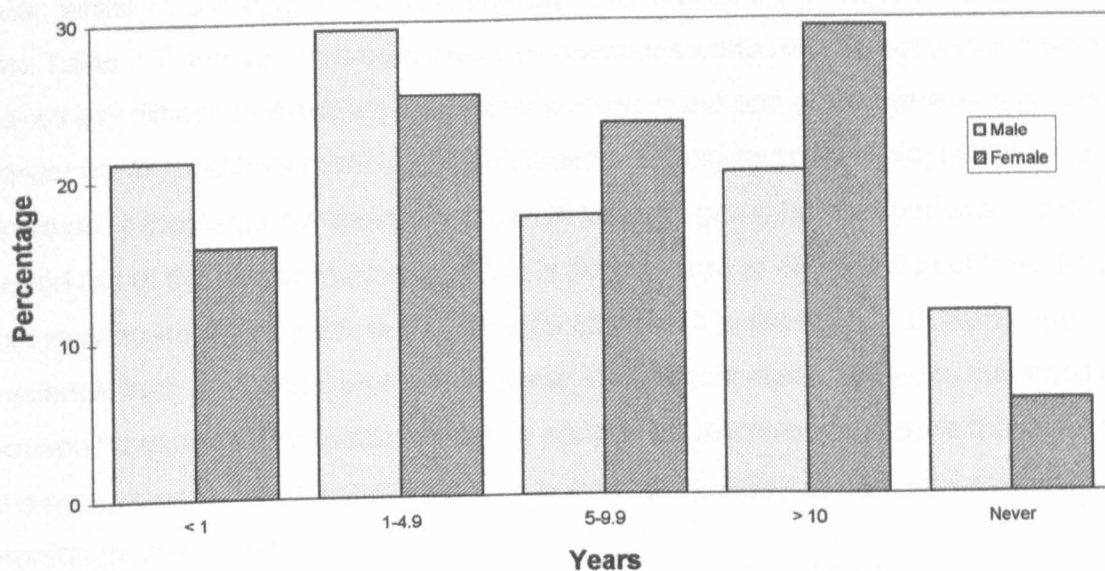
	Last Worked				
	< 1 Year	1-4.9 Years	5-9.9 Years	> 10 Years	Never
Gender					
Male	21.2	29.5	17.6	20.2	11.4
Female	15.9	25.3	23.4	29.5	5.8
Age Group					
16-19	28.3	17.0	0.0	0.0	54.7
20-29	24.5	36.0	24.5	7.9	7.2
30-39	11.4	25.0	25.0	37.9	0.7
40-49	14.6	28.1	14.6	42.7	0.0
50-59	16.1	17.7	27.4	38.7	0.0
60-64*	6.3	25.0	43.8	25.0	0.0
Gender and age group					
Male 16-19	25.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	60.7
Female 16-19	32.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	48.0
Male 20-29	35.7	40.5	9.5	2.4	11.9
Female 20-29	19.6	34.0	30.9	10.3	5.2
Male 30-39	21.4	35.7	19.0	23.8	0.0
Female 30-39	7.1	20.4	27.6	43.9	1.0
Male 40-49	13.2	36.8	15.8	34.2	0.0
Female 40-49	15.7	21.6	13.7	49.0	0.0
Male 50-59	14.8	11.1	33.3	40.7	0.0
Female 50-59	17.1	22.9	22.9	37.1	0.0
Male 60-64	6.3	25.0	43.8	25.0	0.0

* males only

A chi-square test found an association between gender and length of time since last employed, at the 95% level of significance. In contrast, the Long-Term Unemployed in

Liverpool report (Nutter, 1991) found no association between length of unemployment by gender, with the average duration for men 43.7 months and women 40.8 months. Although these figures were based on a survey of claimants, they provide a useful comparison, and suggest that the situation for unemployed women is likely to be similar to that of men. Thus the association found between gender and duration of non-employment by the Vauxhall Job Link Survey is almost certainly due to not identifying the number of women who have left the labour market to raise families.

Figure 7.6: Time since last worked by gender



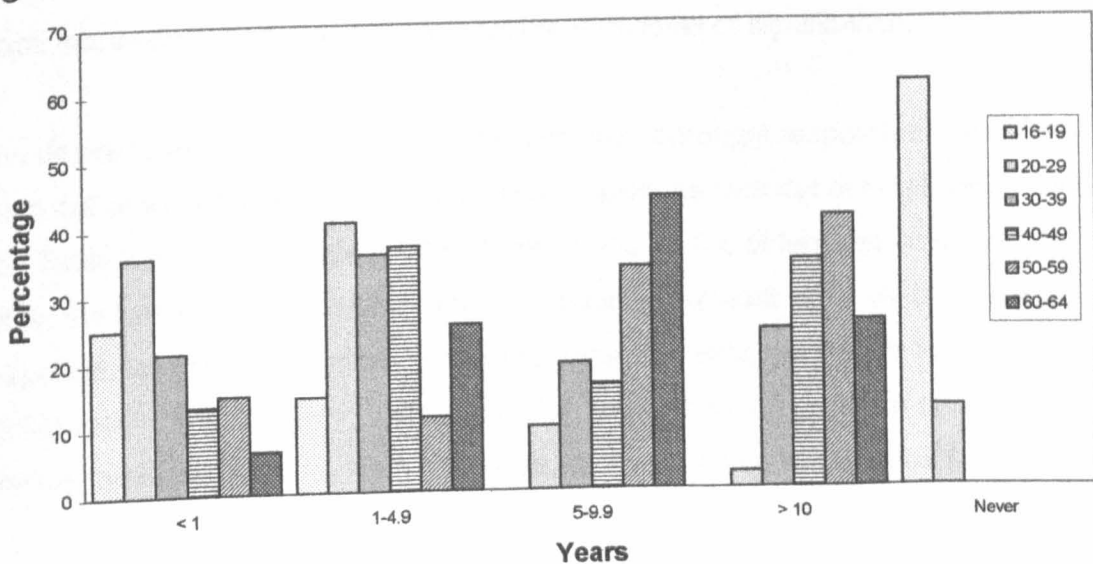
Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The introduction of age into the analysis revealed that the majority of people who had never worked were aged under 20, and only one person aged over 30 had never worked, see Table 7.7, above. People in the older age groups tended to have been out of work for longer, for example only 11.4% of the 30-39 age group had worked in the last year compared to 24.5% of the 21-30 age group and 28.3% of the under 20 age group. The length of time since respondents had worked increased sharply over the age of 30, 32.4% of the 20-29 age group had not been employed in the last five years, compared to 62.9% of the 30-39 age group, 57.3% of the 40-49 age group, 66.1% of the 50-59 age group and 68.8% of the 60 and over age group. An association was found between age and time since last worked, at the 99.9% level of significance. To conduct this chi-square test the age data had to be recoded into just three categories, 16 to 29, 30 to 49, and 50 and over, to ensure that less than 20% of cells in the cross tabulation contained expected frequencies of less than five.

The Long-Term Unemployed in Liverpool report (Nutter, 1991) also reported duration of unemployment generally increasing with age. The longest average, 64 months, was experienced by the 40-44 age group, with the over 45 age group experiencing a slightly lower average of 58 months.

Whilst long periods of non-employment were found amongst males and females in all age groups, the highest levels were found amongst females aged between 30 and 39 and males aged over 50. Only 7.1% of women in the 30-39 age group had worked in the last year, whilst 71.5% and 43.9%, respectively, had not worked in the last 5 and 10 years, see Table 7.7, above. However because questions pertaining to motherhood were not asked it is difficult to establish how many women in the age group were simply taking a career break, and how many could be considered long-term unemployed. What is clear however is that large numbers of women in this age group have experienced a long period out of the labour market, and this is likely to lead to depreciation of their work skills, and may make re-entry into work very difficult when it is attempted. Drawing upon evidence from the Long-Term Unemployed in Liverpool report suggests that one type of household experiencing particularly long periods of unemployment were those comprised of single parents. Amongst this group the average duration of unemployment was 57 months (Nutter, 1991).

Figure 7.7: Time since last worked by age (males only)



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The position of non-working males is easier to interpret than that of women, and makes bleak reading, see Table 7.7 and Figure 7.7. A clear trend can be discerned, that as age

increases length of time since last worked also increases. Over a third (35.7%) of non-working males aged in their twenties had been employed within the last year, compared to just over a fifth (21.4%) aged in their thirties, and about a seventh of males in their forties (13.2%) and fifties (14.8%). Half (50.0%) of non-working males in their forties had not worked for over five years, and for males in their fifties this figure rose to 74.0%. Two-fifths (40.7%) of males aged in their fifties had not worked for over 10 years.

7.5.1 Characteristics of the long-term economically inactive/unemployed

Having established that large numbers of male and female respondents have experienced long periods of unemployment or economic inactivity, this section will examine some of the characteristics of these people.

It was found that as the length of time since a respondent was employed increased, the desire to work decreased. This trend was more pronounced amongst women. For example amongst men who had worked within the last year 97.5% desired a job of some description. Amongst men who had not worked for over 5 years this figure dropped to 84.8%, but remained the same for men who had not worked within the last 10 years. Amongst women the proportion wanting a job remained at around 90% for respondents who had been out of work for less than 10 years, but dropped quite sharply to 75.3% for those who had been out of employment for over 10 years, see Table 7.8, below. In the cases of both males and females, associations were established between length of time since last worked and desire to work, at the 95% level of significance.

The desire to learn new work skills was fairly high amongst respondents who had not been out of work for very long, but declined rapidly as time out of employment increased, see Table 7.8. For example 56.8% of males and 63.8% of females who had worked within the last year expressed a desire to acquire new work skills, whilst amongst respondents who had been out of work for over 10 years, the figures fell to 35.3% and 38.6% respectively. In both cases associations were found between duration of non-employment and desire to learn new skills, at the 95% level of significance.

Table 7.8: Characteristics of 'long-term unemployed', by gender

Male Female	Working	Last Worked				
		< 1 Year	1-4.9 Years	5-9.9 Years	Over 10 Years	Never
% Desire job	N/A	97.5	92.7	84.8	84.8	100.0
	N/A	88.9	89.0	90.3	75.3	93.3
% Want new work skills	43.2	56.8	47.2	41.9	35.3	80.0
	49.3	63.8	50.0	44.9	38.6	64.3
% Interested in adult education	35.1	45.9	30.8	32.3	20.0	40.9
	44.8	46.8	49.3	41.4	27.2	64.3
% Go for advice	44.0	57.1	64.4	50.0	30.3	66.7
	32.6	53.7	43.5	35.9	26.0	50.0
% With health problems	3.2	5.4	7.8	17.9	31.4	4.8
	5.5	8.5	8.3	28.4	13.8	6.3
% Possess qualifications	50.0	34.1	25.0	21.2	15.8	40.9
	38.6	42.9	32.9	18.1	3.3	61.1
% Possess work skills	29.0	35.1	43.4	34.4	23.7	9.1
	19.5	35.4	37.8	17.1	15.9	6.3
% Possess driving licence	55.2	26.8	24.6	20.6	10.3	9.1
	20.8	18.4	14.1	14.1	5.5	22.2

Similarly, the numbers of respondents who were interested in undertaking adult education courses declined as the length of non-employment increased. However, only in the case of women was the association statistically significant, at the 95% level. What is most notable here is the drop in interest from over two-fifths (41.4%) of women who had not worked for between 5 to 10 years, to 27.2% of women who had not worked for over 10 years.

People who have been out of work for a long time tended to seek advice on education and training less than people who have been of work for a shorter period. Well over half of males and females who had worked within the last year went for advice. Amongst males who had not worked for between 1 and 5 years this figure rose to 64.4%. However only 30.3% of men and 26.0% of women who had not worked for over 10 years went for advice. Once again in both cases the associations were found to be significant at the 95% level.

One of the greatest concerns about long-term unemployment is the effect it has on people's health. Ill health was higher amongst non-employed respondents than amongst working ones, with the proportion of people with health problems generally rising as the duration of non-employment increased. The incidence of ill health was greatest amongst male respondents who had not worked for over 10 years, with almost a third (31.4%)

saying they had health problems. These figures are consistent with the 1991 Census results, which found that male and female economic activity rates in Vauxhall were very low, due mainly to large numbers of older people being permanently sick or disabled.

Perhaps the most interesting findings in this section regarded the possession of qualifications and work related skills. Amongst men the possession of qualifications declined as duration of non-employment increased, but the association was not statistically significant. However amongst women there was a very steep decline in the possession of qualifications as duration of non-employment increased. Over two-fifths (42.9%) of women who had worked in the last year held qualifications, compared to just 3.3% of women who had not worked for over 10 years. In this case an association was found, at the highly significant level of 99.9%.

The information regarding possession of work related skills is harder to interpret. Amongst both males and females possession of skills is lowest amongst respondents who have been out of work for over 10 years. However amongst every other group it is either similar, or higher, than amongst employed respondents. This is difficult to explain, but it should be noted that possession of skill is subjective, unlike the possession of qualifications. What is clear though is that women who have not been in work in the last 10 years have the lowest levels of human capital of all respondents, in terms of both formal qualifications, and possession of work skills. In an area like Vauxhall with very high levels of unemployment it is this type of unskilled, unqualified person who is in the worst position with regard to re-entry into the labour market. A skilled worker at least has the option of re-entering the labour market at a lower level, for example a redundant typist could become a cleaner, a redundant cleaner does not have the same option (Peck, 1984, cited in Haughton *et al*, 1993).

A longitudinal study by Daniel (1990) on the experiences of the unemployed established that amongst men access to motorised transport was strongly associated with duration of unemployment; on average men who owned cars found work more quickly than those who did not. Table 7.8 shows clearly that as duration of non-employment increases, the proportion of respondents possessing a driving licence decreases. This is the case for both male and female respondents. Although other factors are involved, for example older people tend to be more heavily represented in the long term unemployed and older people also generally exhibit lower levels of driving licence possession (an issue discussed further in the next chapter), these figures further highlight the severity of the

problems faced by many of the long-term unemployed. As Daniel (1990) notes, lack of a driving licence is a disqualification from many jobs, and is also likely to restrict a person's employment search to areas that can be reached by public transport.

7.6 Education and work related skills

It was established in Chapter Six that the population of Vauxhall was poorly educated in terms of the possession of formal educational qualifications. A high proportion of the population possessed no qualifications of any type, and many of those that possessed qualifications did so at a low level. This section will examine whether this level of qualification amongst the surveyed population varied by gender and age, employment status and occupation. The possession of work related skills will also be examined.

7.6.1 Possession of qualifications

A larger proportion of males (34.8%) possessed some type of formal qualification (one CSE or more) than females (28.9%), see Table 7.9, below. The difference however was slight, and a chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between gender and possession of formal qualifications. In comparison to the national average, which showed that 66% of men and 59% of women possessed some type of formal qualification, both figures are poor (OPCS, 1992a).

Almost twice as many working males (50.0%) possessed formal qualifications than non-working males (26.6%). An association between working and the possession of qualifications was found, at the highly significant level of 99.9%. Amongst females the same trend was apparent, though to a less marked degree. In this case 38.6% of working respondents possessed qualifications, compared to 24.1% of non-working ones. On this occasion an association existed, but at the lower significance level of 99%. At a national level 72.7% of working males possessed some type of qualification, compared to 44.8% of non-working males. Slightly fewer working females were qualified (70.1%), but a higher proportion of non-working ones were (52.2%).

Possession of qualifications decreased noticeably as age increased, for both males and females, see Table 7.9. Amongst the 16-19 age group about three-fifths of males and females possessed qualifications. For respondents aged in their twenties these figures dropped to around a half. Over this age the proportion of respondents possessing

qualifications fell sharply, the decline being particularly severe amongst women. Over a third (36.4%) of males aged 30-39 possessed qualifications, compared to just over a fifth of females (21.6%). Between 17% and 18% of males in the age groups 40-49 and 50-59 were qualified, compared to between 6% and 8% of females of the same age. Only 5.6% of males aged over 60 possessed qualifications. In the case of both males and females, associations between age and the possession of qualifications were found, at the highly significant level of 99.9%.

Table 7.9: Possession of formal qualifications by gender and key variables

% qualified at CSE level and above	Vauxhall			Great Britain**		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
All	31.2	34.8	28.9	62	66	59
Employment status						
Working	43.2	50.0	38.6	71.6	72.7	70.1
Non-working	25.1	26.6	24.1	49.7	44.8	52.2
Age						
16-19	59.0	58.1	60.0	82	80	83
20-29	51.3	52.5	50.7	82	83	81
30-39	26.9	36.4	21.6	72	74	70
40-49	11.6	17.5	7.4	59	65	54
50-59	11.1	17.9	6.7	49	55	44
60-64*	5.6	5.6	N/A	35	42	29
Occupation (SOC)				Not available by SOC		
Managers & administrators	58.3	75.0	50.0			
Professional	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Associate Professional	66.7	66.7	66.7			
Clerical & Secretarial	78.3	80.0	77.8			
Craft & Related	42.2	42.9	38.5			
Personal & Protective Services	32.8	40.6	30.4			
Sales	39.2	20.0	43.9			
Plant & Machine Operatives	12.9	21.1	8.5			
Other	12.9	15.9	11.1			
Never Worked	51.2	43.5	61.1			

* Males only

** Figures for Great Britain include upto age 69, except in employment status section, where they are for people of working age (males 16-64, females 16-59).

Source: OPCS (1992a) and Vauxhall Job Link Survey.

Figures for Great Britain indicate a similar pattern, with older people possessing fewer qualifications than younger ones, however the decline is not as severe as in Vauxhall. For example, over 80% of both males and females aged under 30 were qualified, whilst the figures for the 50-59 age group were 55% and 44% respectively. Several explanations can be posited for the situation in Vauxhall. Firstly, because of the unskilled

and semi-skilled nature of much employment in the area in the past the population has not required qualifications in order to gain employment. However with the decline of the dock and dock related processing industries this is no longer the case, and a large population remains that is unqualified for the changing labour market of the 1990s. Secondly, migration from the area over the last two decades has been a highly selective process, and the people that have remained are less qualified than those that left. This phenomenon has been experienced by many large cities over recent years (Kloosterman, 1994).

The proportion of qualified respondents also varied significantly by occupation, with levels of qualification ranging from 100% amongst professional occupations to 12.9% amongst both the plant and machine operatives and other occupations. A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between occupation and possessing formal qualifications, at the 99.9% level of significance.

7.6.2 Highest level of qualification

Analysis of the highest qualification attained by respondents, shown in Table 7.10, below, found that a larger proportion of male respondents (3.0%) possessed degrees than female ones (0.6%). In fact at most qualification levels males were slightly better qualified, with the only exceptions being at 'HE below degree' and 'GCSE grades D-G' levels. However overall these differences were slight, and a chi-square test found no statistically significant association.

What was of more concern was the difference between qualification levels in Vauxhall and the country as a whole. Figures from the General Household Survey suggested that 11.0% of Great Britain's male population possessed degrees, whilst the figure in Vauxhall was 3.0%. The situation for women was even worse, with just 0.6% of women in Vauxhall possessing degrees, compared to 5.0% nationally.

A possible explanation for women's lower level of qualification than men's was discovered during the qualitative stage of the research. The in-depth interview with Marie revealed that she had to leave school at a younger age than she intended to care for her sick mother. Due to the levels of ill health in Vauxhall throughout this century Marie's is unlikely to have been an isolated case, and due to clearly defined male and female roles in the area the majority of such work is liable to have fallen to women.

Table 7.10: Qualification Levels in Vauxhall and Great Britain, by Gender

Highest level of qualification (%)	Male (Vauxhall)	Female (Vauxhall)	Male (GB)	Female (GB)
Degree or equivalent	3.0	0.6	11.0	5.0
HE below degree	1.3	1.7	11.0	9.0
GCE 'A' level or equivalent	3.0	1.3	12.0	6.0
GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	17.5	16.1	19.0	24.0
GCSE grades D-G or equivalent	7.6	8.2	10.0	12.0
Unspecified qualification (JLS)/ Foreign or Other (GHS)	1.7	0.6	3.0	3.0
No Response	2.0	1.3	N/A	N/A
None	63.9	70.2	34.0	41.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Vauxhall Job Link Survey and 1990 General Household Survey (OPCS, 1992a)

7.6.3 Possession of work related skills

Amongst working respondents 29.0% of men said they possessed one or more work related skill, compared to 19.5% of women, see Table 7.11, below. The Social Change and Economic Life Initiative (SCELI) also found that a higher proportion of men (79%) perceive their work as skilled than women (57%) (Gallie, 1994). However a chi-square test found no association between gender and possession of work skills in Vauxhall.

Rather surprisingly a higher proportion of both non-working male and female respondents said they possessed work skills than their working counterparts. The difference for males is slight, but the position for females is more marked, with under a fifth (19.5%) of working women saying they possessed work skills, compared to just under a quarter (24.5%) of non-working ones. Once again, a chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between gender and possession of work skills.

Table 7.11: Possession of work related skills, by gender and age

	Possess Work Skills (%)	
	Working	Not Working
Gender		
Male	29.0	31.5
Female	19.5	24.5
Age Group		
16-19	33.3	24.0
20-29	32.2	37.6
30-39	22.5	19.5
40-49	14.9	29.1
50-59	13.5	20.3
60-64*	33.3	31.3

* Males only

Having established that there was no association between possession of work skills and gender, further cross tabulations of possession of work skills by age, were conducted, and the results are summarised in Table 7.11, above.

Amongst respondents in employment, the possession of work skills declined as age increased, a third (33.3%) of the under 20 age group said they possessed skills, compared to under a quarter (22.5%) of the 30-39 age group and just over an eighth (13.5%) of the 50-59 age group. The over 60 group went completely against this trend with 33.3% possessing skills, however it must be noted that only 3 people were in work in this age group. A chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between age and the possession of work related skills.

No clear pattern emerged from the cross tabulation of age by possession of work skills amongst non-working respondents. Skill possession was highest amongst the 20-29 age group, with 37.6% of respondents claiming to possess them. The next highest rate was amongst the 40-49 age group (29.1% possessing skills), whilst the lowest rate was amongst the 30-39 age group (19.5%), closely followed by the 50-59 age group (20.3%). However despite these differences a chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis.

Analysis was also conducted to establish whether women employed part-time were less skilled than their full-time counterparts. Some evidence was found to suggest that this was the case, with 14.4% of part-time workers possessing work skills, compared to 28.8% of full-time workers. This lends support to Gallie's (1994) view, discussed in section 7.3, that many women in part-time employment have been left behind whilst other workers have experienced skill enrichment. Horrel et al (1994), also reporting on the SCEL

research, found a large discrepancy in perception of skill between women employed full-time and women employed part-time. They found that a large majority of women in full-time employment perceived their work as skilled, but that only 44% of women in part-time employment did so. However despite the Vauxhall figures a chi-square test found no association between the two variables.

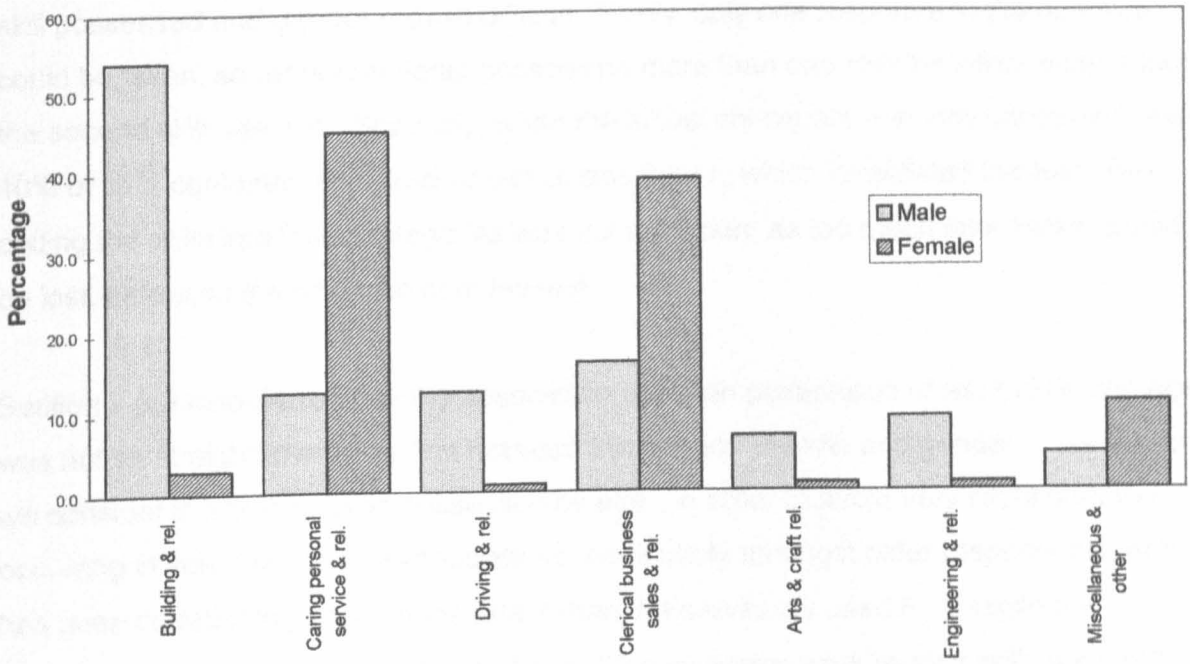
7.6.4 Type of work related skills possessed

The type of work skills respondents possessed was then analysed by gender, using the same classification method as in Chapter Six. The results are summarised in Table 7.12, below. Of the 87 males who possessed work related skills, most possessed skills in only one of the 7 broad categories, however 16 possessed a skill in another category. Over half (54.0%) of males with work skills possessed skills in the building and related category, see Figure 7.8. The next most numerous category was clerical, business, sales and related, with 16.1% of skilled males possessing skills in this area. An eighth (12.6%) of males possessed skills in the caring, personal service and related category, and another eighth (12.6%) possessed skills in the driving and related category. The remaining 3 categories each accounted for less than 10% of skilled males.

Table 7.12: Skill type possessed by gender and age (including first and second response)

Skill type	Male		Female		16-29		30-49		50-59/64	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Building & related	47	54.0	3	3.0	24	26.4	19	26.0	7	30.4
Caring, personal service & related	11	12.6	45	45.0	36	39.6	16	21.9	4	17.4
Driving & related	11	12.6	1	1.0	2	2.2	6	8.2	4	17.4
Clerical, business, sales & related	14	16.1	39	39.0	29	31.9	20	27.4	4	17.4
Arts & craft related	6	6.9	1	1.0	5	5.5	2	2.7	0	0.0
Engineering & related	8	9.2	1	1.0	2	2.2	5	6.8	2	8.7
Miscellaneous & other	4	4.6	11	11.0	4	4.4	8	11.0	3	13.0
No response	73		99		80		70		22	
Total	174		200		182		146		46	

Figure 7.8: Skill type possessed by gender (including first and second response)



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Only 9 of the 100 female respondents who possessed work related skills claimed skills in more than one of the 7 categories. The types of skills that female respondents possessed were very different to those held by their male counterparts. The most commonly claimed skills were in the caring, personal service and related category, possessed by 45.0% of skilled females. This was closely followed by the clerical, business and sales related category, held by just under two-fifths (39.0%) of skilled women. Slightly over a tenth (11.0%) of women possessed skills classed in the miscellaneous category. Very few women claimed skills in any of the 4 other classes.

These results show very clear gender divisions, with skills in the building and related, driving and related, and engineering and related categories being almost the exclusive preserve of men. However the reverse is not true, with significant numbers of men possessing skills in the caring, personal service and related, and clerical, business, sales and related categories. These results are unsurprising, given that men and women in Vauxhall tended to work in different areas of the labour market, requiring different types of skills. What is of concern is that the type of skills women tended to possess are generally perceived as less valuable than the type of skills that male respondents possessed, and are consequently likely to be rewarded by lower levels of pay.

Conducting a chi-square test to establish if there was an association between type of work skill possessed and gender proved difficult. Firstly, only one response to the question could be taken, so for respondents possessing more than one skill the information about the second skill was lost. Secondly, when the actual chi-square test was conducted over 40% of cells contained expected values of less than 5, which invalidated the test. Re-coding the skills into fewer categories was not an option, as too much information would be lost, defeating the whole point of the test.

Section 7.6.3 established that the association between possession of work skills and age was not as straightforward as that between possession of skills and gender. This section will consider the type of skills possessed by age. In order to avoid very small numbers occurring in some of the cross-tabulations, particularly amongst older respondents, age has been coded into just 3 groups rather than the previously used 6. Despite this however, the numbers of people aged over 50 possessing work related skills were still very small.

The analysis of possession of work skills by age, shown in Table 7.12, above, revealed some very interesting results. Building and related was the only skill category that was possessed by roughly equal proportions of respondents from all 3 age groups. Caring, personal service and related skills were possessed by just under two-fifths (39.6%) of the 16-29 age group compared to 21.9% of the 30-49 age group and 17.4% of the 50-59/64 one. This seems slightly surprising as it might be expected that a large number of women returning to work after raising families would possess such skills. The possession of office and sales based skills also decreased as age increased, from just under a third (31.9%) amongst the 16-29 age group, to just over a sixth (17.4%) amongst the 50-59/64 one.

Four skill categories were possessed by a higher proportion of people in the oldest age group, these were building and related (30.4%), driving and related (17.4%), engineering and related (8.7%) and miscellaneous and other (13%). Only 2.2% of respondents in the youngest age group said they possessed driving and related skills, compared to 17.4% amongst the oldest age group. This is surprising given that the possession of driving licences is far higher amongst younger respondents than older ones (see Chapter Eight for a further discussion on driving and mobility).

As with gender, a chi-square test could not be successfully conducted, without the loss of a significant amount of information.

7.6.5 In charge of others

The research found that amongst working respondents 26.0% of males were in charge of other workers compared to 16.0% of females. Amongst non-working respondents a smaller proportion of males (21.9%) had been in charge of other workers, whilst the figure for females was similar (15.2%) see Table 7.13, below. For both the working and non-working populations chi-square tests accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between being in charge of other workers and gender.

Table 7.13: In charge of others and self employment by gender and age

	In Charge of Others (%)		Self Employed (%)	
	Working	Not Working	Working	Not Working
All				
Male	26.0	21.9	15.4	4.1
Female	16.0	15.2	8.3	2.6
Age Group				
16-19	16.7	2.9	6.7	0.0
20-29	28.8	19.4	4.9	1.4
30-39	21.1	15.7	13.3	2.9
40-49	14.9	15.7	15.7	6.7
50-59	8.1	23.7	10.8	4.8
60-64*	33.3	37.5	33.3	6.3

* Males only

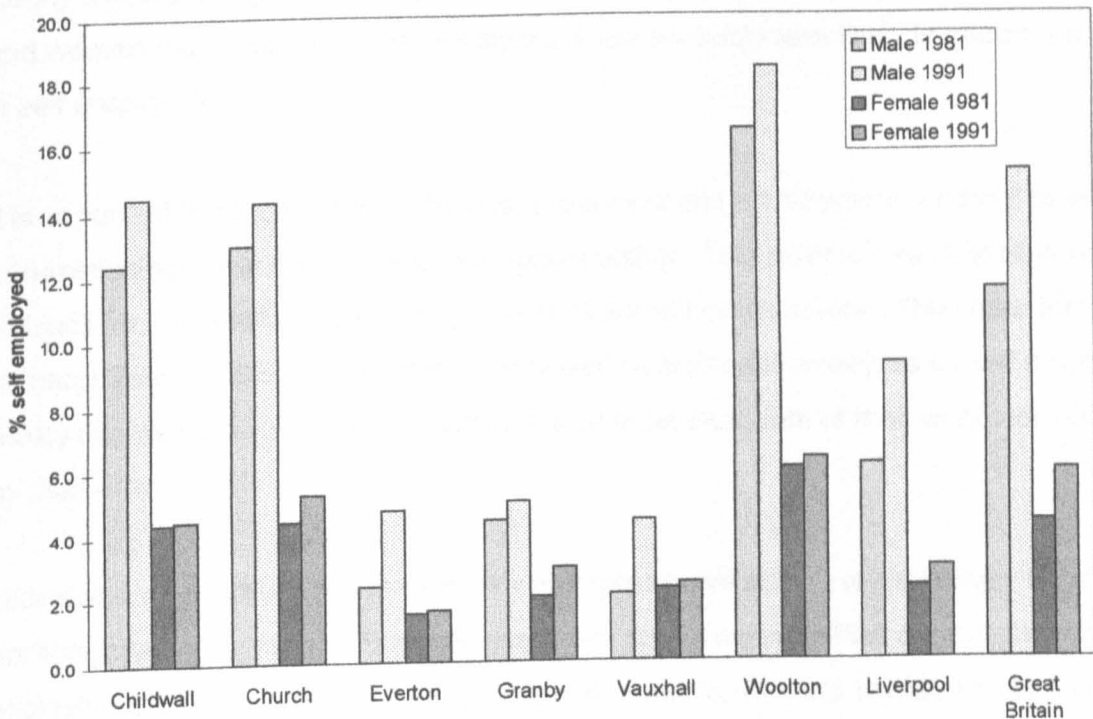
The analysis of age by whether respondents supervised other workers produced a mixed picture for those in employment. The highest levels were found amongst the 60-64 and 20-29 age groups. However a chi-square test established that there was no association between age and being in charge of others. The situation amongst non-working respondents was rather different, with the two oldest age groups having higher levels of supervisory experience than the younger ones. This time a chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between age and being in charge of others, at the 95% level of significance.

This section further demonstrates the peripheral position of many respondents in the labour market in Vauxhall. In addition to their employment in lower status occupations, most respondents are not in positions of responsibility, and are consequently likely to be poorly paid.

7.6.6 Self employment

Relatively few people interviewed were, or had ever been, self employed, see Table 7.13, above. Almost twice as many working males (15.4%) were, or had been, self employed than working females (8.3%). This situation was repeated, albeit at a much lower level, amongst non-working respondents, with 4.1% of males having been self employed compared to 2.6% of females. However chi-square tests found that in neither case were these differences statistically significant.

Figure 7.9: Self employment by gender at various spatial levels, 1981-1991



Source: Claymore Services Ltd, 1994; Liverpool City Council, 1993; OPCS, 1983 and 1992c.

The number of people who are self employed has increased greatly in recent years, at both a national and local level, and this is seen as one of the consequences of the development of a flexible labour market. However there is a clear gender dimension to this growth, with the increase greater amongst males than females, at several spatial levels. For example between 1981 and 1991 the proportion of economically active males who were self employed in Liverpool rose from 6.1% to 9.2%, whilst for females it rose from 2.3% to 2.9% (Claymore Services Ltd, 1994; Liverpool City Council, 1993). Figure 7.9, above, shows that this phenomenon has also occurred to a lesser extent at the national level, but to a greater degree at the ward level. In Vauxhall and Everton wards levels of female self employment barely rose between 1981 and 1991, whilst over the same period male rates more than doubled. More recent data suggests that the

bifurcation in male and female rates of self employment is increasing at the national level, with Beatson (1995) reporting that in Great Britain in 1991 18% of employed males and 7% of employed females were self employed.

The data above shows that the growth of self employment in Vauxhall has been far too limited to offset the rise in unemployment and economic inactivity. It also clearly shows that men have taken up self employment in greater numbers than women. The low rate of increase amongst females could be due to the number of constraints women face in general in access to the labour market. The Vauxhall Job Link Survey demonstrates clearly that women yield the majority of child raising duties in the area, see section 8.4.1, and women faced with this type of constraint are probably less likely to become engaged in self employment.

It is important to be clear about the exact nature of self employment, and not to assume unquestioningly that it equates to entrepreneurship. This point is well illustrated by Phizacklea and Wolkowitz's (1995) research about homeworkers. They note that although many of the women they interviewed described themselves as self employed, in reality this was a subjective assessment, and most elements of their work were controlled by their employers.

Like skill, it appears likely that women's entrepreneurial activity is more likely to go unrecognised than men's. For example, Allen and Truman (1993) demonstrate that the exclusion from official figures of unpaid family workers, who are usually women, can lead to a serious under-enumeration of female self employment. They then proceed to suggest, using Eurostat data, that in the late 1980s including these types of workers increases the total number of self employed women in the EC from 3.2 million to 12.5 million.

When self employment was analysed by age, it was found that amongst working respondents the 60-64 group had the highest proportion engaged or previously engaged in it (33.3%), followed by the 40-49 (15.7%) and 30-39 groups (13.3%). The figure amongst the 60-64 age group is unreliable, due to the very small number of males of this age in employment (3). The number of non-working respondents who had been self employed was generally lower amongst all age groups, but particularly so amongst the younger groups. Once again the higher rates were possessed by the over 40 age groups, but even the highest rate amongst these, for the 40-49 group, was just 6.7%.

In order for chi-square tests to be valid the age data had to be recoded into 3 categories, 16-29, 30-49, and 49-64. Amongst both working and non-working respondents no statistically significant association was found between age and engagement in self employment.

7.7 Summary

This chapter has established that access to work is a problem shared equally by men and women in Vauxhall, with only a third of both groups engaged in paid employment. The majority of women who were in employment worked part-time, whilst the vast majority of men worked full-time. Information from the in-depth interviews suggested that for some women this situation did not occur by choice, but was due to the lack of full-time job opportunities, or due to constraints such as childminding. There was also an age dimension to part-time employment, with older respondents engaging in it in far larger proportions than younger ones.

Amongst employed respondents occupational segregation was found to be more pronounced in Vauxhall than nationally, with very few women engaged in craft and related and plant and processing operative occupations. This segregation was most pronounced amongst female part-time workers, with over half of these women working in the lowest skilled 'other occupations' category. Many of these women are probably operating in, or on the margins of, the informal economy, with very low wage levels and few, if any, employment rights.

Amongst non-working respondents large proportions of both men and women had not worked for many years. It was found that women tended to have been out of work for longer than men, but this was in part due to an inability to distinguish women who had temporarily left the labour market to raise children, and those who were actively seeking employment. The skill and qualification levels of these respondents also tended to be very low, and worsened as the duration of non-employment increased. The related problem of skill depreciation was also discussed.

The education and work related skills section of the chapter produced several pertinent findings. Although both male and female qualification levels were far below the national average, there was little difference between the genders. The question relating to the

possession of work skills also found little difference between men and women; what was very different however was the type of work skills that they possessed. Very clear gender divisions were apparant, with men tending to possess such skills as building and related, and driving and related, whilst women were more likely to possess caring and related and clerical, business and sales related skills. It was also found that a higher proportion of men than women were, or had been, self employed.

8. Mobility, aspirations and constraints

8.1 Aims and objectives

This chapter has four major component themes. It will begin by concentrating on issues relating to transport and physical accessibility to employment. This will involve analysing the possession of driving licences, access to cars, and the distance people are prepared to travel to work, by the variables gender and age. The second section of the chapter will examine respondents' employment, training, and educational aims and aspirations. This section will establish whether respondents' ambitions are liable to change Vauxhall's existing patterns of occupational segregation by gender, identified in the previous chapter.

Chapter Six identified a number of constraints that restricted peoples access to employment, including lack of childminding facilities, and ill health. The third section of the chapter will analyse the constraint related variables from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey, and will establish the type of respondent that faces the greatest barriers to employment. Finally, the fourth section will consider issues related to employment search, and will investigate the methods different people use to gain information about employment training and education.

8.2 Mobility

Chapters Five and Six established that people in Vauxhall exhibit low levels of car ownership and driving licence possession, and were constrained in the distances they were prepared to travel to work. This section will analyse the questions from the survey relating to issues of mobility, and establish if women are less mobile and more constrained in the distance they will travel to work than men. The ability to drive is an important skill, as it can dramatically increase the distance a person can travel to work on a daily basis, thus increasing the number of job opportunities available. In addition certain jobs require workers to be able to drive. In Liverpool in the 1990s women appear excluded from a number of these types of jobs. For example, it is still an unusual sight to see a woman driving a bus or a taxi in the city.

8.2.1 Possession of driving licence and access to car

Approximately twice as many male respondents (31.9%) possessed driving licences than female ones (15.6%), see Table 8.1, below. A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative one, that there was an association between gender and the possession of a driving licence, at the 99.9% level of significance. A similar male:female ratio was found by the Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994), which reported that 60% of males possessed driving licences compared to 32% of females. At the national level a significantly higher proportion of men than women hold driving licences. In 1990 in Great Britain 80% of adult males held a full driving licence, compared to 49% of adult females (Department of Transport, 1996). In comparison to the national figures, driving licence possession is very low in Vauxhall for both men and women.

Despite the significantly higher level of driving licence possession amongst males, it was found that similar proportions of men (23.1%) and women (20.6%) had use of a car, see Table 8.1, above. A chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between gender and having the use of a car. This suggests that physical accessibility to jobs is a problem likely to be shared by men and women.

Possession of a driving licence was found to be more common amongst the young than the old, with 29.9% of the 20-29 year age group holding one, compared to only 11.1% of the 50-59 year age group, see Table 8.1, above. Driving licence possession declined as age increased, with two exceptions, the under 20 year age group, which included a number of interviews with 16 year olds who could not hold a licence, and the 60 years and over age group, which has a higher rate than might be expected, due in part to females aged over 59 being excluded from the analysis. An association between age and the possession of a driving licence was found at the 99% significance level. A slightly different result occurred when the relationship between age and use of a car was considered. In this case it was 30-39 year age group which had highest levels of access to a car (24.9%), followed by the 20-29 year age group (24.5%), then the 60 years and over age group (23.5%). A chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between age and having access to a car.

Table 8.1: Possession of driving licence and access to car by key variables

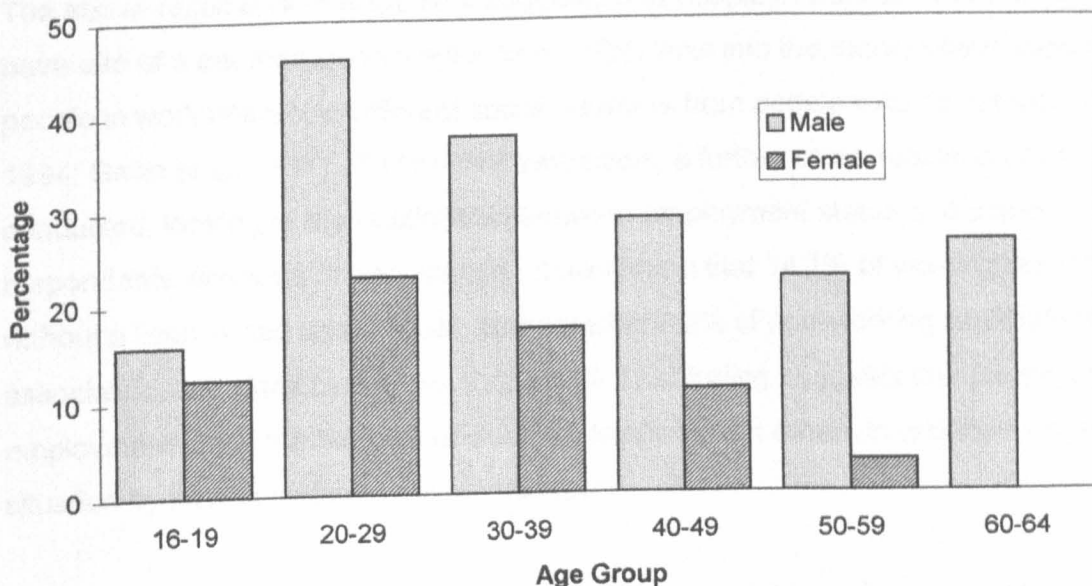
	% possessing driving licence	% with access to car
Gender		
Male	31.9	23.1
Female	15.6	20.6
Age		
16-19	14.3	12.7
20-29	29.9	24.5
30-39	24.7	24.9
40-49	18.4	21.7
50-59	11.1	17.2
60-64*	26.3	23.5
Gender and age		
Male 16-19	15.9	12.2
Female 16-19	12.5	13.2
Male 20-29	45.9	32.7
Female 20-29	22.9	20.9
Male 30-39	37.7	27.1
Female 30-39	17.4	23.6
Male 40-49	28.8	15.4
Female 40-49	11.0	26.0
Male 50-59	22.5	24.3
Female 50-59	3.4	12.5
Male 60-64	26.3	23.5
Employment status		
Working	34.7	34.2
Non-working	15.4	15.1
Gender and employment status		
Male working	55.2	42.1
Male non-working	19.4	12.9
Female working	20.8	29.0
Female non-working	12.9	16.4
Possess qualifications		
Male qualified	46.6	34.0
Male unqualified	24.0	16.7
Female qualified	31.1	29.7
Female unqualified	9.2	16.9

* Males only

Whilst the rate of possession of a driving licence generally declined as age increased, the introduction of gender into the analysis rather changed the picture. Amongst the 20-29 year age group, which had the highest level of driving licence possession (29.9%), 45.9% of men held licences, compared to 22.9% of women. As age increased this discrepancy increased, being at its most extreme in the 50-59 year age group, where 22.5% of males held licences compared to just 3.4% of women. A similar proportion of men aged in their

50's (22.5%) and women in their 20's (22.9%) possessed licences, see Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1. At a national level the difference in possession rates was also greatest amongst older people. For example in 1990 85% of men aged 50-59 held a licence, compared to 49% of women (Department of Transport, 1996).

Figure 8.1: Possession of driving licence by gender and age



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Given that there is now little available employment within the Vauxhall ward, the ability to be able to travel to work is increasingly important. Large companies in the area, such as Tate and Lyle and British American Tobacco, employed many men and women from the immediate area. Since the closure of these factories men and women must travel further to gain employment, and the figures above suggest that women are less well placed to do so than men. Whipp and Grieco observe that:

*"In contemporary society, women's working is highly dependent upon their **mobility**, access to employment is dependent upon access to transport; historically, the **accessibility** of female employment was greater because of the local nature of the residence/employment equation" (Whipp and Grieco, 1989, p5)¹³.*

Employed respondents appeared less transport poor than non-employed respondents. Just over a third (34.7%) of working respondents possessed a driving licence compared to just under a sixth (15.4%) of non-working respondents. A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between being employed and

¹³ Emphases in the original text.

possessing a driving licence, at the 99.9% level of significance. Similarly, just over a third of employed people (34.2%) had the use of a car compared to under a sixth (15.1%) of people not in work. Once again a chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between being employed and having access to a car, at the 99.9% level of significance.

The above result is of interest, as it suggests that people in work are twice as likely to have use of a car than people not in work. This links into the theory which suggest that people in work interact in different social networks from people who do not work (Morris, 1994; Gallie *et al*, 1994). To test this hypothesis, a further cross-tabulation was conducted, looking at the relationship between employment status and use of a car, for respondents without a driving licence. It was found that 14.1% of working respondents without a licence had use of a car, compared to 7.2% of non-working respondents. This association was significant at the 95% level. This finding suggests that people in employment enjoy the benefits of closer networking with others in employment, in this situation by having better access to transport.

Having established that twice as many men possessed driving licences than women, and that twice as many working people possessed driving licences and had access to cars than non-working people, further analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between gender, working, possession of driving licence and access to a car. Whilst just over a third (34.7%) of people in work possessed a driving licence the figure for employed males was much higher at 55.2%, whilst for women the figure was only 20.8%. Possession of driving licence was barely higher amongst working women (20.8%) than amongst non-working men (19.4%). Only 12.9% of women not in work possessed a driving licence, see Table 8.1, above. Over four times as many working men possessed licences than non-working women. In both cases the relationship between working/not working and possessing a licence were statistically significant; amongst males the association was highly significant (99.9%), whilst for women it was fairly significant (95%).

The situation with regard to access to a car was rather different. As before people in work appeared more fortunate than people not in work, but this time women appear not quite so disadvantaged. Whilst 55.2% of working men held a driving licence, only 42.1% had access to a car. For employed women however the figures were reversed, with 29.0% having access to a car whilst only 20.8% possessed a licence. Amongst non-working respondents, men appeared more transport poor than women, despite a higher

proportion holding driving licences, only 12.9% of men had access to a car, compared to 16.4% of women. However, amongst their own gender, non-working respondents were worse off than their working counterparts, and chi-square tests for both sexes accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between working and having use of a car, at significance levels of 99.9% (male) and 99% (female).

Finally in this section the relationships between possession of formal qualifications and possession of a driving licence and use of a car were considered. Levels of driving licence possession were higher amongst qualified respondents, for example almost twice as many qualified men possessed licences (46.6%) than unqualified men (24.0%). Amongst females it was even more pronounced with 31.1% of qualified women holding a licence compared to just 9.2% of unqualified women. In both cases the associations were statistically significant at the 99.9% level. Qualified male and female respondents also had greater access to a car than their unqualified counterparts, although in both cases these associations were found to be significant at the slightly lower level of 99%. Neither of these findings are surprising, as strong associations have already been established between possession of qualifications and working, and working and licence ownership and access to a car.

The drawbacks of not being able to drive are illustrated well by material from the in-depth interviews. Marie does not drive or have access to a car, and consequently she has to use public transport, which she considers inadequate for her needs:

"No I don't have a driving licence. I haven't tried to learn but I'm currently talking about going to learn, I would love to learn. It's finance really I suppose, when I've thought I'll go something always cropped up where I've had to use the money for some other reason. Yes, from a long long time ago. I spend a fortune on taxis because the buses are unreliable. Public transport is not at all adequate for me and is getting worse I think".
(Marie, born 1940s, unmarried, no children)

She continues:

"As I say the buses, there are two buses that come along Vauxhall Road and turn up Burlington Street, but for people who live along the area where I live, Tatlock Street, Blenheim Street, Silvester Street, it means that there's only one bus and it finishes, it runs about every half hour or something. But that only goes up then to Walton Road, like years ago we used a 16 bus that went from Mann Island at the Pier Head and it took you through to Seaforth and it used to run every 20 minutes and it was an excellent bus service and then someone in their wisdom just took it from us. We also had a 20 and a 21 bus that went from Dingle and it went right out to Seaforth. They re-routed that bus to go along Scotland Road and took it

from us. It used to go right along Vauxhall Road and then turn up Latimer Street up onto Scotland Road, up onto Mile End".

Marie has twice left jobs in order to work closer to her home. Firstly, when she was about 20, she left Littlewoods in Bootle to work for Vernon's Racing on Scotland Road, and after Vernon's Racing moved out to Aintree she again left to work for Vernon's Finance, once again on Scotland Road. Although not asked, it seems possible that had Marie possessed a car she would not have had to leave this job.

"We started off in Scotland Road which was in walking distance, and then it transferred from Scotland Road up to Hawthorne Road, which is in Bootle. After we'd been there so long it then transferred out to Aintree, so with living in the city centre I was adjacent to Exchange Station, which is Mercury Court now, of a morning I used to be the only person stood on the station getting the train out of town, thousands and thousands of commuters were coming in and I'd be like the Lone Ranger trying to get the train out. In the end I thought I can't stand this, I used to have to travel by train to Aintree and then walk back on myself. In those days the trains weren't as quick as they are now. I used to have to be in for 8.30 and I used to leave home at 7.30 to get in to work for 8.30. So then I thought well thousands of jobs, all these hundreds and thousands of people working in the city centre within walking distance of where I live, and after that I always endeavoured to go just somewhere where I could either get one bus to or I could walk to. I was only in Aintree for about 6 months, I left that job because I didn't like all the travelling".

In fact with the exception of a year when she worked in Italy, Aintree is the furthest distance Marie has ever travelled to work, a distance of only a few miles.

Like Marie, Anne does not drive or have access to a car, although she did unsuccessfully attempt to learn in the early 1970s, which she now greatly regrets:

"No I don't drive, I took lessons once but I gave up. I really should have persevered because it was a contract, they guarantee that you pass, but my instructor told me that I drove better in reverse and I think that put me off. That was when I was made redundant from the Dock Board in 1972.....I regret it very much, but I've never had any sense of direction, I would have made a horrible driver. The way transport is now I do regret it". (Anne, born 1930s, unmarried, no children)

When asked why she never attempted to learn when younger her response suggested that she did not feel she needed, or could afford to learn.

"Well people of our class didn't have cars, we probably couldn't afford them and we didn't need them because we had good public transport."

Consequently she has always been reliant upon public transport which she perceives as adequate, although deteriorating.

"It's not bad, it's not really bad but in Vauxhall Road we can only really go to town to shop, I liked the little 54 bus because it went to the Strand (Bootle) and it went from here and it took you right home again, but to go to the Strand now I'd have to get two buses which puts me off. I like the Strand but the transport puts me off.....It's getting worse, I don't think they really cater for us now I think it's more the age of the car. People just assume that we run cars. Well I think over the past few years, since the buses were deregulated, I think they have all gone to pot."

This second half of the above quote is very telling. In recent years government policy has encouraged the use of private transport, and discouraged that of public transport. Given that women are more dependent upon public transport than men, this policy has disadvantaged them more severely:

*"in the context where women's dependence on public transport is known to be significantly greater than that of men, **governmental investment** in and encouragement of **private means of transport**, i.e. increased funding of road building, etc. accompanied as it has been by disinvestment in public modes of transport, generates and accentuates **distributional inequities** and compounds the transport disadvantage experienced by women. Simply put, present policies improve the transport advantage of men (Whipp and Grieco, 1989, p14)¹⁴.*

Anne finds the railway line which runs through Vauxhall, stopping at Sandhills station, with regular services to the city centre and Hunts Cross, Southport, Ormskirk and Kirkby, of little use.

"The stations are too far away. The nearest station is Central, stations are usually in very isolated places and when you get to my age you get a bit nervous. You hear of so many horrible things happening. I'd prefer to use the train but they're too far away."

Anne is in fact incorrect in identifying Central as the nearest station to her house. The two nearest stations are Moorfields and Sandhills which are approximately equal distance, but both over a mile away. This error is an indication of how unimportant the railway is to her as a form of public transport.

Another respondent, Helen, also does not possess a driving licence, but unlike Anne and Marie she does not appear to particularly regret this fact.

"I can't afford a car, I can't see the point of having a licence, I'd be very frustrated. I physically can drive, I haven't got a licence, I've been taught to drive, I've never been in a position where I could afford a car since I've been a single parent, so it seems pretty pointless. My eldest daughters got a driving licence, if I could afford a car she'd probably take it off me. I'm in college all day so I don't really need one."

¹⁴ Emphases in the original text.

Helen finds public transport considerably better than Anne or Marie.

"I get the bus (to university), it drops me right outside Myrtle Street children's hospital, so it's just a trip round the corner. It's brilliant, there's two buses that go right up to the hospital itself. It takes 25 minutes of a morning. It goes all through the city centre, and it's heavy traffic."

Asked whether she felt public transport was adequate for her needs in addition to replying it was, she made the astute point that she used it at peak hours when services tend to be the most frequent:

"Yes, I think so, there are times when you can stand on Scotland Road for about three quarters of an hour and no bus comes along and it's very frustrating, but I don't think that happens very often. I tend to use public transport at peak hour, so there's plenty of it."

The observation that bus services are most numerous during the morning and evening rush hours is very pertinent, as it highlights the transport disadvantage faced by women. It is generally accepted that women use buses more than men, and the Vauxhall Job Link Survey has clearly shown that women are far more likely to work part-time than men. Given these two facts it appears strange that bus services are generally structured around a conventional 9-5 working day, with services being most frequent around these hours. The only slight compensating factor for women not working a "conventional" 9-5 day is that outside of peak hours fares may be cheaper, and cheap day travel passes can be used.

Unlike the previous two respondents, Helen felt bus services were improving:

"The bus services seem to be increasing. There's so many different buses that go on exactly the same route. When I started City College, two years ago, there were less buses that I could get. There was one the 28 and maybe the 350, there were no Merseybuses that went up there and now there's three."

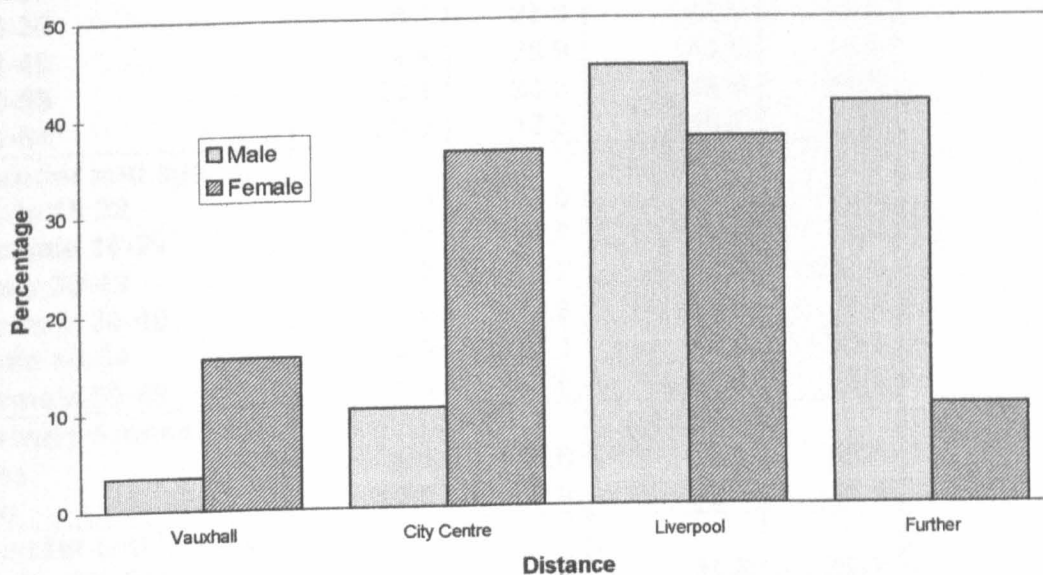
Another respondent, Sarah (married with 3 grown up children) told me she had recently failed her driving test twice. However unlike Marie and Anne she was not totally dependent upon public transport, because her husband drove and owned a car. This option would obviously not be available to the many female lone parents in the area, few of whom are likely to possess driving licences, and even fewer own cars.

8.2.2 Distance prepared to travel to work

Men appeared far more mobile than women, with only 3.7% of male respondents saying they would limit themselves to working within the immediate Vauxhall area, compared to 17.3% of female respondents. Less than half (48.0%) of women interviewed were

prepared to travel beyond the city centre for a job, a distance in Vauxhall which equates to a maximum of about 3 miles, the comparative figure for men was 86.5%, see Figure 8.2 and Table 8.2, below. A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative one, that there was an association between gender and the distance prepared to travel to work, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Figure 8.2: Distance prepared to travel to work by gender



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The fact that large numbers of women appear to operate in only a very small spatial labour market is backed up by material from the qualitative interviews. When Anne was asked how far she was prepared to travel to work, she replied:

“Not very far, because I always worked where I could go home for lunch. I’ve never worked far from home. I worked in Aintree once, a temporary job, no I never liked travelling far from home”.

However later on in the interview she went on to note that her employment with the National Dock Labour Board did involve travelling further afield:

“We also paid the dockers in Salford, Manchester. We got the train - we had three teams, we went for a fortnight then the other two teams went for a month it came round every six weeks. It was very enjoyable. We got the train from Lime Street to Manchester, and from there we got a taxi to Salford Docks”.

Table 8.2: Distance prepared to travel to work by key variables

	Travel Distance			
	Vauxhall	City Centre	Liverpool	Further
Gender				
Male	3.4	10.2	45.1	41.4
Female	15.6	36.4	37.7	10.3
Age				
16-19	5.1	16.7	34.6	43.6
20-29	9.1	24.7	40.3	25.8
30-39	8.2	27.3	45.9	18.6
40-49	12.4	28.9	43.8	14.9
50-59	23.1	33.3	26.9	16.7
60-64*	20.0	13.3	46.7	20.0
Gender and age				
Male 16-29	1.0	7.0	36.0	56.0
Female 16-29	12.2	31.7	40.2	15.9
Male 30-49	1.7	11.7	54.2	32.5
Female 30-49	14.9	37.9	39.5	7.7
Male 50-64	13.3	13.3	40.0	33.3
Female 50-59	31.3	45.8	20.8	2.1
Driving licence				
Yes	6.1	12.8	33.1	48.0
No	12.0	29.9	42.7	15.4
Gender and licence				
Male with licence	3.6	2.4	31.3	62.7
Female with licence	9.2	26.2	35.4	29.2
Male no licence	3.3	13.7	51.4	31.7
Female no licence	16.7	38.6	38.0	6.7
Access to car				
Yes	7.5	18.4	34.7	39.5
No	11.9	28.3	42.6	17.2
Working				
Yes	8.5	22.1	44.3	25.1
No	12.0	28.2	38.6	21.1
Female require childminding				
Yes	17.6	36.6	40.5	5.3
No	14.2	36.9	36.1	12.8
Qualifications				
Yes	5.5	15.7	44.7	34.1
No	13.1	31.3	38.4	17.3

Analysis of the distance respondents were prepared to travel to work by age showed quite clearly that as age increased the distance people were prepared to travel to work decreased. Only 5.1% of the under 20 age group were not prepared to travel beyond Vauxhall, with 34.6% willing to travel anywhere within Liverpool, and 43.6% prepared to work further afield. For the 30-39 year age group the number of people willing only to

work in Vauxhall had increased to 8.2%, and only 18.6% were prepared to travel outside the city to work. This trend continued amongst the 50-59 year age group, with almost a quarter (23.1%) only prepared to work in Vauxhall, and just 16.7% willing to travel outside Liverpool. A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative one, that there was an association between age and the distance people were prepared to travel to work, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Having established that as age increased the distance a person was prepared to travel to work decreased, gender was re-introduced to the analysis, and this produced some quite striking results. To simplify the tables age was categorised into three groups, under 30 years, 30 to 49 years, and 50 years and over. In the under 30 year age group over half (56.0%) of the male respondents were prepared to work outside Liverpool and only 1.0% would only consider work in the immediate Vauxhall area. This compared to 15.9% of females prepared to work outside the city and 12.2% only willing to work in Vauxhall. Amongst the over 50 year age group a third (33.3%) of males were prepared to work outside the city, compared to only 2.1% of females. Twice as many men aged 50 and over were prepared to work outside Liverpool than females aged under 30.

The possession of a driving licence appeared to dramatically increase the distance a person was prepared to travel to work. Almost half (48.0%) of people with a driving licence were prepared to travel beyond Liverpool compared to less than a sixth (15.4%) of people without a licence. Twice as many people without driving licences (12.0%) would only work within the immediate Vauxhall area than those with licences (6.1%). A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between possessing a driving licence and the distance a person was prepared to travel to work, at the 99.9% level of significance. Similarly having access to a car increased the distance to work people were prepared to travel. A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between having access to a car and the distance a person was prepared to travel to work, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Once again the introduction of gender into the analysis illustrates clearly that men were more mobile than women. Over three-fifths (62.7%) of men possessing driving licences were prepared to work outside Liverpool, compared to just under three tenths (29.2%) of women with licences. More men without driving licences (31.7%) were prepared to work outside the city than women with driving licences (29.2%). Over nine times as many men with licences were prepared to work outside the city than women without licences.

Respondents in employment were prepared to travel further to work than respondents not in employment. A quarter (25.1%) of people in work would be prepared to travel beyond the city compared to a fifth (21.1%) of people not in work. However when a chi-square test was carried out the null hypothesis, that there was no association between being employed and travel distance, was accepted.

Analysis of the distance a respondent was prepared to travel to work by whether or not they required childminding facilities was conducted, and is summarised in Table 8.2, above. Because the vast majority of people requiring childminding facilities were women, male respondents were excluded from this analysis. Slightly more women who required childminding facilities were only prepared to work in the immediate Vauxhall area, and less were prepared to work outside the city. However the differences were marginal, and a chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between the distance prepared to travel to work and requiring childminding facilities. This result may seem unexpected, but is due in part to the strong association between age and travel distance, with older women unwilling to travel far to work. To establish how much of a constraint to travel distance the lack of childminding facilities were, older women need to be excluded from the analysis. The mid forties appeared a good cut-off age, as it was found that only 5.4% of women aged 45-49 required childminding provision, compared to 14.3% of the 40-44 age group. The results of this new cross-tabulation are summarised in Table 8.3, below.

Table 8.3: Travel distance against childminding (women aged less than 45)

	Travel Distance			
	Vauxhall	City Centre	Liverpool	Further
Require childminding				
Yes	17.3	37.0	40.9	4.7
No	10.2	33.2	40.3	16.3

This time the results are much clearer, and it can be seen that women who require childminding facilities are unable to travel as far to work. Only 4.7% said they would travel beyond Liverpool, compared to 16.3% of women not requiring childminding provision. Also, a higher proportion were only willing to work only in the immediate Vauxhall area. The association was found to be significant, at the 99% level.

People possessing qualifications were willing to travel a greater distance to work than the respondents without qualifications. Only 5.5% of respondents with qualifications were unwilling to work outside the Vauxhall area, compared to 13.1% of respondents without qualifications. At the other extreme over a third (34.1%) of respondents with qualifications said they would work outside the city compared to only 17.3% of their unqualified counterparts. A chi-square test accepted the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between the possession of qualifications and the distance the respondent is prepared to travel to work, at the 99.9% level of significance. This finding is not unexpected, as earlier tests showed that an association existed between the possession of qualifications and driving licence possession and access to a car. Hence the people here without qualifications are less likely to hold driving licences, or have access to a car, and are consequently likely to be less mobile.

The above results show that women, non-working people, and older people are less mobile than men, the employed, and the young. These results support the work of several other researchers, that women travel, and are prepared to travel, shorter distances to work than men (Camstra, 1994; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1992; McLafferty and Preston, 1992; Mensah, 1995).

Analysis of the distance respondents were prepared to travel to work by age group and gender found that the distance women were prepared to travel to work varied more by age than it did for men, which echoes the findings of recent research in the Netherlands by Camstra (1994).

The above results suggest that men and women operate in spatially distinct labour markets. They also provide evidence that labour market areas, such as Travel to Work Areas, are defined on the basis of men's commuting patterns rather than women's. Hanson and Pratt observe that:

“although women and men inhabit the same suburban houses, men would travel to the city to work but women would not. The same distance that would pose no problem to men would be an insuperable barrier for women and would suffice, therefore, to prevent their entry into the paid workforce” (Hanson and Pratt, 1995, p95).

Although Hanson and Pratt were talking about suburban America, the same has been found here for inner city Liverpool, with large proportions of women only prepared to work in the immediate Vauxhall area, thus blocking their potential entry into employment in the city centre, or other parts of the city. The lack of employment opportunities in Vauxhall

and many women's limited mobility may help to explain why the area exhibits one of the highest levels of female unemployment in the country.

8.3 Aims and ambitions in employment, training and education

This section, which examines the employment and training aspirations of respondents, will concentrate on the aims of non-working respondents, as several of the questions were not relevant to people in employment.

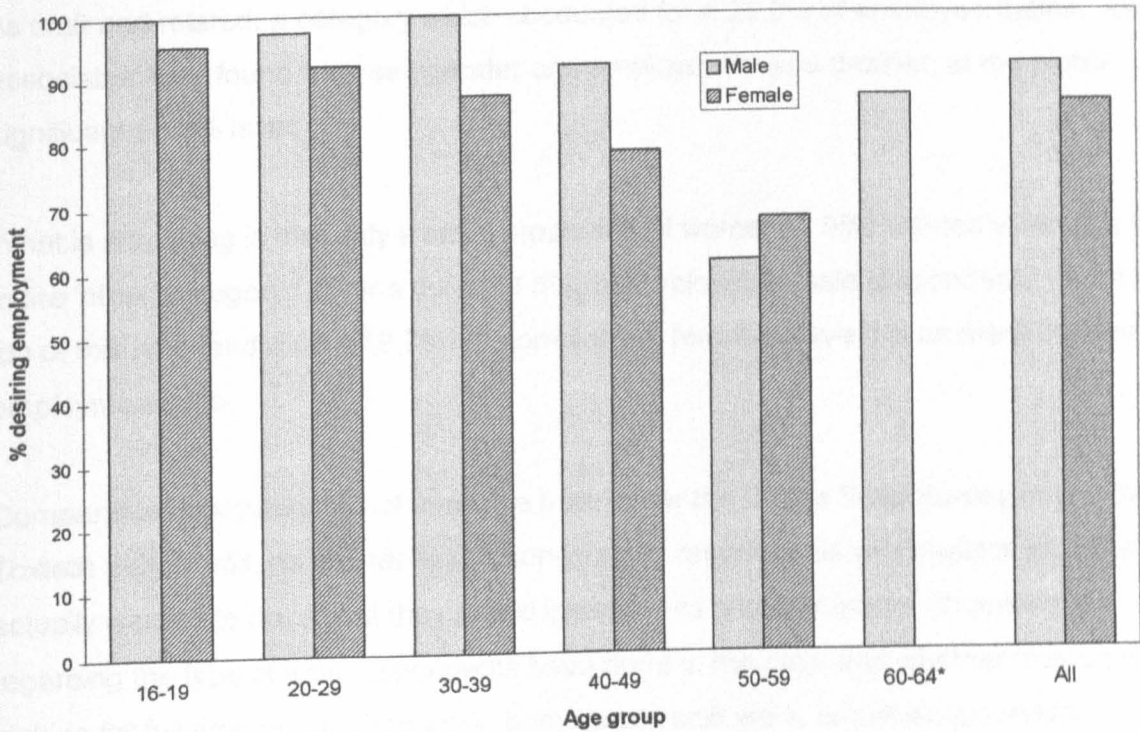
8.3.1 Desire employment (non-working only)

It was found that 91.8% of non-working male respondents and 85.6% of non-working female respondents wanted a job of some description, see Figure 8.3, below. This difference was not found to be statistically significant. These figures suggest that both men and women have a high degree of commitment to labour market activity, despite years of economic inactivity in many cases.

A fairly clear trend was apparent that as age increased the desire to find a job decreased, this was true for both males and females. The only exception to this was amongst male respondents in the 60-64 age group, which was probably due to the small number of people in this category. Very high proportions of male respondents aged under 40 desired employment of some type, this dropped slightly amongst men in the 40-49 age group, and sharply amongst men aged 50-59. This finding is consistent with other research, which shows that older workers may stop applying for jobs if they find employers unwilling to recruit workers close to retirement age, and that ill health, affecting the ability to take a job, is also more likely amongst older workers (Gallie and Vogler, 1994; Westergaard *et al*, 1989).

The situation for women was rather different, with a more gradual decline being apparent. In every age group except one a higher proportion of men desired work than women, the exception being the 50-59 age group, where over two-thirds (67.7%) of women wanted a job of some description, compared to three-fifths (60.9%) of men. What is slightly surprising is that there is no increase in the desire to work amongst older women, who might be expected to want to return to work after raising a family.

Figure 8.3: Desire employment by gender and age (non-working only)



* Males only

Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

For both males and females the association between age and desire to be employed was found to be statistically significant, in the former case at the 99.9% level and in the latter at the 99% level.

8.3.2 Type of employment desired

The type of jobs desired by non-working male and female respondents were very different. Amongst males, 45.4% wanted jobs in the craft and related category, whilst 8.2% wanted jobs in the 'other' category, and a further 8.2% said they would do any job, see Figure 8.4 and Table 8.4, below. Almost a quarter of females (24.5%) wanted to work in jobs in the personal and protective service category, a tenth (9.7%) wanted clerical and secretarial jobs, and 8.1% wanted associate professional and technical jobs. Only 9.2% of men wanted jobs in any of the first 4 SOC groups, compared to 23.3% of women.

In some respects these results closely match the existing gender division of labour in the Vauxhall area. Few men, for example, desired employment in occupations where large numbers of women were present, with just 6.6% wanting jobs in the personal and protective service category, in which a quarter (25.6%) of employed women worked. The

reverse was also the case, with just 5.8% of females wanting jobs that could be classed as craft and related, a category which accounted for a 25.5% of employed males. An association was found between gender and employment type desired, at the highly significant 99.9% level.

What is surprising is that only a small proportion of women (2.9%) wanted to work in jobs in the 'other' category. Over a third (36.5%) of employed female respondents worked in job of this type, and a fifth (19.7%) of non-working females gave this as their most recent employment type.

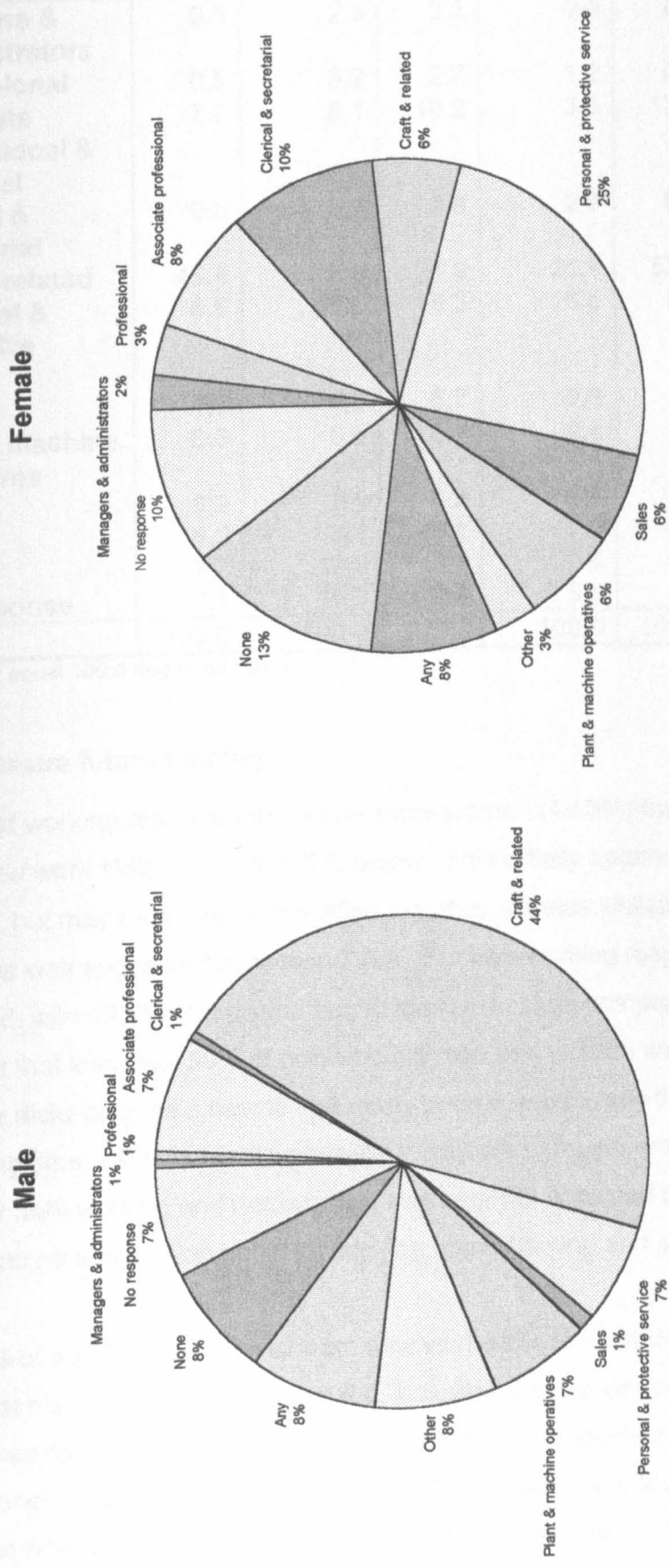
Comparable information is not available from either the Dingle Skills Survey or the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit, as neither asked non-working respondents what type of job they actually wanted to do. What they asked instead was a large number of questions regarding the type of jobs respondents have done in the past, and whether they were looking for full-time or part-time work, home-work, shift work, or self-employment.

The type of employment respondents desired also varied by age. A higher proportion of younger workers (aged under 40) wanted to work in more highly skilled occupations. For example, 11.3% of female respondents aged under 40 wanted to work in clerical and related occupations, compared to 5.7% of the 40 and over age group. Amongst males this situation was most extreme with regard to associate professional and technical occupations, with 12.4% of younger males wanting jobs of this type, compared to 1.2% of older males. Over half (52.2%) of younger male respondents wanted jobs in the craft and related occupational category.

Conversely, older respondents tended to desire jobs that could be defined as less skilled. For example, twice as many women aged 40 and over (10.3%) wanted to work in plant and machine operative occupations than younger women (5.0%). In addition, far greater proportions of older respondents did not desire a job of any type. This was more the case amongst women (24.1% not wanting a job) than amongst men (16.9%).

These findings support the view that the depopulation of the Vauxhall has been a highly selective process, with the better skilled population having left the area. This can help in explaining why Vauxhall exhibits such high rates of unemployment amongst the older age groups, because the people in employment, or the best chances of gaining it, have been more able to leave the area.

Figure 8.4: Occupation desired by gender (non-working respondents)



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

Table 8.4: Occupation desired by gender and age (non-working only)

	Gender		Age		Male		Female	
	Male	Female	16-39	40-59/64	16-39	40-64	16-39	40-59
Managers & administrators	0.5	2.3	2.1	0.6	0.9	0.0	2.7	1.2
Professional	0.5	3.2	2.7	1.2	0.0	1.2	4.1	1.2
Associate	7.7	8.1	10.2	3.5	12.4	1.2	9.0	5.7
professional & technical								
Clerical & secretarial	0.5	9.7	7.8	2.9	0.9	0.0	11.3	5.7
Craft & related	45.4	5.8	21.0	21.8	52.2	36.1	5.0	8.0
Personal & protective service	6.6	24.5	18.3	16.5	5.3	8.4	24.9	24.1
Sales	1.0	5.8	5.7	0.6	1.8	0.0	7.7	1.2
Plant & machine operatives	6.6	6.5	5.1	9.4	5.3	8.4	5.0	10.3
Other	8.2	2.9	4.2	6.5	7.1	9.6	2.7	3.4
Any	8.2	8.1	8.1	7.6	8.8	7.2	7.7	8.0
None	7.7	12.9	6.0	20.6	0.9	16.9	8.6	24.1
No response	7.1	10.3	9.0	8.8	4.4	10.8	11.3	6.9
Total*	100.0	100.0	100.2	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0	99.8

* may not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

8.3.3 Desire future training

Amongst working respondents slightly more women (49.3%) than men (43.2%) wanted to learn new work skills, see Table 8.5, below. This initially appears a positive situation for women, but may be a further indication that they are less skilled than men in the first place, as was suggested in section 7.6.3. For non-working respondents the results were reversed, with 49.7% of men wanting to learn new skills compared to 46.5% of women. The fact that less than 50% of non-working men and women want to learn new work skills is rather disturbing, as it seems that many people, particularly those who have not worked for a long time, will need new work skills if they are to regain employment. Chi-square tests for both working and non-working respondents accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between desiring future training and gender.

Analysis of age by the desire to learn new work skills for working and non-working respondents, summarised in Table 8.5, indicates that the desire to acquire new skills decreases as age increases. Amongst working respondents this trend is not very pronounced, with interest in training only falling sharply over the age of 50. The situation amongst non-working respondents is very different however. Here there is a clear

downward trend, from almost two-thirds (65.2%) of the 16-19 age group expressing an interest in training, compared to just 22.8% of the 50-59 age group. The age at which interest appears to decrease the most is 40, with 51.2% of the 30-39 age group interested in training, compared to just 36.5% of the 40-49 age group. For both working and non-working respondents associations were found between age and the desire to acquire new work skills, at the 99% and 99.9% significance levels respectively.

Table 8.5: Desire future training by gender, age group and possession of work skills

	Desire Work Skills	
	Working	Not Working
Gender		
Male	43.2	49.7
Female	49.3	48.4
Age group		
16-19	51.7	65.2
20-29	62.5	60.8
30-39	47.8	51.2
40-49	46.5	36.5
50-59	18.9	22.8
60-64*	50.0	40.0
Possess work skills		
Yes	50.9	59.5
No	45.9	44.9

* Males only

The position of these older, non-working, respondents is of particular concern for a number of reasons. Section 8.3.2 established that they appear to desire types of employment that are not likely to become available again, such as plant operatives, in higher proportions than younger respondents. In addition they are generally less qualified, and perceive themselves as less skilled, than younger people. This section has found that they appear less interested in undertaking future training. All these factors lead to the conclusion that these workers are particularly poorly placed to benefit from the type of new jobs that may come to Liverpool. For example, jobs involving data processing at Barclaycard, which Tang (1995) argued were inaccessible to local workers, or the type of jobs created at Abbey National's recently established direct insurance call centre at Brunswick Dock. Amongst these workers the mismatch between the skills they possess and the skills required for working in potential growth sectors of the labour market is large, and appears unbridgeable.

Further analysis was conducted to establish if the people who wanted to learn new work skills already possessed other work skills, see Table 8.5, above. The difference amongst working respondents was slight, with 50.9% of “skilled” workers wishing to acquire new skills, compared in 45.9% of “unskilled” ones wanting to do so, and was not statistically significant.

The situation amongst non-working respondents was rather different. In this case almost three-fifths (59.5%) of “skilled” workers wanted to learn new work skills compared to 44.9% of “unskilled” ones. This time the association between being skilled and wanting to learn new skills was statistically significant, at the 99% level. This suggests that in the case of non-working respondents, it is the people who least need to learn new skills that wanted to do so, whilst the majority (55.1%) of the unskilled respondents who would appear to need to acquire work skills the most urgently, did not wish to do so.

8.3.4 Type of training desired

In section 8.3.3 it was established that there was no statistically significant association between desiring future training and gender, but that there were statistically significant associations between desiring future training and age, and desiring future training and possession of work skills. This section will examine the relationship between the type of work skills desired, coded in the same way as work skills possessed (see section 6.5.6), and gender and age.

The results of the cross tabulations between type of training desired and gender are summarised in Table 8.6 and Figure 8.5, below. What is apparent from both is that the type of training people desire is as gender stereotyped as the skills respondents actually possessed (see Table 7.12 and Figure 7.8). Almost two-fifths (39.7%) of men desiring future training wanted it in building and related skills, compared to only 3.8% of women. The situation with regard to caring, personal service and related was the reverse, but to an even greater degree, with almost half (49.8%) of women who desired training wanting it in this field, compared to just 1.5% of men. Driving and related skills were wanted by four times as many men (19.8%) than women (4.8%).

Only in the cases of arts and craft related, and miscellaneous and other, were the proportions of males and females desiring training at all similar, and in both these cases relatively few people wanted such skills.

As in the case of type of skill possessed and gender, see section 7.7.2, conducting a chi-square test to establish if there was a significant association between type of work skill possessed and gender proved difficult.

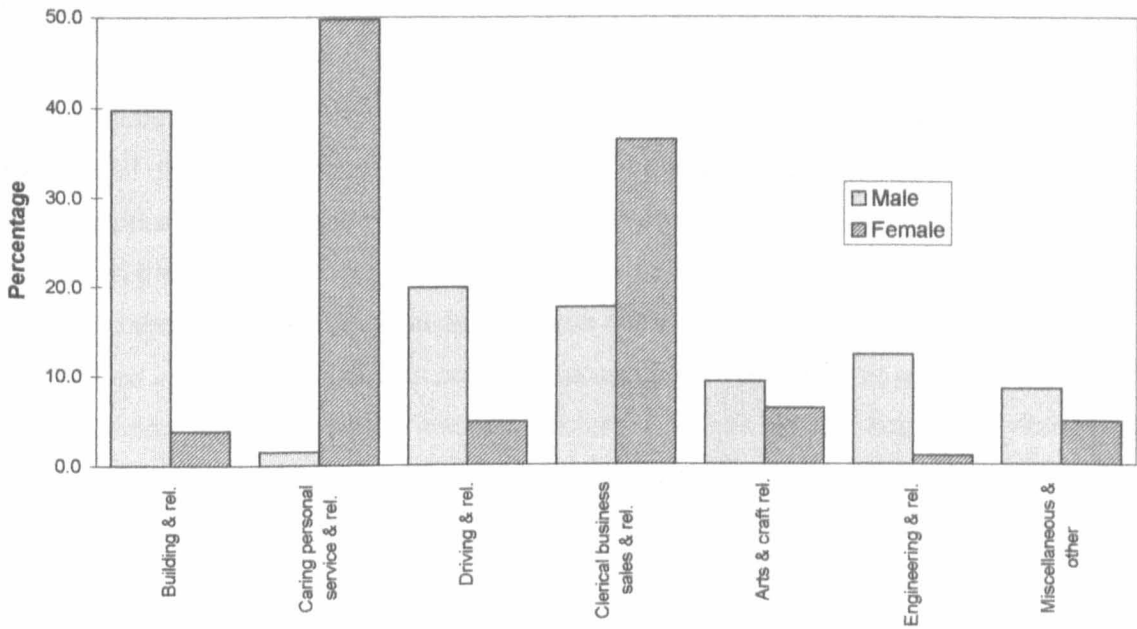
These findings reinforce the view that, with regard to work, clearly defined male and female roles are deeply entrenched amongst the population of Vauxhall. Broadly similar results were found in the combined analysis of the Granby/Toxteth, Dingle, Marybone/St Joseph and Cornwallis skills audits (Tunnah, 1995), though the differences between genders were nothing like as pronounced. Given these results, and those regarding the type of employment respondents wanted, it seems unlikely that the existing gendered occupational structure in Vauxhall will change in the foreseeable future.

Table 8.6: Type of training desired by gender and age (including first and second response)

Skill type	Male		Female		16-29		30-49		50-59/64	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Building & related	52	39.7	8	3.8	30	18.8	24	16.0	6	22.2
Caring, personal service & related	2	1.5	104	49.8	49	30.6	47	31.3	10	37.0
Driving & related	26	19.8	10	4.8	18	11.3	15	10.0	3	11.1
Clerical, business, sales & related	23	17.6	76	36.4	48	30.0	45	30.0	5	18.5
Arts & craft related	12	9.2	13	6.2	10	6.3	11	7.3	4	14.8
Engineering & related	16	12.2	2	1.0	9	5.6	8	5.3	1	3.7
Miscellaneous & other	11	8.4	10	4.8	9	5.6	10	6.7	1	3.7
No response	120	N/A	195	N/A	147	N/A	140	N/A	24	N/A
Total	262		418		320		300		54	

Generally the type of skills respondents desired to learn did not vary according to their age, see Table 8.6, although it must be remembered that fewer older people wanted to learn new work skills. Approximately a third of respondents from each age group wanted to acquire caring, personal and related skills, whilst about a tenth of respondents from each age group wanted to acquire driving related skills. However one or two exceptions did occur. In the case of the clerical, business, sales and related category significantly less people in the 50-59/64 age group wished to learn these skills (18.5% compared to 30.0% in both other age groups). Conversely, arts and craft related skills were desired by twice as many respondents in the 50-59/64 age group than in the other two age groups.

Figure 8.5: Type of future training desired by gender



Source: Vauxhall Job Link Survey

The results regarding the clerical, business, sales and related category again highlight the danger that older respondents are poorly placed to take advantage of any employment growth in this broad sector. A similar pattern emerged from the combined analysis of 4 inner Liverpool skills audits, with Tunnah (1995) reporting that 51.5% of respondents aged 16 to 24 wanted training in the clerical, business, sales and related category, compared to just 14.1% of respondents aged over 45.

8.3.5 Future self employment

It was established in sections 6.5.7 and 7.6.6 that relatively few respondents were, or had ever been, self employed. Amongst working respondents 62.7% of males said they would like to be self employed, compared to 49.3% of working females. The results for non-working respondents followed a similar pattern, with 55.1% of males wishing to be self employed compared to 44.4% of females, see Table 8.7, below. In both cases the association between gender and desire to be self employed were statistically significant at the 95% level.

The Dingle Skills Survey also found that more men (40%) than women (29%) wished to be self employed, but both figures were much lower than in Vauxhall (Bates, 1994). The Granby Toxteth survey also produced similar findings, but in this case the difference was

less, with 31.7% of males wanting to be self employed compared to 27.3% of females (Nutter, 1993).

In the previous chapter it was clearly shown that at both the local and nation level male rates of self employment were higher than female ones, and given this the above figures are unsurprising. Richardson and Hartshorn (1993) observe that women wishing to start up and run their own business face a double disadvantage compared to men. Firstly, there is no real tradition of women as business owners, and women are under-represented in the small business sector. Secondly, women perform a dual role, and are usually responsible for domestic and family matters. It has already suggested elsewhere (see section 7.3) that in working class areas women's domestic role is often particularly deeply entrenched, and this burden of responsibility is likely to make self employment a less viable option for women than men. In addition, because there is not a strong tradition of female business owners, women in Vauxhall may lack successful female role models.

Table 8.7: Desire to be self employed by gender and age

	Desire to be Self Employed (%)	
	Working	Not Working
Gender		
Male	62.7	55.1
Female	49.3	44.4
Age Group		
16-19	60.0	75.0
20-29	75.0	64.2
30-39	57.3	53.3
40-49	40.8	34.1
50-59	27.8	14.5
60-64*	50.0	12.5

* Males only

It was found that the desire to be self employed was highest amongst younger respondents. For people in employment the desire to be self employed was greatest amongst those in the 20-29 (75.0%), 16-19 (60.0%) and 30-39 (57.3%) age groups. The lowest rate, 27.8%, was found in the 50-59 age group. Amongst non-working respondents the general trend was similar, but the desire to be self employed decreased much more steeply as age increased, for example only 14.5% and 12.5% of respondents in the 50-59 and 60-64 age group wanted to be self employed. In both cases chi-square tests rejected the null hypotheses in favour of the alternative hypotheses, that there was

an association between age and the desire to be self employed, at the 99.9% level of significance.

8.3.6 Adult education

Women expressed a greater interest in adult education than men, with 42.4% of female respondents saying that they would like to undertake a course of some description, compared to 33.7% of males, see Table 8.8. This association was significant at the 95% level.

Table 8.8: Interest in adult education by key variables

	% interested in adult education
Gender	
Male	33.7
Female	42.4
Employment status	
Working	41.0
Non-working	38.0
Age	
16-19	42.3
20-29	55.0
30-39	41.5
40-49	26.4
50-59	16.5
60-64*	29.4
Possession of qualifications	
Qualified	58.0
Unqualified	30.2

Employment status appeared not to affect people's interest in adult education, with 41.0% of working respondents showing an interest compared to 38.0% of non-working ones. A chi-square test accepted the null hypothesis, that there was no association between working and interest in adult education.

The cross tabulation of age by desire to pursue adult education provided some very interesting results. The 20-29 age group was the most enthusiastic about adult education, with 55.0% of them saying they would consider undertaking it. This compares to 42.3% of

the 16-19 age group, and 41.5% of the 30-39 one. Over the age of 40 however interest in adult education declined quite sharply. A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative one, that there was an association between age and interest in higher education, at the 99.9% level of significance.

Twice as many respondents possessing qualifications (58.0%) were interested in adult education than were respondents not possessing them (30.2%). A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative hypothesis, that there was an association between possessing qualifications and interest in adult education, at the 99.9% level of significance.

As in the case of work skills, the type of courses respondents were interested in varied strongly by gender. Amongst males the most popular courses were electrical/engineering related (15.2%), other non-vocational (14.1%), English (12.0%), and mathematics (12.0%); whilst amongst females the most popular were computing/clerical related (18.7%), craft (16.5%), caring/first aid (11.5%), and English (10.4%), see Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Subjects respondents interested in, by gender, including first and second choices

Course type	Male		Female	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Literacy/Numeracy	3	3.3	8	4.4
English	11	12.0	19	10.4
Mathematics	11	12.0	13	7.1
Computing/Clerical	9	9.8	34	18.7
Business	5	5.4	12	6.6
Caring/First Aid	1	1.1	21	11.5
Catering/Hairdressing	0	0.0	10	5.5
Craft	3	3.3	30	16.5
Electrical/Engineering	14	15.2	2	1.1
Construction	10	10.9	0	0.0
Other vocational	4	4.3	0	0.0
Other non-vocational	13	14.1	13	7.1
Access	0	0.0	5	2.7
Any	4	4.3	11	6.0
Don't Know	23	25.0	37	20.3
No response	73		149	
Total	184		364	

8.3.7 Literacy and numeracy

As in section 6.6.4.1, it appears likely that the survey has underestimated the number of people experiencing literacy and numeracy problems. Table 8.9, above, shows that 3 men and 8 women wanted help with literacy or numeracy. Of the 3 men, 2 required help with both, whilst one wanted it just for literacy. Amongst the 8 women, 7 required help with literacy only, whilst one wanted help with both. Once again a question earlier in the questionnaire, which asked if respondents required help with anything, was analysed. This analysis revealed a further 8 males and 22 females wanting help with one or both subjects. The combined results are summarised in Table 8.10, below.

Table 8.10: Help required with literacy and numeracy, by gender

Help required with	Male Count (%)	Female Count (%)
Literacy only	8 (2.6)	19 (4.1)
Numeracy only	1 (0.3)	8 (1.7)
Both	2 (0.7)	3 (0.6)
Total	11 (3.6)	30 (6.4)

The above results clearly demonstrate a gender dimension to literacy and numeracy problems, with a higher percentage of females (6.4%) than males (3.6%) requiring help in either one, or both, areas. A chi-square test could not easily be conducted because the data was combined from separate questions.

Both the Dingle Skills Survey and the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit reported far higher numbers of respondents wishing to improve their English and mathematics skills. However both surveys also noted that a higher proportion of females than males wanted help. The Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994) found that 18% of males and 28% of females wanted help improving their English, whilst the figures for mathematics were even higher, at 23% and 37% respectively. The Granby Toxteth Skills Audit (Nutter, 1993) reported that 20% of males and 26% of females wanted help with English, whilst for mathematics the figures were 28% and 36% respectively.

As noted in section 6.6.4.1, the results from the Dingle Skills Survey and the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit appear very high, whilst those from Vauxhall seem quite low. From personal experience, working for an adult literacy organisation 10 years ago, I recall being told of the frequent hidden nature of numeracy/literacy problems, with even close relatives often not knowing of a family member's difficulties. This makes the figures from the other

skills audits appear excessively high, whilst giving credence to the notion that the Vauxhall figures are probably an underestimation of the problem.

8.4 Constraints to employment

This section will consider factors which may impede or restrict respondents entry or participation in paid employment.

8.4.1 Childminding

The analysis of respondents' needs for childminding facilities by gender, see Table 8.11, proved striking. Whilst 31.6% of women needed this facility if they worked or wanted to work, only 3.8% of men did. This finding reinforces the view that the responsibility of caring for children in the area is considered very much a female activity. The lack of affordable childcare facilities may prove a major restriction to the nature and location of jobs women are able to consider. In contrast, most men in Vauxhall do not face this barrier to employment. The association between gender and needing childcare was significant at the 99.9% level. This result is very similar to that reported by the Dingle Skills Survey, which found that 39% of females interviewed said that lack of childcare provision was a barrier to employment, compared to just 3% of males (Bates, 1994).

Table 8.11: Employment constraints by gender and age

Age	% requiring childminding		% help minding others		% with health problems	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
16-19	0.0	15.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
20-29	0.0	54.5	0.0	6.1	7.3	5.3
30-39	10.0	39.0	8.6	4.1	1.4	12.3
40-49	4.3	10.1	4.3	6.3	10.4	15.2
50-59	3.1	3.6	6.5	10.5	29.4	24.6
60-64*	0.0	N/A	5.9	N/A	35.3	N/A
All	3.8	31.6	4.2	5.6	9.8	11.4

Unsurprisingly a cross tabulation of age by the need for childminding facilities found that younger women required them more than older ones. Fewer women in the 16-19 age group (15.8%) needed childminding facilities than might have been expected. This could be due to very young mothers still living with their parents, and being able to leave their children with their own family if they worked. The 20-29 age group required the highest

level of childminding provision, with 54.5% of women saying they needed it. An association between age and the need for childminding facilities was found, at the 99.9% level of significance.

8.4.2 Minding others

A similar proportion of males (4.2%) and females (5.6%) required help in minding people other than children, if they wanted to go out to work. No statistically significant association was found between gender and minding others. Amongst women higher proportions of older respondents had to mind others, with a figure for the 50-59 age group of 10.5%. No clear pattern emerged amongst men, with the highest figure, of 8.6%, experienced by males in the 30-39 age group.

Despite the fact that no association was found between gender and minding others, two of the women interviewed in the complementary qualitative research spent significant parts of their lives caring for other family members, with far reaching consequences. When Marie was asked how she felt school affected what work she chose to do, she responded:

“Well I was unfortunate in that I was the middle daughter when I was at school and my mum never really enjoyed good health, used to take heart attacks, consequently because my eldest sister had started work and I was still only at school, if ever my mum wasn't well I was the one that had the job of minding my mum fell to, so I missed out on a lot of schooling. I left school then when I was 15, I could have stayed on till I was 16 or 18, but by that time we were not financially well off. So I felt I needed to get out and get a job. But I really would have liked to stay at school”. (Marie, born 1940s, unmarried, no children)

Another respondent, Sarah, who worked in a local residential home for the elderly, explained that she came to work in a caring occupation as a result of nursing her own mother for 7 years.

These examples both demonstrate how the role of caring for sick relatives usually falls to women. In the case of Marie it affected her adversely in that she missed a lot of schooling, and felt compelled to leave school to work at an earlier age than she would have done under different circumstances. In Sarah's case it had a more positive outcome, caring for her mother led her to working in a caring occupation, which she said she enjoys.

The expectation of female family members in Vauxhall to act as carers of sick relatives may help explain why so many women, and so few men, wanted to learn skills in caring and related issues. As has already been mentioned, the area has a long tradition of clearly defined male and female roles, and caring falls very much into the female domain. The case of Sarah, above, clearly illustrates the transition from caring for a family member in the home to employment in a care related occupation.

8.4.3 Health

Slightly more women (11.4%) than men (9.8%) had health problems which restricted their ability to work, see Table 8.11, above. Unsurprisingly this variable was strongly linked to age, with only small numbers of young respondents experiencing health problems. However amongst women aged over 30 the proportion enduring ill health rose quite sharply. About an eighth (12.3%) of women aged between 30 and 39 suffered health problems, rising to a quarter (24.6%) in the 50-59 age group. The older male age groups exhibited even higher figures, with 29.4% of the 50-59 age group, and 35.3% of the 60-64 age group experiencing ill health which affected their ability to work. These figures are unsurprising, as Chapter Five cited several sources which show that the population of Vauxhall exhibits high levels of illness.

8.5 Advice, employment search and related issues

This section will consider the methods people use to find out about employment and training related issues. Recent research in Britain (Morris, 1994) and the United States (Hanson and Pratt, 1995) suggests that men and women use different methods to find employment, and that this can help explain patterns of occupational segregation.

8.5.1 Go for advice on education and employment training

Amongst non-working respondents significantly more women (61.3%) than men (46.0%) did not go anywhere to get advice on education and employment training, see Table 8.12, below. Over a quarter of males (27.3%) used Job Centres compared to a sixth (16.8%) of females, see Table 8.13. The lower use by women could be related to the lack of a Job Centre within easy reach of Vauxhall, the nearest ones at the time of the survey being in Liverpool city centre (Williamson Square), Everton (Breck Road) and Bootle (The Strand).

Table 8.12: Employment search variables by gender and age

	Go for advice (%)		Would use local facility (%)		Contact (%)	
	Working	Non-working	Working	Non-working	Working	Non-working
Gender						
Male	44.0	54.0	89.0	89.3	72.0	85.3
Female	32.6	38.7	91.1	90.0	77.5	84.1
Age Group						
16-19	60.7	78.3	96.6	95.8	83.3	95.9
20-29	34.0	42.0	87.7	93.7	82.8	91.0
30-39	39.7	40.5	93.8	89.5	70.8	90.4
40-49	27.0	40.3	90.0	87.5	82.0	80.0
50-59	25.0	38.8	81.3	83.9	52.8	60.7
60-64*	100.0	35.7	100.0	69.2	100.0	66.7
Male 16-29	51.5	63.3	90.6	95.2	87.9	95.5
Female 16-29	37.5	45.7	90.7	93.8	80.0	90.6
Male 30-49	38.5	51.5	90.9	89.9	67.3	89.7
Female 30-49	32.8	34.4	93.3	88.0	81.4	84.4
Male 50-64	36.4	42.4	78.6	77.8	50.0	60.0
Female 50-59	22.7	33.3	85.0	84.8	58.3	63.9

* Men only

It could also be the case that women use different methods to find work than men.

Recent research by Morris (1994) found that a larger proportion of women than men gained employment through information obtained from friends. She suggests that a possible explanation is:

“the tendency for women not to define themselves as unemployed, and possibly therefore to be less involved in active job search, but inclined to take a job should it become available through informal means” (Morris, 1994, p119).

However information from the Granby Toxteth Skills Audit (Nutter, 1993) and the Dingle Skills Survey (Bates, 1994) suggests that word of mouth is an equally important source of information about employment opportunities for both males and females. Nutter (1993) reported that 46.7% of men received job information by word of mouth compared to 43.4% of women; whilst Bates (1994) reported figures of 39% and 36% respectively. The Dingle Skills Survey also reported that large and similar proportions of men (68%) and women (67%) used Job Centres to obtain information on employment opportunities. In Granby Toxteth Nutter (1993) found that 45% of men used Job Centres, compared to 39.9% of women.

The notion that informal sources of information about employment are as, if not more, important than formal methods is supported by a piece of recent research by Perri 6:

“more people get jobs through meetings in pubs than through Job Centres. The way that most people get work is through informal contacts, through their social networks” (Perri 6, 1997, p6).

Table 8.13: Sources of advice on employment training and education

Gender	Go for Advice				
	Nowhere	Job Centre	Eldonians	VNC	Other
Male	49.4	27.3	1.2	5.7	16.3
Female	63.4	16.8	1.3	6.9	11.7
Male non-working	46.0	32.9	0.6	5.6	14.9
Female non-working	61.3	18.8	0.4	7.3	12.3
Male working	56.0	16.7	2.4	6.0	19.0
Female working	67.4	12.9	3.0	6.1	10.6

In an earlier piece of research Morris (1990) observes that the use of friendship and kinship links by women seeking part-time work is of particular significance. This method is also beneficial to employers, as it considerably reduces the cost of recruitment, particularly in areas of high unemployment like Vauxhall, where advertising a vacancy could elicit a huge number of applications.

Information from the Pathways Survey of Liverpool Employers (Liverpool City Council Central Policy Unit, 1995) shows that about three-tenths of employers used informal methods to advertise their last vacancy, see Table 8.14. Some methods clearly favour people in employment, for example about a quarter of employers in both producer and service sectors advertised vacancies internally, demonstrating the possible existence of internal labour markets. About a third of all employers advertised their last vacancy in Job Centres, with significantly more employers in the production sector doing so (37.1%) than in the service sector (30.7%).

Table 8.14: Advertisement method of last vacancy by employers in Liverpool Partnership Areas

How advertised	Producers	Services	Total
Internally	23.1	25.3	24.5
Local press	24.5	32.1	29.5
Regional press	3.5	4.0	3.8
National press	2.1	7.6	5.7
Job Centre	37.1	30.7	32.9
Recruitment agency	11.2	11.9	11.7
Some other way (including informal methods)	31.5	30.7	31.0
Total*	133.0	142.3	139.1
Cases	143	277	420

* Total over 100% as some employers provided more than one method.

Source: Liverpool City Council Central Policy Unit Survey of Liverpool Employers (1995)

The significance of employers advertising vacancies through informal networks is that certain people are likely to be excluded from this information. People in employment, or with friends in employment, are more likely to hear about vacancies than people who socialise in groups of unemployed or non-working people. In Vauxhall, with such a small proportion of people engaged in paid employment, large numbers of people are likely to be excluded from such sources of information. As Morris observes:

“the unemployed depend to considerable degree on those who are least able to support them, and their social contacts also include a majority of other unemployed or non-employed people” (Morris, 1994, p118).

Similar sentiments have been expressed in the United States, with Wilson (1987)

suggesting that in areas of extreme poverty social isolation is at its greatest, and individuals links to mainstream society are at their weakest. The idea that social isolation is increasing in Vauxhall is supported by the findings in section 4.6, which found that male and female economic activity rates in the area had decreased by about a fifth between 1981 and 1991, and that male and female unemployment rates had risen by 18.7% and 54.7% respectively over the same period.

Another interesting dimension to the debate on employment search methods has been developed in the work of Hanson and Pratt (1995). They found that over half of males and females in their household survey in Worcester, Massachusetts, had obtained their current jobs through informal networks or chance encounters, and that this process occurred across all occupational groups. Their research also revealed that people who gained employment through informal contacts worked closer to home than people who obtained jobs through more formal means, with this trend being more pronounced amongst women than men. This occurred, they argue for two reason. Firstly because

women tend to make more use of family and community contacts than men, and secondly channels of information are gendered, with men tending to get information about jobs from other men, and women from other women. The implications of this are extremely important, and Hanson and Pratt continue:

“Gender based networks are also likely to perpetuate sex-based occupational segregation, as women inform other women about female-dominated jobs and men tell other men about male-dominated ones” (Hanson and Pratt, 1995, p199).

This may help understand why the labour market in Vauxhall is so gender segregated, in terms of occupation and part/full-time employment status. Whilst it does not explain how this segregation occurred in the first place, it can offer an insight into why the situation has endured for so long.

Material from the in-depth interviews lends support to the notion that women in Vauxhall make heavy use of informal channels of information about employment, but not always successfully:

“My friend and I believe it or not wanted to work in a factory, because they had music while you work in factories. We were mad on music, so we left Littlewoods and we got a job in Bibby’s and we worked in Bibby’s three days and we gave our notice in, because it wasn’t our type of work! It was wooden boxes, and if there was any bent nails we had to pull the nails out, which as you can imagine we were no good at at all because we had done office work for 7 years, and you had to replace the bent nails with a fresh one, so we only stayed there for four days” (Anne).

Later in her working life Anne again made use of informal community contacts to gain employment, working for a local housing co-operative:

“The Co-Op where I now live was looking for volunteers to sort out the filing, which was in terrible mess - I thought that will do. I did that for a few months and then I dropped off because there was nothing to do. As I say the filing was higgledy-piggledy and I like scrounged the covers from my old job, the Tax Office. So I more or less got the filing up to date. Then the girl who had the part-time job decided she wanted to train as a nurse, so I was offered the job, and I have been there ever since” (Anne).

Another respondent, Margaret, left school with no qualifications, and went to work in the Central Tin Cannister Company on Great Homer Street, because she had a number of friends working there.

It was found that a greater proportion of younger people sought advice on education and employment training related matters than older people. Amongst non-working respondents 78.3% of the 16-19 age group went for advice, compared to 42.0% of the

20-29 age group, and 38.8% of the 50-59 age group. An association was found between age and seeking advice on employment, at the 99.9% level of significance.

It was also found that people with some form of qualification were more likely to go for advice on employment and training than people without qualifications. About two-fifths (39.7%) of non-working respondents without qualifications went for advice, compared to well over half of respondents with qualifications (57.9%). A chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative one, that there was an association between possessing qualifications and going for advice on employment and training, at the 99% level of significance.

8.5.2 Local facility

The idea that women used Job Centres less than men partly because of physical inaccessibility was supported by the results of a cross tabulation of gender against the question "would you use a local centre providing information on employment and training?" This showed that virtually identical proportions of working and non-working males and females said they would use such a facility.

The proportions of non-working respondents who said they would use a local information centre decreased as age increased. Although this trend is quite pronounced, and an association was established at the 95% level of significance, large percentages of respondents from the older age groups said they would use such a facility (83.9% of the 50-59 age group, 69.2% of the 60-64 age group). No clear pattern emerged amongst working respondents, but here the question is more hypothetical, as those in work would probably have less need of such a facility.

8.5.3 Contact

Very similar proportions of non-working men (85.3%) and women (84.1%) wanted to be contacted about any relevant job opportunities that arose. Once again this shows the level of commitment of women to the labour market, despite the formidable barriers many of them face.

The cross tabulation of age by contact revealed a quite different picture. Non-working respondents in the younger age groups were very keen to be contacted about job

opportunities (95.9% for 16-19 age group, 91.0% for the 20-29 age group). Over the age of 40 this enthusiasm declined, with 80.0% of the 40-49 age group wanting to be contacted, falling to 60.7% and 66.7% for the 50-59 and 60-64 age groups respectively. An association between age and desire to be contacted about relevant employment opportunities was found, at the 99.9% level of significance.

8.6 Summary

The chapter began by examining mobility related questions from the Vauxhall Job Link Survey. It is established that a significantly smaller proportion of women possess driving licences than men, and that the introduction of age into the analysis indicates that the problem is greatest amongst older women. The phenomenon of few older women in the area being able to drive is obviously partly linked to income, but is also probably a historical legacy of the area, with women traditionally working very close to where they lived. This view is supported by material from the in-depth interviews.

Analysis of the distance respondents were prepared to travel to work revealed women to be at a disadvantage to men, and the conclusion is drawn that men and women in the area operate in spatially distinct labour markets.

A major element of the chapter involved analysis of respondents employment, training and educational aspirations. It was found that the type of occupation respondents wanted varied significantly by gender. This was most pronounced amongst men, with almost half of non-working males wanting to work in craft and related occupations, a sector already heavily dominated by men. Similar findings were made when the type of employment related training people desired was analysed, with men wanting to learn craft and related skills, and women preferring caring and related skills.

Lack of childminding provision was identified as a major constraint to employment by many young women, but affected very few men. A relatively small number of mainly older respondents required help minding other people. Health problems affecting a persons ability to work were found to be associated with age, with quite high proportions of older respondents experiencing ill-health.

In the advice and employment search section it was established that a smaller proportion of women than men sought advice on education and employment training, and that they

also used Job Centres less than men. This led to a discussion regarding the different search methods that men and women use to gain employment, and the theory that this can perpetuate occupational segregation was considered. It was also apparent that younger people sought advice on employment and training significantly more than older people.

A recurrent finding throughout this and the previous chapter was the very weak labour market position of many older respondents. Many of these people had experienced extremely long periods of unemployment, and they generally possessed few or no qualifications and work skills, and experienced high levels of ill health. It was suggested in this chapter that this group of people faced the greatest difficulty in finding work, as most new job opportunities that were being created in Liverpool required skills that these individuals do not possess.

9. Conclusions

At the time of the Job Link Survey prolonged economic restructuring, deindustrialisation and counterurbanisation had led to a residual population remaining in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool. A selective process of out migration left a small, ageing, generally poorly skilled and underqualified population, with only a small proportion of people engaged in paid employment. The index of deprivation in Chapter Three identifies Vauxhall as one of the most severely socially and economically deprived localities in urban England, and a cluster analysis using the same variables suggests that only a handful of wards in Merseyside, Greater Manchester and Tyne and Wear face problems of a similar severity.

A key feature of the national labour market over recent years has been the large increase in female employment and economic activity, and a corresponding, but smaller, decline in male employment and economic activity. This thesis has shown, through the use of census data, that in Vauxhall this has not been the case, as both female and male economic activity rates have fallen sharply. For example, in 1981 about three-fifths of women of working age in Great Britain and Vauxhall were economically active, by 1991 the figure for Great Britain had risen to two-thirds whilst for Vauxhall it had fallen to below a half. Over the same period several affluent wards in Liverpool experienced modest increases in female economic activity rates.

Although several of the labour market theories examined in Chapter Two are useful in conceptualising the situation in Vauxhall, none are applicable in their entirety. Dual labour market theory appears over-simplistic and dated, however the concept of a divide between a primary and secondary labour market is useful, and is an important feature in more recent labour market models, such as Atkinson's model of the flexible firm, and discontinuous labour market theory. Many employed people in Vauxhall were operating in the secondary sector of the labour market, and were thus likely to experience poor working conditions, low pay, few employment rights, little job security and poor promotion prospects. However because such a large proportion of the population in Vauxhall were not engaged in paid work this model only provides a partial explanation for the situation.

Spatially discontinuous labour market theory is useful, as it can help explain the processes which have led to the exclusion of some groups from the labour market, particularly older unskilled and semi-skilled workers. This is particularly apparent in the inner Liverpool wards of Vauxhall, Everton and Granby, where male unemployment rates

are as high amongst the 45-64 age group as amongst the 16-24 age group. The particularly weak position of labour in Vauxhall, and much of Liverpool, caused by persistently high rates of unemployment, have enabled employers to impose an increasingly flexible labour market system, most clearly demonstrated by rising levels of part-time employment.

The application of Atkinson's model of the flexible firm resulted in the conclusion that the vast majority of people in employment in Vauxhall were operating in the peripheral rather than the core segments of the labour market (Atkinson, 1985). This was especially true for women, due in part to their prevalence in part-time employment. Also, the decline of manufacturing industry in Vauxhall, traditionally large employers of women for much of this century, has resulted in large numbers of women in the area moving into very peripheral and insecure employment. Yet, once again, the validity of this model to Vauxhall must be questionable given how few people in the area were engaged in paid work. At the city level however there is clear evidence that the labour market is becoming more flexible in two important ways. Firstly the Liverpool labour market has become increasingly feminised, for example in 1995 54.3% of all employees in the city were women compared to 46.9% in 1981; and secondly the incidence of part-time employment has increased markedly, accounting for 28% of employees in the mid-1990s compared to 24% a decade earlier (Liverpool City Council, 1997).

Detailed analysis of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey in Chapter Six produced several important findings. Two-thirds of the population of working age were not engaged in paid employment, and a large proportion of these respondents had been out of work for long periods of time. Chapter Seven established that there was a gender dimension to this phenomenon, with women tending to have experienced longer periods out of work than men. However, it was observed that from the questions asked it was impossible to be sure how many women were taking breaks from employment to raise families, and how many were actively seeking work. Consequently the male results were easier to interpret, and made very grim reading, with only just over a fifth (21.2%) of non-employed men having worked within the last year. A clear age dimension was also apparent, with respondents aged over 40 particularly severely affected by long periods out of employment. Half of men aged in their forties had not worked in the last 5 years, and this figure rose to nearly three-quarters (74.0%) for men in their fifties.

The length of time a person is out of work can prove a major barrier to re-entering the labour market. This is in part due to work-skills depreciating, or becoming obsolete, as time out of employment increases (Mincer and Ofek, 1982). However equally important is employer prejudice against the unemployed. A recent survey of employers in Liverpool found that over half thought that more than a year of unemployment was detrimental to an applicant's chances of employment (Liverpool City Council, 1995). The skills audit reported that about three-quarters of non-working respondents in Vauxhall had not worked for over a year. Unless attitudes of employers to employing the long-term unemployed can be changed, it is quite possible that even an increase in the number of jobs available locally would not directly benefit many of the unemployed in Vauxhall.

The Vauxhall Job Link Survey also provided evidence that the level of female unemployment is far higher than officially recognised. About a third of both men and women were found to be engaged in paid employment. By excluding respondents who did not want employment it was estimated that the male rate of unemployment was 56.0%, and the female rate was 51.0%. Other skills audits in Liverpool confirmed the scale of female unemployment in the inner city, and the concern must be that the Department of Education and Employment bases its policies on official figures, which grossly underestimate the scale of the problem. For example in February 1991 the official female claimant based unemployment rate in Vauxhall was 14.0%.

Compared to nationally the population of Vauxhall was poorly qualified, with over two-thirds of respondents possessing no formal qualifications. Those who were qualified were generally not educated to a high level. The rate of driving licence possession was half the national average, and few respondents had the use of a car. Somewhat surprisingly the proportion of respondents who said they experienced ill health was lower than might have been expected, given the figures reported by the 1991 census.

To understand the current labour market situation in Vauxhall the thesis considered in detail the development of the area over the last 150 years. The high level of unemployment in Vauxhall today is not a new phenomenon, data from the 1840s (Finch, 1842) show that unemployment and underemployment were as prevalent then as they are today. Also employment in the area has always been characterised by a tradition of casualism, dating from the recruitment methods adopted by the dock employers in the Nineteenth Century, which continued well into the Twentieth Century (Taplin, 1986). This makes Vauxhall very different from most other localities where high levels of

unemployment are a more recent phenomenon, and traditions of casualism and insecure employment are not so pronounced.

Chapter Seven analysed the Vauxhall Job Link Survey by gender, and clearly demonstrated that women experienced several disadvantages in the labour market. Although similar proportions of women and men were engaged in paid employment, a far higher proportion of women worked part-time than men. Amongst employed women there was a clear age dimension to engagement in part-time employment, with few young women working part-time, and very few women aged over 40 working full-time. This was a disturbing finding, as it suggests that women who leave the labour market to raise a family are unlikely to be able to re-enter the labour market where they left it, due to skill depreciation, and are becoming channelled into part-time employment. These findings support those of Glover and Arber (1995), who found that women with high levels of human capital are able to minimise the effects of motherhood on their employment patterns, whilst women with little human capital find motherhood a barrier to their employment opportunities, in both the short and long-term.

Analysis of the current occupation of employed respondents and the most recent occupation of non-employed respondents revealed high degrees of occupational segregation by gender. This phenomenon was at its most pronounced amongst women working part-time, with over half being employed in the lowest skilled, generally low paying, 'other occupations' category. An explanation for this occupational segregation is that it is partly a legacy of the patriarchal relations in the area, with very clearly defined roles of male and female behaviour in the area. Employment as dockers was always a male preserve, with a very brief exception during the First World War, probably due as much to the method of recruitment as to the nature of the work itself. In the Nineteenth Century daily recruitment along the Dock Road was a very physical process, with dockers literally fighting to gain selection for work by employers. Even when men and women worked in the same industry they undertook very different tasks, for example in sugar refining men were involved in the production process whilst women undertook the packaging tasks.

Another reason propounded for this occupational segregation by gender is that it is a consequence of men and women using different methods to search for employment. This can also help to explain women's over representation in part-time employment. It is difficult to see how this situation is likely to change if employers persist in recruiting staff

through informal networks. It also means that people excluded from such networks of communication, such as families without members in employment, do not have equal access to job opportunities. It is this imperfect nature of information which reveals a fundamental flaw in human capital theory. Key to human capital theory is the ability of individuals to make a rational choice, and in order for them to be able to do so they require access to information.

The Job Link Survey also provided some evidence to suggest that economic restructuring in the Vauxhall area has affected women more adversely than men. Analysis of current jobs of employed respondents and the most recent jobs of non-working respondents revealed a greater shift away from manufacturing employment amongst women than men. The contraction and eventual closures of the tobacco and sugar refining industries in Vauxhall removed a large number of relatively secure and well paid jobs from the area. A large proportion of these jobs, particularly in the tobacco industry, were held by women. The loss of these jobs appears to have pushed women into low paying, service sector occupations, such as cleaning. At a city level, information in Table 5.6 supports this view, demonstrating that between 1981 and 1995 female employment in non-service sector occupations declined by 63.3%, whilst equivalent male employment declined by 59.9%.

Having established that men and women in Vauxhall held different types of job, it was no surprise to discover that they possessed very different types of work skills. What was of more concern was that the type of work skills that respondents wanted to acquire were equally, if not more, gender stereotyped. This further demonstrates how deeply-rooted occupational segregation by gender is in the area, and helps explain why it appears so intransigent.

A major potential barrier to employment amongst women was lack of mobility. Evidence was found to suggest that male and female respondents operated in spatially distinct labour markets, with women far more likely than men to restrict their employment search to a very localised area. This finding is consistent with the findings of recent research in the United States (Hanson and Pratt, 1995). It was suggested that a likely contributory factor to the situation in Vauxhall was women's inferior access to private means of transport, demonstrated by lower rates of driving licence possession. However this explanation alone was insufficient, as men without driving licences were prepared to travel further to work than were women with driving licences.

Material from the in-depth interviews demonstrated that older women in particular liked working close to home, with several expressing a desire to be able to walk to work. In the past women in Vauxhall have not needed to travel far to work, as large employers, such as Tate and Lyle and British American Tobacco, had their factories located within the community. Now that this situation no longer exists women have to travel further to gain work, and the evidence in Chapter Eight suggests that many of them are not well placed to do so.

An important aspect of recent research on social division has been the increasing awareness of a polarisation between work-poor and work-rich households (Hatt, 1997; Pahl, 1988). Few areas in the country have a higher proportion of work-poor households than Vauxhall, where in 1991 68.9% of households contained no employed adult. In addition only a tenth (10.3%) of households in Vauxhall contained more than one employed adult and could be thus defined as work-rich. If current trends in female economic activity rates in Liverpool continue there is a real danger that areas like Vauxhall will see a further growth in work-poor households, whilst more affluent areas will see an increase in work-rich households, leading to greater social polarisation within the city.

There is also a gender dimension to the composition of work-poor households, with female lone parents being particularly adversely affected. Chapter Five revealed that only 9.4% of women from lone parent households in Vauxhall worked, compared to 20.5% at the city level and 33.3% nationally. It is difficult to see how current government proposals to cut welfare benefits to single mothers who do not work will reduce poverty in areas like Vauxhall. It is equally hard to imagine where the jobs that lone parents are expected to take up will appear from in the Liverpool labour market at the current time or in the foreseeable future.

The findings of this research thoroughly refute the arguments of right-wing underclass theorists such as Charles Murray. Vauxhall exhibits at least two of the three characteristics that Murray claims are synonymous with the creation of an underclass, rising illegitimacy and economic inactivity amongst working aged men. Murray (1995) predicts that as illegitimacy rates rise amongst the lower classes in England life in working-class communities will continue to degenerate, with increases in crime, unemployment, drug abuse, homelessness and child neglect. In Vauxhall these predictions have quite clearly not manifested themselves; indeed the reverse appears to

be the case. Increased economic exclusion in Vauxhall has strengthened community resolve, resulting in action which has increased social inclusion. This is most visibly demonstrated by the achievements of the Eldonians. These findings provide an extremely strong challenge to the work of right-wing underclass theorists, because the population of few places in this country are as economically excluded from mainstream society as that in Vauxhall, and yet the pessimistic predictions that Murray (1995) makes are not occurring.

Analysis of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey and various secondary data sources refutes the existence of an underclass in a number of ways. The fact that such a large number of non-working people, many of whom had not worked for years, participated in the survey does not support the notion that the area's population is alienated from the world of employment. In addition, most non-working respondents indicated a desire to work again in the future. The response of much of the population of Vauxhall to economic restructuring and enormous job losses has been one of strengthening community resolve and resilience, rather than social breakdown. This is epitomised by considerable grass-roots community activity in Vauxhall, with groups working to tackle the area's problems in a wide variety of ways. A sense of pride in the area was very apparent from several of the respondents who participated in the in-depth qualitative dimension of the research.

Although the overall crime rate in Vauxhall has risen during the 1990s, crimes of a violent nature are rare. That no burglaries have occurred on the Eldonian Village site in almost 10 years is an impressive claim for any area, and defies the right-wing belief that working class areas are ridden with crime. Participation in the electoral system, measured by turnouts in local council elections, has been gradually rising since the 1970s, hardly what would be expected from an area becoming increasingly isolated from main-stream society.

What is evident in Vauxhall is severe social and economic deprivation, the primary cause of which is almost certainly the exclusion of two-thirds of the adult population from paid employment. It would be erroneous to blame local people for the chronically high rates of unemployment in the area. For example, Chapter Five illustrated that the decision of Tate and Lyle to close their sugar refinery in Vauxhall had nothing to do with the quality of the staff, but was due to restructuring within the industry occurring at a national and international level. Indeed it appears the closure had as much to do with the European

Union's agricultural policy, and the refinery's poor location in relationship to late Twentieth Century modes of transportation, than to any qualities of the staff.

Despite the severity of problems identified by the skills audit, the future for the population of Vauxhall does not look entirely bleak. The achievements of community groups, most notably the Eldonians, have given local people confidence in the area's future. The opportunities for people to remain in Vauxhall appear far better today than in the past, and for the first time in many years large numbers of people are moving back into the area. In the past the option of buying a house in Vauxhall was very limited, and people wishing to purchase were likely to have to leave the area. Today several builders are constructing property for sale in Vauxhall, and at prices that are likely to be affordable to local people in paid employment. Shared ownership schemes with local housing associations have also improved the opportunities for people to stay in Vauxhall. Unlike in many inner city areas in the country this re-population is not largely due to gentrification, although small amounts of this phenomenon can be observed, most notably in the form of the Waterloo warehouse development, and to a lesser extent along lock section of the Leeds-Liverpool canal. Although the economic benefits of these processes may be slow to manifest themselves, at least they have staunched the haemorrhaging of population from the area, and indicate that Vauxhall is perceived as a desirable place to live. The increased presence of working people in Vauxhall may also act as important role models for young people, particularly if they have grown up in families that have not known employment for generations.

Since the Job Link Survey was conducted Vauxhall, along with other deprived parts of Liverpool and Merseyside, has benefited financially from European Union Objective One funding, and more recently from the Urban initiative. It is too early to assess the results of this funding, but both initiatives appear seriously committed to reducing barriers to employment that face the population. However, on a more cautionary note, data from the Census of Employment in Chapter Five demonstrates the continuing weak position of the Liverpool labour market. In other major English cities large-scale male job losses have been partially compensated for by an increase in female employment. For example, in Newcastle male employment in the city decreased by 18.8% between 1981 and 1995, but female employment grew by 14.6%. In Liverpool this has not been the case, over the same period the city lost 37.4% of male jobs and 16.0% of female ones.

It also appears that there is a skills mismatch occurring in Liverpool, with local workers not possessing the required skills needed to gain jobs in sectors of the labour market that are growing. This phenomenon is well illustrated by Tang (1995), who reports that 60% of the employees at the Central Retail Service Division of Barclaycard live outside Liverpool. Many of the respondents of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey possessed no, or obsolete, work skills, and whilst European Objective One funding may increase the number of job opportunities in Liverpool, there is no guarantee that local workers will be suitably qualified to gain them. Any jobs that do accrue to the city are unlikely to be in manufacturing, the sector that the majority of the non-working population of Vauxhall last worked in. It is far more likely that most new jobs created will be in the service sector.

On a more positive note there have been two examples in recent years of employers working in Vauxhall agreeing to contracts which make them use local labour. When the American hypermarket chain Cost-Co located a branch in Vauxhall in the mid 1990s it agreed to employ a quota of local people. The Eldonians also negotiated a deal with the Warwick Construction Group, who built several of their schemes in the mid 1990s, a contractor which uses only Merseyside labour. In addition a significant number of jobs have been created directly by Eldonian schemes, such as the frail elderly home, nursery, and social club.

The research touched on the complex issue of the informal economy. Many of the respondents of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey working in low skilled jobs may have been working on the fringes of the informal labour market, but from the questions asked it was impossible to be sure of this. It was also impossible to ascertain whether people not in formal employment participated in informal economic activity more than people in paid work. In one of the in-depth interviews the respondent talked of women she knew in the area undertaking several part-time cleaning jobs to make ends meet, a phenomenon also reported recently in Sheffield (Smith, 1997). A future area of research to develop would be to investigate how prevalent these activities are, and how women manage to combine this work with all their household activities. This would also involve investigating the operation of the informal economy in the area, the strategies the people develop to deal with unemployment, and the use people make of communication networks. Views differ as to the extent of informal economic activity in deprived areas, from those who argue it is very common place and acts as a safety net for the disadvantaged (Gaughan and Ferman, 1987), through to those who suggest it occurs less than in middle class areas, due to the lack of skills which preclude entry to the formal economy and the fear of being

caught (Williams and Windebank, 1993). Due to the hidden nature of many informal economic activities any research would need to be conducted in a very sensitive manner, and would almost certainly need to be of a qualitative nature. The use of contacts within the local community to gain access to respondents and to develop trust and rapport would be of crucial importance to the success of any such research.

Because of the use of the Vauxhall Job Link Survey as the basis of this research the thesis has been largely quantitative in nature. This situation was unavoidable, as my employment with the Eldonians organising the skills audit was the inspiration for this work. However the situation has been partially redressed by the development of a complementary qualitative dimension. If I were to begin the research again I would attempt to create a more even balance between quantitative and qualitative approaches. This would involve conducting a smaller skills audit, with the onus being on drawing upon a carefully calculated sampling frame which accurately reflects Vauxhall's population of working age. The qualitative approach would be expanded, firstly by conducting more interviews, and secondly by organising a small number of focus groups. The use of focus groups to look at employment issues in Vauxhall would be of particular interest, as the technique can generate ideas that would not occur in a one to one interview situation.

Part of the title of this thesis posed a question. At the time the Job Link Survey was conducted it was very apparent that a large proportion of the population of Vauxhall was becoming increasingly socially and economically excluded from mainstream society. In the intervening 8 years considerable financial investment has been made in the area. A large amount of housing has been developed, as have residential schemes for the elderly, and a wide range of sports and social facilities. The area has also benefited considerably from a number of environmental improvements. Nevertheless despite all this investment the Vauxhall area still faces enormous difficulties. Ultimately it is only through improved access to employment that social polarisation between people in Vauxhall and in other areas will decrease. In an area with such a long-term tradition of high levels of unemployment, insecure and casual employment, and clearly gendered employment patterns, the challenges are huge. However one way forward must be to oblige employers who locate in the area to sign up to local labour contracts, which make them employ local people. Local grass-roots organisations, like the Eldonians and Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council, are taking up these challenges, and what is certain is that these groups, which have already achieved so much, will continue to strive for the improvement of the area.

10. Appendices

Appendix One

Extract from Tunnah and Shepton (1991) Vauxhall Job Link Final Report, report to T.E.E.D.

3. Background

It was against the background of declining manufacturing industry, declining population and high and rising unemployment, as outlined in chapter two, that the Eldonian Development Trust (EDT) was established in the late 1980s. The EDT is an agency founded by the people of Vauxhall to provide a vehicle for the community to contribute to the regeneration of their own area.

The key objective of the EDT is to secure long-term employment for local people. The Development Managers of the EDT have identified three ways in which this can be achieved (EDT Medium Term Development Plan, 1990):

- Members of the local community developing new businesses.
- Attracting new or existing businesses to the area.
- Businesses developing in commercial / industrial areas adjacent to Vauxhall.

In addition, significant opportunities will arise in the construction industry during the 1990s as the physical redevelopment of the area takes place.

The practical steps to achieving job creation, as outlined in the Medium Term Development Plan include:

The promotion of Vauxhall as an area for industrial and commercial location.

- Improving the skills of local people.
- Assisting the search for work.
- Enterprise development.

Possessing a skills profile of the area is essential for carrying out these steps as it can be used to:

- Develop within the community skills which will make the area more attractive to local employers.
- Develop appropriate training programmes having established the current level of skills and qualifications.
- Identify individuals with potentially marketable skills, and help them find suitable vacancies.

- Identify and help individuals who have expressed an interest in running a small business.

Having established the need for a skills audit, the EDT and Liverpool Polytechnic submitted a joint proposal to the Training Agency for a project called the Vauxhall Job Link. The Polytechnic offering expertise in questionnaire design, data base management and training for local people to collect and input the data. The EDT offering local knowledge and community links.

Funding was granted by the Training Agency and a Job Link Officer (Edward Tunnah) was appointed in December 1989 to supervise the project. The objectives defined in the contract drawn up between the Training Agency and the EDT and Liverpool Polytechnic were as follows:

1. To research the aspirations, needs and desires of the local economically active population re: training and employment of 3000 people (Source: Merseyside Information Service, September 1990).
2. Build up a community data base of the information.

To facilitate employment creation the Job Link survey aimed to interview everyone of working age. Previous skills audits have usually only attempted to interview a sample of the population.

References

Eldonian Development Trust (July 1990) Medium Term Development Plan.

Appendix Two

Six cluster solution to analysis conducted in chapter 3

Cluster One		Co.	Zindex	%			
Ward	District			Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
Spitalfields	Tower Hamlets	IL	17.88	33.52	81.92	29.71	73.56

Cluster Two		Co.	Zindex	%			
Ward	District			Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
St.Stephens	Newham	IL	6.96	23.86	43.47	13.78	55.01
Kensington	Newham	IL	6.61	23.50	36.05	14.39	52.36
Monega	Newham	IL	6.13	23.47	30.11	14.56	48.43
Upton	Newham	IL	5.84	22.13	39.59	12.98	49.76
Liddle	Southwark	IL	11.24	31.06	96.46	12.06	74.22
St.Dunstan's	Tower Hamlets	IL	11.43	28.06	83.76	16.22	68.47
Shadwell	Tower Hamlets	IL	9.46	22.39	78.34	15.82	58.25
Weavers	Tower Hamlets	IL	9.45	25.62	82.13	12.67	66.71
St.Mary's	Tower Hamlets	IL	9.26	19.59	79.66	14.47	68.91
Holy Trinity	Tower Hamlets	IL	8.98	25.27	80.70	12.10	64.95
Limehouse	Tower Hamlets	IL	8.17	24.41	77.71	11.01	63.36
St.Peter's	Tower Hamlets	IL	8.00	21.32	75.25	11.77	65.38
Blackwall	Tower Hamlets	IL	7.97	24.32	80.29	10.70	60.57
St.Katherine's	Tower Hamlets	IL	7.68	20.53	70.60	13.59	54.77
Northcote	Ealing	OL	5.32	19.04	23.51	17.14	35.94
Sparkbrook	Birmingham	WM	10.23	32.91	65.28	13.53	68.65
Small Heath	Birmingham	WM	6.56	24.99	38.17	12.81	55.99
University	Bradford	WY	10.04	31.64	46.39	16.68	63.80
Bradford Moor	Bradford	WY	5.89	24.80	31.33	11.77	57.56

Cluster Three		Co.	Zindex	%			
Ward	District			Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
Hulme	Manchester	GM	9.67	39.23	97.99	3.55	81.32
Princess	Knowsley	ME	9.89	41.05	82.55	6.02	76.92
Longview	Knowsley	ME	8.33	39.74	75.25	4.15	72.93
Cantril Farm	Knowsley	ME	7.96	37.34	79.07	3.91	71.57
Northwood	Knowsley	ME	7.78	39.49	68.88	3.82	71.95
Everton	Liverpool	ME	10.68	45.14	93.95	3.39	86.60
Vauxhall	Liverpool	ME	10.47	45.05	90.74	3.48	85.51
Granby	Liverpool	ME	9.86	41.57	85.07	4.66	81.57
West City	Newcastle	TW	9.06	39.07	91.85	2.27	84.56

Cluster Four Ward	District	Co.	Zindex	%			
				Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
Central	Bolton	GM	6.71	26.46	62.63	7.76	67.14
Derby	Bolton	GM	6.32	23.88	55.94	9.07	64.37
Longsight	Manchester	GM	6.27	27.64	62.42	6.76	63.87
Coldhurst	Oldham	GM	7.17	21.27	59.07	11.18	68.40
Werneth	Oldham	GM	5.08	21.05	46.98	9.58	55.76
Smallbridge & Wardleworth	Rochdale	GM	5.67	19.52	47.34	11.18	58.37
King's Cross	Camden	IL	8.12	22.46	81.53	9.53	73.30
Regent's Park	Camden	IL	5.12	15.22	78.51	6.73	63.99
Haggerston	Hackney	IL	9.09	26.78	88.55	10.07	69.42
Kings Park	Hackney	IL	8.35	27.93	89.11	8.02	67.53
Eastdown	Hackney	IL	8.33	28.14	83.11	8.64	67.32
New River	Hackney	IL	7.99	25.10	79.22	9.65	66.09
Queensbridge	Hackney	IL	7.48	27.37	82.52	7.49	63.58
Northfield	Hackney	IL	6.65	23.29	68.32	9.41	59.52
Northwold	Hackney	IL	6.57	23.75	66.20	8.93	61.71
Westdown	Hackney	IL	6.54	24.80	72.18	7.63	62.26
Rectory	Hackney	IL	6.46	23.63	70.61	8.24	61.24
Springfield	Hackney	IL	6.36	23.07	61.76	9.95	57.25
Dalston	Hackney	IL	5.62	21.29	69.70	6.99	62.15
Brownswood	Hackney	IL	5.25	19.89	67.30	7.05	61.27
White City & Shepherds Bush	Hammersmith & Fulham	IL	7.43	22.24	78.31	9.35	66.80
High Cross	Haringey	IL	5.17	23.32	62.15	6.10	61.48
Seven Sisters	Haringey	IL	5.04	22.04	60.30	6.64	60.64
Sussex	Islington	IL	5.46	18.82	70.31	7.42	62.47
Golborne	Kensington & Chelsea	IL	8.64	24.37	88.11	9.78	70.28
Avondale	Kensington & Chelsea	IL	6.22	19.60	77.24	7.69	65.50
Colville	Kensington & Chelsea	IL	5.23	17.39	72.12	7.07	63.21
Larkhall	Lambeth	IL	5.96	20.87	73.70	7.65	61.43
Ferndale	Lambeth	IL	5.67	21.34	67.20	7.44	61.97
Plasht	Newham	IL	5.46	21.66	55.59	8.64	59.33
Park	Newham	IL	5.16	21.35	54.17	8.30	58.70
Castle	Newham	IL	5.14	20.60	52.28	8.69	59.18
Friary	Southwark	IL	7.97	25.84	86.27	8.22	67.50
Chaucer	Southwark	IL	7.37	22.17	86.44	8.37	66.03
Bromley	Tower Hamlets	IL	8.20	23.41	85.03	9.83	67.91
Redcoat	Tower Hamlets	IL	7.49	22.87	80.15	9.36	64.90
Lansbury	Tower Hamlets	IL	7.06	23.41	79.97	8.30	63.61
East India	Tower Hamlets	IL	5.91	20.91	75.12	7.31	61.53
Church Street	Westminster	IL	6.40	16.75	79.09	8.00	71.62
Queen's Park	Westminster	IL	6.31	18.64	75.01	8.07	68.52
Lancaster Gate	Westminster	IL	5.95	14.62	62.07	11.83	59.41
Harrow Road	Westminster	IL	5.08	16.14	66.28	8.03	62.42
St. Raphael's	Brent	OL	6.83	22.92	74.69	9.14	60.12
Roundwood	Brent	OL	6.00	20.88	71.34	7.76	63.02
Stonebridge	Brent	OL	5.67	18.92	74.77	7.56	61.31
Elswick	Newcastle	TW	5.94	26.05	60.41	5.98	68.76
Aston	Birmingham	WM	9.18	32.90	71.71	9.38	72.97
Nechells	Birmingham	WM	7.97	29.50	62.25	9.86	66.83
Handsworth	Birmingham	WM	6.45	28.77	50.30	9.00	59.40
Soho	Birmingham	WM	6.08	25.23	47.85	9.54	60.75
Foleshill	Coventry	WM	5.30	24.46	45.53	8.86	56.58
Soho & Victoria	Sandwell	WM	6.34	26.20	69.82	5.90	68.06
Little Horton	Bradford	WY	6.28	24.87	57.27	7.76	68.26

Cluster Five Ward	District	Co.	Zindex	%			
				Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
Ardwick	Manchester	GM	8.33	30.91	92.55	4.71	77.57
Central	Manchester	GM	8.23	34.71	90.46	2.90	79.53
Cheetham	Manchester	GM	7.00	33.06	65.72	5.50	67.33
Benchill	Manchester	GM	6.78	26.64	86.60	4.74	68.34
Moss Side	Manchester	GM	6.17	28.80	70.94	3.82	71.04
Beswick & Clayton	Manchester	GM	5.25	24.63	72.11	3.57	67.61
Harpurhey	Manchester	GM	5.17	25.56	69.86	2.84	70.23
Middleton West	Rochdale	GM	5.24	23.55	74.16	3.77	67.26
Blackfriars	Salford	GM	6.96	28.89	88.31	2.87	75.64
Pendleton	Salford	GM	6.14	26.18	80.89	2.93	74.82
Ordnance	Newham	IL	7.09	29.16	85.91	4.48	69.07
Beckton	Newham	IL	5.77	24.30	80.00	4.75	63.36
Cherryfield	Knowsley	ME	6.52	31.42	65.71	4.30	71.24
Kirkby Central	Knowsley	ME	6.43	33.52	57.84	4.72	68.14
Tower Hill	Knowsley	ME	5.74	31.40	56.12	6.02	56.09
Abercromby	Liverpool	ME	7.87	33.43	83.33	4.08	75.18
Smithdown	Liverpool	ME	6.81	32.53	69.89	3.43	75.17
Breckfield	Liverpool	ME	6.65	32.29	65.70	3.53	75.75
Speke	Liverpool	ME	6.41	32.03	71.00	3.62	68.22
Pirrie	Liverpool	ME	5.39	29.12	62.33	4.27	62.17
Dovecot	Liverpool	ME	5.30	29.39	62.33	3.95	62.14
Netherley	Liverpool	ME	5.12	28.13	60.69	4.27	61.65
Melrose	Liverpool	ME	5.05	27.27	58.37	3.09	71.37
Linacre	Sefton	ME	6.15	32.65	68.09	2.13	73.98
Bidston	Wirral	ME	6.57	33.34	70.68	3.47	68.71
St. Mary's	Greenwich	OL	6.39	24.36	90.83	4.36	66.91
Herringthorpe	Rotherham	SY	5.75	25.63	80.84	3.54	66.49
Manor	Sheffield	SY	5.31	25.60	77.10	2.55	68.71
Park	Sheffield	SY	5.18	24.87	79.84	2.04	69.48
Bede	Gateshead	TW	5.25	23.12	72.97	3.24	72.44
Felling	Gateshead	TW	5.22	23.47	76.56	2.77	71.33
Bensham	Gateshead	TW	5.06	23.31	67.55	3.47	71.81
Walker	Newcastle	TW	7.31	30.21	83.48	3.30	78.86
Monkchester	Newcastle	TW	6.69	28.09	80.92	3.43	75.60
Scotswood	Newcastle	TW	5.94	28.09	65.17	4.38	70.06
Moorside	Newcastle	TW	5.38	21.85	82.82	2.53	74.36
Riverside	North Tyneside	TW	5.10	24.06	74.67	2.27	72.49
Bede	South Tyneside	TW	5.09	25.38	78.51	1.71	69.80
Thorney Close	Sunderland	TW	5.68	27.21	78.55	2.48	69.89
Ladywood	Birmingham	WM	5.20	25.22	69.03	4.02	65.03

Cluster Six Ward	District	Co.	Zindex	%			
				Unemployed	Non-own	H/H>1ppr	Nocar
Somers Town	Camden	IL	7.44	18.91	91.85	7.92	73.46
St.Pancras	Camden	IL	6.56	20.69	85.13	6.60	68.82
Holborn	Camden	IL	5.46	16.61	88.85	4.59	71.10
Priory	Camden	IL	5.30	18.78	80.75	5.12	66.32
Wenlock	Hackney	IL	7.60	24.11	89.62	7.20	69.56
Moorfields	Hackney	IL	6.83	22.26	82.42	6.75	70.24
Chatham	Hackney	IL	6.32	23.00	80.65	6.09	66.10
Victoria	Hackney	IL	5.36	19.96	77.61	6.13	60.80
De Beauvoir	Hackney	IL	5.11	20.88	75.71	5.44	60.29
Thornhill	Islington	IL	5.97	21.50	78.10	6.84	61.76
Tollington	Islington	IL	5.72	20.45	74.56	6.94	62.47
Clerkenwell	Islington	IL	5.43	18.79	85.41	4.97	65.79
Bunhill	Islington	IL	5.15	17.59	90.86	3.27	70.57
Highview	Islington	IL	5.05	20.51	75.63	5.40	60.65
St.Charles	Kensington & Chelsea	IL	5.60	18.60	82.26	6.27	63.23
Angell	Lambeth	IL	7.20	25.46	85.01	6.25	69.45
Vassall	Lambeth	IL	6.52	22.88	82.75	6.67	64.47
Stockwell	Lambeth	IL	6.39	21.12	78.97	7.38	65.05
Bishop's	Lambeth	IL	5.78	18.36	87.72	5.02	70.05
Evelyn	Lewisham	IL	7.55	25.61	88.77	7.15	66.22
Marlowe	Lewisham	IL	6.55	23.34	79.19	7.27	62.80
Grinling Gibbons	Lewisham	IL	5.59	21.61	76.67	6.06	61.49
Browning	Southwark	IL	7.07	23.03	91.30	6.09	69.53
Consort	Southwark	IL	6.95	24.91	81.52	6.63	67.36
Faraday	Southwark	IL	6.60	23.99	88.30	5.51	65.93
Brunswick	Southwark	IL	6.25	21.38	83.92	6.27	65.32
Abbey	Southwark	IL	6.19	19.08	87.38	6.34	66.83
Burgess	Southwark	IL	6.09	20.70	89.06	5.43	65.83
Rotherhithe	Southwark	IL	5.73	20.65	90.18	5.03	62.00
Newington	Southwark	IL	5.37	19.55	81.78	5.20	64.34
St.Giles	Southwark	IL	5.05	19.28	74.28	5.99	60.98
St.James'	Tower Hamlets	IL	6.12	20.62	78.51	7.08	64.34
Park	Tower Hamlets	IL	5.13	20.39	82.64	4.20	64.11
Carlton	Brent	OL	7.43	22.05	87.40	7.24	73.32
Nightingale	Greenwich	OL	5.92	21.16	94.50	5.25	59.22
Arsenal	Greenwich	OL	5.75	20.05	84.32	6.08	61.72
University	Leeds	WY	5.55	21.33	82.10	3.90	70.51

Key

Co. = Metropolitan County
 IL = Inner London
 OL = Outer London
 GM = Greater Manchester
 ME = Merseyside
 SY = South Yorkshire
 TW = Tyne and Wear
 WM = West Midlands
 WY = West Yorkshire

Variables:

Unemployed = Unemployment rate of economically active population of working age (%)
 Non-own = Households not owner occupied (%)
 H/H>1ppr = Households with over one person per room (%)
 Nocar = Households with no car (%)

Appendix Three

Vauxhall Job Link Survey questionnaire

Interviewer Date of interview

SECTION ONE: A FEW BASIC DETAILS

- 1. Surname 2. First Names
- 3. Address
- 4. How old are you? 5. Do you have any dependents? yes / no
- 6. Do you possess a driving licence? yes / no
- 7. Do you have the use of a car? yes / no
- 8. Do you have a phone number we can contact you at?

SECTION TWO: SOME BASIC SKILLS

All of us are good at some things, but not so good at others:

9. Name some things you are good at:

.....
.....

10. LOOK AT THE CHECKLIST.

a. Which of these activities are you good at?

.....

b. Which of them do you find more difficulty more?

.....

11. Are there any things you would like help with?

.....

12. What sort of things do you do with your time?

.....

We now need to know a little about your education and training, and first about things for which you may have certificates

SECTION THREE: EDUCATION

13. Do you have any formal qualification? yes / no
IF YES GO TO 14, IF NO GO TO 16.

14. What qualifications do you have? This list may help remind you:
LOOK AT CHECKLIST.

.....

15. Can you tell us a little more about these qualifications?
For example were they obtained after leaving school, in what subjects etc.

.....

16. Are you working at the moment? yes / no
IF YES GO TO SECTION FOUR, IF NO GO TO SECTION FIVE.

SECTION FOUR: TRAINING DETAILS (WORKING)

17. What is your present job?
.....

18. Is it full-time or part-time? full / part

19. What do you do in this job?
.....

20. Are you in charge of any other people? yes / no

21. What other work have you done?
.....

22. Have you been trained in any work skills? yes / no IF NO GO TO 25.

23. What are these skills? This list may remind you of some skills.
LOOK AT CHECKLIST.

.....

24. Can you say a little more about this training? (eg. what you did, how long you did it for)

.....

25. Have you ever been self employed? yes / no

26. Would you ever consider running you own business? yes / no

27. Are there any skills that you don't have which you would like to be trained in?
yes / no

IF **NO** GO TO SECTION SIX, IF **YES** GO TO 28

28. What sort of skills?
.....

.....

GO TO SECTION SIX

SECTION FIVE: TRAINING DETAILS (UNEMPLOYED / NOT WORKING)

29. How long is it since you last worked?.....

30. What was your last job?.....

31. What did you do in that job?.....

.....

32. Were you in charge of any other people? yes / no

33. What other work have you done?

.....

34. Have you been trained in any work skills? yes / no IF NO GO TO 37.

35. What are these skills? This list may remind you of some skills.
LOOK AT CHECKLIST.

.....

36. Can you say a little more about this training? (eg. what you did, how long you did it for)

.....

37. Have you ever been self employed? yes / no

38. Would you ever consider running you own business? yes / no

39. Are there any skills that you don't have which you would like to be trained in? yes / no
IF NO GO TO SECTION SIX, IF YES GO TO 40

40. What sort of skills?

.....

SECTION SIX: AIMS

41. What job would you like to do? (or if happy with present job say so)

.....

42. Which of these jobs would most suit you?

LOOK AT CHECKLIST

.....

43. Would you require training to do this type of work? yes / no

44. What other types of job are you prepared to do?

.....

45. How far are you prepared to travel to work?

a) Only within Vauxhall b) To city centre c) Within Liverpool d) Further

46. Are you interested in pursuing any adult education courses? yes / no

IF NO GO TO 48

47. What type of courses?

.....

SECTION SEVEN: CONSTRAINTS

48. Do you require child minding facilities if you go to work? yes / no

49. Do you require help looking after anyone else to let you go to work? yes / no

50. Do you have any health or other problems which make it difficult for you to work?

yes / no

51. Do you require help in contacting employers, completing application forms etc?

yes / no

52. Where do you currently go for advice on education and training?

.....

53. If there was a place in Vauxhall providing this type of information would you use it?

yes / no

SECTION EIGHT: OPPORTUNITIES

54. Would you like to be contacted about any relevant opportunities that arise? yes / no

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

Appendix Four: Qualitative Interview Schedule

General

- Length and places of residence
- Like/dislike area, improving or deteriorating

Shopping and other facilities

- Where do you go to shop, socialise, go to doctors etc.
- How do you get there
- Facilities improving or deteriorating

Work

- Working/not working
- Present and previous employment, where, how did you get there etc.
- Part time or full time and if part is/was it out of choice
- Which of these jobs has given most satisfaction and why
- What made you choose these jobs
- What ambitions do you have with regard to work, or Looking back over your career do you feel you achieved as much as you could have done
- Have you ever restricted your employment search to particular areas
- Employment opportunities improving or deteriorating in this area

Transport

- Driving licence, why/why not
- Use public transport
- Is public transport adequate for your needs
- Is public transport improving or deteriorating in this area

Education

- Did you go to school in this area
- Do you feel school effected what you chose to do

Final

- Good and bad things about living here
- Rather live somewhere else

Appendix Five

Full Transcript of an In-depth Interview

Interview with Anne, a resident of the Eldonian Village, aged in her 60s. Interview conducted on 24 August 1992.

- ET** Can I start by asking you how long have you lived in this area in Vauxhall ?
- AO** All my life really, between Vauxhall and Scotland Road. I was born round here.
- ET** And have you moved very much in that time or have you always lived in the same place? Have you lived in a number of places?
- AO** Well the first time we moved was during the war when the house was bombed.
- ET** And where was this house?
- AO** That was in Ford Street. At the bottom of Ford Street onto Limekiln Lane. The front of the house was Limekiln Lane, the back was in Ford Street. There was some confusion over the address sometimes. Some people called it Limekiln Lane, some people called it Ford Street.
- ET** And you say that was bombed during the war?
- AO** That was bombed during the war.
- ET** When was that?
- AO** About 1943.
- ET** Then where did you go to after that?
- AO** Well the next house we got was in Eldon Place which is only a few streets away. We only lived there 3 years, it was a big old house. Then we got a flat in Blackstock Gardens which was only a couple of streets away so we've always sort of stayed in a very small area and from there we left there and we moved to Virgil Street. We were in Virgil Street for 33 years and then we got this new house on the Co-op Estate.
- ET** So you came straight to the Co-op from Virgil Street.
- AO** Yes, because they were under demolition. They're still there like but they were supposed to be under demolition. Nobody lives in them, lovely flats, it's a shame.
- ET** And how long have they been empty?
- AO** Oh, well I've been here over 3 years now.
- ET** Can you tell me what you like and dislike about this area?

- AO** Well mostly I like the people because they're my kind of people. I think they're very warm, sometimes they're very annoying but still they're the people I know so mostly the people, the community spirit. I don't think you'd ever feel alone in this community, if you were in trouble you could always go to somebody, you know, for help.
- ET** Anything you particularly dislike about it?
- AO** Well I suppose it's the general complaint now, the vandalism where people, kids are destroying, that's all but that's happening everywhere, it's not just here.
- ET** Do you feel this area is generally improving or do you think it is deteriorating?
- AO** Improving for houses, the facilities, I think people have a pretty good life now. No I wouldn't say deteriorating unless we let it.
- ET** When do you think the improvements began, is it a recent thing or has it been gradually improving over the years in the housing?
- AO** The housing definitely is improving, probably since I came to live here, the past 3 or 4 years. Improving in as much as nearly everybody has a garden now which was unheard of round here.
- ET** This is the first time you've had a garden.
- AO** Yes.
- ET** I want to talk about shopping and where you go to socialise, can you tell me where do you actually go to do most of your shopping?
- AO** To town which is a bus ride away.
- ET** And you get there by going on public transport.
- AO** Yes.
- ET** Would you do all of your shopping in town or is there anything you could do out here?
- AO** Well there's not much here - we've got a supermarket recently but you couldn't do all your shopping there. Just groceries and things, you can't buy fresh meat there and you can't buy clothes there really.
- ET** What about things like a doctors surgery and a chemist, where would you go for them?
- AO** Fortunately that doesn't affect me much but my doctor is quite a way away, if you haven't got a car. My Doctor is in Islington which is really off the beaten track, he is an old family doctor so we've always had them.
- ET** Where do you go to socialise when you go for a drink or a club or something?

- AO** Well I don't do much socialising really but when we go out, probably where my sisters live which is Scotland Road area, we go for a drink there or on special occasions we go to Jubilee Hall which is Our Lady's Club we always call it Jubilee Hall, but we only go there when there's a charity do or something.
- ET** Do most of your friends live locally or do you have a lot of friends all over the City?
- AO** Most of them are local because we all moved from my old street, Virgil Street so six of us moved and we all live near each other now. Friends and neighbours.
- ET** So you don't have to go very far to see your friends, it's just a couple of houses away.
- AO** Yes.
- ET** Do you feel the shops and facilities around here have improved or have they got worse, is there more here than there used to be?
- AO** Well the shops are non-existent round here.
- ET** But were they always non-existent?
- AO** No we had a lot of corner shops. We had butchers and things but they've all gone, they were all taken for the new tunnel, the Kingsway tunnel, most of them.
- ET** Were they on Vauxhall Road and Scotland Road?
- AO** Not so many in Vauxhall Road but there were five in Burlington Street and there was one of every type, there was a hairdresser, the butchers, a general fruit & veg which was everything we sort of needed.
- ET** When did these shops disappear can you remember?
- AO** They went about 8 years ago even before the houses were demolished those shops had to go for some reason.
- ET** Did they go gradually or did they all go at once? Weren't they making money?
- AO** They were very good businesses but I think they were having a lot of trouble with vandalism, some were flooded and things like that so gradually within the space of a year they all closed but they had been there for many many years. They were part of the flats in Burlington Street.
- ET** Were they owned and run by local people living in the flats?
- AO** Yes. They were sorely missed. We do have a mobile in Burlington Street now that was Franky Miles who had one of the shops for a long time.
- ET** Is it general merchandise?
- AO** Basically its fruit & veg but it was more like general when he had the shop.
- ET** Are there any market stalls in the area going over towards Everton?

- AO** Well the nearest one is Great Homer Street Saturday Market.
- ET** How long would it take you to get there, is it handy for you or is it awkward to get to?
- AO** Awkward. Yes, sort of cross country you know. They had a lot of shops in Great Homer Street but they're all gradually... maybe its the recession you know I did quite a lot of shopping in Great Homer Street but not now because nearly all the shops are closed there.
- ET** Is it harder for you to get to than for you to go to town to shop?
- AO** It is really although I could get the 101 bus but that's a bit unreliable. For somebody fit it's only a short walk but I find it uphill and if there's shopping to carry back.
- ET** Is there anything else you want to say about the social facilities, shops, doctors anything like that, is there anything you need here which you haven't got?
- AO** Well I think we need everything here we're pretty isolated as regards facilities. I know there's a health centre in Limekiln Lane but that's nowhere near my own doctor, we've only got the supermarket.
- ET** What about a dentist?
- AO** A dentist in Great Homer Street that's the one I normally go to.
- ET** Which again is some distance?
- AO** To me it's a distance, I mean people laugh, its only over the road but to me its a bit of an ordeal.
- ET** Would everybody use that dentist or is there a nearer one do you know of.
- AO** No there isn't. Oh there's one in the Health Centre in Limekiln Lane - I suppose Limekiln Lane is nearer.
- ET** Are you working at the moment?
- AO** Yes I have a part-time job, I'm retired but I've got a part-time job. I work from 9 - 1, five days a week Monday to Friday. I retired at 60, five years ago and then I was offered this part-time job which I enjoy very very much because I meet a lot of people and I do enjoy the work.
- ET** What other types of work have you done during your life?
- AO** Well I left school at 14 I was evacuated at the time and then my sister worked at Littlewoods got an interview for me so I came home from Caenarffon. I was past school leaving age which was 14.
- ET** How long were you in Caenarffon for?

- AO** We were evacuated twice to Chester first, I was in Chester for about a year when I was 12 with my two younger brothers.
- ET** Did you go to school in Chester?
- AO** Yes. There was virtually no bombing then so we were quite safe, we came home but then the bombs started so we were evacuated again to Caenarffon and I was in Caenarffon for two years.
- ET** Till you were 16?
- AO** No 14 I left school at 14 then I got a job at Littlewoods.
- ET** Where was that was that Littlewoods in town?
- AO** It was in Hood Street in town near Roe Street, Hood Street was part of Roe Street, off Whitechapel.
- ET** Was that actually a shop or was it Littlewoods like it is now?
- AO** It was Littlewoods racing and I was a betting clerk.
- ET** Was that a full-time job?
- AO** Yes, I was there for 7 years. My friend and I, believe it or not, wanted to work in a factory because they had music while you work in factories. We were mad on music, so we left Littlewoods and we got a job in Bibby's and we worked in Bibby's three days and we gave our notice in, because it wasn't our type of work! It was wooden boxes and if there was any bent nails we had to pull the nails out, which as you can imagine we were no good at at all because we had done office work for 7 years, and you had to replace the bent nails with a fresh one, so we only stayed there for four days.
- ET** What did Bibby's do exactly?
- AO** Box making, well Bibby's was the factory but the part we were in was box making. Most of my working life was spent at the Dockboard. I did the docker's wages - almost 26 years at the dockboard.
- ET** Where was that based?
- AO** We started off in the Eagle Star building in Dale Street and we moved from there to West Africa House at the bottom of Water Street. From there we moved to new offices in Exchange Buildings, Exchange Street East. I was at the Dockboard for 19 and a half years when Cunard took over the wages so we worked up to the Sunday night clearing up at the Dockboard and we started Monday morning at this computer centre it was actually called the Employers Association of the Port of Liverpool and that was in Cunard Buildings - no it wasn't it was in the Royal Liver Buildings. I was there 7 years and then Mersey Docks and Harbour took over and I was a data processor clerk there were about 8 data processor clerks and about 20 vdu operators.
- ET** When are we up to now, about 1970?

- AO** That was in 1972. But they didn't want the data process clerks because they had their own clerks they only wanted the vdu operators.
- ET** Were all these jobs full-time?
- AO** Yes.
- ET** What about after that?
- AO** Well after that I did mostly temporary work and work was so easy to find, I just registered for temporary but my mother wasn't well at the time and believe it or not one day I was offered three jobs and I didn't know which one to take.
- ET** What was the type of work?
- AO** Well it was all clerical work, wages. I worked for nine months in Silkcocks which was down Edmund Street. Where the old Stadium used to be, I can't remember which street. Then I applied for office training at Bootle College and I went there for three months typing I don't know why because I had been doing office work all my life, I did this three month course and from there I just took temporary jobs mostly.
- ET** So that got you a qualification in typing.
- AO** Yes. I don't know how but I did. Pitmans, I got two certificates.
- ET** Then you did the temporary work after that?
- AO** I was 53 when I started at the Tax Office so I retired 7 years later. Which was based in Regian House, James Street. I was there for 7 years until I was 60 and then I retired and I was offered a part-time job.
- ET** When did you start this job?
- AO** The year I retired.
- ET** So you didn't have much of a gap in between.
- AO** What happened was I thought well I have worked since I was 14, 46 years, so I thought I'd be bored stiff, and the Co-Op where I now live was looking for volunteers to sort out the filing which was in terrible mess - I thought that will do. I did that for a few months and then I dropped off because there was nothing to do. As I say the filing was higldy pigldy and I like scrounged the covers from my old job, the Tax Office. So I more or less got the filing up to date.
- ET** Was it voluntary work?
- AO** It was and then the girl who had the part-time job decided she wanted to train as a nurse so I was offered the job and I have been there ever since.
- ET** Out of all the jobs you've just talked about, which has given you the most satisfaction?

- AO** This one. Because I'm meeting people and there's never a dull moment.
- ET** What about jobs that you have particularly disliked?
- AO** I hated the Tax Office. The Dock Board, I was there 26 years and working with the same people, there was a turn over but a lot of us were there for 26 years. So I think happy memories of the Dock Board.
- ET** But of the Tax Office you didn't?
- AO** Oh no.
- ET** What was wrong with it?
- AO** Too many irate customers ringing up.
- ET** So you dealt with customers?
- AO** Yes. Well I mean who likes to tax people, not many people do they.
- ET** This might be a difficult question but what made you choose these jobs, earlier on in your career you said unemployment wasn't really a problem like it is today, so you had a certain amount of choice presumably?
- AO** It's just that I started as a clerk and I just went on, it was not through choice it was through necessity I suppose. I always wanted to go to sea, but I was always shouted down by the family if I even suggested travel.
- ET** Looking back over various jobs and things are you happy with what you have done, would you do it differently if you started over again?
- AO** I've got no complaints, I've been very lucky.
- ET** You've always been able to get a job?
- AO** Yes. Which is more than can be said for the poor kids now.
- ET** When you were looking for your jobs did you ever restrict where you go to a job by distance - how far were you prepared to travel to a job?
- AO** Not very far I would, because I always worked where I could go home for lunch. I've never worked far from home. I worked in Aintree once, a temporary job, no I never liked travelling far from home.
- ET** So the furthest you've ever worked was the city centre, which is a distance of?
- AO** Approximately one mile.
- ET** How did you get there?
- AO** Public transport. In my first job I got the tram, the fare was a halfpenny, then there was murder because it went up to a penny, and that was an old penny! The dockers were paid on Thursdays it later changed to Friday but when we first

started there we bagged the wages in our office in town and we took the overhead railway, I mostly paid out at Gladstone Dock. We also paid the dockers in Salford, Manchester. We got the train - we had three teams, we went for a fortnight then the other two teams went for a month it came round every six weeks.

ET Did you enjoy that?

AO Yes it was very enjoyable. We got the train from Lime Street to Manchester and from there we got a taxi to Salford Docks.

ET So they were employed by the same company.

AO The National Dock Labour Board. They also did the wages for Fleetwood and Preston, but we didn't pay them. They had their own staff.

ET Do you feel that employment opportunities are improving or deteriorating generally in the area?

AO Deteriorating without a doubt there is no question.

ET Even over the last few years. And there is no indication of it improving?

AO No. I've seen even shop assistants jobs where you need a photograph and you should have a car and if you're not employed how can you have these things? No I think it's definitely deteriorating.

ET When do you think this deterioration really began, because you said you never really had any trouble finding jobs, even up to quite recently.

AO I know when the deterioration started, when the Conservative government took over. But then of course there's a lot of modern technology and I suppose you can't blame them all but I don't think they make things easier, the Government.

ET So generally you're happy with the work you've done?

AO Oh yes, I'm very happy, I've been very lucky.

ET What about your friends, have they been equally successful, or your age group, have your friends always managed to get jobs as easily as you?

AO Yes, but I never married so I never had to leave work but most of my friends did so it probably doesn't apply. They left work when they were having families.

ET Did many of them return to work afterwards when the children were grown up?

AO Yes, but most of them did cleaning jobs to fit in with their family lives, just part-time and one went as a shop assistant in a kiosk in town but not very long, say 2 years.

ET So they didn't really return to the same job?

AO No, well you couldn't really compare their lives with mine.

ET I'd like to ask a bit more about the transport. Do you drive?

- AO** No. I took lessons once but I gave up. I really should have persevered because it was a contract, they guarantee that you pass, but my instructor told me that I drove better in reverse and I think that put me off. That was when I was made redundant from the Dock Board in 1972.
- ET** So you use public transport?
- AO** Yes.
- ET** How do you find public transport, is it adequate for what you want it for?
- AO** It's not bad, it's not really bad but in Vauxhall Road we can only really go to town to shop, I liked the little 54 bus because it went to the Strand and it went from here and it took you right home again, but to go to the Strand now I'd have to get two buses which puts me off.
- ET** That's Bootle is it? You go there to shop do you?
- AO** I like the Strand but the transport puts me off.
- ET** What about the railway line, is that any use?
- AO** No. The stations are too far away. The nearest station is Central, stations are usually in very isolated places and when you get to my age you get a bit nervous. You hear of so many horrible things happening. I'd prefer to use the train but they're too far away.
- ET** Do you think public transport is improving or is it getting worse?
- AO** It's getting worse, I don't think they really cater for us now I think it's more the age of the car. People just assume that we run cars.
- ET** Do you think this is a long term deterioration or is it more recent?
- AO** Well I think over the past since the buses were deregulated, I think they have all gone to pot.
- ET** What about the trams going, did that make a difference to your life?
- AO** Well it's that long ago, well they were immediately replaced by buses.
- ET** Did the trams actually go through Vauxhall?
- AO** No not Vauxhall, Scotland Road. Oh yes we did have one along Vauxhall Road. I lived nearer Scotland Road in the days of the trams.
- ET** Where would the trams go from there?
- AO** To the Pierhead that was the terminus.
- ET** What about the other direction?

- AO** Some went to Dingle but they didn't touch the Pierhead they went along Park Road and to the South End.
- ET** What about to the North?
- AO** The North, well I was never interested because I got off at Scotland Road, they went to Broadway to Litherland. The Litherland one came along Vauxhall Road. Some went to Huyton, Utting Avenue.
- ET** So all over?
- AO** Yes. A pretty good service.
- ET** Was it quite reliable?
- AO** Very reliable, yes.
- ET** Was it like the buses, was there a timetable so you'd know when they were going to come or would you just go and wait.
- AO** Yes. The first ones were open at the top, they had a roof but open at the side, they had wooden seats, they were real bone shakers, they were the old trams - I remember them.
- ET** Did they get very full?
- AO** Yes, at peak hours.
- ET** So you tried driving in 1972, do you regret not having passed?
- AO** I regret it very much, but I've never had any sense of direction , I would have made a horrible driver. The way transport is now I do regret it.
- ET** Was there any particular reason why you never learnt before that time?
- AO** Well people of our class didn't have cars, we probably couldn't afford them and we didn't need them because we had good public transport.
- ET** Did you go to school in the area?
- AO** Yes, I went to St. Brigid's School in Limekiln Lane. The school was right opposite where I lived so if they wanted to borrow anything I was always sent home, an iron or a sweeping brush I was always sent home to get it. I could leave our house about 10 seconds before I would get to school.
- ET** Did you go to any other school?
- AO** No. Because 6 of us were getting special tuition for a scholarship, have you heard of a scholarship? In our school you could pull the partitions back so it was one whole assembly. Six of us were taking this special tuition to go into the scholarship but the war came didn't it so that was all finished. We were evacuated.
- ET** So all the kids from round here were evacuated?

AO Yes.

ET And then you went to school in Chester?

AO Yes, Chester and Caernarffon.

ET And you left school at 14. Do you think that would have been different if the war hadn't intervened?

AO Oh definitely. I don't say I would have passed but I would have had the opportunity. Have you ever heard of a scholarship? That's what we called it then.

ET How much do you think the school influenced you on what you did when you went to work?

AO Oh a lot.

ET How much do you think it told you what sort of jobs to ought to want?

AO Well I was always pretty good at English and Arithmetic we called it then so naturally you go clerical don't you? We had good schools then basically the three R's.

ET The sort of work you did, was it quite common, particularly women in this area - did they do that sort of work?

AO No. It was very uncommon actually. Most of them went into factories, I don't think office work appealed to most of the women of our class, they liked the factories.

ET But at school you don't think the schooling helped you decide to do that? Did they tell you what you ought to do? Did you have a careers information or anything?

AO No! I was only 12 when the war started and it wasn't important then it was important to stay alive! We were too young, maybe if we have been 14 but I don't really think that careers came into it then you just went to school you left you got a job.

ET But there was no unemployment really so you could get a job?

AO There was so many factories round here.

ET Can you tell me a bit about the factories that there actually were? I don't know the area I have only known the area for the last three years or so.

AO Tate & Lyle was the predominant one, for example when Tate & Lyle got notice to quit my sisters family, six of her family worked at Tate's her husband, 4 sons and a daughter in law that was in one family - 6 jobs went. Then there was B.A.s, the British American tobacco company, there was Silkcocks, the one I mentioned before where I was pulling the nails out of the boxes that was the big factory that was oil cake mills, I think Silcocks and Bibby's were combined.

ET Any other big ones?

- AO** A distillery in Vauxhall Road.
- ET** What did that distil?
- AO** I don't know, we always called it the dizzy. Littlewoods Pools.
- ET** What about the Docks? Did many people from round here work there?
- AO** The men the dockers, when I started at the dock board it was in 1948 it was IBM which was new technology then it was the start of the computers they started from scratch and it was the whole new staff, when I started in 1948 there were 22,000 dockers in Liverpool. Then it was all the containers, how many are there now - about a thousand? I think there's less than a thousand. That's how many there were when I started 22,000.
- ET** Did a lot of the men from this area work on the docks?
- AO** Yes and an awful lot were seamen I don't think there was a family that didn't have someone - one member at least who went away to sea.
- ET** Is that why you wanted to do it?
- AO** Probably yes.
- ET** What about the war, what effect did that have on this area, obviously the bombing?
- AO** Well most of the men went to the war, they were called up.
- ET** Did that affect you as a woman, you were working anyway but did more women work because of that.
- AO** Yes. My mother had a job and she hadn't worked since she got married at 18, so even she had a little factory job it was sugar or something she was doing. A lot of women probably did go to work during the war.
- ET** Did that change after the war when the men came back, did the women leave the jobs then or did a lot of them carry on working?
- AO** I think they did because they had got into the habit then, when the war started it was unheard of for a woman with a family to go out to work, but it became common place so I think a lot of them did stay on at their little jobs.
- ET** A couple of final questions. What do you think is good and bad about living in this particular area?
- AO** It's the people that's all I can say. The people round here have got more feeling for each other - more compassion. I'm talking about the older people now, it goes back when they lived in the flats they looked after each other. They didn't have anything but what little they had they shared. But things are changing.

- ET** Do you think now the flats are gone and you are living in houses with gardens, semi-detached, has a lot of this community spirit gone a bit or is it still quite strong?
- AO** It is with the people who knew each other before as I say it is changing now with the times but living in a house you don't see people as much as you did in the flats.
- ET** Do you think that's a shame?
- AO** In a way but in another way no. You've probably got more comfort now but comfort doesn't make up for loneliness - if there's an old person in a house with a garden an awful lot of them say I wish I was back in my flat. Probably see more of people. Here once you shut your door at 6 o'clock which is a good thing but I think most of us are used to the noise people passing your door and doors banging well we don't hear any of that now. There's a lot to be said for and against.
- ET** Have you ever felt any time in your life that you wanted to move away from this area?
- AO** No.
- ET** Even when you were young you wanted to stay?
- AO** Maybe just after my mother died but I was probably a bit depressed then and I thought I would move away live in the country but I know I wouldn't have liked it. We've always been city people.
- ET** I know there's a lot of people who have left this area....
- AO** and now they want to come back. The applications we get for the houses, an awful lot.
- ET** Do you know many people who have left or have you lost contact with these people.
- AO** Most of my family have left. I've got a brother who lives in Crosby. I've got a brother who lives in Huyton and my other brother lives with me. They always come down to Scotland Road on a Friday night they all meet for a drink so they never forget. Not only my brothers there's people who have moved out 20/30 years ago - they always come back to Scotland Road for a little drink. It's got something hasn't it.
- ET** That a lot of people do want to move back, do you think that is a sign of the good things about the area that people do want to move back?
- AO** I suppose it's just reminiscing, we're all sentimental live in the past, but that's true you will find that if they meet after 7 years they will always come back to a pub on Scotland Road.
- ET** What about the future of the area, what do you think is going to happen?

AO I don't know, I'm glad I won't be round in the future. I don't think they'll ever be as happy as we were. That sounds very morbid but I'm afraid I think so. I don't think people have the caring attitude that people had a long time ago, too selfish.

ET Is there anything else that you want to say?

AO No.

Appendix Six

Summary Tables of Chi-square Test Results

1. Gender by Other Variables

Variable	99.9%	99%	95%
Working	-	-	-
SOC	√	√	√
Working Full-Time	√	√	√
In Charge	-	-	√
Work Skills	-	-	√
Self Employed	-	-	-
Own Business	-	√	√
Want Skills	-	-	-
Last Worked	-	-	√
Desire Job	-	-	-
Job Desired	√	√	√
Dependents	√	√	√
Driving Licence	√	√	√
Car	-	-	-
Phone	-	-	-
Qualifications	-	-	-
Qualification Level	-	-	-
Travel Distance	√	√	√
Adult Education	-	-	√
Child Minding	√	√	√
Minding Others	-	-	-

Key

- √ Significant at indicated level
- Not significant at indicated level

2. Age by Other Variables

Variable	99.9%	99%	95%
Working	-	-	-
SOC	√	√	√
Working Full-Time	√	√	√
Work Skills	-	-	√
In Charge	-	-	-
Self Employed	-	√	√
Own Business	√	√	√
Want Skills	√	√	√
Last Worked	√	√	√
Desire Job	√	√	√
Gender	-	-	-
Dependents	-	-	-
Driving Licence	-	√	√
Car	-	-	-
Phone	-	-	-
Qualifications	√	√	√
Travel Distance	√	√	√
Adult Education	√	√	√
Child Minding	√	√	√
Minding Others	-	-	√
Health	√	√	√

Key

- √ Significant at indicated level
- Not significant at indicated level

3. Working by Other Variables

Variable	99.9%	99%	95%
SOC	√	√	√
Working Full-Time	-	-	-
In Charge	-	-	-
Work Skills	-	-	-
Self Employed	-	-	-
Own Business	-	-	-
Want Skills	-	-	-
Last Worked	-	-	-
Desire Job	√	√	√
Gender	-	-	-
Dependents	-	-	-
Driving Licence	√	√	√
Car	√	√	√
Phone	√	√	√
Qualifications	√	√	√
Travel Distance	-	-	-
Adult Education	-	-	-
Child Minding	√	√	√
Minding Others	-	-	-

Key

- √ Significant at indicated level
- Not significant at indicated level

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