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**Period changes in men's class reproduction in Scotland,
1974-2001**

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Abstract

In the 1970s Scotland appeared to be among the least fluid countries in Europe together with Germany, France and Ireland (Breen et al. 2004). Within Great Britain Scotland also displayed higher propensity for immobility within manual social classes than England and Wales (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). More recent data show that nowadays the gap with the other European countries has reduced and that Scotland has a degree of social fluidity similar to that in England and Wales. This paper analyses this change comparing data of adult men from the 1974 Scottish Mobility Survey and from the 2001 Scottish Household Survey. Between these two time-points professional and managerial social classes have grown considerably while unskilled manual social classes have shrank. These trends are particularly marked in private services. Overall men were more likely to be socially immobile and less likely to be upwardly mobile in 1974 than in 2001. However, there are variations in this respect across sectors of activity. Finally, our results show that indeed Scottish society has become less unequal but that this has occurred in a very slow way. Only if we look at a long observation window, ie people born between 1910 and 1976, changes are detectable.

1. Introduction

In most of the social mobility literature Great Britain has been depicted as one of the most stable societies in Europe. Despite the large structural changes in the labour market that occurred between the 1950s and 1970s - characterised by an unprecedented expansion of professional and managerial employment and a large decline in manual (especially unskilled) occupations - the relative advantage or disadvantage associated with individuals' social class of upbringing has not changed over time (Goldthorpe, 1987; Payne, 1987; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Breen et al. 2004).¹ These conclusions were reached for Great Britain as a whole and for Scotland.

In *The Constant Flux* (1992), Scotland emerged as being a less fluid society than England and Wales. Erikson and Goldthorpe explained this pattern referring to two Scottish specificities: the high level of inheritance among the skilled and unskilled manual classes and the high importance of sector. Thus, in Scotland, there was a higher propensity for immobility within working classes than in the rest of Great Britain. Moreover, there was a high propensity towards mobility between classes within the same sector – especially in the non-agriculture sector but also a high propensity to move from agriculture wage-work into farming – and a low propensity to intersectoral mobility. Compared to the rest of Europe, Scotland appeared to be among the least fluid countries in Europe together with Germany, France and Ireland (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Breen et al. 2004).

The research, however, was carried out using data from the 1970s. Since then for three decades there has not been any research on social mobility in Scotland. This was due to limitations in the existing data, most notably the small sizes of the Scottish and Welsh samples in national surveys. Only recently the collection of new data on social mobility (ie a module of questions on social mobility included in the 2001 Scottish Household Survey) has allowed us to analyse the most recent trends in social mobility in Scotland. Distinguishing between four birth-cohorts born between 1937 and 1976 Iannelli and Paterson (*forthcoming*) found that in the second half of the last century Scottish people experienced a great amount of mobility (especially upward mobility): nearly two thirds had been socially mobile from their childhood. However, in more recent birth-cohorts the amount of upward mobility has been lower than in the older cohorts while immobility rates have grown. These changes can be explained as the result of two phenomena (Iannelli and Paterson, *forthcoming*): (1) parents of those born between 1957 and 1976 had themselves benefited from the post-60s structural shifts of the labour market, that is the decline of the manufacturing sector and the growth of the service sector; (2) the stagnation in the number of professional and managerial occupations available in more recent years. Thus, the children of those parents who moved up the social ladder did not have much room left to move further up and they faced much less favourable occupational opportunities than their parents.

This paper takes forward the existing research on social mobility in Scotland in two ways: (1) it analyses changes in social mobility patterns across the whole of the

¹ The results which led to these pessimistic conclusions have been disputed by some scholars which have both challenged the emphasis placed on relative chances of mobility instead of on absolute rates of mobility (Saunders, 1995; Swift, 2004) or the conceptualisation and measurement of social class (Prandy and Lambert, 2003).

twentieth century; and (2) it investigates differences in these patterns among people who entered various sectors of activity. Thus the paper combines data from the 1974 Scottish Mobility Study (SMS) and the 2001 Scottish Household Survey (SHS) and analyses changes in social mobility patterns among people who were born between 1910 and 1976. We try to fill the three-decade gap between the two surveys through the use of synthetic cohorts constructed as moving year averages (see next section). Moreover, we look at sectoral differences in respondents' social class of destinations to see whether mobility patterns vary according to the sector of activity they occupied. Our analyses are limited in two ways. Firstly, because the 1974 SMS collected information about men only we have to restrict our analyses to men. Secondly, in relation to our analyses on sectoral differences, we do not have information about which sector respondents' parents were employed in and we do not know in which sector respondents started their employment career. Nevertheless we think that it is worthwhile to investigate, even though at a descriptive level, whether general results on social mobility patterns may vary when sector of class of destination is included in our analyses.

The paper addresses the following research questions:

- (1) Did the rates of absolute mobility change between 1974 and 2001 in Scotland? And if so, do these mobility patterns differ among different sectors of activity occupied by respondents?
- (2) In the same period did any change occur in the relative chances of individuals who belonged to different social class of origin reaching different social classes of destination (ie changes in social fluidity)?
- (3) Does the association between class of origin and class of destination vary by sector of activity at the two time points?

2. Data and methodology

The Scottish Mobility Survey of 1974 is a cross-sectional survey of men, aged between 20 and 64, resident in Scotland, which collected detailed information on respondents' experience of social mobility. We have selected a sample of men born between 1910 and 1949 (that is aged 25-64 at the time of the survey, sample size of at most 4079) to compare them with men of the same age group (born between 1937 and 1976) in the SHS data (a sample size of at most 3633). The Scottish Household Survey has been carried out annually since 1999 on behalf of the Scottish Executive. In the 2001 survey a module of questions on parental occupation was included. Both surveys, thus, contain detailed information on parents' and respondents' occupations which has allowed us to recode it according to the EGP class schema (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1983).

We have distinguished five classes: professionals (Classes I and II), routine non-manual workers (Class III), petty bourgeoisie (Class IV), skilled workers (Classes V and VI) and non-skilled workers (Class VII). The small sample sizes for Classes IVc (farmers) and VIIb (agricultural labourers) among respondents to the Scottish Household Survey prevented us from using the 7-class EGP schema.

Respondents' social class of destination refers to their current or latest occupational status. When information on respondents' occupation was not available we referred to

respondents' wife occupational status in the 1974 SMS and to the occupational status of the highest income householder in the 2001 SHS. Social class of origin is determined by the occupational status of the head of the household when respondent was 14 in the 1974 data. In the 2001 data we constructed an equivalent measure based on the information on mother's and father's occupation when respondent was 14: social class of origin was determined by the employed parent, if the other parent was unemployed or inactive, or by the parent with the higher occupational status, if both parents were employed (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992).

We use mobility tables to analyse patterns of social mobility (absolute mobility) and log-linear modelling to assess whether any change over time has occurred in the association between class of origin and class of destination (relative mobility). As mentioned above, we also include in our models sector of activity to investigate whether patterns of social mobility differ according to sector of employment. The 1974 SMS used the 1968 Standard Industrial Classification while the 2001 SHS classified the employment sector according to the 1992 Standard Industrial Classification. We have recoded (at the level of three-digit sector codes, following the broad groupings noted in the footnote to the table) the information of the 1974 SMS to match as closely as possible the 1992 classification of the 2001 survey. Four sectors of activity have been distinguished:

- (1) primary sector includes agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying;
- (2) secondary sector includes manufacturing, electricity, gas and water supply, construction;
- (3) private services (or commercial services) includes wholesale and retail trade, repair trades, hotels and restaurants, transport, storage and communication, financial intermediation, real estate, renting and business activities; and
- (4) public services (or community services), that is public administration and defence, compulsory social security, education, health and social work, other community, social and personal services.

Since our period examination relies on cross-sectional data sets from only two points in time we have investigated what may have happened between these two points combining the data from the two surveys and creating a time series of successive birth-cohorts constructed as one year moving average (ie 1910-49, 1911-50, 1912-51, etc.), in total 28 birth-cohorts, each composed of 40 years (Yaish, 2004). The results of this analysis are presented in section 4.

3. Changes in the class structure

Table 1 shows the distribution of class of origin and destination of men in the two surveys. In the 1974 survey the great majority of men grew up in a working-class family (around 70%, Classes V, VI and VII). 13% belonged to a petty bourgeoisie family (Class IV), 10% had one parent in a professional occupation (Class I-II) and another 7% had a parent in routine non-manual occupations (Class III). Comparing the distribution of class of origin and destination, it clearly emerges that respondents improved their social class. Thus, a much higher percentage of respondents occupied a professional position (22%) while a lower percentage of respondents were employed in manual occupations (59%). Interestingly, the percentage of people who ended up in the unskilled manual occupations is very similar to the percentage of parents in the

same types of occupations (29% versus 31%).

The distribution of origin class in 2001 is not dissimilar to the distribution of destination class of 1974, because a large segment of those who responded in the 1974 survey would have been in the group of parents of those who answered the 2001 survey. Thus, in 2001 around 24% of respondents came from a family with at least one parent in a professional occupation, another 15% from a routine non-manual class and 10% from a petty bourgeoisie family. The percentage of people who were raised in a working class family declined further and reached 51%. The distribution of destination in 2001 clearly shows another sharp increase in the percentage of people who ended up in a professional occupation (42%) and a reduction in the percentages of people employed in skilled non-manual occupation and unskilled manual occupations.

The data on the distribution of respondents according to their sector of activity (table 2) show the well-known phenomena of an increase in the percentages of people employed in private and public services and of a decline in the percentages of those employed in primary and secondary sectors. More specifically, in our data between 1974 and 2001 there has been around a 45% increase in the proportion of people employed in services (an increase which is almost the same in the two service sectors, private and public) and between 30% and 35% of a decline in secondary and primary sectors. We have compared our data with official figures drawn from the Census statistics of comparable years. The results are very much the same (see table A1 in appendix).

The largest growth in professional occupations has occurred in private services (the percentage doubled, from 23% to 46%), followed by the secondary sector (from 16% to 27%) and the public sector (from 50% to 65%) (tables 3 and 4). The public sector clearly gathers a very high percentage of professionals. Nowadays the majority of people employed in the public sector are occupying professional positions. The percentages of people in manual occupations have substantially declined in all sectors with two exceptions: the unskilled manual occupations in the primary sector and the skilled manual occupations in the secondary sector whose proportions have remained largely unchanged (around 33-35% the former and 43% the latter). The category of self-employed has expanded in the primary and secondary sector but has contracted in the private sector. The percentages of people in routine non-manual occupations have increased in the public sector but declined in the private and secondary sector.

The next sections will try to answer the question of whether changes in the size of sectors and in the distribution of classes led to changes in the patterns of absolute and relative mobility

4. *Absolute mobility rates*

Comparing the absolute mobility rates of men aged 25-64 in the two surveys it emerges that in both time points upward mobility is greater than downward mobility and immobility (table 5). However, the immobility rate was higher in 1974 (36% versus 33%) and the upward mobility rate higher in 2001 (43% versus 40%). Downward mobility rates are remarkably similar at the two time points (23-24%). Thus, overall absolute mobility rates were the same in 1974 and 2001 (76%) but in

2001 a higher percentage of people have climbed the social ladder. This confirms a phenomenon that has been described in many other studies.

We can add to this general picture a description of what has happened among people who were in different sectors of activity. Table 6 shows that in 2001 men working in the primary and secondary sectors experienced more social mobility than men in 1974. By contrast, very little has changed in the absolute rates of mobility among those employed in the private sector, and an increase in immobility rate has occurred between the two time points among those employed in the public sector. The increase in mobility rates for men working in the two contracting sectors (primary and secondary) has occurred both in an upward direction and in a downward direction. Thus, compared to the 1974, in 2001 in these two sectors a higher proportion of men achieved higher occupational positions than those of their parents (upward mobility rates increased from 18% to 21% in the primary sector and from 36% to 40% in the secondary sector) but also more people did not manage to maintain their social class of origin and entered a lower social class of destination (downward rates went from 22% to 30% in the primary sector and from 26% to 29% in the secondary sector). Among people employed in the expanding service sectors, on the other hand, absolute mobility rates have not changed (in the private sector) or have reduced (in the public sector).

5. Relative mobility

Overall patterns

To examine whether there has been any change in the relative chances that individuals who belonged to different social class of origin would reach different social classes of destination (that is any change in social fluidity) we have used log-linear analysis. We have examined whether the OD association changed between the two time periods (1974 and 2001). The first log-linear model tests for independence between origin, destination and period: that is, that there is no association between origin and destination, and no changes in the distribution of origins or of destinations between 1974 and 2001 (table 7). This model does not fit the data (chi-square of 1928.1 with 40 degrees of freedom). The second model tests whether there is an association between class of origin and period and an association between class of destination and period (that is the distributions of origin and destination have changed between the two time periods). Both of these terms OP and DP were statistically significant, but inspection of the individual coefficients in the log-linear model showed that there had been more change in origins than in destinations between the surveys: as noted elsewhere (Iannelli and Paterson, *forthcoming*), parents in 2001 have experienced more upward mobility than children.

This model is called the ‘conditional independence model’ because it assumes independence between origin and destination, ie that there is no association between origin and destination. Also in this case the model does not fit the data (chi-square equal to 998.3 with 32 degrees of freedom). This result demonstrates that there is an association between origin and destination. So, our third model, the ‘constant social fluidity model’ (CnSF; Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1983), adds the OD association to the previous model. The CnSF model assumes that there is an association between origin and destination but that this association does not vary between the two time periods. This model still does not fit the data (chi-square of 49.3

with 16 degrees of freedom). This means that the OD association has changed over time and that we need to include in the model the three-way interaction ODP (which would saturate the model). We have finally run a fourth model the ‘uniform difference’ (or Unidiff, Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992) model to examine whether there was a change in the strength of the OD association between 1974 and 2001. This model significantly improves the fit of the data even though it does not fit the data very well either (chi-square of 25.3 with 15 degrees of freedom). The Unidiff parameters show that the OD association has weakened between the two time points (Unidiff parameter is equal to 1 in 1974, the reference period, and to 0.71 in the 2001). Hence, between 1974 and 2001, social fluidity has increased or, in other words, Scotland has become a less unequal society.

A long term perspective

Since our period examination relies on cross-sectional data sets from only two points in time we do not know what has happened between these two points. Following the method applied by Yaish (2004) we combined data from the two surveys and created a time series of successive birth-cohorts constructed as one year moving averages (ie 1910-49, 1911-50, 1912-51, etc.). This procedure has led us to analyse 28 birth-cohorts, each composed of 40 years. Graph 1 presents ‘smoothed’ yearly measures of total mobility rates based on the mobility tables of these 28 birth-cohorts². This graph shows that the total mobility rates have hardly changed across cohorts. However, upward mobility first slightly increased and then slightly declined in the most recent cohorts while downward mobility followed an opposite trend.

In relation to relative mobility we have re-run the Unidiff model for the 28 mobility tables that form our time series (Yaish, 2004) to see whether changes have indeed occurred between the beginning and the second half of the 20th century. The results have confirmed that the association between social class of origin and social class of destination has changed over time, and that the overall pattern is towards a decline in the strength of this association (graph 2). Given the high correlation among the 28 birth-cohorts examined (because of the overlap of data) we have tried to check these results constructing and analysing three discrete birth-cohorts (Yaish, 2004): the first cohort, 1910-36, was drawn from the 1974 SSM data; the second cohort, 1937-49, was composed of data derived from the two surveys; and the third cohort, 1950-76, was constructed using the 2001 survey data only. The results of the Unidiff model applied to these three cohorts confirmed once again that the OD association has tended to weaken over time (Unidiff parameters of 1 for the 1910-36 cohort (reference cohort), of 0.87 for the 1937-49 cohort and 0.70 for the 1950-76 cohort).

Sectoral differences

Does the association between class of origin and class of destination vary by sector of activity in the two time points? We have first analysed the data from the two surveys separately. The first two models (O, D, S and OS, DS)³ do not fit the data well in

² These values are not smoothed in the conventional statistical sense, but smoothed in the sense that the data for point t overlaps by 39 years with the data for point t+1.

³ These models are equivalent to the ones presented in table 7 but with the difference that here we are testing for differences among sectors instead of differences between the two time periods. Thus, the O, D, S model assumes independence between origin, destination and sector and the OS, DS model assumes that there is only an association between origin and sector and between destination and sector but not an OD association.

either of the two surveys (table not presented). In the 1974 SMS the third model (OS, DS, OD), which assumes that the distribution of origin and the distribution of destination vary by sector of activity and that the OD association does not vary by sector, does not fit the data (table 8). This means that there is a need for the three-way interaction ODS. In the 2001 SHS, however, the third model fits the data well showing that at this time point the OD association does not vary by sector any longer (chi-square equal to 58.8169 with 48 degrees of freedom, table 8). A further investigation of the 1974 data showed that the main difference among sectors is related to agriculture. The strength of the OD association is stronger in the agriculture sector than in the others: the third model fits the data well when those working in agriculture are omitted from the analysis.

We finally tested whether there has been any change over time in the ODS association pooling together the data from the two surveys (table 8). The model, which includes all the two-way and three-way interaction terms, fits the data well (chi-square of 60.0490 with 48 degrees of freedom). This seems to demonstrate that the ODS association does not vary by period. However, we ran a Unidiff model to investigate whether, beyond the apparent absence of changes in the ODS association, there was a change in the strength of this association. The difference in chi-square between model 3 and model 4 shows that the Unidiff model improves the fit of the data of the previous model at the 0.07 level of significance (difference in chi-square of 3.0978 with a difference of 1 degree of freedom). The Unidiff parameters illustrate that the ODS association has weakened between the two time periods (table 8).

6. Conclusion

This paper has investigated changes in social mobility patterns in Scotland comparing data for men aged 25-64 from two time points, 1974 and 2001. The aim was to analyse long term changes in both absolute and relative mobility rates. Previous research based on data from the 1970s had described Scotland as one of the least fluid societies in Europe. More recent research based on the 2001 Scottish Household Survey shows that patterns of social mobility in Scotland are not different from the rest of Great Britain and the other European countries. This paper has confirmed that between these two time-points professional and managerial social classes have grown considerably while unskilled manual social classes have shrunk. It also confirmed that in terms of absolute mobility rates there has been a growth in upward mobility and a reduction in immobility (but interestingly downward mobility rates have not changed over time). However, this paper has added one finding to the existing knowledge. Patterns of relative mobility changed in Scotland from the beginning to the second half of the last century. Differently from the rest of Great Britain, where no significant changes have been found in relative rates of social mobility, social fluidity has increased in Scotland. Of course, this change is very likely to have occurred because, at the beginning of the period under examination, Scotland presented higher levels of inequalities than the rest of Great Britain. At the beginning of the new century, Scotland has a degree of social fluidity that is no different from England and Wales. Moreover, the increase in social fluidity has occurred at a very low pace and over a long period of time (similar, therefore, to the conclusion reached by Prandy and Lambert (2003)). It is for this reason that previous analyses carried out using the 2001 SHS were not able to detect this change: only combining the two surveys could detect it.

This paper has also contributed to the existing research on social mobility through the analysis of variations in social mobility patterns among people employed in different sectors of the economy. The analysis was limited by the fact that we had only information on sector of activity of respondents' social class of destination. Our results showed that, despite the fact that "services" have been the expanding economic sectors between our two time periods, absolute mobility rates have not grown in these sectors. Most of the mobility has occurred in the contracting primary and secondary sectors. This mobility, however, has been both in upward and downward directions. In terms of relative mobility, the only difference across sectors was found in the 1974 data. This pointed towards a stronger association between origin and destination among respondents who were working in the agricultural sector. In the other three sectors relative chances of mobility were similar. In the 2001 data no sectoral differences were found in the rates of relative mobility. The analysis of changes over time in the relation among origin, destination and sector (ODS) has shown that there has not been any change. However, the strength of this association seems to have weakened over time.

To conclude, our results raise new questions. Has the long-term trend towards more equality in Scotland reached an end? Or has Scotland sufficient distinctiveness from the rest of Great Britain (eg in its more comprehensive education system which may favour social mobility) to allow a continuation of this trend to occur? Do our results on the small sectoral differences apply to women as well as to men? Unfortunately, we may have no answer to the first two questions for some time because of the gradual way in which these types of changes display themselves. Regarding the third question, some analysis conducted on the 2001 SHS (Paterson and Iannelli, 2005) has shown that among women there is significant variation among sectors of current employment in relative mobility: there is more inequality in the chances of reaching professional employment among women who are currently employed in the services, especially private services, than there is among women employed in manufacturing. This clearly needs further investigation, using different data sources, to understand the mechanisms through which class advantage is passed on to women working in services.

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Table 1: Distributions of men aged 25-64 by class of origin and destination in 1974 and 2001.

Social class	1974		2001	
	Origin	Destination	Origin	Destination
Professional (I-II)	9.8	21.8	23.8	41.7
Routine non-manual (IIIa,b)	7.1	11.8	15.4	9.4
Self-employed (IVa,b,c)	12.6	7.7	10.3	7.6
Skilled manual (V,VI)	39.1	29.3	23.0	25.5
Unskilled manual (VIIa,b)	31.4	29.4	27.6	15.8
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>4079</i>	<i>3789</i>	<i>3633</i>	<i>3045</i>

Table 2: Broad industrial sector of current occupation, among men aged 25-64 in 1974 and in 2001 (percentages)

<i>Industrial sectors</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>
Primary	9.8	6.4
Secondary	50.1	35.7
Private services	25.1	36.5
Public services	15.0	21.3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>3337</i>	<i>2671</i>

Industrial sector is defined for the respondent in terms of the 1992 Standard Industrial Classification. The 1974 Scottish Mobility Survey used the 1968 Standard Industrial Classification. We have recoded the information to match the 1992 classification as much as possible. The large groupings used here contain the following industrial sectors:

<i>Primary</i>	<i>Agriculture, hunting and forestry; fishing; mining and quarrying</i>
<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Manufacturing; electricity, gas and water supply; construction</i>
<i>Private services</i>	<i>Wholesale and retail trade, repair trades; hotels and restaurants; transport, storage and communication; financial intermediation; real estate, renting and business activities</i>
<i>Public services</i>	<i>Public administration and defence, compulsory social security; education; health and social work; other community, social and personal services</i>

Table 3: Distributions of destinations by broad industrial sectors of current occupation among men aged 25-64 in 1974.

<i>Class</i>	Primary	Secondary	Private services	Public services
Professional (I-II)	(3.5)	16.5	23.3	50.2
Routine non-manual (IIIa,b)	(1.2)	7.1	14.8	11.9
Self-employed (IVa,b,c)	28.3	3.5	14.3	(0.8)
Skilled manual (V,VI)	32.2	42.7	17.2	14.8
Unskilled manual (VIIa,b)	34.8	30.1	30.4	22.3
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>339</i>	<i>1749</i>	<i>862</i>	<i>520</i>

Note: the percentages in brackets have to be read with caution due to the small number of cases.

Note 2: For a full description of the sector groupings, please, refer to table 2.

Table 4: Distributions of destinations by broad industrial sectors of current occupation among men aged 25-64 in 2001.

<i>Class</i>	Primary	Secondary	Private services	Public services
Professional (I-II)	17.6	27.4	46.5	65.5
Routine non-manual (IIIa,b)	(0.5)	3.5	12.0	15.2
Self-employed (IVa,b,c)	35.8	8.0	5.9	(1.6)
Skilled manual (V,VI)	13.4	42.6	22.2	7.9
Unskilled manual (VIIa,b)	32.6	18.5	13.4	9.8
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>187</i>	<i>1059</i>	<i>1086</i>	<i>623</i>

Note: the percentages in brackets have to be read with caution due to the small number of cases.

Note 2: For a full description of the sector groupings, please, refer to table 2.

Table 5: Absolute class mobility rates among men aged 25-64 in 1974 and 2001

	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>
Upward mobility	39.8	43.4
Immobility	36.3	33.5
Downward mobility	23.9	23.1
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>3646</i>	<i>2740</i>

Table 6: Absolute mobility rates by broad industrial sector of current occupation among men aged 25-64 in 1974 and in 2001

	Primary		Secondary		Private services		Public services	
	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>2001</i>
Upward mobility	17.7	20.9	35.8	40.0	43.2	44.6	53.7	51.8
Immobility	60.6	49.4	38.3	30.8	31.8	32.7	28.5	35.7
Downward mobility	21.7	29.7	25.9	29.1	25.0	22.7	17.8	12.5
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>327</i>	<i>172</i>	<i>1673</i>	<i>954</i>	<i>836</i>	<i>976</i>	<i>501</i>	<i>569</i>

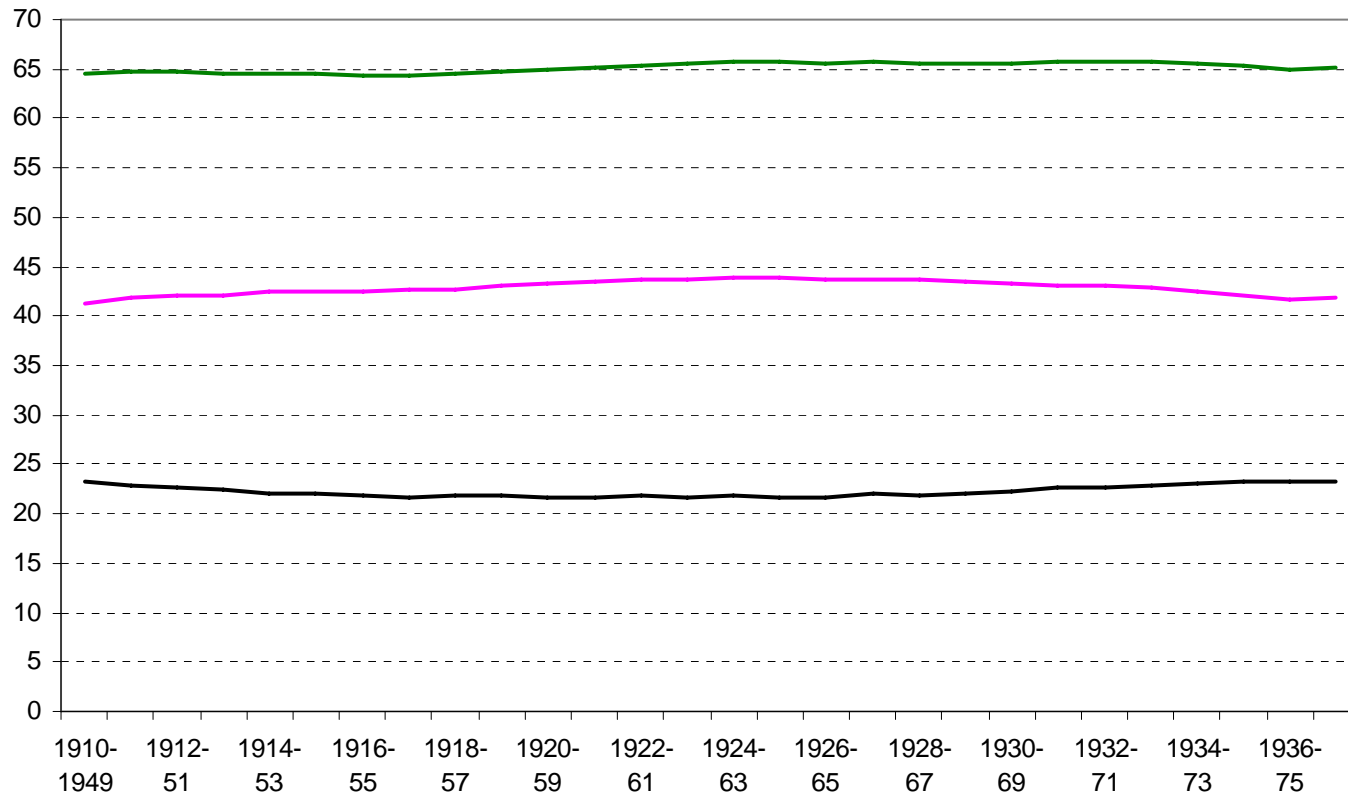
Table 7: Results of the log-linear models testing the association between origin and destination at two time points.

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Model 1: O + D + P	1928.1	40	0.0000
Model 2: OP + DP	998.3	32	0.0000
Model 3: OP + DP + OD	49.3	16	0.0000
Unidiff model 4: OP + DP + OD changes over period	25.3	15	0.0457
<i>Unidiff parameters</i>	<i>1.000 (1974) 0.7172 (2001)</i>		

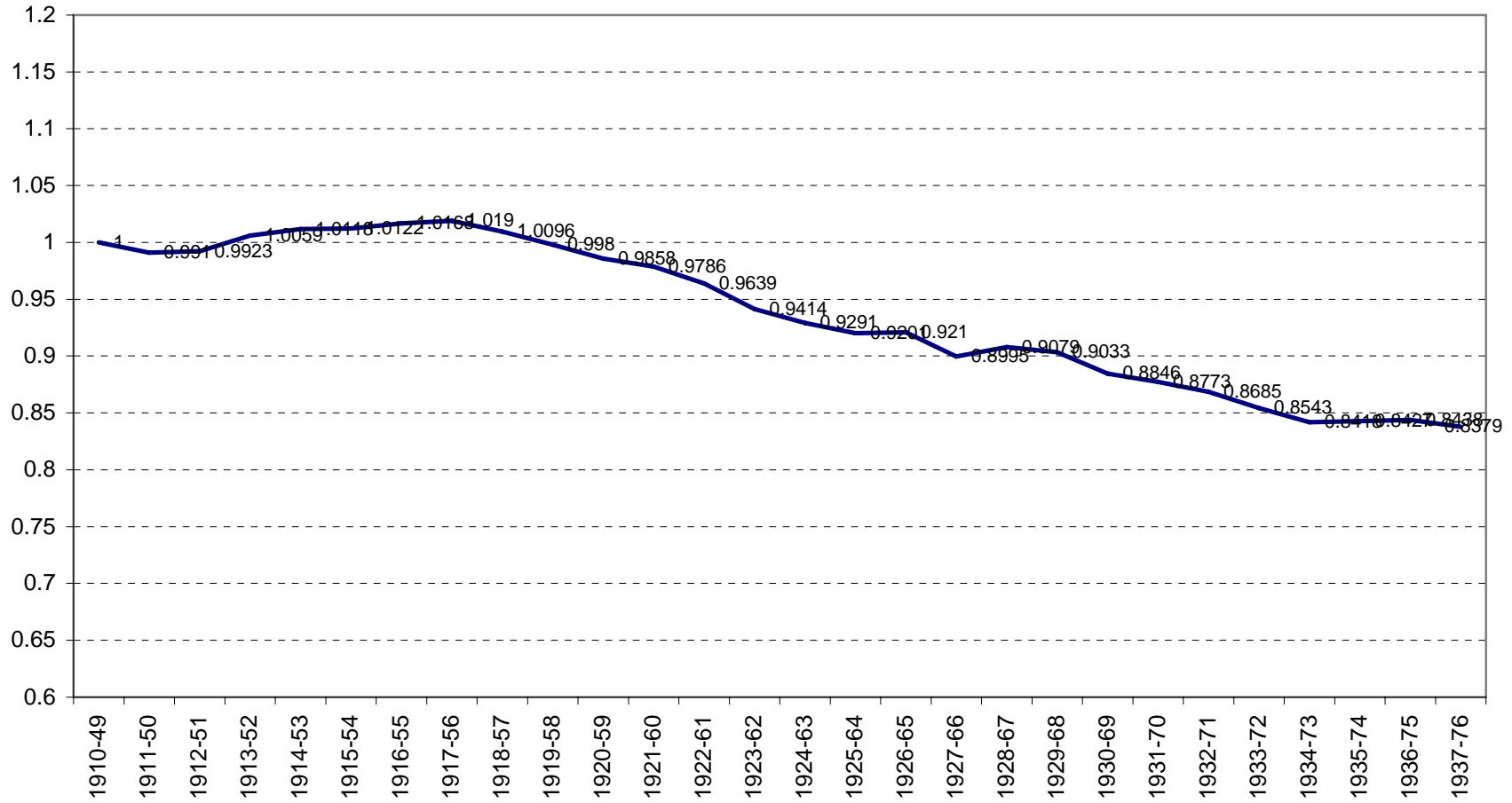
Table 8: Results of the log-linear models testing variation in the association between origin and destination across sectors of activity of respondents' current occupation

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Model 3 in the 1974 SMS: OS + DS + OD	93.9	48	0.0001
Model 3 in the 2001 SHS: OS + DS + OD	58.8	48	0.1362
Model 3 in the pooled data	60.0	48	0.1138
Unidiff model 4 in the pooled data: ODS changes over period	56.9	47	0.1516
<i>Unidiff parameters</i>	<i>1.000 (1974) 0.3427 (2001)</i>		

**Graph 1: Total mobility rates, total upward and downward mobility rates -
Men aged 25-64 by birth-cohorts**



Graph 2: Unidiff parameter estimates - Men aged 25-64 by birth-cohorts



Appendix

Table A1: Scotland - Total male employment by sector of activity (%) - Data from Census 1971 and 2001 are compared with data from the 1974 SMS and the 2001 SHS.

<i>Industrial sectors</i>	<i>Census 1971</i>	<i>SMS 1974</i>	<i>Census 2001</i>	<i>SHS 2001</i>
Primary	8.6	9.8	5.9	6.4
Secondary	49.6	50.1	31.8	35.7
Private services	27.0	25.1	42.1	36.5
Public services	14.8	15.0	20.2	21.3

Note: We have excluded from the 1971 Census figures data related to the sectors “research and development services” and “other services” because they contain a mix of private and public services and could not be unequivocally grouped in our “private” or “public” services categories. Industry inadequately described and workplace outside UK are also omitted (around 2% of the total employed men) .

Note 2: For a full description of the sector groupings, please, refer to table 2.