

3: Economic

The economic aspects of British society considered in this chapter concern the paid work in which people are engaged. The chapter begins by looking at what proportion of the population are employed in paid work, or say they would wish to be in such work if they could find it. This group of people is defined here as the *workforce* of Britain and much of the rest of the chapter concerns these people alone. Very little official information is available about unpaid work, or about the actual earnings of people. The census does not ask about income. Conversely, an enormous amount of information is available concerning people in receipt of unemployment benefit. This is because data from the computerised unemployment benefits register has been made available for research through the National Online Manpower Information System. This source is used extensively in this chapter, as is information from the Labour Force Survey.

A ten year perspective is taken to show many of the changes which have occurred in the spatial economic structure of Britain. This is because changes in the workforce can take place quite quickly as large numbers of people lose their jobs in some areas, while other groups who previously have rarely been in paid employment are now finding work. Economic changes occur so quickly that many of the graphs in this chapter show annual or even monthly changes, and some maps are of changes which occurred only in the year up to 1991. Within all this economic turmoil it is easy to miss gradual shifts, so maps showing these are also included (for instance maps of the changing proportion of the population in the workforce between 1971, 1981 and 1991). When looking at economic trends it is particularly important to remember that dates are imposed by the available data. Nevertheless, enough detailed information is available to see how the economic shape of Britain is changing at the level of the localities in which people live.

The workforce can be divided most simply into four groups: people employed full-time (more than thirty hours a week), part-time, self-employed, or unemployed, and the changing sizes of each of these groups can be measured. The workforce can also be categorised by the type of industry in which people work, and the economic fortunes of people working in each type of industry can be charted over time. Seven broad classifications of industry are used here, ranging from agriculture, forestry and fishing, to banking, finance and similar services. A third means of categorising the employment of people is by their occupation. Here nine broad groups are identified for mapping. With all these divisions the number of maps which could theoretically be drawn is large. To save space, and because some of these groups can include quite low numbers of people in certain parts of the country, a series of district level cartograms has been used in the middle of this chapter to illustrate the diversity of economic activity. Several of these

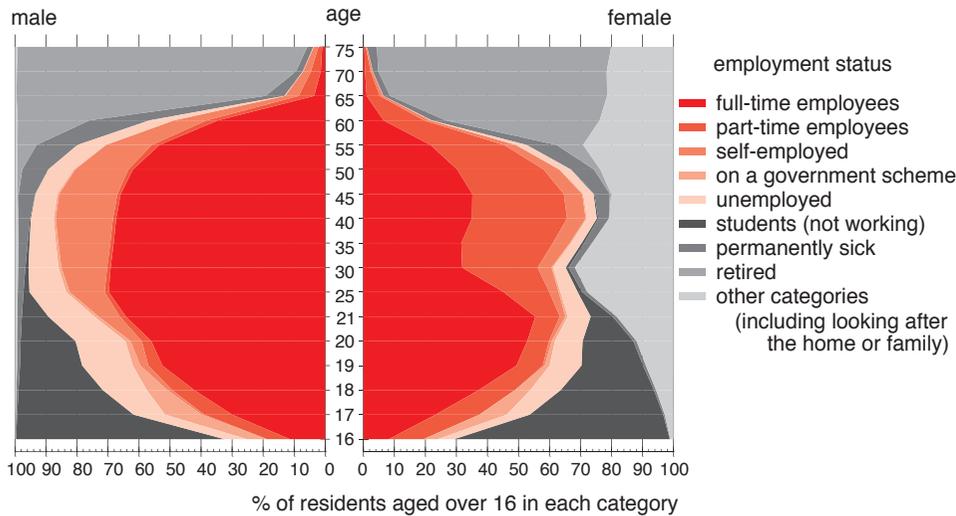
cartograms can be fitted onto a single page. Similarly, the relationships between people's employment status, industry and occupation are explored with montages of small graphs. These also show the importance of age and sex in determining the likelihood of different types of employment; factors often more important than location.

In the case of people's occupation, differences between men and women are so relevant that it can make little sense to draw detailed maps without differentiating. This division between men and women has been used in this chapter to map the distributions of the modal occupation in each ward in 1991. It is also necessary to distinguish the sexes when comparing the number of hours worked in paid employment by people in different wards. This is because women, on average, are employed for ten hours fewer a week than men. A map of hours worked which did not separate men and women would simply highlight the wards where fewer women worked — as the average hours of all people in employment there would be higher. Other variables can only be compared over time for just one sex. Here the changing working hours of women with young children are mapped as they have altered since 1971. This can only be done for women. Conversely, the changing map of early retirement can only be drawn for men because women of any age were so often classified as housewives if they were not at work and were not unemployed before 1991 (Joshi and Owen 1987).

The hours people work provides only part of the story of how much time work consumes. How long it takes to travel to work is also important and this is affected by how far away each person's workplace is and by the means they use to get there and back each day. Most people in Britain travel to work by car and most people who travel by public transport use a bus for most of their journey. What means of transport you use depends critically on where you live and so the map of means of travel to work shows some very clear spatial patterns. The changes over the last ten and twenty years have also been dramatic, with an extra 10% of people travelling by car each decade.

This chapter ends by concentrating on those people in the workforce who are out of work. The censuses allow a measure of the changing size of this group to be made which is not affected by changes to the official government definition of unemployment (Employment Gazette 1994). A very clear pattern of twenty years of change is revealed at the ward level. The situation in 1991 is described in more detail by showing how many people became unemployed at any point in the year before the census or had been unemployed for more than a year by the time of the census. Non-census ward level data are used to show this. Finally, the relationship between a person's chance of being out of work, his/her ethnic group and his/her location is depicted for young people in Britain using data which are only available in detail from the census. Thus many cross-sections of the workforce are shown here from many sources, all attempting to produce a picture of the economic activity of people of working age in Britain today.

3.1: Employment Status of All Residents by Age and Sex in Britain 1991



The Workforce

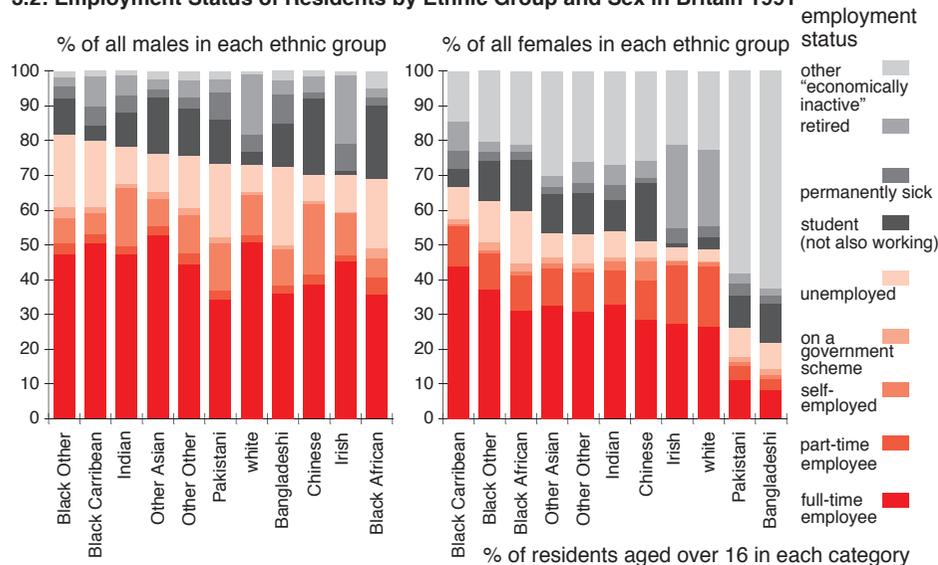
The workforce of Britain is made up of every resident aged 16 and over who is either in work, on a government scheme, or looking for work. Students who also have a part-time job are included in this definition of the workforce. The proportion of the population of an area which is in the workforce gives a very crude indication of how closely that area is tied in with the economy of the country as a whole and of how much money people in that area are, in aggregate, likely to have to spend. This is closely connected to the concept of the dependency ratio — the proportion of people in an area who are dependent on the earnings of people at work in that area. The map and cartogram opposite show how this ratio varies widely across the country. More than two fifths of the population live in wards where more than half of all residents aged over 16 are in the workforce. On the map it appears that very rural and coastal areas have the lowest proportions of people in the workforce and thus have the highest dependency ratios. On the cartogram it is apparent that the largest concentrations of people who are neither working, nor looking for work, are to be found inside large cities and across Wales.

People not included in the workforce are a disparate group. They are made up of over eight million pensioners who have retired, five million women who are looking after the home and family, almost two million people who cannot work because they are permanently sick (see Chapter 5) and over a million and a half students who do not also have part-time jobs. Sixteen and a half million people were in full-time employment in Britain in 1991, making up just over 60% of the workforce. In addition, almost four million women were in part-time employment, more than two million men described themselves as self-employed, while 2.8 million residents were unemployed or on a government scheme. Figure 3.1 shows how important a person's age and sex are in determining what they are likely to do — their *employment status*. The maps opposite partly reflect this age and sex profile as it is distributed across the country.

Many other factors are also important. Figure 3.2 shows how varied are the chances of people being of each employment status according to their ethnic group and their sex. The groups are sorted in descending order of *economic activity* — the rate of participation in the workforce. These graphs also reflect the age structure of each group; but in all cases men of any ethnic group are more likely to be in the workforce than women. Some of the most telling differences are to be found between men and women of the same ethnic group. For instance, for men the lowest participation rate is for Black Africans while for women it is for Bangladeshis, but Black African women have one of the highest rates of participation for women in the workforce.

The patterns of economic activity found across the country reflect the demographic structure of the country as much as the economic prosperity of each area. Prosperous areas may also attract young mobile people and so this explanation operates both ways.

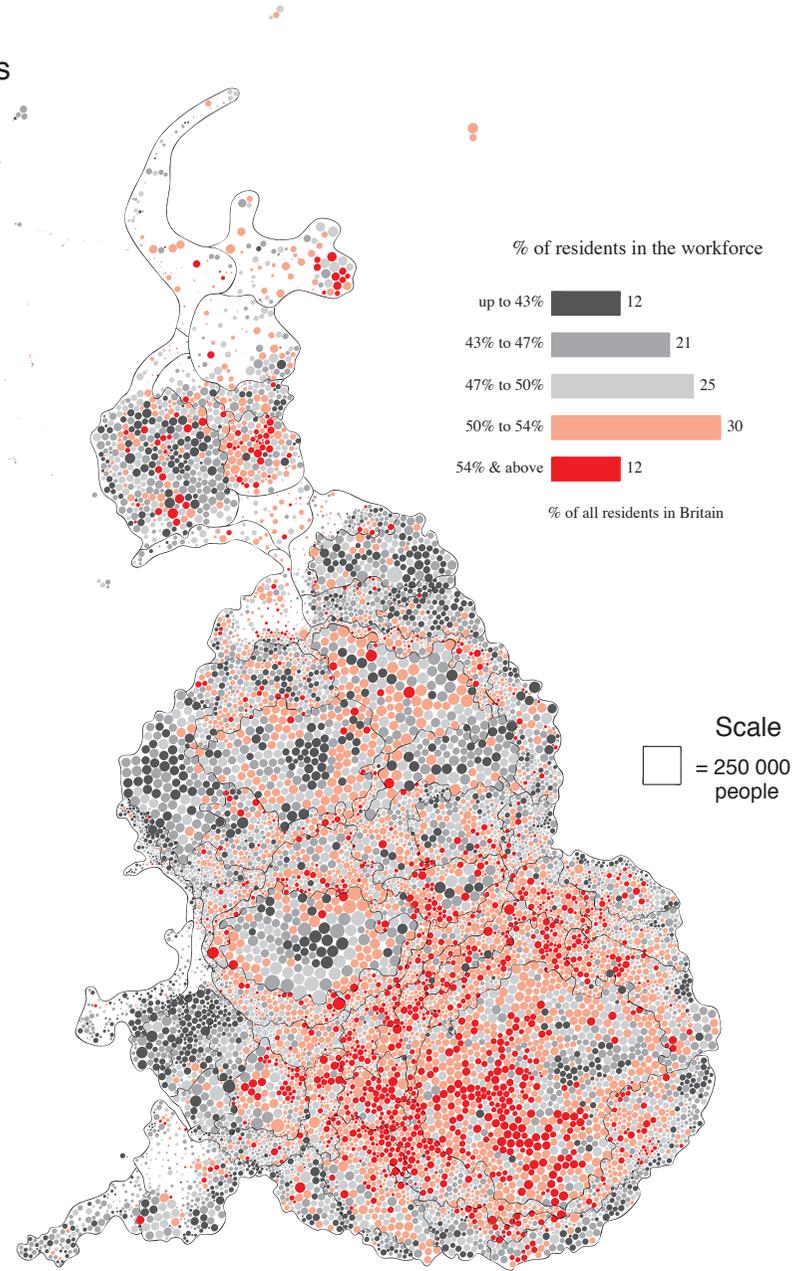
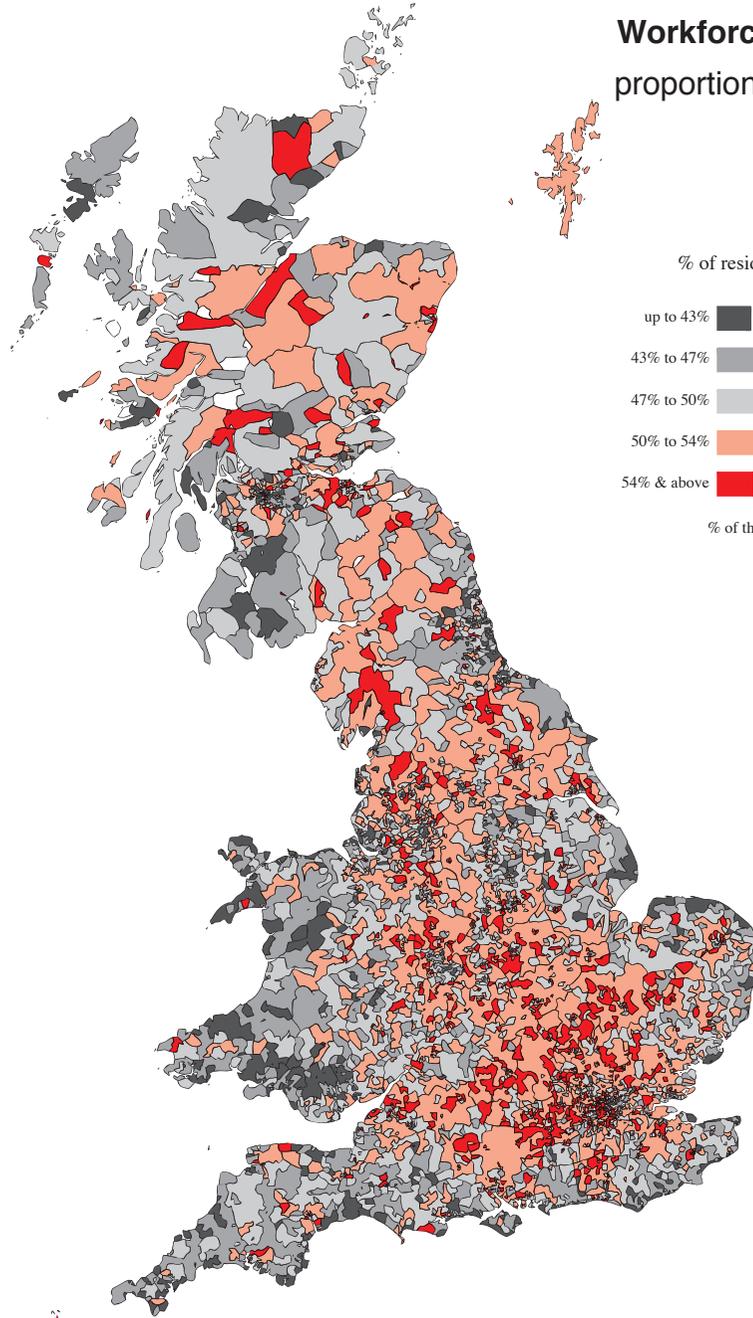
3.2: Employment Status of Residents by Ethnic Group and Sex in Britain 1991



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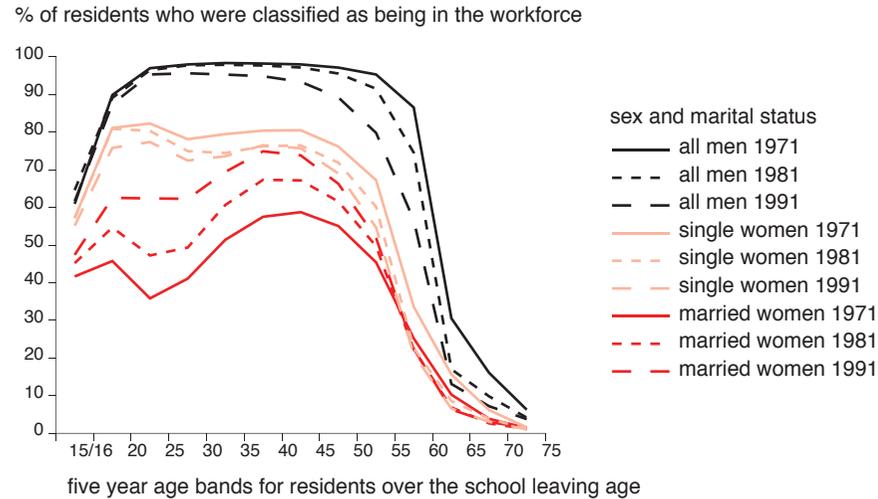
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Workforce 1991 proportion of ward populations



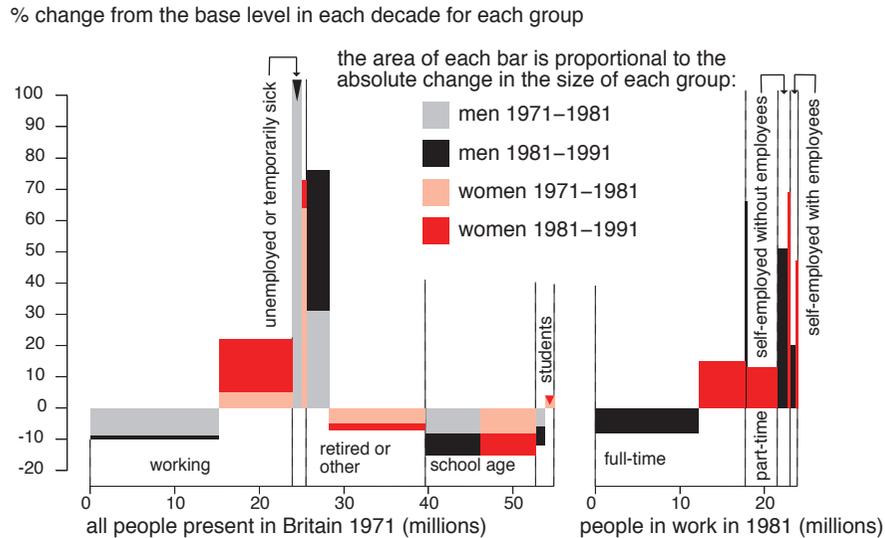
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3.3: Residents in the Workforce by Sex and Marital Status in Britain 1971, 1981 and 1991



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3.4: Absolute and Relative Change in Employment Status by Sex in Britain 1971–1981–1991



Note: inverted triangles indicate a reverse trend in the second decade

Workforce Change

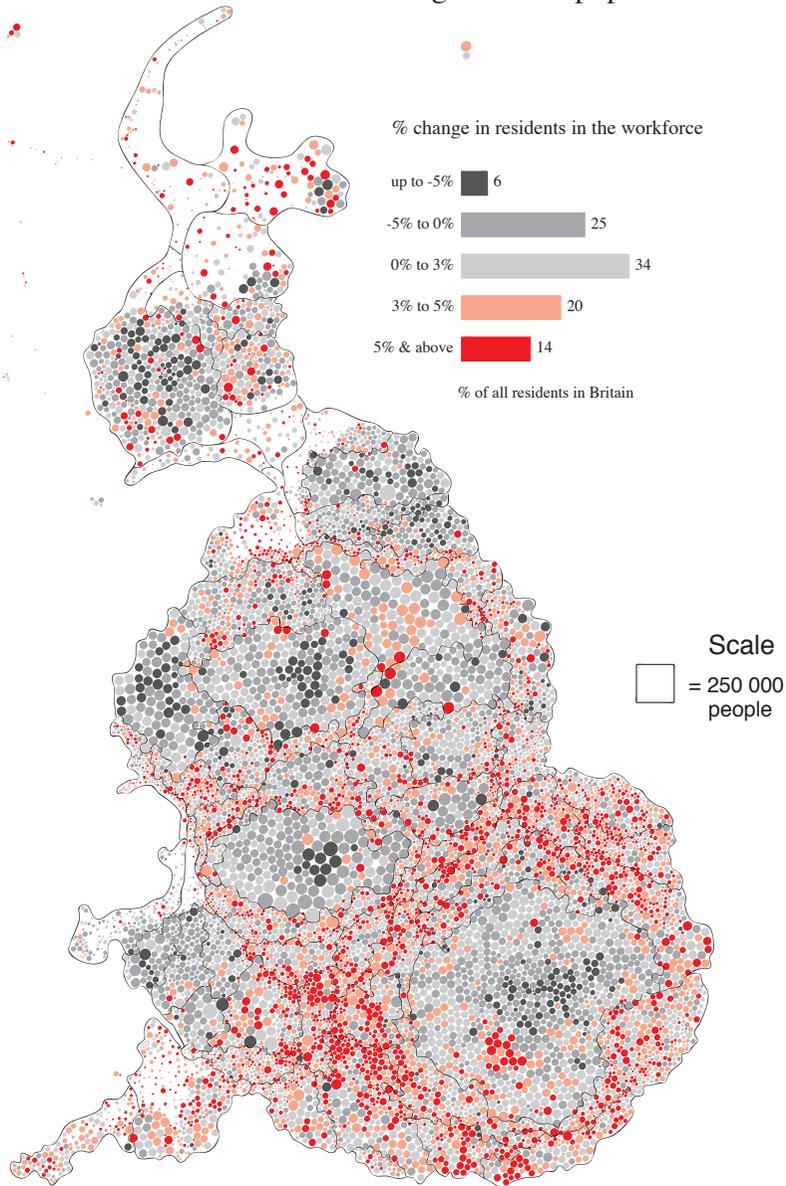
Over the last decade the proportion of people in the workforce increased in many areas. The map opposite shows how these increases were most apparent in the more rural areas of the south, and around Wandsworth in London. The workforce shrank in much of the rest of London and in the other major cities as more people living in these places said they were neither in work nor looking for a job.

The change over the last two decades shown on the far map illustrates how these changes are reinforcing a pattern which has been forming for over twenty years. In each period the average growth in workforce participation for Great Britain (GB on far map) has been roughly one additional person per hundred per decade. This has occurred despite the school leaving age being raised from 15 to 16 after the 1971 census was taken. A quarter of the population live in wards where the growth in participation has been below this level both in the 1970s and in the 1980s, and a third of the population live in areas where the growth has been above average across both periods. The areas in which economic activity slowed down only in the 1980s tend to be suburbs adjacent to the centres of large cities. These areas are shaded grey and include, for instance, most of Merseyside and most of Tyne & Wear.

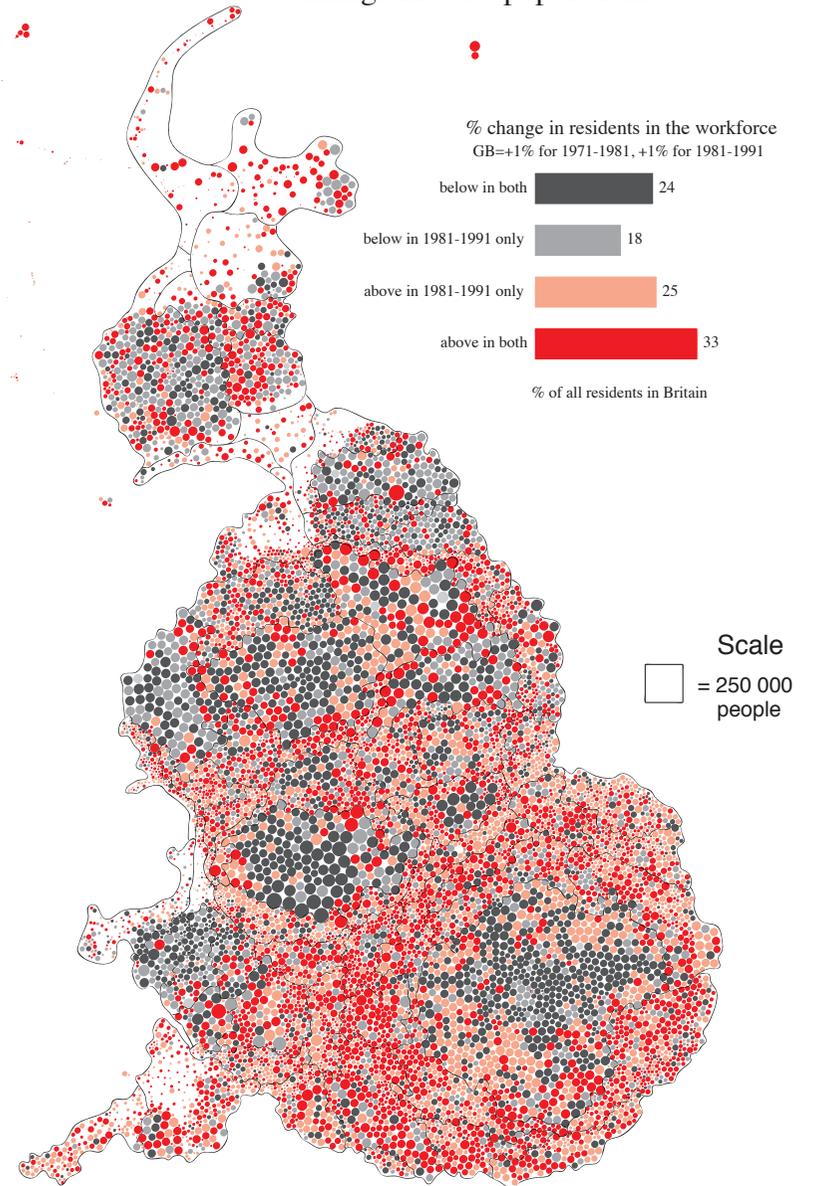
The aggregate spatial changes shown here mask the detail of who by 1991 was (more or less) likely to be in the workforce. Figure 3.3 shows the participation rates for nine groups of people in thirteen age bands. Women have been separated into married and single, as in former years a woman's marital status greatly affected her likelihood of being in the workforce. Now, as the figure shows, after the age of 30, marital status gives little indication of whether a woman is likely to be in the workforce or not. The biggest decreases in working rates have been for men aged over 50, while married women aged under 50 now constitute far more of the workforce. The position of single women has only altered slightly over the decades so that they are now slightly less likely (at all ages) to be in the workforce.

Figure 3.4 shows the nature of these changes in employment status in more detail. The left hand graph shows changes in the 1970s and the 1980s separately as well as differentiating between men and women. It shows how the net loss of well over a million jobs occurred almost exclusively in the 1970s whereas most of the gain of almost two million jobs for women occurred in the 1980s. The increases in unemployment for both groups have been very sharp but still affect a relatively small proportion of the workforce. The increases in retirement for men and the decreases for women (mostly from being housewives) have affected much larger numbers of people. The school age population has dropped uniformly over both time periods. The censuses recorded an overall decrease in the number of students who do not also work (and were enumerated). The graph to the right shows in more detail the changes which occurred in the 1980s.

Workforce 1981–1991 change in ward populations



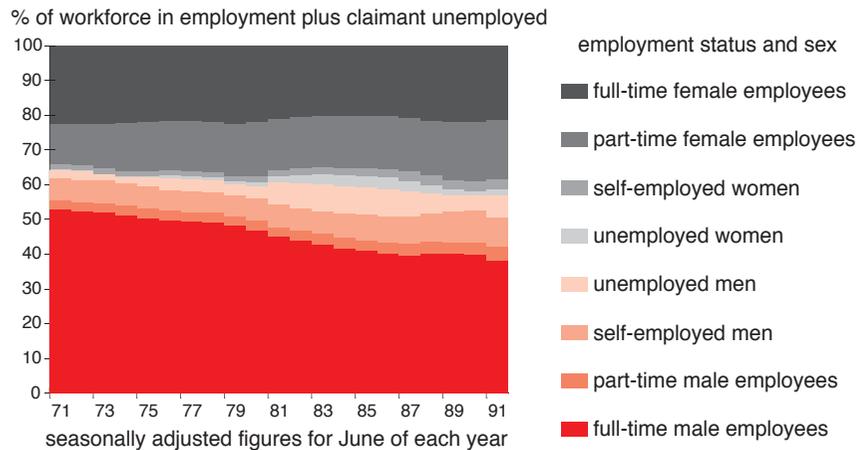
Workforce 1971–1981–1991 change in ward populations



3.5: Residents in the Workforce by Age, Sex and Employment Status 1991, 1981–1991



3.6: Workforce by Sex and Employment Status in Britain 1971–1991



Source: The Employment Gazette, June 1992.

Employment Status

Figure 3.4 demonstrated the relative importance to the size of the workforce in Britain of the changes in the numbers of people in each type of employment since 1981. On the map opposite the geographical distributions of those changes, and the patterns which they had formed by 1991, are shown at the level of local authority districts.

Full-time employees are defined as people who work more than thirty hours a week, *part-time employees* are people in employment who work fewer hours than this. *Self-employed people* are those who described themselves as such, while the *unemployment count* includes people who were temporarily sick in 1981 and people on government schemes in 1991 — for the comparison to be as fair as is possible. The geographical differences in the relative sizes of each of these four groups are quite simple at this scale. Full-time employment levels are highest west of London. Part-time employment is most common along the coast. Self-employed people are to be found mainly in the south of England and people are most likely to be unemployed if they live in metropolitan boroughs.

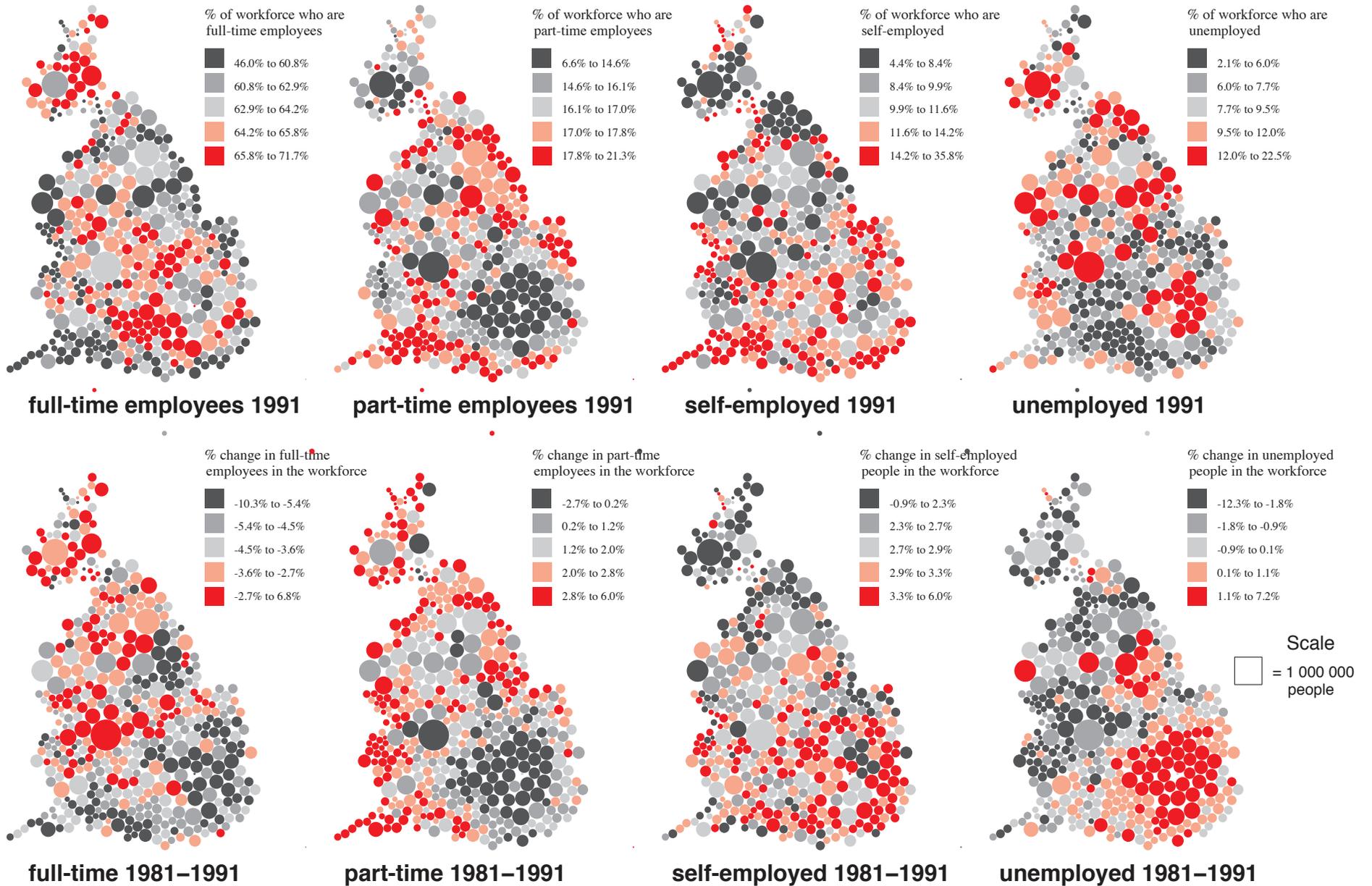
The patterns in the four lower maps, which show the net changes which have taken place since 1981, are almost as clear although perhaps not as expected. Full-time employment has fallen least in the Midlands. Part-time employment has fallen most in London while the rise in self-employment has been most dramatic in districts to the east of the capital. Unemployment levels have risen most starkly in and around London and across the Yorkshire coalfield, while there have been dramatic falls in the proportion of the workforce seeking work in the West Midlands, Wales, parts of the north of England and in Scotland. It should be born in mind, however, that here only two specific points in time are being compared. There are also many routes out of employment other than unemployment, some of which are discussed at the end of this chapter

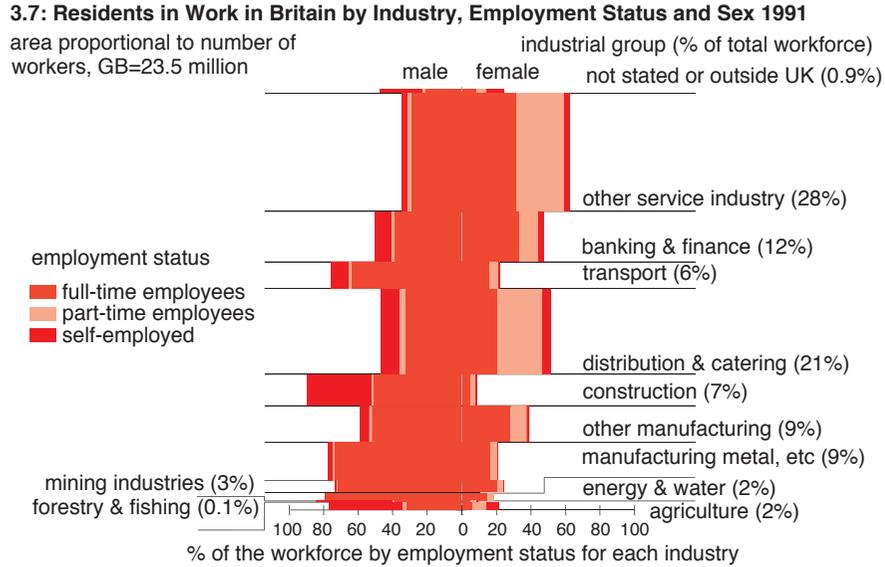
Figure 3.5 shows how a person's employment status is likely to vary according to his/her age and sex in a similar manner to Figure 3.1, but now only for people in the workforce and for six categories of people for whom it is possible to chart changes since the 1981 census. The changes have been quite dramatic, with men in full-time employment losing the most jobs over the decade, especially men aged over 45. Conversely, the biggest relative rise in employment has been for men in part-time employment or for those who are self-employed, and again the group aged over 45 has seen the greatest change in ten years. Unemployment rates have risen most rapidly for people aged under 25.

Analysis of employment change between the censuses can give the impression that these changes have been gradual. Figure 3.6 shows how the changes have been spread over the last twenty years. The 1980s has been a far more turbulent time for employment change than the 1970s. The influence of the census dates on statistics is also apparent.

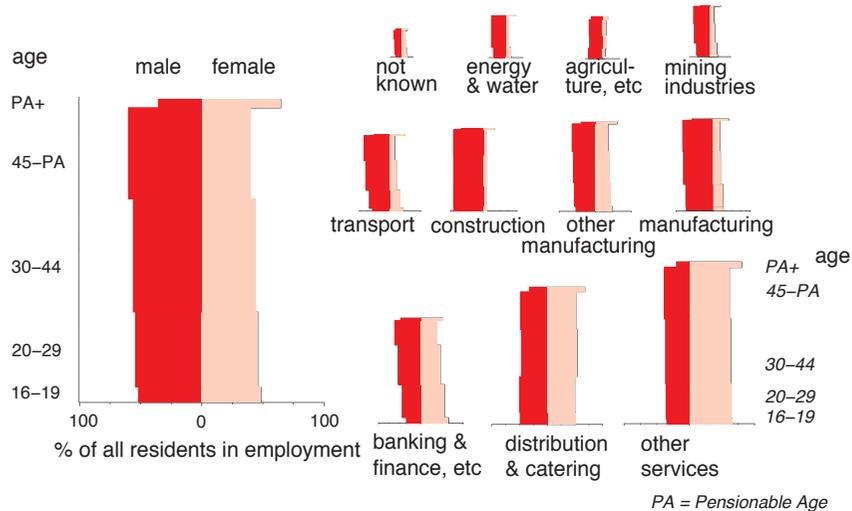
Employment Status 1981–1991

proportion of workforce and change (quintiles)





3.8: Residents in Work in Britain by Age and Sex for each Industrial Group 1991
 area proportional to number of workers, GB=23.5 million



Industrial Structure

The industrial geography of Britain provides part of the explanation for the patterns of different levels of economic activity found across the country. As Figure 3.7 shows, each industry employs very different proportions of men and women and of people in full-time employment, in part-time employment or in self-employed work. Wherever employment in the construction industry is buoyant, for instance, a high proportion of self-employed men is likely to be in the workforce. This figure also gives an impression of the relative importance of each industry: four people work in banking & finance for every one person working in the mining industries.

The maps opposite show how jobs in each type of industry are spread across the country, district by district. Broader categories of industry are used in these maps than are used in the figures for simplicity. The same shading categories are used in each map so that the relative importance of each industry can be seen for each place. People working in agriculture, forestry & fishing never constitute more than a fifth of a district's workforce and only number more than 5% in a few of the most rural areas. People working in industries associated with energy, water & mining constitute more than a fifth of the workforce in only two districts — Stoke-on-Trent (potteries) and Copeland (nuclear). In contrast, manufacturing industries employ between a fifth and a half of the workforce right across the midlands and in many districts further north. These areas are thus likely to have high numbers of men in full-time employment among their workforces. The construction industry in 1991 rarely employed more than 10%, or less than 5%, of a district's workforce, with the work being fairly evenly spread across the country.

Two thirds of the British workforce are employed in the last three types of industrial group as shown in the lower maps. Distribution & catering includes people working in shops and other retail establishments and shows a distinct geographical pattern. People working in transport & communication number more than a fifth of the workforce in only one district — Dover. It is, however, the final group of industries which employs the most significant group of people: banking, finance & other services. In no district in Britain are less than a fifth of the workforce engaged in this kind of employment and in most London boroughs these industries provide work for over half the employed population (as they also do in Edinburgh and Cardiff). Together these industries employ more women than men. Almost half of these women are working part-time.

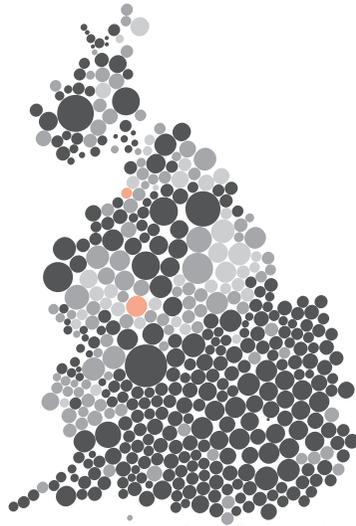
Different industries tend not only to employ distinct numbers of people of different sexes and of different employment status categories, but also people of different ages. Figure 3.8 shows the age and sex pyramids for each type of industry. More older men tend to be employed and more younger women, but this is not true in the distribution & catering industries, although it is very much the case in banking and finance.

Industries 1991

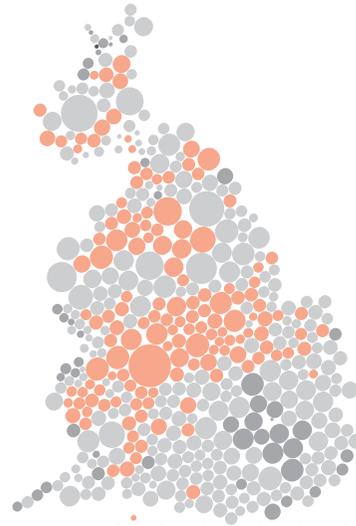
share of people in employment



agriculture, forestry & fishing



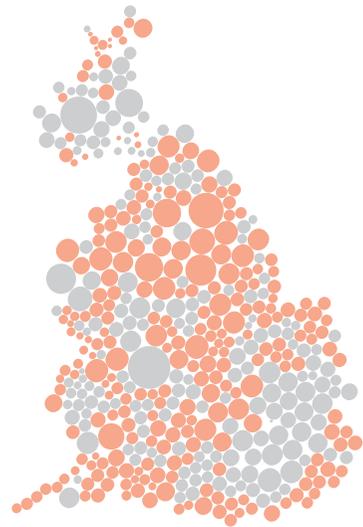
energy, water & mining



manufacturing industries



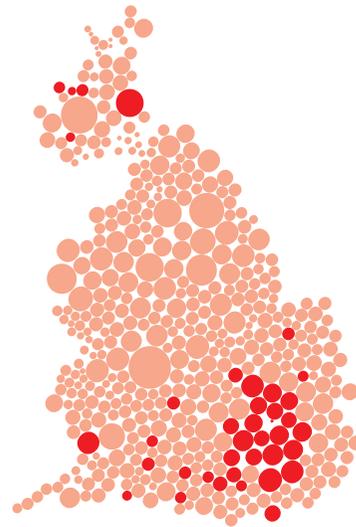
construction



distribution & catering

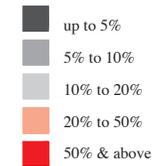


transport & communication



banking, finance & other services

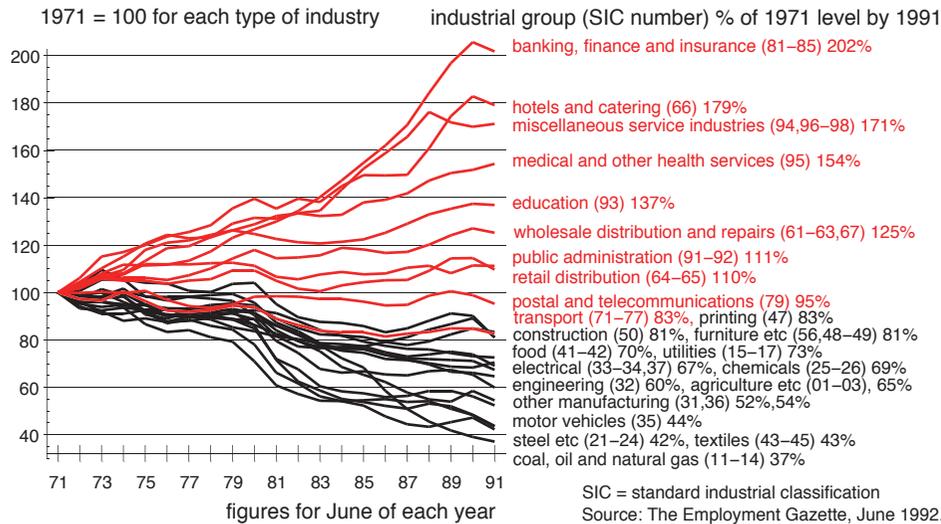
% of workforce in employment working in each type of industry



Scale
= 1 000 000
people

3.9: Change in the Total Numbers of People in Employment by Industry in Britain 1971–1991

% change in numbers of employees by industrial group (service industries shown in red)



3.10: Change in Employment for each Industrial Group by Age and Sex in Britain 1981–1991

Workforce Grouped by Sex and Age	Total Jobs Change (%) 1981 to 1991	Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	Energy, Water & Mining	Manu- facturing Industries	Const- ruction Industry	Distribution & Catering Industries	Transport & Comm- unication	Other Service Industries
		SIC number 01–03	11–17	21–49	50	61–67	71–79	81–99
Total	2%	-11%	55%	-33%	8%	9%	-0%	22%
Male								
All 16+	-5%	-15%	39%	-34%	7%	8%	-4%	14%
16–29	-6%	-20%	20%	-32%	6%	17%	-8%	4%
30–44	4%	-10%	71%	-28%	5%	12%	6%	29%
45–64	-11%	-15%	23%	-39%	10%	-0%	-10%	8%
65+	-28%	-21%	197%	-47%	-28%	-39%	-18%	-15%
Female								
All 16+	13%	8%	165%	-30%	22%	10%	16%	28%
16–29	11%	-10%	149%	-27%	19%	24%	21%	18%
30–44	27%	10%	234%	-24%	21%	17%	43%	47%
45–64	4%	14%	118%	-37%	34%	-2%	-13%	23%
60+	-12%	21%	252%	-37%	1%	-22%	-22%	0%

Note: here change (%) is calculated as $100 \times (\text{jobs_in_1991} - \text{jobs_in_1981}) \div \text{jobs_in_1981}$, rather than as the usual % point change.

Industrial Change

Just as the industrial structure of Britain helps to explain the patterns of employment across the country, so changes in that structure often lie behind geographical changes in the characteristics of those who are employed and how they are employed. Estimates of the share of people working in each type of industry from the last two censuses are compared here. Again, the same scale is used on all the maps so that the relative importance of the changes to the entire workforce of an area can be judged equitably.

The numbers of people working in agriculture, forestry & fishing could not fall much in many districts because they were already so low. The biggest falls in this sector were recorded in rural areas, whilst increases have only been seen in Lochaber, the Western Isles and the Shetland Isles. In aggregate, the energy, water & mining industries have seen employment grow over the 1980s although this has generally only occurred in the first two sectors of this group. The map emphasises those parts of the Welsh, Yorkshire and Northumberland coalfields which have seen falls of up to 10% of their total workforce from this sector alone. Losses of over 10% of the total workforce have not been unusual in many districts for manufacturing jobs. Only six small districts out of the 459 in Britain have seen rises in manufacturing employment of above one new job for every hundred in 1981. The picture for change in the construction industry shows a gradual evolution over the decade, with jobs moving out from the centre of the country.

The most significant increases in employment have been seen in the service industries. Employment in distribution & catering has increased almost everywhere apart from in large cities. The growth which has occurred in the transport & communications industries shows a very clustered pattern centred on Coventry whilst the traditional transport centres of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Hull have experienced declining employment in this sector. The most significant increases in employment in almost every district in the country have come from jobs in banking, finance and other services. East London, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow have seen rises of more than ten new workers for every hundred workers (in employment) from these industries alone.

Again, the rate of change has been different at different times and for different industries over the last twenty years. Figure 3.9 illustrates these changes using a classification of employment by industry which allows comparisons to be made over three decades. What is most striking about this diagram is that every type of service industry has had more job growth than any of the manufacturing or primary sectors. The rate of change, and its direction, has also been different for different people working in each industry. The table in Figure 3.10 shows how much variation the total percentage change in employment statistics conceals about the changing nature of who is working in each type of industry. Percentages are shown in this table and so it is important to remember that some of the denominators for these fractions will be quite small.

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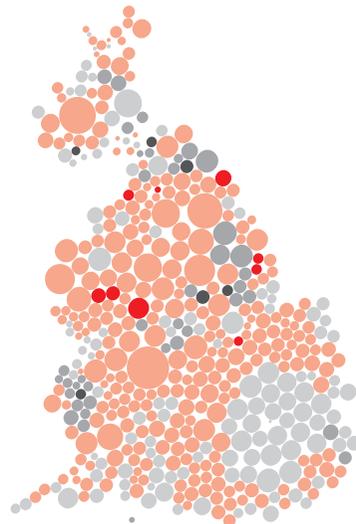
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Industries 1981–1991

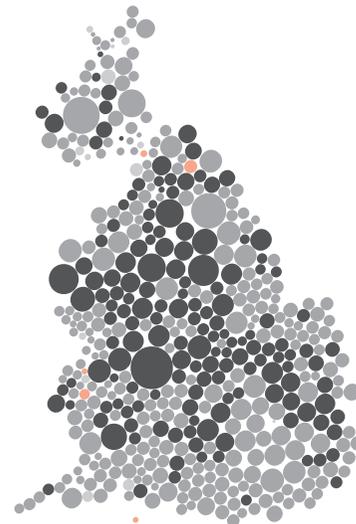
share of people in employment



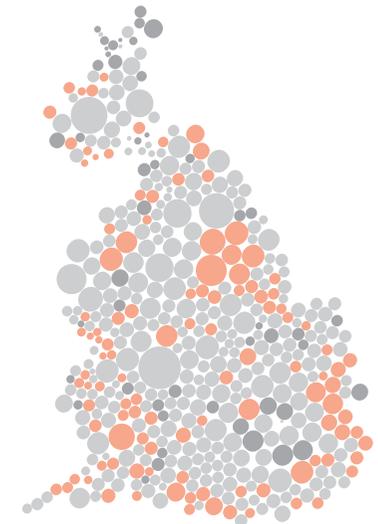
agriculture, forestry & fishing



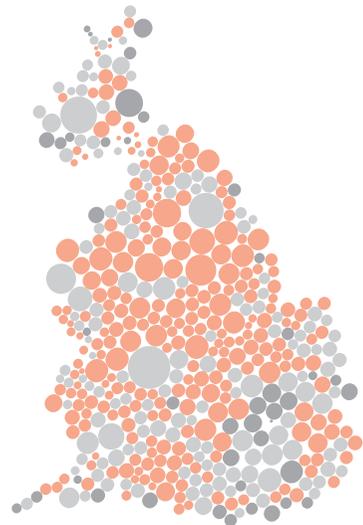
energy, water & mining



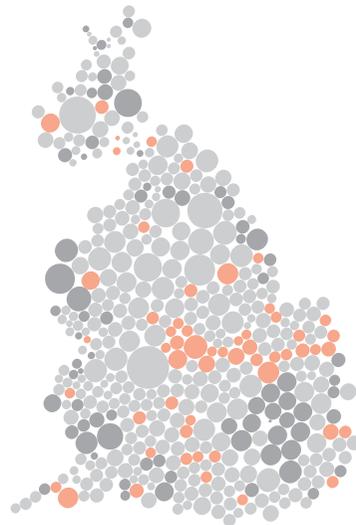
manufacturing industries



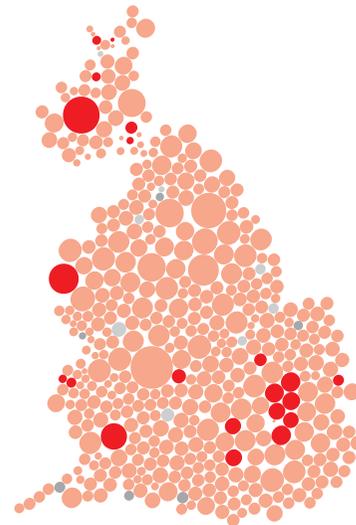
construction



distribution & catering

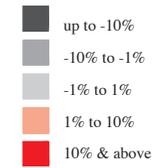


transport & communication



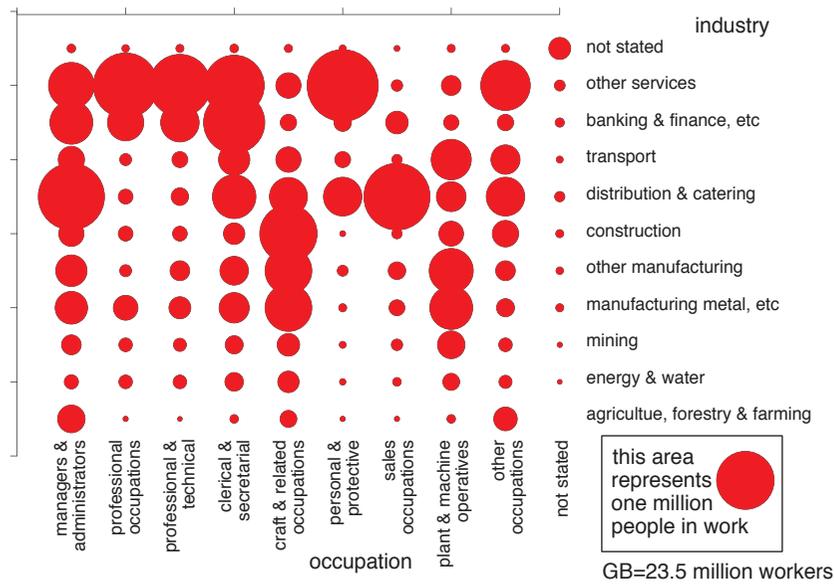
banking, finance & other services

% change in workforce in employment working in each type of industry

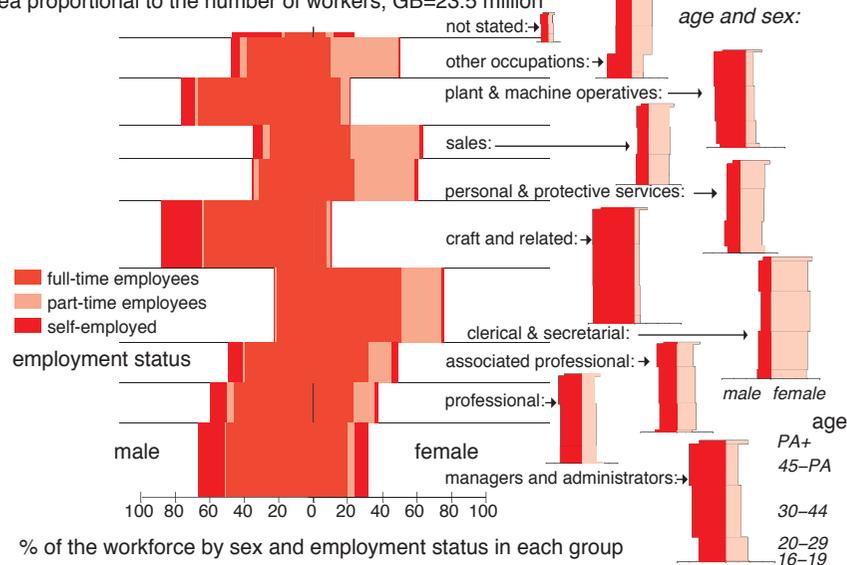


Scale
= 1 000 000
people

3.11: People in Employment by Industry and Occupation in Britain 1991



3.12: Residents in Work in Britain by Age and Sex for each Occupational Group 1991
area proportional to the number of workers, GB=23.5 million



Occupational Structure

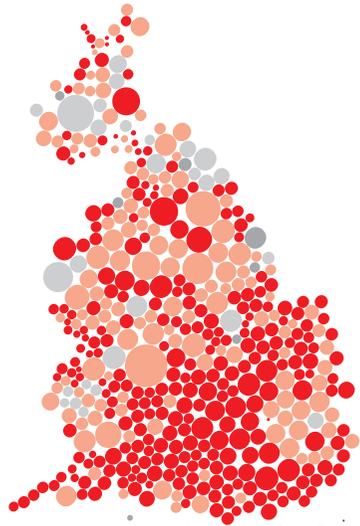
Knowing in which kind of industry a person is employed — what is made — reveals little about what kind of work he or she does. For instance, a cleaner working in a building firm is classified as being in the construction industry. It is the nature of work people do which is most important in determining what they earn, whether they are likely to live in a city and so on. The industries people work in and their occupations are certainly not unrelated, as Figure 3.11 shows. More clerical & secretarial staff work in banking & finance than in any other sector; but the relationship between people's industries and their occupations is sufficiently loose for very different geographical patterns to emerge. Within an industry, the managers are unlikely to live in the same neighbourhoods as the machine operators.

The maps opposite show the geographical distributions of the nine most highly aggregated classifications of occupations from the 1990 Standard Occupational Classification, which groups jobs involving similar tasks; see Figure 3.13 to find which particular occupations are assigned to each of these groups. The same scale has been used on each map so that the relative importance of each group can be contrasted between areas. People whose work involves managing, clerical, or craft & related work are in the largest groups, usually comprising over half the workforce of a district when combined. Professionals and “associated professionals” tend to live in similar areas, concentrated in the South East and in provincial centres such as Edinburgh. Personal & protective occupations include people working in security (such as the police) and care (such as retirement home staff), hence their concentration round the coast, looking after the elderly. People working in sales tend to be found in higher numbers in the more rural districts while machine operatives are clustered in the North, Wales and the Midlands. “Other occupations” include those jobs which are most difficult to classify; these are most commonly found in Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and in South Yorkshire.

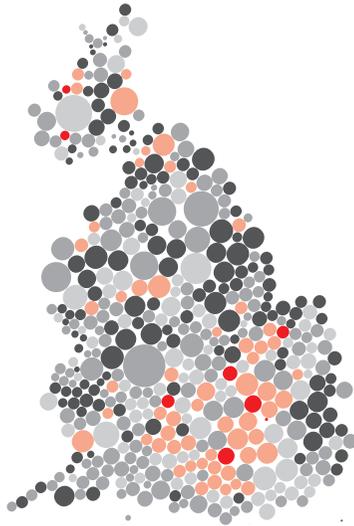
The distribution of people of different ages and sexes among occupations is even more uneven than that found among industries. Figure 3.12 shows both the relationship between sex, employment status and occupation and, for each occupation, the age and sex profile of people employed in it. Each of the bars in each of the graphs has been scaled so that the area of the bar is proportional to the total number of people in the group being shown. Thus the bar and population pyramid for clerical and secretarial workers is largest, representing almost 3.8 million people, mostly women (about a third of whom work part-time). The population pyramid confirms just how unlikely it is that men are employed in clerical and secretarial occupations, particularly those aged 30–44. It also shows that unusually high numbers of people aged under 20 are in this occupational group. This contrasts with managers and administrators, where the 16–19 age bar is so thin that it is evident that almost no teenager works in these occupations.

Occupations 1991

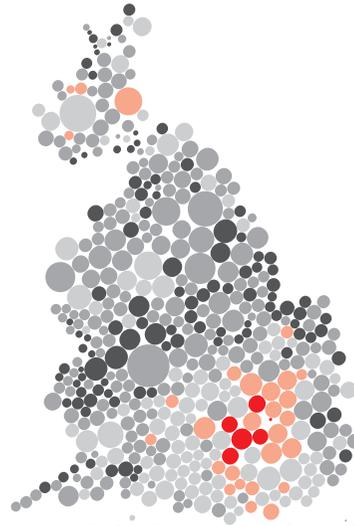
share of people in employment



managers & administrators



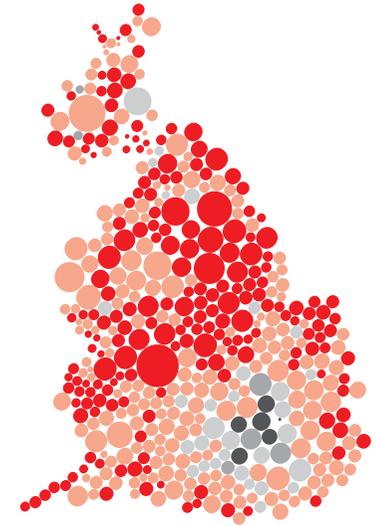
professional



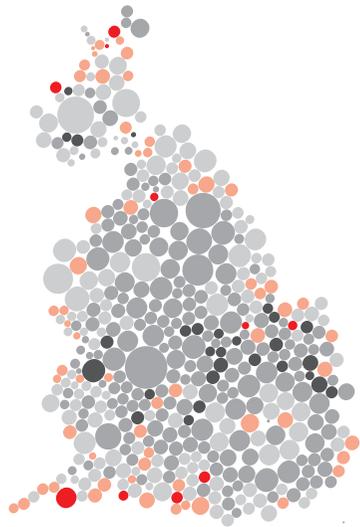
associated professional



clerical & secretarial



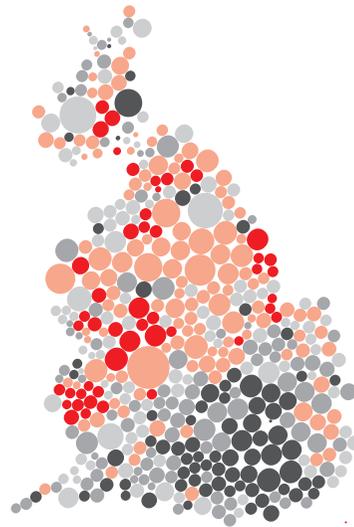
craft & related



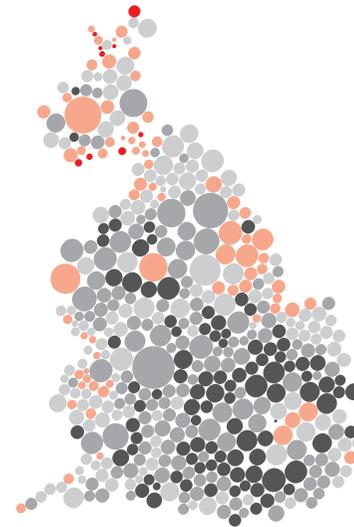
personal & protective



sales

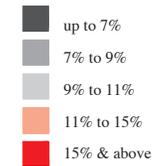


machine operatives



other occupations

% of workforce in employment working in each group of occupations



Scale
= 1 000 000
people

3.13: Occupation of all Residents in Employment in Britain 1991

Standard Occupational Classification	%GB	%Female	District: highest proportion %	Standard Occupational Classification	%GB	%Female	District: highest proportion %	
ALL OCCUPATIONS	100.0	44		ALL OCCUPATIONS	100.0	44		
1. managers and administrators				c) other skilled trades	7.5	19	Roxburgh	
a) corporate managers and administrators	9.6	29	Wokingham	18.9				
10. government and large companies	0.5	39	Kingston upon Thames	1.6	3	Barrow-in-Furness	7.6	
11. production managers	2.6	10	South Bucks	5.3	1.1	3	North Shropshire	
12. specialist managers	2.8	35	Richmond Upon Thames	8.3	1.2	70	Roxburgh	
13. financial and office managers	1.9	47	City of London	6.2	0.6	31	Wansdyke	
14. in transport and storing	0.6	14	Spelthorne	1.6	1.4	2	Badenoch and Strathspay	
15. in protective services	0.2	5	North Kesteven	2.3	0.4	22	Isles of Scilly	
19. not elsewhere categorised	0.9	41	City of Westminster	2.0	1.2	14	Stoke-on-Trent	
b) other managers/proprietors	6.3	36	Isles of Scilly	25.7				
16. in agriculture and forestry	0.9	15	Carmarthen	11.7				
17. in service industries	5.4	40	Isles of Scilly	18.6				
2. professional occupations				6. personal and protective service				
a) science and engineering professionals	2.3	10	Cambridge	6.6	2.2	12	Richmondshire	
20. natural scientists	0.5	29	Vale of White Horse	3.1	0.7	8	Richmondshire	
21. engineers and technologists	1.8	5	Hart	4.5	1.5	14	Dumbarton	
b) 22. Health professionals	0.7	33	Bearsden and Milngavie	2.5	7.0	78	Badenoch and Strathspay	
c) 23. Teaching professionals	3.6	62	Bearsden and Milngavie	10.8	2.0	66	Isles of Scilly	
d) other professional occupations	2.1	32	City of London	15.0	0.2	56	Crawley	
24. legal professionals	0.3	28	City of London	8.4	2.1	91	Blaenau Gwent	
25. business and financial	0.7	21	City of London	3.5	1.3	99	South Wight	
26. architects and surveyors	0.4	8	Kensington and Chelsea	1.5	0.4	92	Merthyr Tydfil	
27. librarians and related	0.1	64	Ceredigion	0.8	0.7	55	City of London	
28. not elsewhere categorised	0.6	58	City of London	1.8	0.3	39	Rhuddlan	
3. associated professional and technical				7. sales occupations				
a) science and engineering	2.3	20	Eastleigh	4.3	1.8	24	Eastwood	
30. scientific technicians	1.2	24	Copeland	2.9	0.3	29	City of London	
31. draughtpersons and surveyors	0.5	8	Barrow-in-Furness	1.4	1.5	23	Eastwood	
32. computeranalyst/programmers	0.6	21	Winchester	1.6	5.3	78	Berwick-upon-Tweed	
b) 34. health associate professions	2.6	89	City of London	10.6	7.2	83	Berwick-upon-Tweed	
c) other associate professional	3.8	41	Kensington and Chelsea	13.9	4.7	83	Berwick-upon-Tweed	
33. ship and aircraft officers	0.1	4	Orkney Islands	1.6	73. market & door-to-door sales	0.4	22	Isles of Scilly
35. legal associate professionals	0.1	50	Epping Forest	0.3	79. not elsewhere classified	0.3	81	Harlow
36. business and finance associated	1.0	30	Kensington and Chelsea	4.0	8. plant and machine operatives, assemblers			
37. social welfare associated	0.6	74	Argyll and Bute	1.4	a) stationary machine operatives	6.4	33	Corby
38. literary, artistic and sports	1.3	37	Camden	8.5	80. food, drink & tobacco processing	0.6	45	Great Grimsby
39. not elsewhere categorised	0.7	39	South Bucks	1.3	81. textiles and tannery processing	0.2	40	Clackmannan
4. clerical and secretarial occupations				82. chemicals, paper, plastics etc.	0.8	16	Copeland	
a) clerical occupations	11.5	69	Barking and Dagenham	17.6	83. metal making and treating	0.2	5	Scunthorpe
40. civil service and local government	1.6	73	Wyre	6.0	84. metal working processing	0.8	17	Sandwell
41. numerical clerks and cashiers	4.3	73	Castle Point	8.6	85. assemblers / lineworkers	0.7	52	Sedgefield
42. filing and records clerks	1.1	72	Suffolk Coastal	2.5	86. other routine process operatives	1.7	55	Corby
43. clerks not otherwise specified	2.6	82	Corby	5.0	89. not elsewhere classified	1.5	12	Blaenau Gwent
44. stores and dispatch clerks, storekeepers	1.3	19	Peterborough	3.0	b) Drivers, mobile machine operatives	3.9	4	Scunthorpe
49. clerical not otherwise specified	0.7	71	Stevenage	1.5	87. road transport operatives	2.9	5	Eden
b) secretarial occupations	4.6	97	Redbridge	8.6	88. other transport and machinery	1.0	3	Scunthorpe
45. secretaries, personal assistants, typists	3.4	99	Bromley	6.8	9. other occupations			
46. receptionists, telephonists and related	1.2	92	Camden	2.0	a) 90. agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.7	25	Berwickshire
5. craft and related occupations				b) other elementary occupations	7.9	53	Lochaber	
a) 50. skilled construction trades	2.6	1	North Cornwall	5.1	91. in mining and manufacturing	0.7	13	Port Talbot (was Afan)
b) skilled engineering trades	4.4	2	Barrow-in-Furness	9.8	92. in construction	0.8	1	Sutherland
51. machining, fitting, instrument making	2.5	2	Nuneaton and Bedworth	6.2	93. in transport	0.4	3	Crawley
52. electrical / electronic trades	1.9	3	Barrow-in-Furness	3.8	94. in communication	0.8	16	Islington
					95. in sales and services	4.9	81	Lochaber
					99. not elsewhere classified	0.3	9	Isles of Scilly
					not stated or inadequately described	1.0	38	Sutherland
					4.1			

This table shows for each major, sub-major and minor group of the Standard Classification of Occupations, the proportion of people in employment in Britain it includes, the percentage of those people who are women, the district containing the highest proportion of workers in that group, and then what that proportion is for all the workers in that district.

For example, 16.1% of the population work in clerical and secretarial occupations (major classification 4.), 4.6% work in just secretarial occupations (sub-major classification 4.b) of whom 97% are women. The borough of Redbridge contains the highest proportion of secretaries (by this definition) at 8.6% of its workforce.

Occupation and Sex

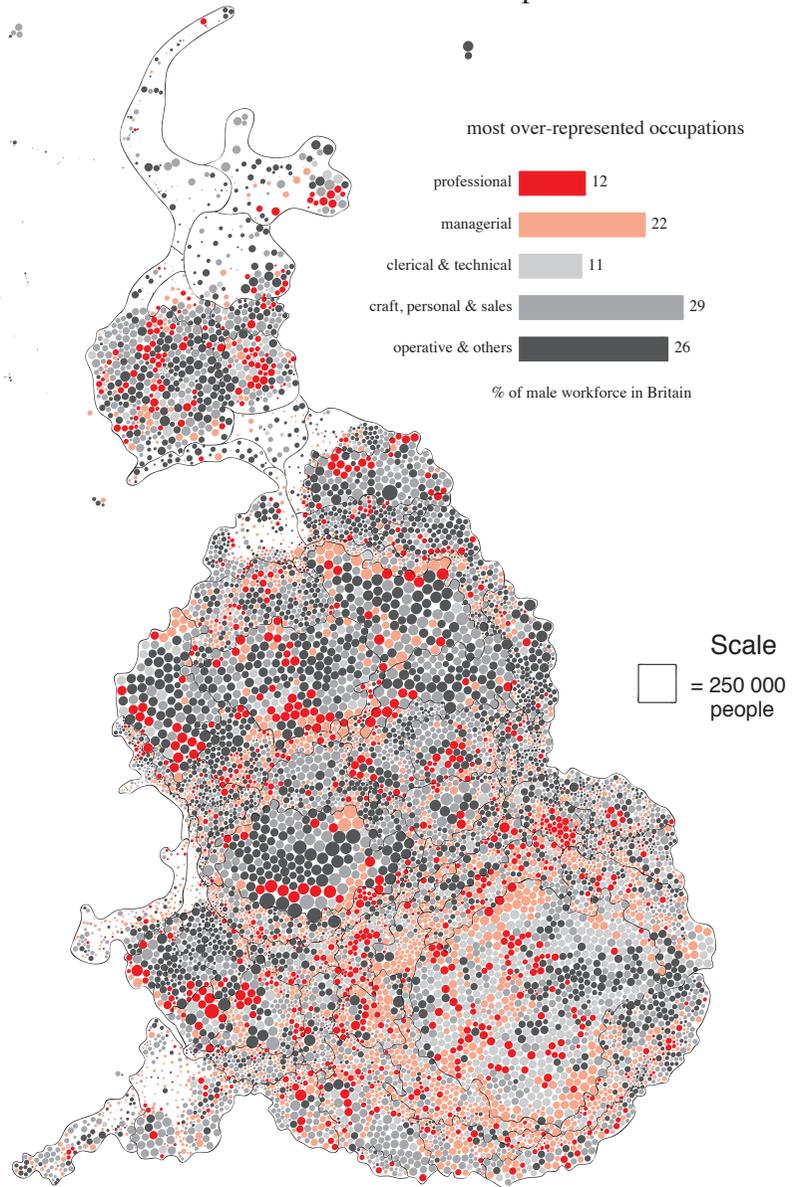
A most influential factor governing the kind of work a person in Britain is likely to be engaged in is his or her sex. Over half of all men in work are managers & administrators, machine operatives, or are employed in craft & related occupations. Over half of all women in work are in jobs which are clerical, secretarial, personal, protective or in sales. Figure 3.13 gives the proportion of women working in each “minor occupational group” and the size of that group. The local authority district which contains the highest proportion of people doing each kind of work is also listed. The table shows that, for instance, 99% of secretaries, personal assistants, typists and word processor operators (minor group 45) in Britain are women and that the district containing the highest proportion of all of these workers is Bromley, at 6.8% of that borough's workforce.

These enormous differences between the occupations of men and women mean that in looking at the type of work people do it is necessary to consider the sexes separately. The two maps opposite do this. They classify every ward in the country into five modal occupational types. A ward is classified into a type if proportionately more people are working in that type of occupation *above the national average proportion*, as compared to the number of people working in the other four types of occupation. The five groups used here amalgamate major occupational groups 3 and 4 to “clerical & technical”, 5, 6 and 7 to “craft, personal & sales” and 8 and 9 to “operative & others”. On average 38% of women in a ward will work in clerical and technical occupations and 8% will work in professional occupations. If, however, in a particular ward 10% of women are found to be working in the latter group and 39% in the former group, then that ward is classified as having an unusual number of women in professional occupations. If this approach were not taken almost all the wards in Britain would be seen to have a simple majority of women in clerical & technical jobs. By comparing the proportions of women who work in each group given in Figure 3.13 with the classification used in this map, it is evident that the majority of women in wards with unusual numbers of clerical & technical workers will be in secretarial occupations, whereas men in wards categorised as being over-represented by clerical & technical occupations are most probably technicians.

The increased complexity required to define the keys to these maps is rewarded by the clarity of the patterns which these classifications of wards produce. Shown opposite is a pattern which reflects many of the other differences across the country to be seen later in this atlas. Professional workers can be seen to cluster in a few dense groups of wards in particularly affluent parts of cities, similarly for men and women. In contrast, wards are far more likely to be classified as managerial on the basis of the men rather than women (as male managers and administrators tend to be less evenly spread across the country). It should be remembered that a classification of wards by where workers live is shown opposite, not the value of a single variable. The patterns are nevertheless striking.

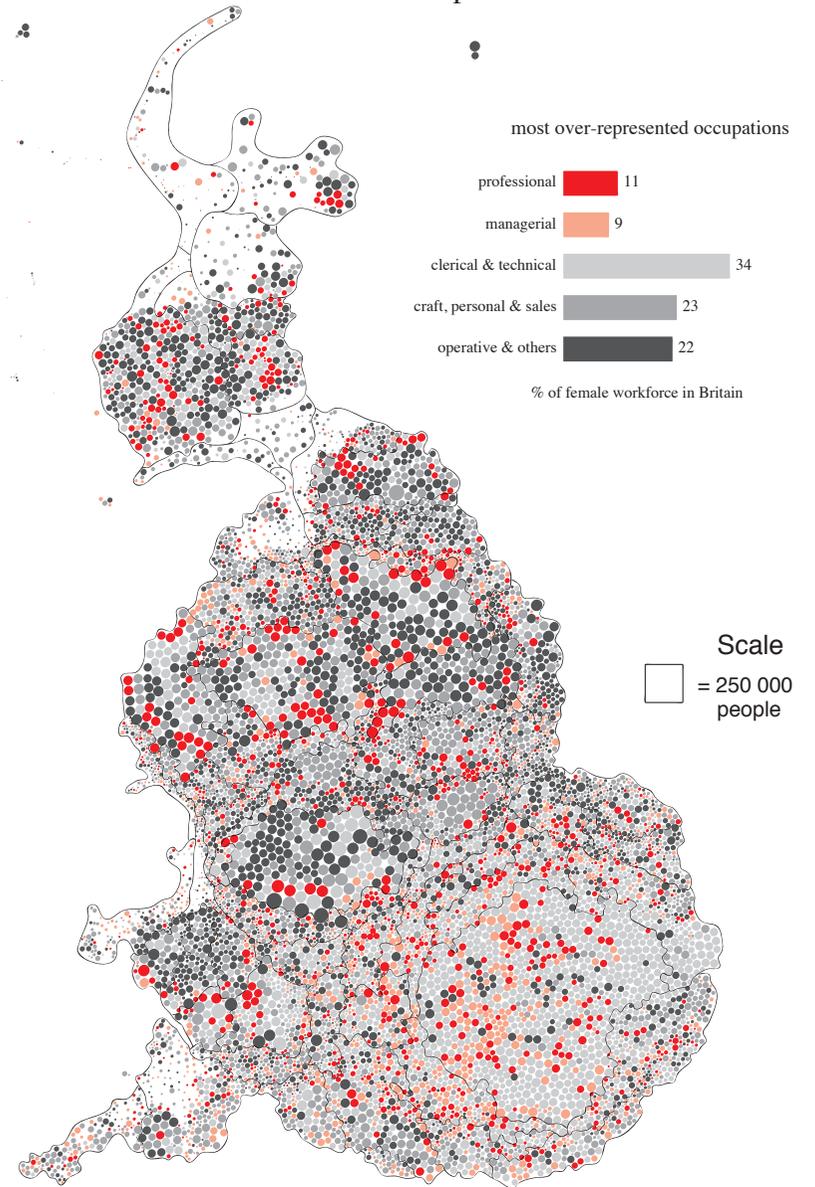
Men in Work 1991

modal occupation of ward workforce

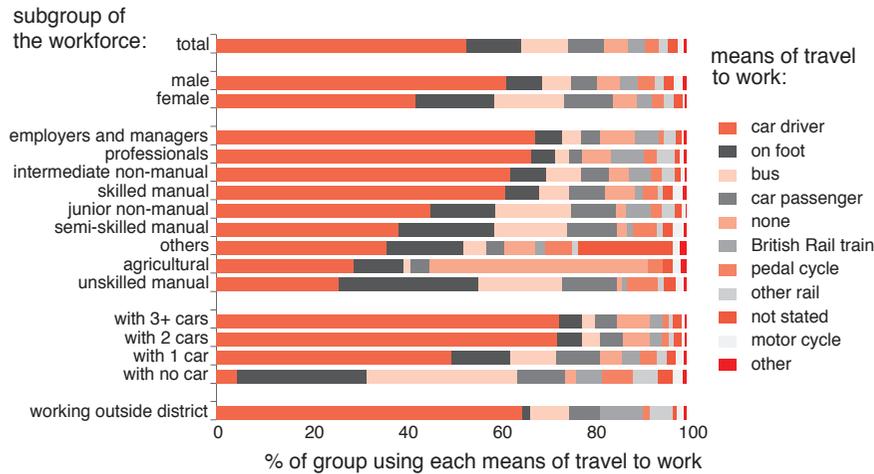


Women in Work 1991

modal occupation of ward workforce



3.14: Means of Travel to Work for Selected Groups in the Workforce in Britain 1991



Travel to Work

Nowadays most people in employment in Britain travel to their workplace by car. The next most popular means is on foot, and then by bus. Figure 3.14 shows how the chances of people using any particular means to travel to work vary according to their sex, the kind of job they do, how many vehicles are available to be used by people in their household and by whether they work outside the district in which they live. Commuting to and from work takes up a large part of many people's lives. How people commute is largely determined by what they do, where they live, and the resources which are available to them.

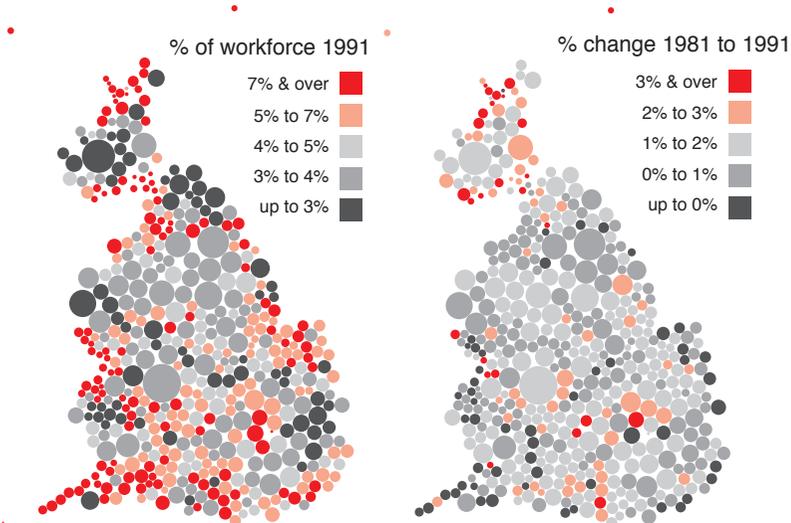
The conventional map and cartogram opposite both show the same distribution of wards classified by which mode of transport is most over-represented when compared to the national average. This modal classification method is the same as that which has just been described in the previous section on occupation and sex. If this method were not used almost all of Britain would be classified as being typified by car drivers. What the maps show is that travel to work by rail is only significant in and just around London. To the east and south of London people rely on British Rail. "Other rail" includes the London Underground, dominant almost exclusively within the boundary of that city, and a few other light rail transit systems elsewhere. These can be seen in Tyne & Wear, for example, but their influence is not great at the national scale.

It is by bus that most public transport passengers travel. Buses dominate all the metropolitan centres other than London, and almost all of Scotland. The importance of public transport for getting to work is not at all apparent from the conventional map. Instead, that map highlights the fact that in almost three fifths of Britain's wards, by land area, people are disproportionately likely to be travelling to work by foot (or "other"; this category includes people who work at home — many of whom are farmers). The cartogram shows this category to dominate only a quarter of wards by population.

Between the city centres and the most rural areas the classic suburban means of travel is dominant. Car ownership comes with the kinds of jobs people in these areas tend to have, but it is also almost a prerequisite of living there. Britain is as divided by how people travel to work as it is by what they do when they get there.

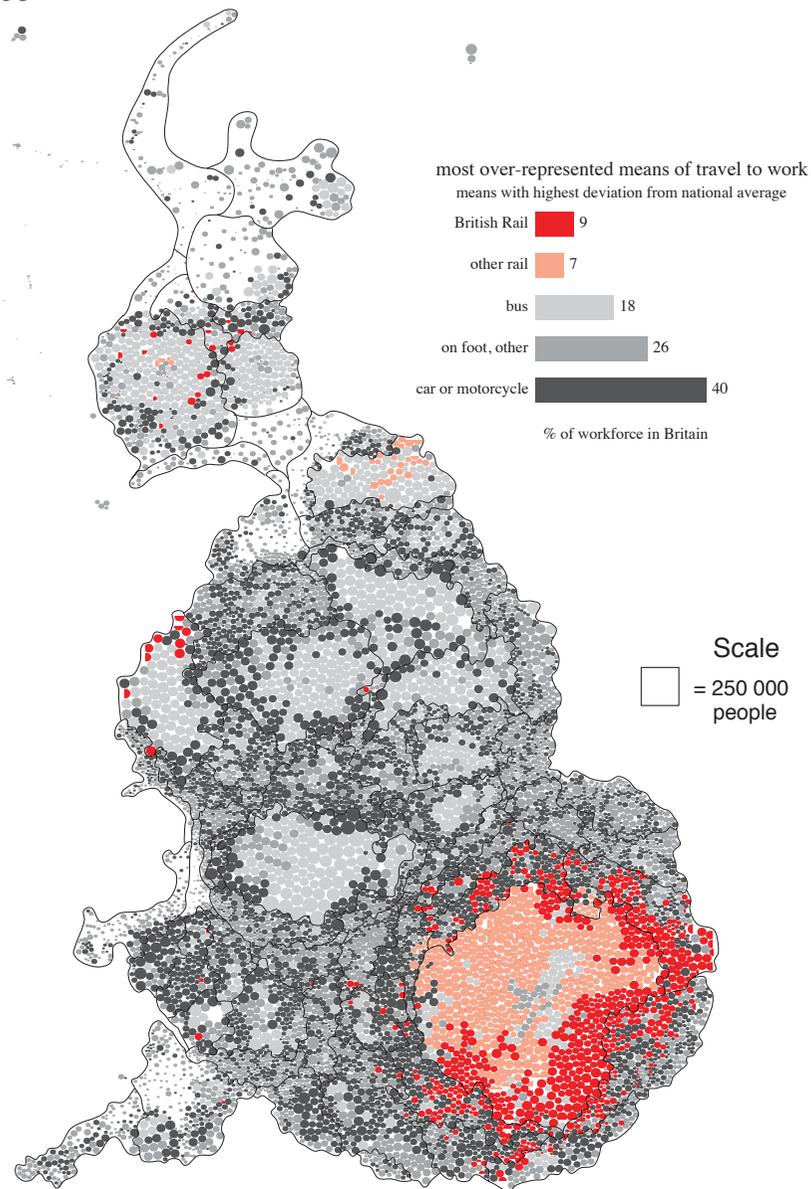
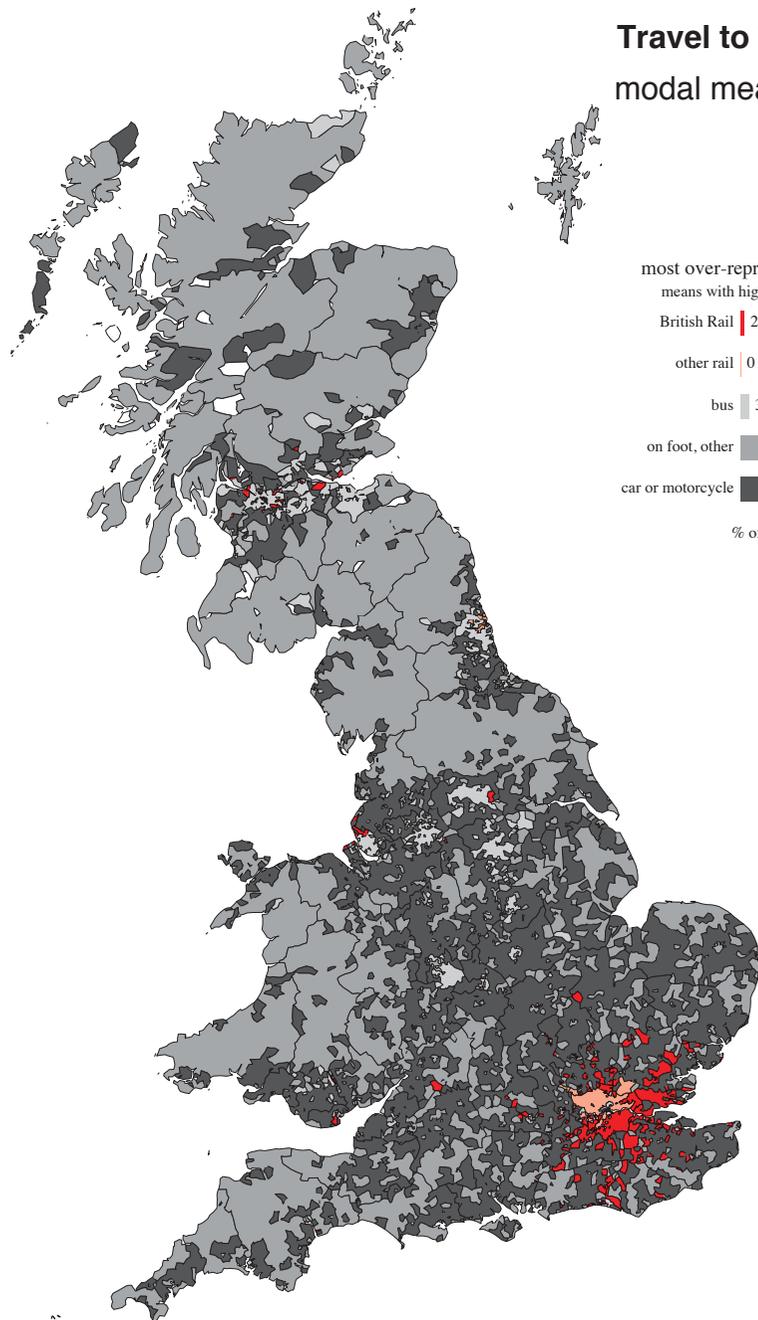
Not everybody who works travels to work. One in twenty people in employment in Britain worked at home in 1991. In 1981 this figure was one in twenty seven. Figure 3.15 shows those areas where more people work at home than is usual, and the areas where this group of workers is growing most quickly. Rural areas dominate the first map, reflecting the likelihood of agricultural workers to live on a farm, but the London boroughs of Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea and Camden also feature strongly. Camden has seen one of the largest increases in home-based work, along with the more rural parts of Scotland, Wales, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire.

3.15: Residents in Employment in Britain Working at Home 1991, 1981–1991
proportion of district populations

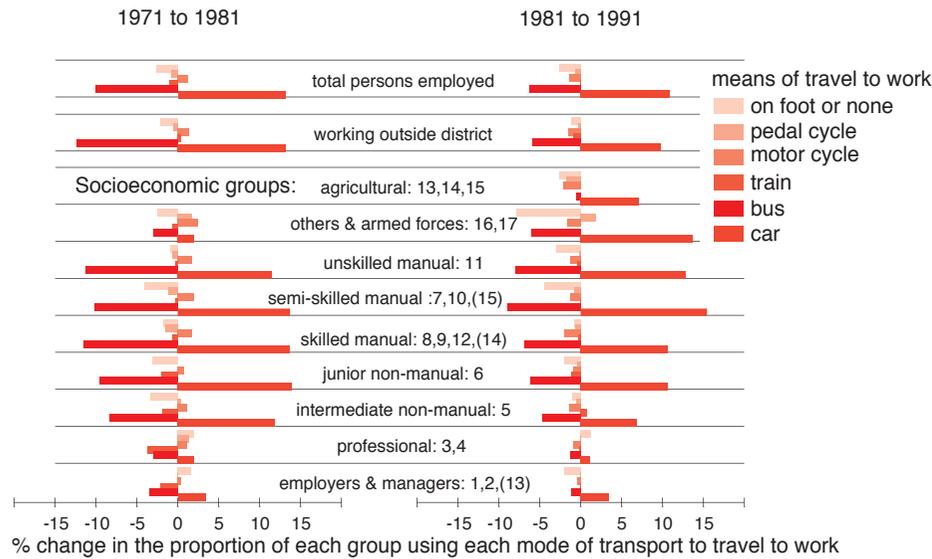


Travel to Work 1991

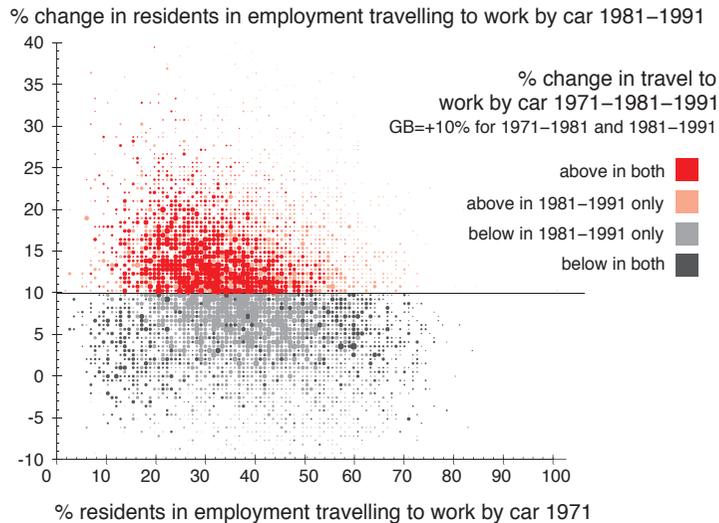
modal means of ward workforce



3.16: Change in Methods of Travel to Work by Socioeconomic Groups in Britain 1971–1991



3.17: Travel to Work by Car in Britain 1971, 1981–1991 by Ward



Commuting Change

The creation of a “car culture” in Britain was just as much a feature of the 1970s as it was a caricature in the 1980s. Figure 3.16 shows that more people switched to travelling to work by car in the 1970s: an additional thirteen commuters in every hundred, compared to eleven extra in the 1980s. In both decades it was the buses which suffered most from these changes, while the motorcycle saw the increased popularity which it had won in the 1970s reversed during the next decade.

The 1980s were very much a catching up period in which many semi-skilled and unskilled workers gained access to cars for the first time. Over 70% of professional workers now travel to work by car, but they undertook a larger rise in walking to work as compared to commuting by car during the last decade. The only other case in which the car did not win outright in the 1980s was among members of the armed forces and other people without an easily categorised occupation, for whom the pedal cycle has seen a small revival. The definition of socioeconomic groups shown in this figure changes slightly between the first period and the second as indicated by the group numbers in brackets. These changes are unlikely to affect significantly any comparisons.

The cartograms opposite show these changes mapped out across space. District level maps are shown here for the changes which have occurred for travel by train, pedal cycle, bus and on foot. The two former means of travel did not suffer as badly as the two latter. Bus travel fell most in the cities where travel by pedal cycle became more popular. The only districts to see an increase of more than one person in every twenty travelling to work on foot were Reading, Worthing and Richmondshire in North Yorkshire.

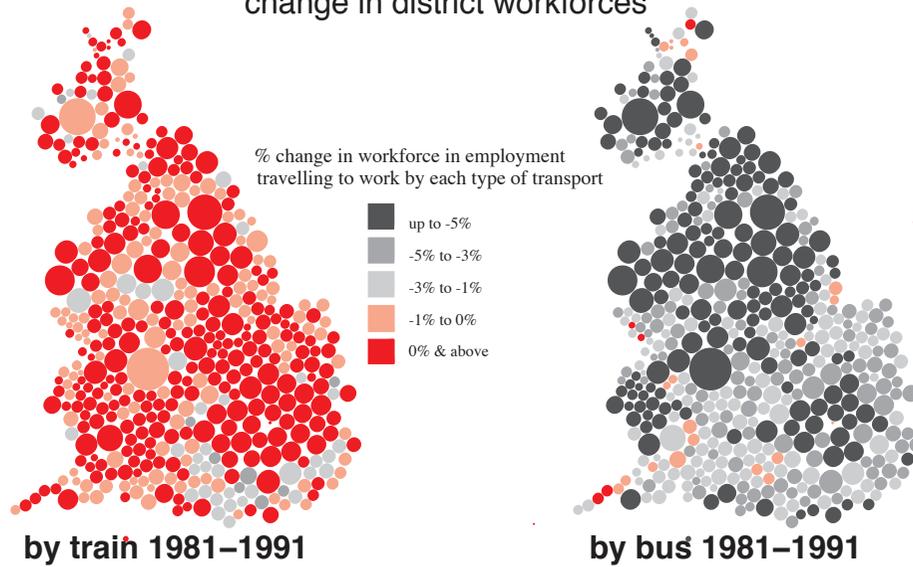
Enough people travel to work by car for a ward map to be drawn of the pattern of change over twenty years. Wards have been classified by whether car travel rose by above or below 10% in each decade. It is largely the residents of cities in the north of England, the Midlands and Wales who have seen their levels of car travel rise faster than this level during both of the last two decades. Conversely, London contains almost all the wards in Britain where the rise in car travel has been below this level for both periods. London contains more people in those occupational groups more likely to have had a car in the first place, and also the most congested roads in Britain and the most extensive public transport system.

Figure 3.17 shows the relationship between the level of commuting to work in 1971 in each ward and the subsequent rise in this form of travel which took place between 1981 and 1991 in those same areas. Each ward is shaded using the same scheme as on the cartogram opposite. The largest increases in commuting by car were generally seen in those areas with fewer such commuters in the first place. Those wards shaded black on the map and in the figure which have seen the least growth, however, tended either to have very high, or very low, car commuting levels in 1971 — they have not changed.

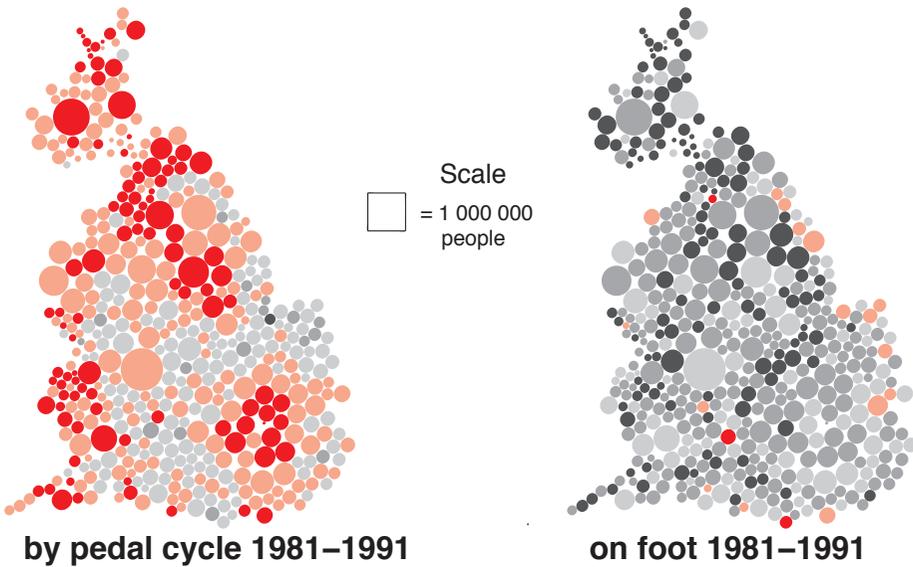
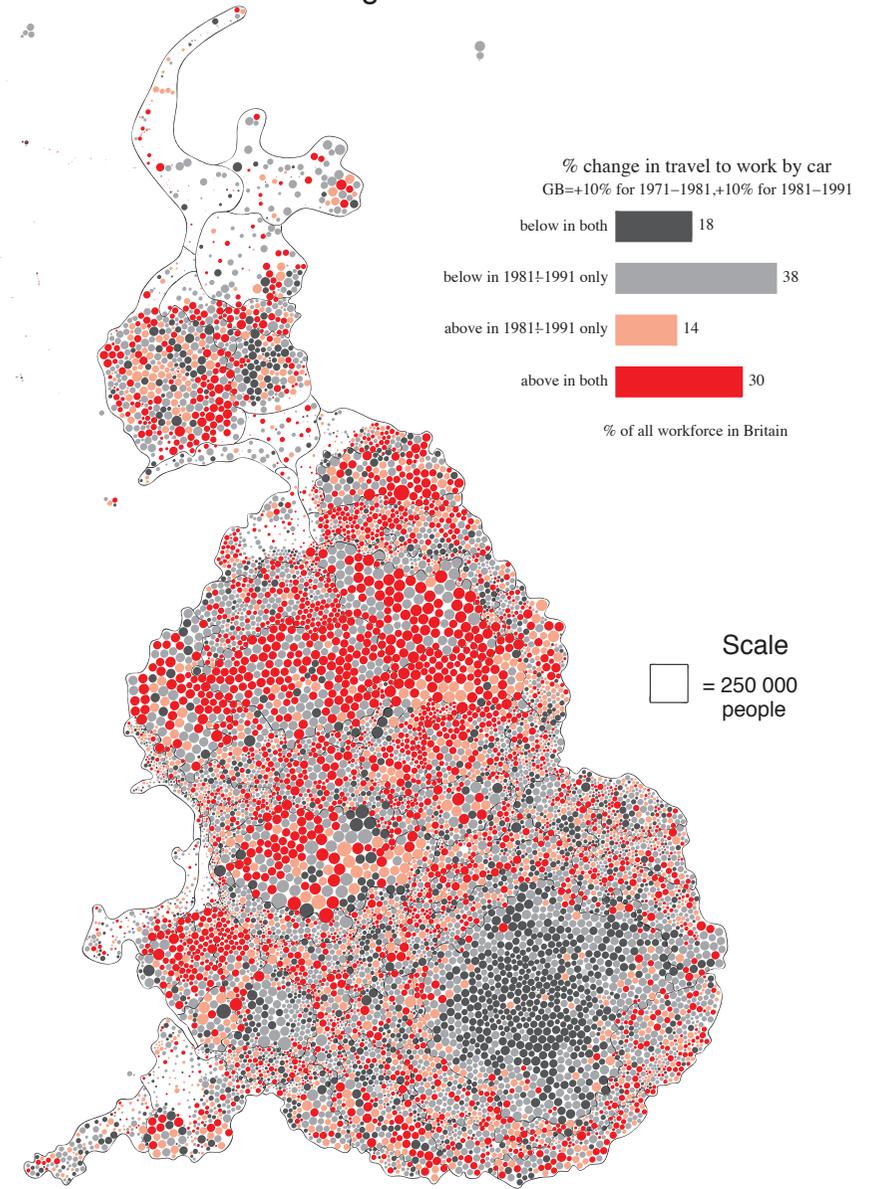
MAGENTA

BLACK

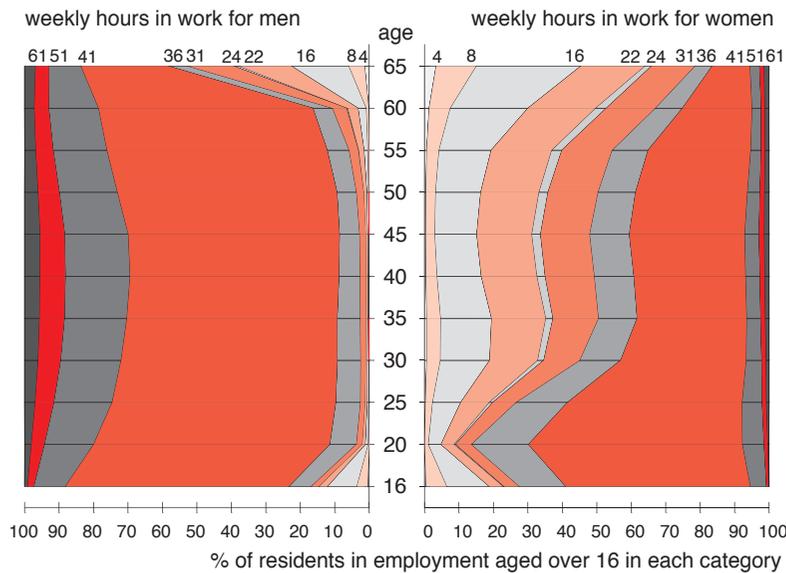
• **Travel to Work 1981–1991**
change in district workforces



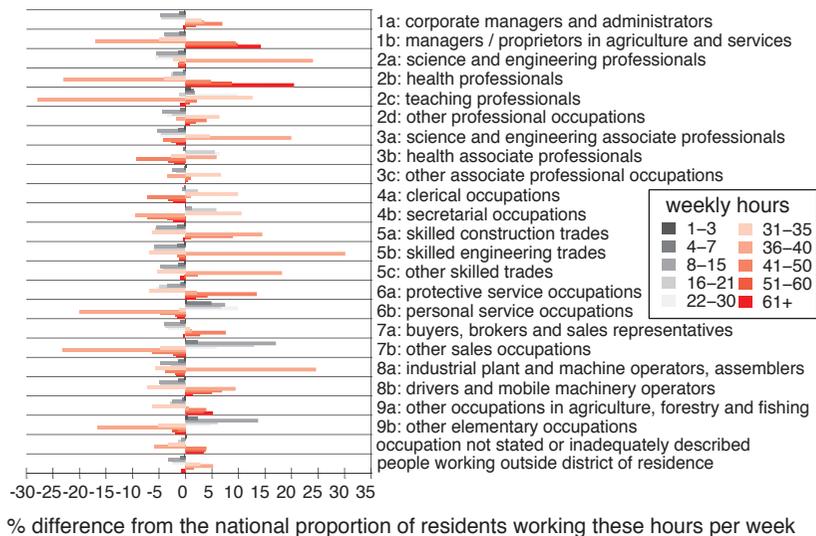
• **Travel to Work by Car 1971–1981–1991**
change in ward workforces



3.18: Hours Worked of People in Employment by Age and Sex in Britain 1991



3.19: Hours Worked for People In Employment by Occupation in Britain 1991



Working Hours

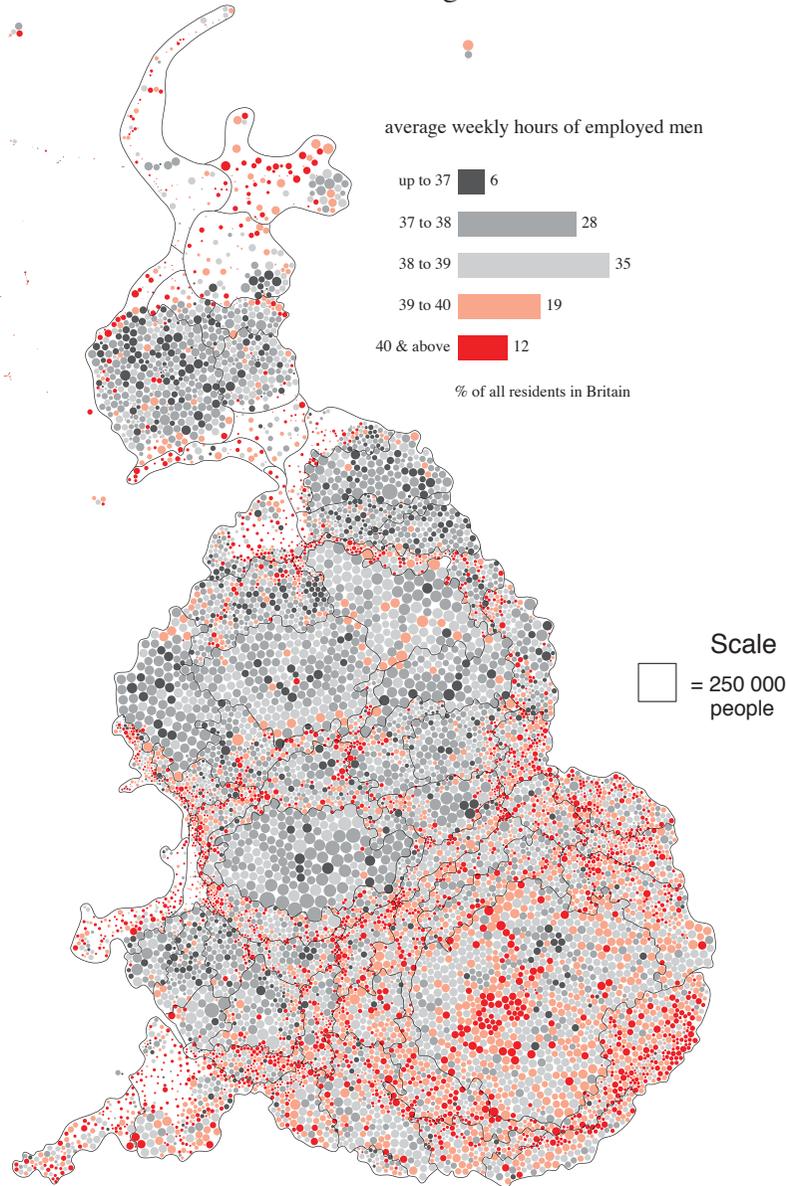
When combined with the time they spend commuting, one person in every sixteen in Britain spends over sixty hours a week working; one person in every six spends more than forty hours a week at work; while one person in every four works thirty hours or less a week. A person's age and sex give a good indication of how long he or she is likely to spend at work in his or her job, as Figure 3.18 demonstrates. Women, on average, work ten hours less a week in paid employment than men. The longest hours are spent by men aged between 40 and 45, very few of whom work less than thirty six hours a week.

The maps opposite differentiate between the experiences of men and women. If this were not done then the pattern would tell more about the rate of women's participation in the workforce of each area than about how working hours differ between people who live in different areas. The map for men has a strong similarity with the ward map showing the distribution of male occupations on page 79. Men living in areas where high numbers of people have management or professional jobs tend to spend less time in these areas and more time at work. Very rural areas are also characterised by long working hours for men. Of the total population of Britain, 12% of people live in wards where all the working men are at work for, on average, more than eight hours a day. The areas where men work the lowest hours coincide with areas where a low proportion of the workforce is employed to begin with (see page 67).

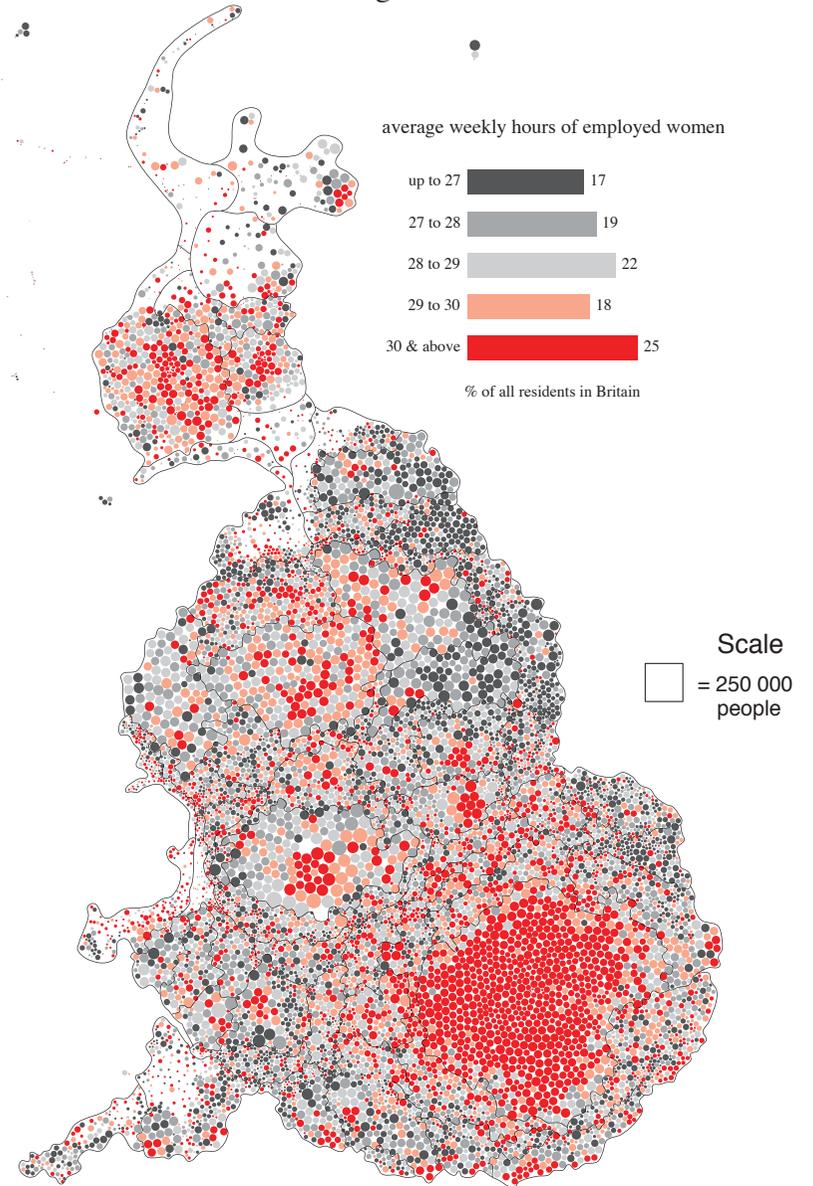
The picture for women is very different and is dominated by that quarter of the country in which it is usual for women to be in paid employment to work for more than thirty hours a week: London, Birmingham, Leicester, central Manchester, Edinburgh and Glasgow. These are areas where women in work tend to be younger but they are also areas where there are less restrictions on women working these hours. Women tend to work the lowest hours in north east England, Yorkshire and in parts of East Anglia. Cultural factors probably have as much influence as social and economic factors in determining this pattern, but above all it is the occupation that a person holds which affects how many hours he or she is likely to spend a week at work.

Figure 3.19 illustrates the detailed relationship between the different sub-major occupational groups and the hours usually worked in each type of job. Health professionals are more likely to be working more than sixty hours a week than people in any other group. Teaching professionals are unlikely to have paid working hours of longer than thirty six hours a week, whereas for many skilled and manual jobs thirty six to forty hours a week is very much the norm. The lowest hours worked are to be found in certain sales, personal service and "elementary" occupations where part-time work is usual. The figure shows the overall picture to be complex but, in general, the less prestigious a job is, the fewer hours of work a week it entails.

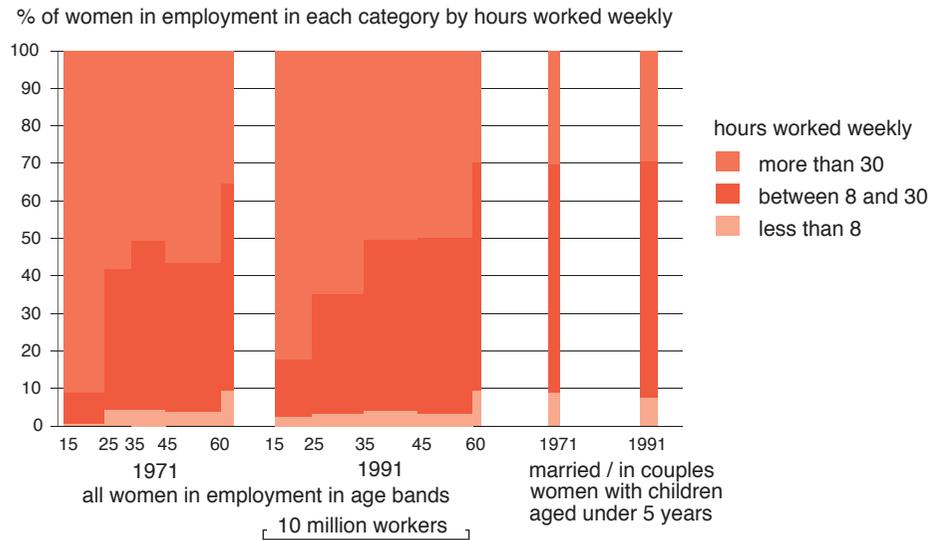
Hours Worked by Men 1991 average for ward workforce



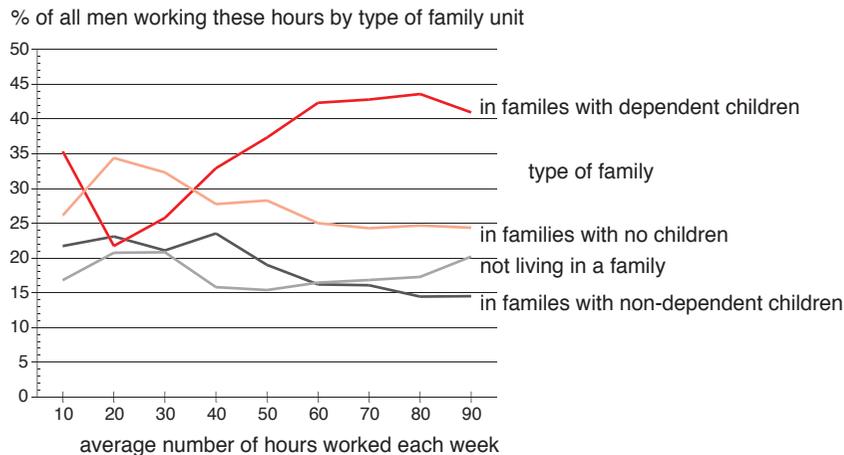
Hours Worked by Women 1991 average for ward workforce



3.20: Hours Worked in Employment by Women by Age and Children in Britain 1971–1991



3.21: Hours Worked by Men by their Family Type in Britain 1991



Mothers in Work

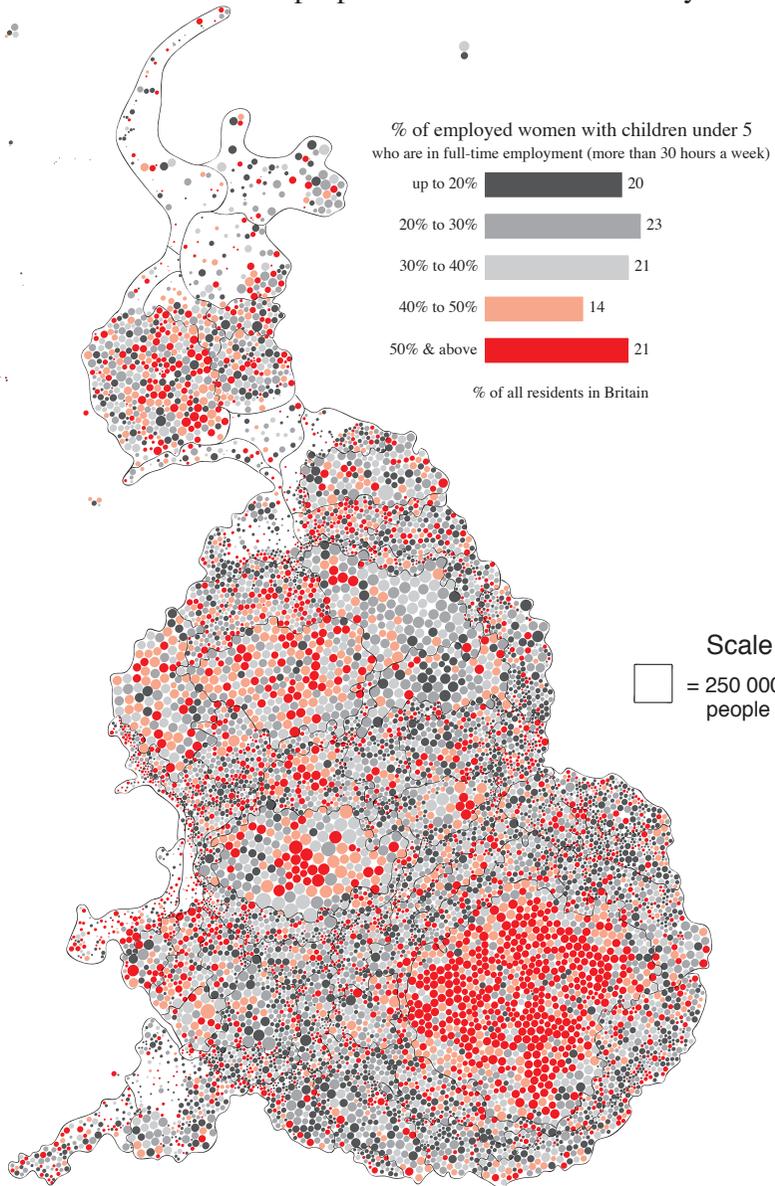
The working hours of women with young children was a topic in both the 1971 and 1991 censuses, so it is possible to measure how the hours of work for these women has changed over the last twenty years. Men were not asked their working hours then, and there was no question on working hours in 1981, so the only comparison which it is possible to make in looking for changes in the length of the working day is for women.

Figure 3.20 shows that the working hours of women in paid employment have changed very little over the last twenty years. The average length of time worked by women is now thirty one hours a week which is a few minutes less than the average number of hours worked by women in 1971. Many more women are now in paid employment and this is reflected in the figure through the width of the bars. The height of the bars shows the proportion of women of each age group working a certain number of hours. The most significant change has been that there is no longer a dip in the proportion of women who work full-time after the age of 45. More than half of all women aged over 35 now work full-time. For women with young children there has been almost no change in the number of hours worked although far more women with children now work. Women with children who are in employment now work on average twenty five hours a week, representing a very slight rise over their time spent in work in 1971.

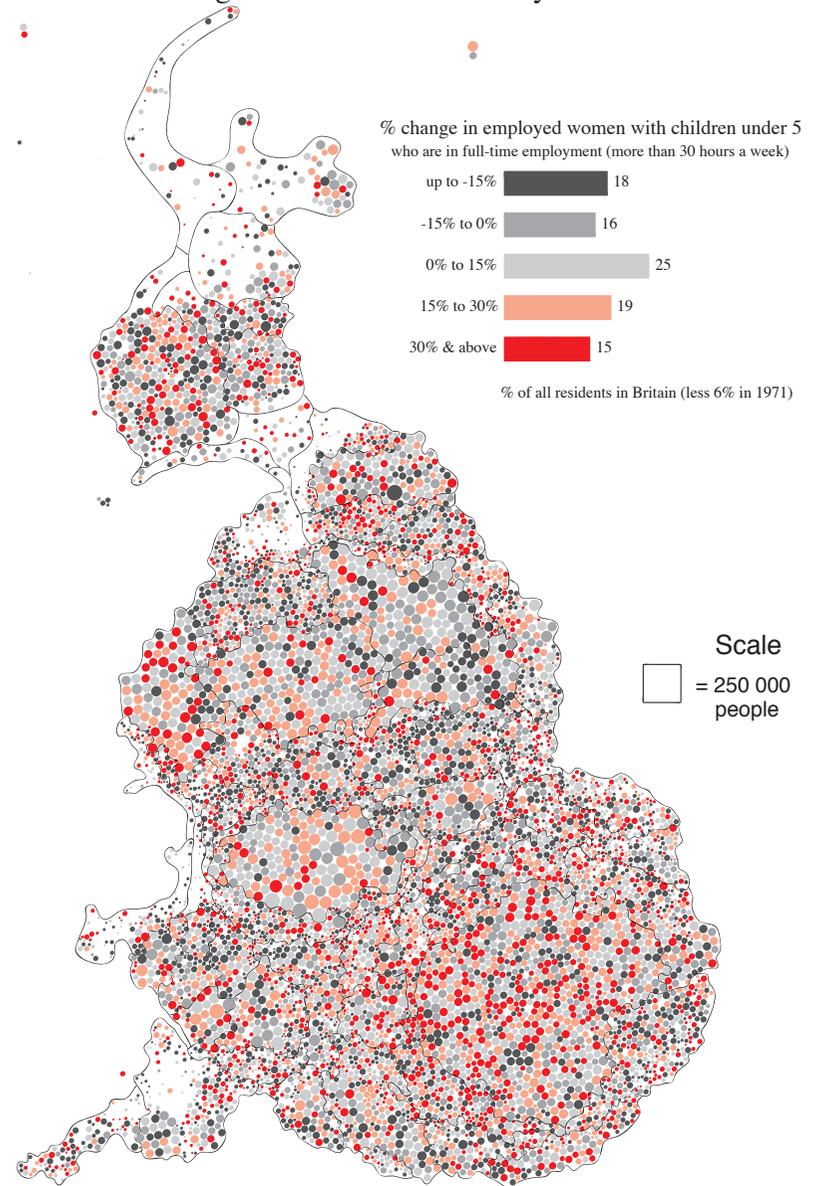
The first map opposite shows what proportion of women in work with children aged under five worked full-time hours in 1991. The picture it presents is very similar to the pattern for the hours of all women, although the areas where less than a fifth of these mothers work full-time are more likely to be in the affluent rural parts of southern England than along the north east coast. The second map shows the pattern of change over the last twenty years. In places this map is based on very low numbers of women with children under five in work, particularly for 1971; where the numbers are too low the ward is not shaded at all (in 6% of wards). Even though the distribution is speckled, a faster rise within some of the larger cities is evident. It also tends to be the edges of cities and the more suburban wards, particularly in Yorkshire, which have seen falls in the proportion of women with children in full-time work. The comparison being made here is between married women in 1971 and married or cohabiting women in 1991.

As an aside, access to the Sample of Anonymised Records allows the work of men with children to be monitored comprehensively for the first time in 1991. Figure 3.21 shows that almost half of all men working more than sixty hours a week are likely to live in families with dependent young children of whom they are only likely to see much if they do not also work over the weekend. Most men working part-time live in families with no children. Men in families containing older non-dependent children tend to work less than forty hours a week, as do men who are not living in a family. The censuses cannot show whether fathers' working hours have increased over the last two decades.

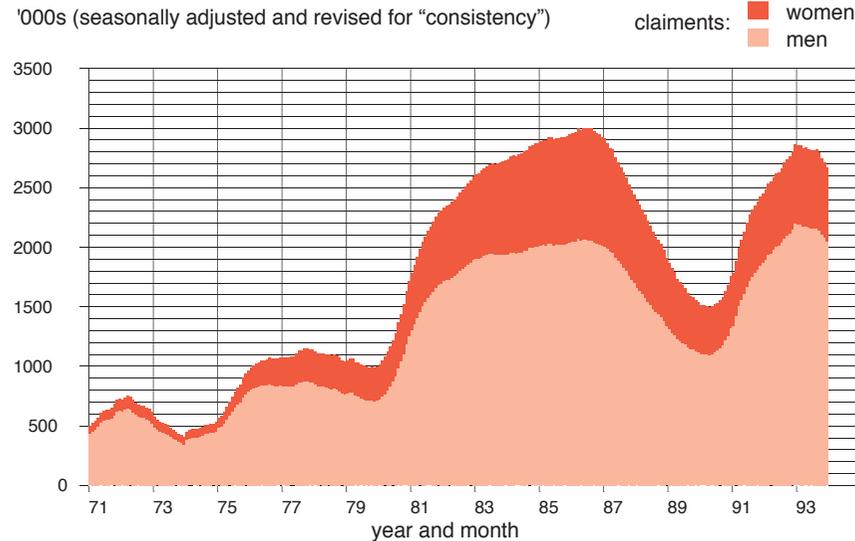
Women in Work with Children 1991
 proportion full-time workers by ward



Women in Work with Children 1971-1991
 change in full-time workers by ward



3.22: Numbers of People Registered as Unemployed by Sex in Britain 1971–1993



Source: NOMIS 1994, Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Consistent with Current Coverage Series (SAUCC series)

Unemployment Levels

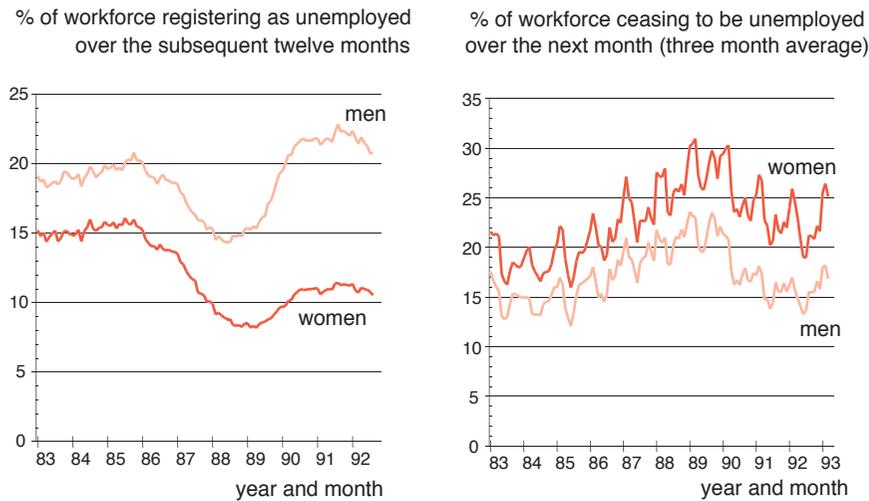
Unemployment statistics are one of the most contested sets of facts in Britain. The endless changes which have been made to the definition used for the official series have generally led to a more restrictive definition of who is “out of work and looking for work” among the population (Gregg 1994). Figure 3.22 shows how the absolute numbers of people who are unemployed have varied over time according to the most recent official definition of unemployment. By 1993 male unemployment was higher than at any point since the 1930s depression, according even to this restrictive definition. The total number of people unemployed is lower now than the peak of three million people in August 1986. This is the peak of a seasonally adjusted and revised series which only includes people allowed to claim unemployment benefit who are 18 years old or older.

The censuses have an advantage over other official statistics in that they report how many people classed themselves as unemployed. In April 1991 this included 2.48 million people, almost half a million more people than were included in the statistics used to draw Figure 3.22 for that date (and making no allowance for the possibility that any of the “missing million” people are out of work). To find an unemployment statistic which is comparable across time it is now necessary to adjust even the census figure and include people who are on government schemes as unemployed. This definition brings the count of people in the workforce who were *out of work* in April 1991 to 2.83 million people or 10.5% of the workforce. The first map opposite shows how this proportion varied across the country. The degree of inequality of access to work in Britain is clear, with the most fortunate fifth of the population living in wards where they are more than two-and-a-half times less likely to be out of work than the worst off fifth in Britain.

More surprising perhaps are the geographical changes which have occurred over the last twenty years, as shown by the second map. As expected, the inner cities have seen rises in levels of unemployment above the national average over both decades, while affluent rural areas have seen the lowest rises. In the 1980s, however, the inner cities were joined by almost all the wards of Outer London and many small cities in the South East in experiencing rises in unemployment levels above the national average. In the north of England this change occurred mainly in the Yorkshire and Northumberland coalfields and affected far fewer people in total.

Unemployment levels are only a part of the statistical story that official data sets now make available. Figure 3.23 shows how a person's crude chance of entering or leaving the register has altered over the last ten years. The average male worker had more than a one in five chance of becoming unemployed during 1991. For women this was one in ten, but the gap between the chances of the sexes is widening. It is similarly so for a person's chance of leaving the register each month, which in 1991 for men was one in six, whereas women on the register had a one in four chance of leaving it each month.

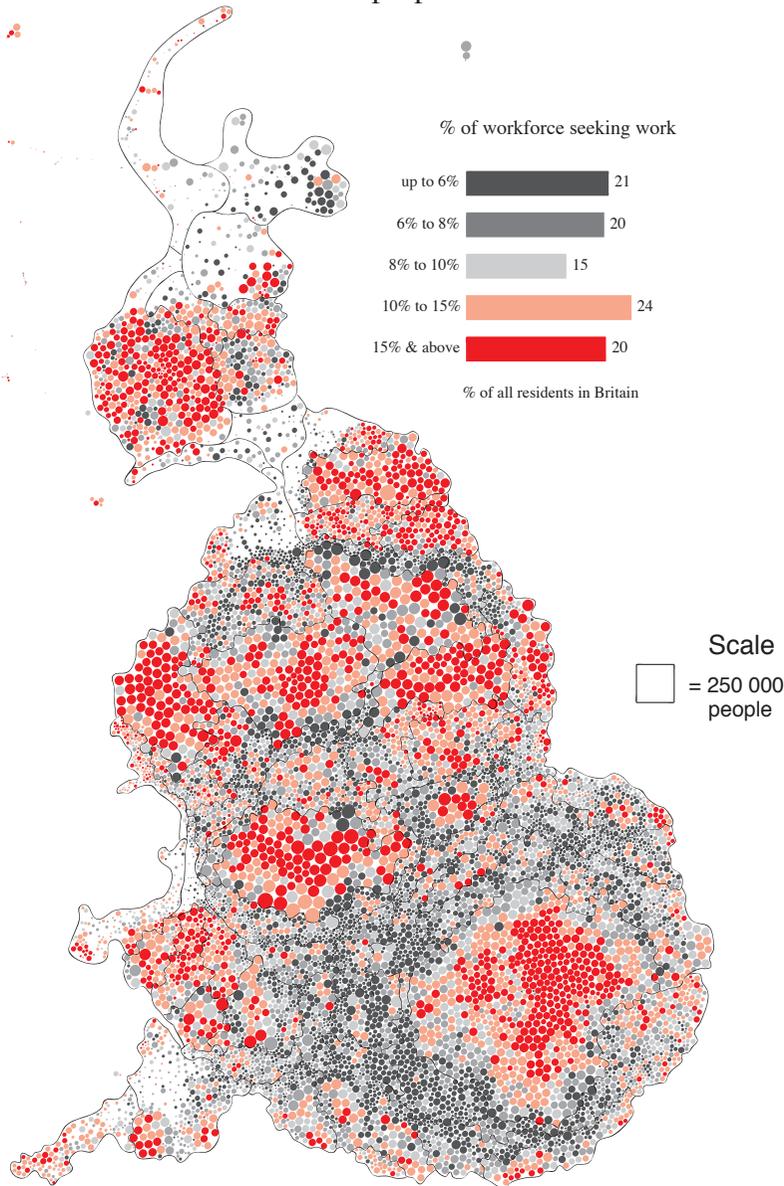
3.23: Chance of Going On or Off the Unemployment Register by Sex in Britain 1983–1993



Source: NOMIS 1994, Ward Based Unemployment Claims Stocks and Flows Series (WBUCSF series)

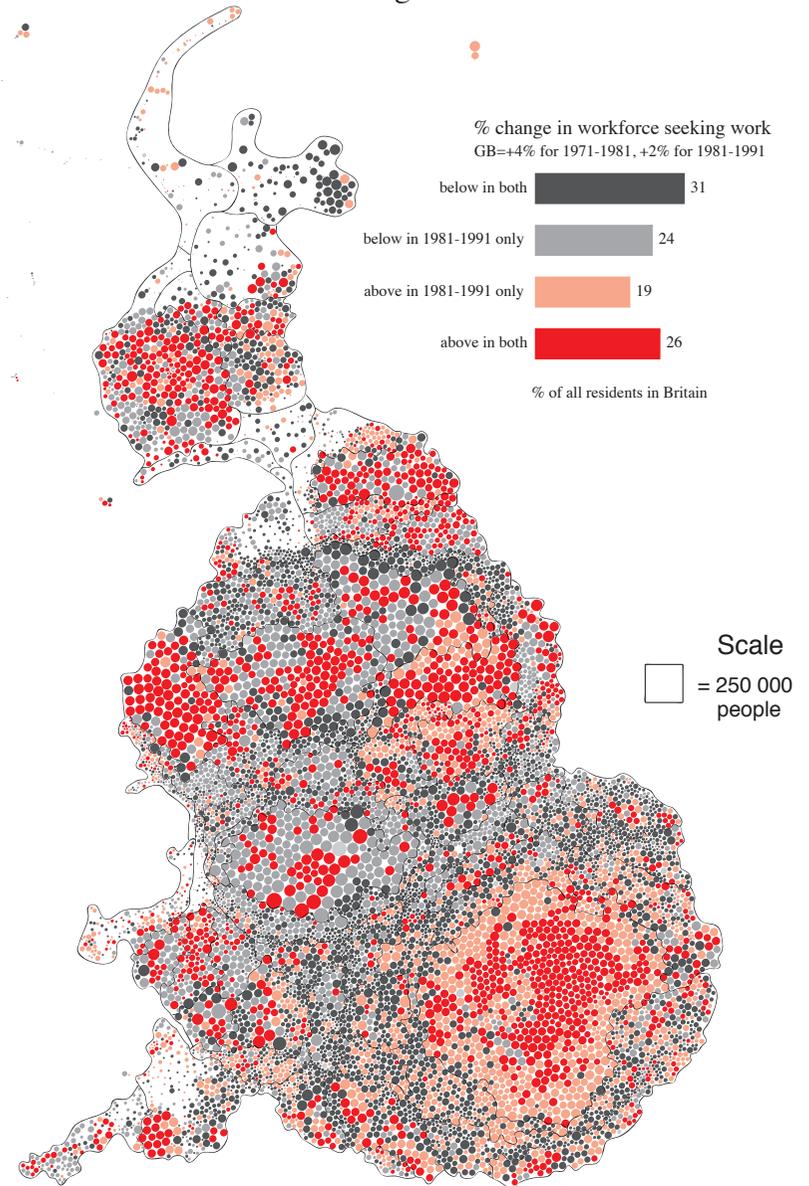
Unemployment 1991

proportion of ward workforces

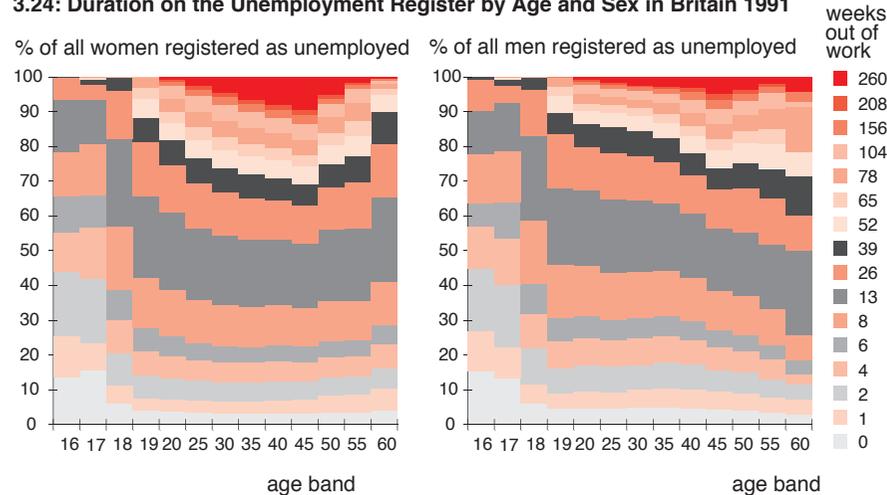


Unemployment 1971-1981-1991

change in ward workforces

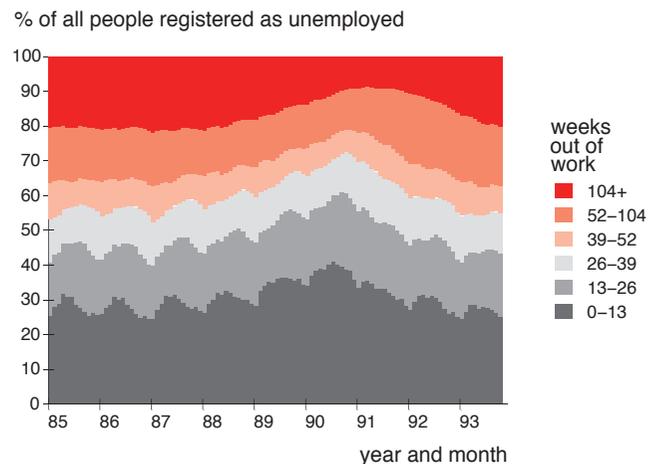


3.24: Duration on the Unemployment Register by Age and Sex in Britain 1991



Source: NOMIS 1994, Ward Based Unemployment - Computerised Claims by Age and Duration (WBUCCAD) Series

3.25: Duration on the Unemployment Register in Britain 1985–1993



Source: NOMIS 1994, Ward Based Unemployment - Computerised Claims by Age and Duration (WBUCCAD) Series

Unemployment Flows

The basic differences between men's and women's chances of becoming and remaining unemployed are shown in Figure 3.23. Here a more detailed survey is made of the information that is available on the flow of people on and off the unemployment register. Figure 3.24 shows the lengths of time men and women had been unemployed for those who were on the register in April 1991. Women's chances of finding work, or of leaving the register for another reason, tend to improve once they are aged over 50. For men, the older they are, the longer they are likely to have been out of work. It should be noted that, by definition, no 16 year old has been out of work for over a year. The median length of time for which most people who were claiming benefit in April 1991 had been claiming benefit was between three months and six months.

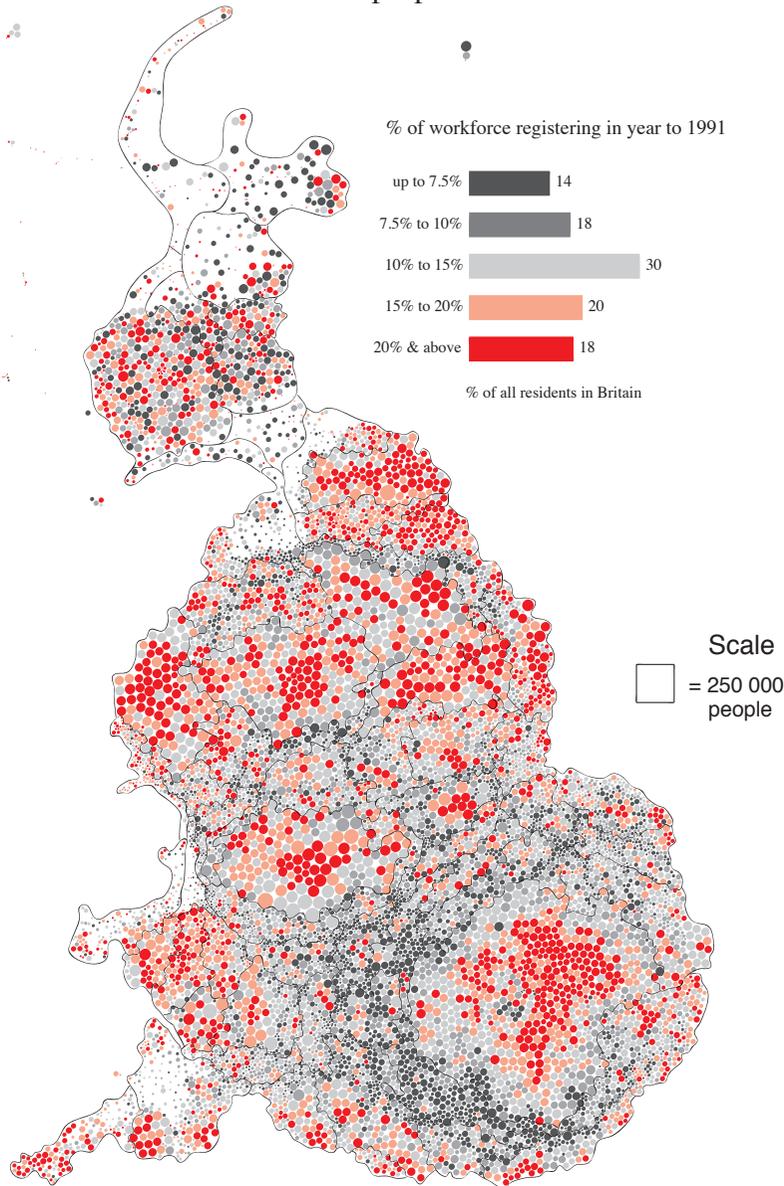
The first map opposite shows the likelihood of a person in Britain becoming unemployed according to the ward he or she lived in. More than two thirds of the population lived in areas where the average worker had at least a one in ten chance of losing his or her job and having to register for unemployment benefit in 1991. Although the geographical pattern of these flows is very similar to that for the static rates of unemployment, the suburbs can be seen to be even better off by this measure. People living there who were in work in 1991 were less likely to lose that work during the year.

The really clear differences between areas are to be found in the second map which shows what proportion of people on the register have been out of work for over a year and live in each ward. In the South East outside Inner London less than a tenth of people who were unemployed in April 1991 had been out of work this length of time. In the northern English and Scottish cities more than a quarter of unemployed people signing on for over twelve months is not unusual. This map, perhaps more than any of the others presented so far, shows how the economic space of Britain is divided between places where work is relatively bountiful, and is well rewarded (if requiring long hours and commuting), and places where there are very obviously not enough jobs to go round, or where you are likely to live if you are employed in work with little job security.

Again it must be stressed that April 1991 and the year leading up to that date is one particular time, the choice of which could well influence the patterns being described here. Figure 3.25 shows how the average durations of unemployment have altered over time and illustrates that unusually few people had been out of work for over a year in 1991. The severity of the recession since then is apparent. What is also striking from this figure is the pattern of lags between rises in the number of people who have been unemployed for less than three months, and rises in longer term unemployment which result directly from those increases. The rises in short term unemployment occur in August each year, as a new set of school and college leavers starts looking for work. By the summer of 1990 many had failed to find it, or could find only intermittent jobs.

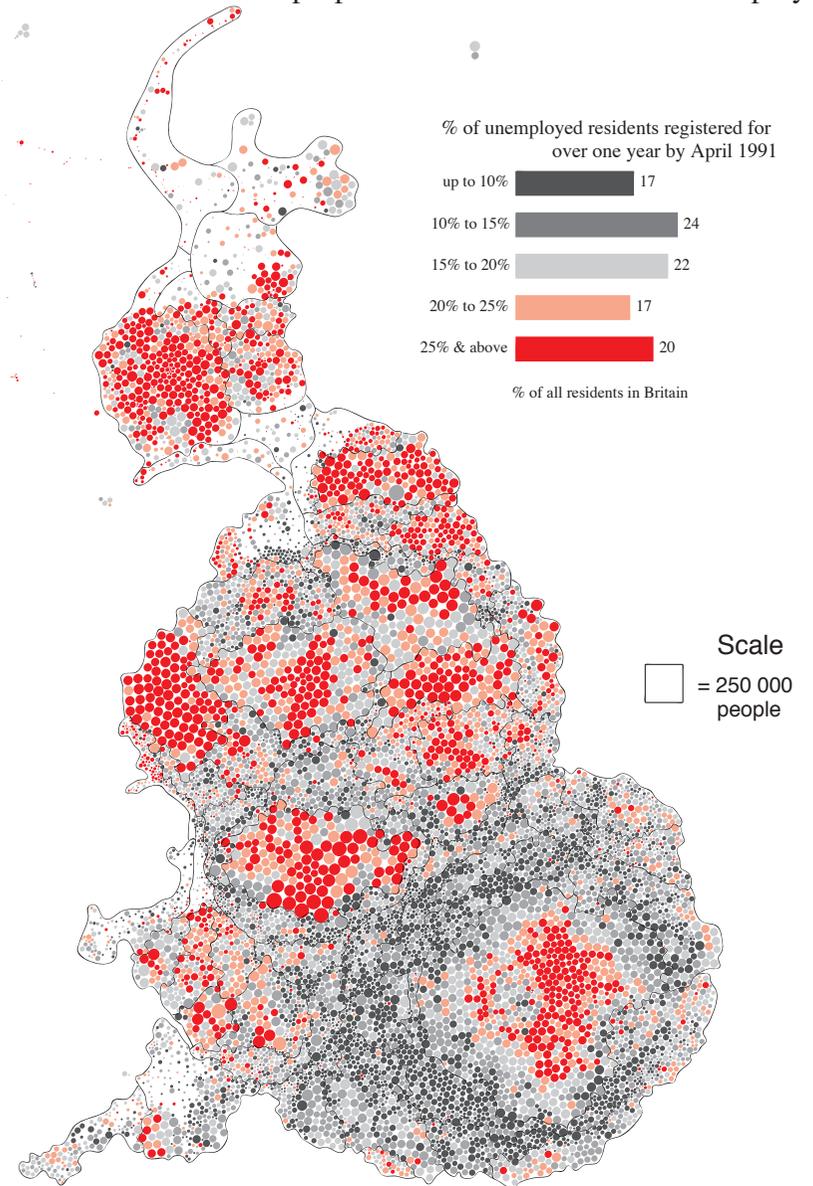
Becoming Unemployed in Year to 1991

proportion of ward workforces

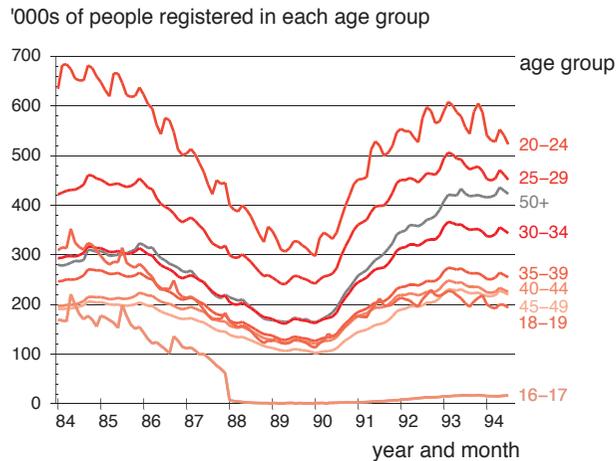


Unemployed for Over a Year by 1991

proportion of ward workforce unemployed

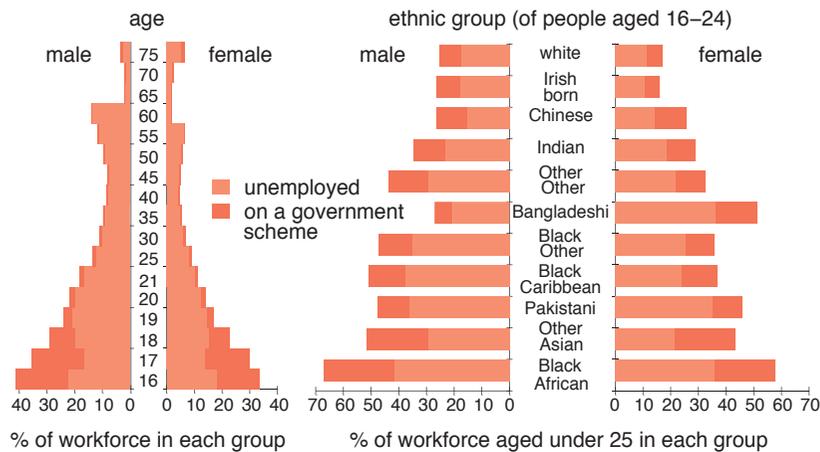


3.26: Numbers of People Registered as Unemployed by Age in Britain 1984–1994



Source: NOMIS 1994, Ward Based Unemployment - Computerised Claims by Age and Duration (WBUCCAD) Series

3.27: Unemployment by Age, Sex and Ethnic Group in Britain 1991



Unemployment and Age

Age is a most important correlate of unemployment. Figure 3.5 shows how young adults were far more likely to be out of work than any other group in 1991. It is difficult to tell how this situation is changing year by year because there is no simple way of estimating what proportion of each age group is in the workforce apart from using the censuses. Figure 3.26 shows the absolute numbers of people in each of nine age bands who have been registered as unemployed each month since June 1984. This figure illustrates one of the effects of the changes to the official definition of unemployment. In October 1988 almost all 16 and 17 year olds ceased to be classified as claimants. The graph implies that the younger a person is, the more likely he or she is to be out of work. Since 1991 more people aged over 50 are now out of work than are people aged between 30 and 34. However, the unemployment rate of the former will still be much lower because so many more of them are in work. The total number of people aged over 50 has also grown quickly since 1991 (as shown by Figure 2.4), just as the number of people aged 18 to 19 is falling — so unsurprisingly the number of people who are unemployed and aged 18 and 19 is falling. Factors such as these should be born in mind when studying this figure.

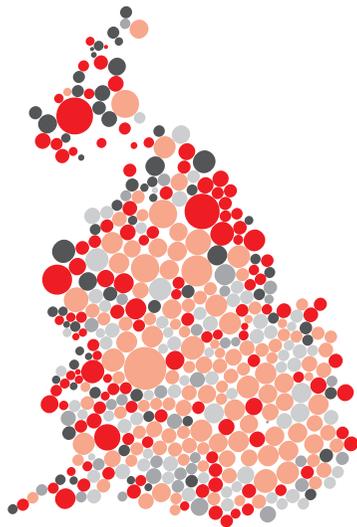
By including people on government schemes in 1991 in the count of people out of work it is possible to alleviate some of the problems of changing definitions. Figure 3.27 shows most clearly how unemployment rates are related to a person's age and sex. The figure also shows the influence of a third factor — ethnic group — having allowed for some of the effects of different age structures by concentrating only upon people aged under 25 years. This is necessary because people in all ethnic groups, other than those born in Ireland, tend to be younger than the white majority and so can be expected to experience higher rates of unemployment (see Figure 2.20). By concentrating only on young adults the differences which cannot be explained by age structure are exposed. Members of all ethnic groups are more likely to be out of work than whites in Britain. Chinese men alone do better than average, however, and Bangladeshi women are three times more likely to be unemployed than white women. The graph is sorted to show the ordering of the overall proportion of people who are unemployed for each ethnic group.

The geographical discrepancies from these headline figures are highlighted in the maps shown opposite. For all ethnic groups there are districts where the rate of unemployment for their young adults is more than 25% above that of all young adults in the district. There are also always a few districts where their rate of unemployment is at least 10% lower than that for the average 16 to 24 year old. These patterns are not particularly simple but it is evident that, when compared with the overall distribution of these groups (see page 45), the unemployment rates tend to be lower for people in ethnic minorities who live in predominantly white districts. The Irish born group does not fit neatly into this pattern, doing well for jobs in London but badly in Wales.

Unemployment by Ethnic Minority Group 1991

proportion of district workforces aged under 25

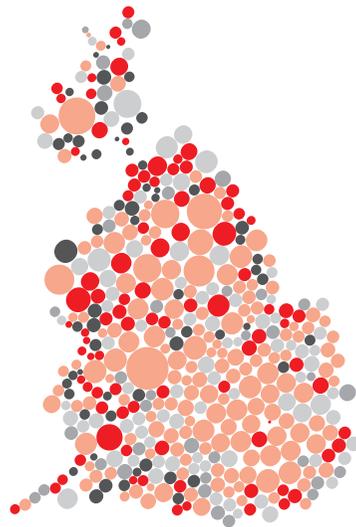
Scale
= 1 000 000
people



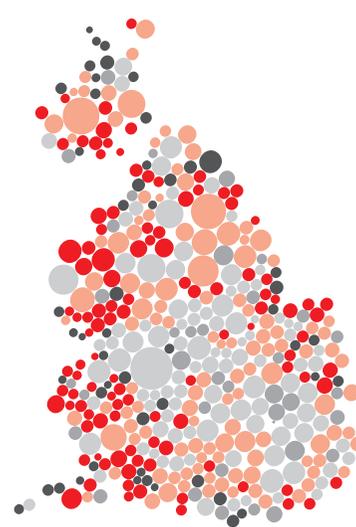
Black Caribbean



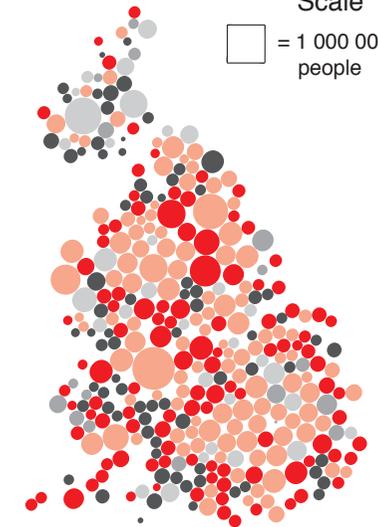
Black African



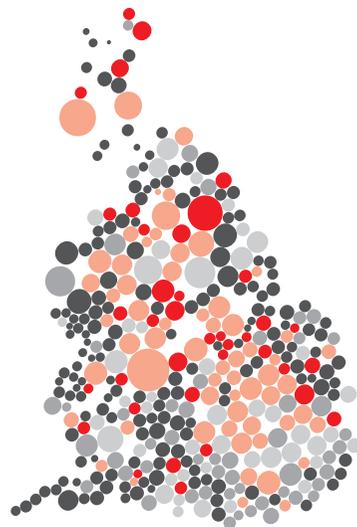
Black Other



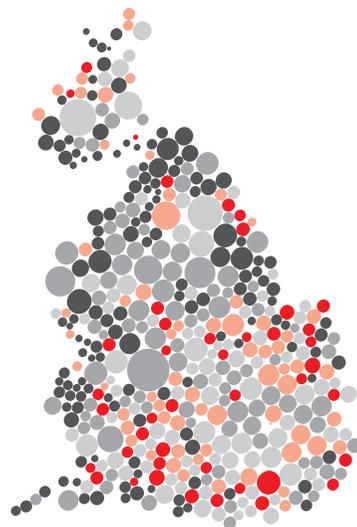
Indian



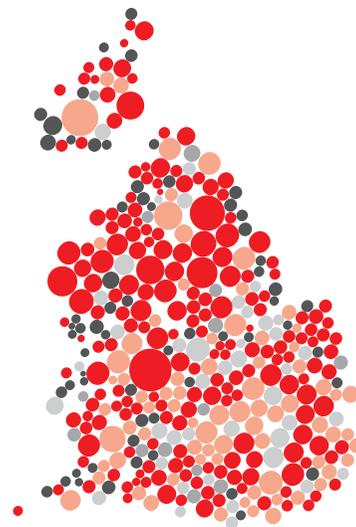
Pakistani



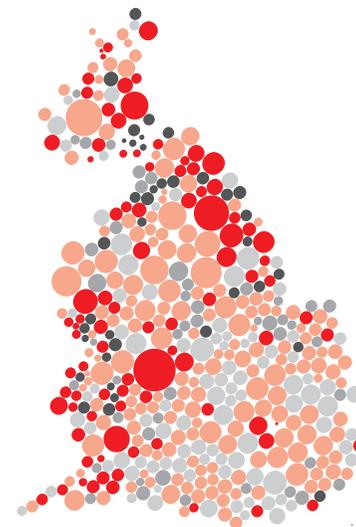
Bangladeshi



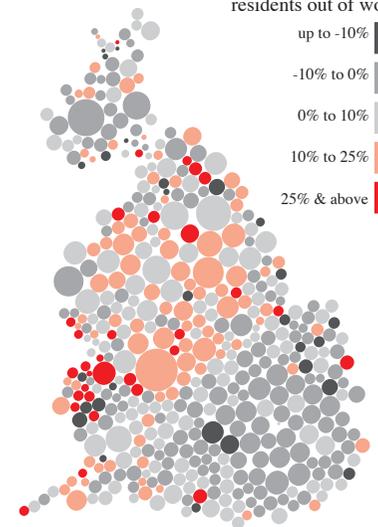
Chinese



Other Asian



Other Other

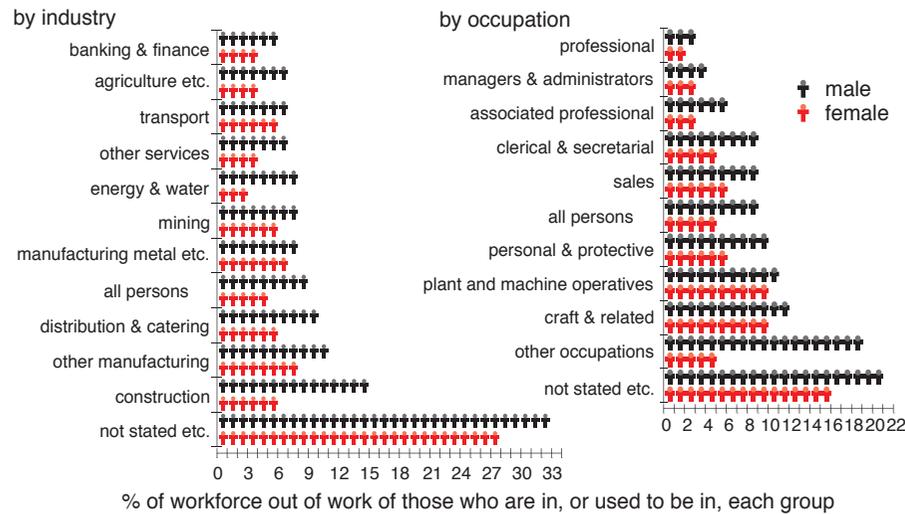


Irish born

% above the average rate
for 16 to 24 year old
residents out of work

- up to -10% (darkest grey)
- 10% to 0% (medium-dark grey)
- 0% to 10% (medium-light grey)
- 10% to 25% (light orange)
- 25% & above (red)

3.28: Residents Out of Work by Industry, Occupation and Sex in Britain 1991



Early Retirement

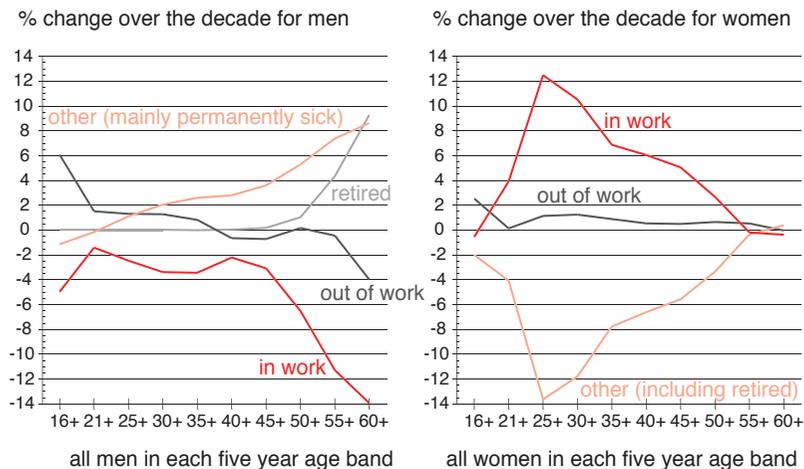
Different industries and occupations are associated with different rates of unemployment as Figure 3.28 demonstrates. Each icon in the figure represents one person who is out of work for every one hundred of those who used to work, or do work, in that sector. In all cases men are more likely to be out of work than women. The highest rates are for people who did not state a former industry or occupation; most of these people are school or college leavers who had not found a job by April 1991. Some of the rates are surprisingly low. For example, only 8% of men in the mining industry were out of work. This is because many of the men who lost their jobs in that industry during the 1980s, and failed to gain alternative employment, are not now unemployed.

Unemployment is only one route out of work and employment is only one possibility after unemployment. Retirement before the official pensionable age of 60 for women and 65 for men is increasing rapidly, faster in some areas than others. It is difficult to estimate the increase for women because of the ambiguity between the categorisations of “housewife” and “retired”. In 1981 1.79 million women said they were retired and 9.16 million said they were looking after the home (or something similar to that). By 1991 4.77 million women stated that they were retired and only 5.89 million claimed to be looking after the home. This change has more to do with how women's views of themselves have changed than with changing economic circumstances. Women's employment status has not been dealt with consistently by the census (see page 65).

Because of these problems the maps opposite concentrate on the situation for men, by showing the proportion of men aged above 34 who have retired and are not yet aged 65, and how that is changing. The coalfield areas of Wales, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland stand out clearly as places where over 6% of the men of these ages are retired. If these people were added to the “out of work” category a very much more dramatic picture of economic waste would be drawn. There is no way of knowing from official figures what proportion of these men would choose to work if they could. The high numbers living along the south coast suggest that many may have wished to retire before they were 65, as does the fact that the proportions in this area have not been rising. The other places which have seen little increase are in the Home Counties north and west of London. Here, if men do retire early, they tend to leave.

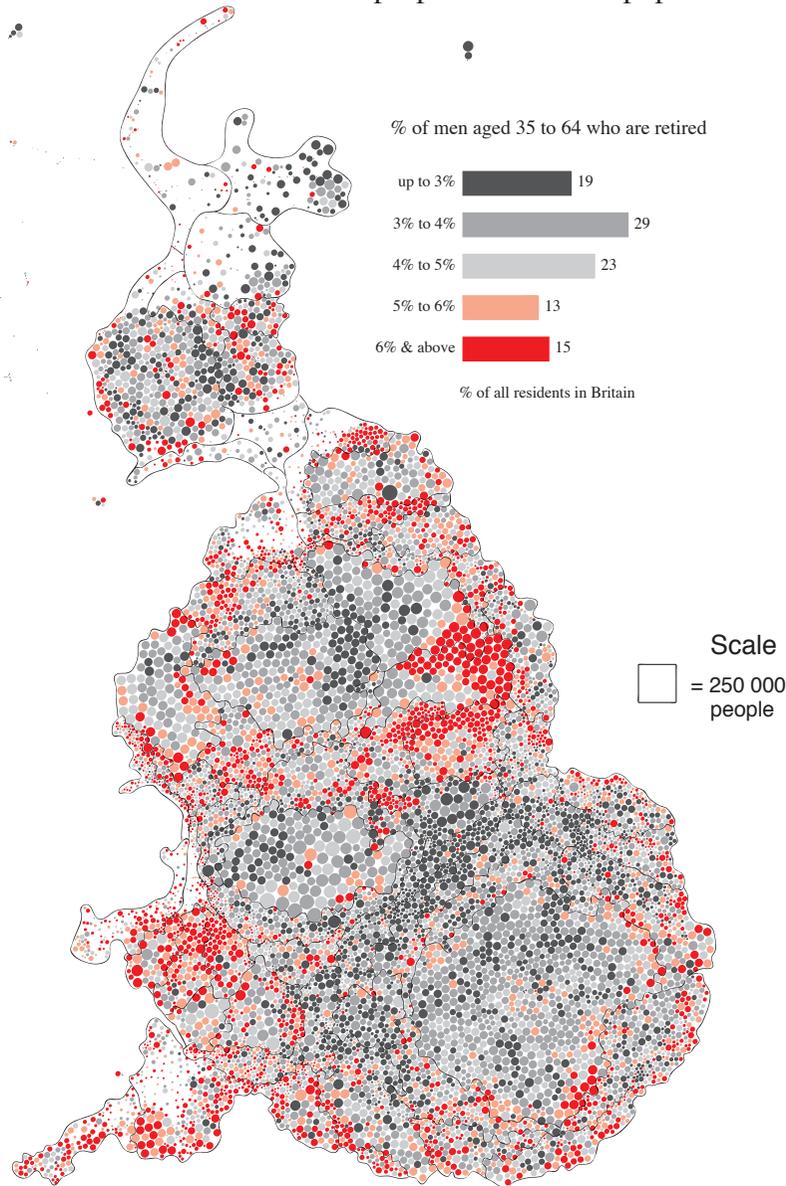
The very different experiences of economic change for men and women are summarised in Figure 3.29 by age. Fewer men are in work and more are retired than ten years ago. Traditional unemployment has risen only for younger men, and more men may now be looking after the home or will be permanently sick (included in “other”). In general, the converse is true for women, although it is difficult to distinguish between those who are retired and other categories. Unemployment rates, however, have increased for all women apart from those aged between 21 and 24.

3.29: Change in Economic Position of Residents by Age and Sex in Britain 1981–1991



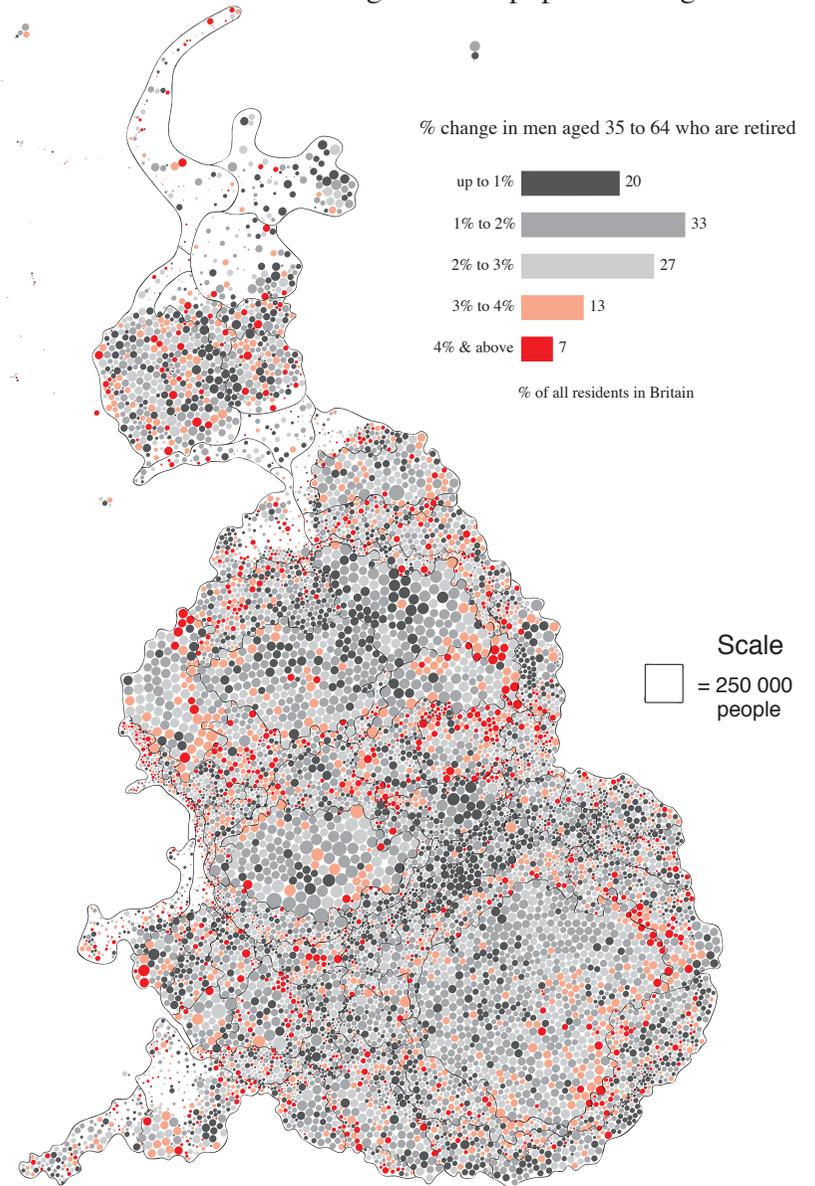
Men Retired Early 1991

proportion of ward populations aged 35 to 64

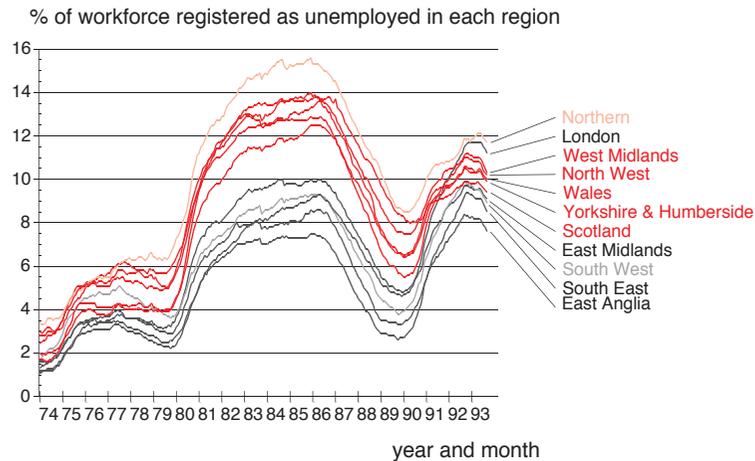


Men Retired Early 1981-1991

change in ward populations aged 35 to 64



3.30: Official Adjusted Unemployed Rate by Region in Britain 1974–1993



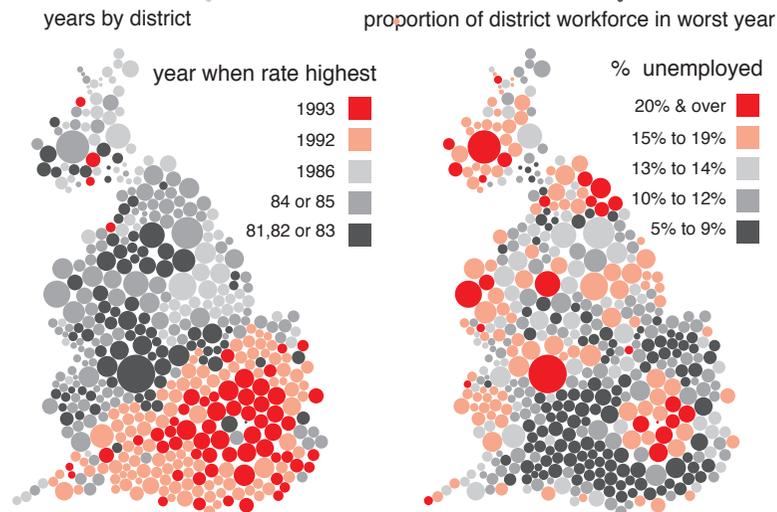
Source: NOMIS 1994, Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Consistent with Current Coverage Series (SAUCC series)

Unemployment Rates

This chapter ends by looking at the geography of the changing annual rate of unemployment among the workforce of Britain. Figure 3.30 shows the seasonally adjusted regional changes in this rate for each month since April 1974. The highest “official” level recorded was 15.6% in the Northern region in March 1986. The Northern region has had the highest rate since October 1977. The lowest rate shown is 1.1% for the South East at the beginning of the period. Southern and northern regions are coloured to differentiate them, with the two regions furthest from London shaded lighter so that their individual trajectories can be traced. Contrasting changes can be seen in the fortunes of the workforces of London and the South West region.

The fifteen maps opposite show the year by year fluctuations in unemployment rates by local authority district. The maps use unemployment counts (divided by an estimate of the size of the workforce for each district) to illustrate the change between the twelve month moving average rates of unemployment centred at the beginning and end of each year shown. The economic similarity of 1991 to 1981 should be evident, as most districts saw their levels of unemployment rise by around two percentage points during these census years. However, in the earlier year unemployment rose faster in the north, whereas a decade later it was rising the least in Scotland. Particular points as well as the general trends in employment history can be identified from these maps, such as the aftermath of the miners' strike in Yorkshire in 1985, or the dramatic reduction in unemployment in Glasgow which took place in the early 1990s.

3.31: Year and Rate of Highest Unemployment Levels in Britain 1979–1993



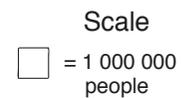
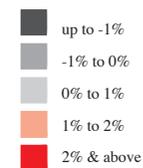
The 1990s saw the emergence of some of the clearest spatial patterns in the changing geographical distribution of unemployment in Britain. The north–south divide in the latest recession is stark, as are the continued strong levels of job losses in the South East in 1992, compared with the falls in unemployment which were being experienced across the north in that year. Care should be taken when reading these graphs, bearing in mind the evidence of the last few pages, and knowing that many people who come off the unemployment register do not get a job, while many more who would have been counted as unemployed in the past are now dissuaded from joining the register. Nevertheless, the patterns shown here are indicative of the changes which have occurred in the real maps of redundancies and of new recruitment which should, ideally, be drawn.

Finally, Figure 3.31 attempts to summarise these patterns by showing the year for which unemployment rates were highest in each district during this period. The clustering of areas into such a small number of common regions in the first map is remarkable. The second map in the figure shows the level of unemployment for the year in which it was highest in each district. Recent years may have seen greater rises in the south than in the north, but what are now seen as bad levels for much of the south are barely half the worst levels experienced by people living in the north and in London.

Unemployment 1979–1993

change in district workforces

% change in workforce unemployed over the calendar year shown



Conclusion: Work and Unemployment

Economics and Society

The social status and standards of living of most people depend on the economic activity of adults in their household — on whether they work, what they do in their work, or why they are not in work. Social classes and socioeconomic groups are defined mainly by the type of work done by adults in work (page 184). The kind of work people do also determines how they are rewarded, the kind of home they can afford to live in, the lifestyle they can lead and the general level of affluence of local areas. During the 1980s the workforce living inside many large cities shrank, reducing the aggregate spending power in these places. Since 1971 employment levels have risen most strongly amongst adults living in wards in small towns and in the rural South East (page 69). These new jobs are in different occupations which involve very different working patterns and hours as well as commuting times. The type of work adults do affects how long they have to spend at home with their children. Just as some workers' commuting times have increased, in many areas, substantial numbers of people now work from home and hence alter the daytime social composition of their areas (Figure 3.15). It is important to understand the economic geography of employment in Britain in tandem with other distributions. For instance, for women by ethnic group, employment rates are highest amongst Black Caribbean residents (Figure 3.2). Given the age profile and location of most of this ethnic group (page 44) and the geography of the availability of full-time work for women (page 85), it is not surprising to find that these people are more likely than not to be in work.

Out of Work

For many people of working age it is not divisions within the workplace which most influence their lives, but lack of work (by which others often define them). Two and a half million people were counted as “unemployed” at the last census, almost half a million more than were included in the seasonally adjusted and revised official count of that month. A further third of a million adults were on “government schemes” in 1991. In addition to these people who are out of work, one and a half million adults of working age are “permanently sick” and another six hundred thousand adults have “retired early”. In Britain, then, the census counted almost five million working-age adults as being out of work due to unemployment, retirement, sickness or from being on a scheme. This total still excludes working-age adults who are out of work but who ticked some other category on the census form and it will exclude many of the missing million who (given their age and location) are likely to be out of work. The people who are included above represent 15% of their age group. These are a very diverse group of residents whose

distribution and composition cannot easily be mapped with only two colours.

Over the 1980s adults were separating geographically into places where people were relatively more likely and less likely to have work (Figure 6.39). Different parts of the country came to rely to differing degrees on social security benefits (Figure 6.35). Sickness amongst people of working age rose most strongly in Wales, the Northern region, the North West and Scotland, and least in the South West, East Anglia and the South East (Figure 5.4). People who were not in work for long periods of time were most likely not to be living in a family (Figure 6.16), and were most often young and male (Figure 6.15), but were also much more likely to have a degree in 1991 as compared to 1971 (Figure 6.20). Long-term unemployment portrays one of the most stark of all geographical divides in Britain (page 91). Thus, the distribution of people who are out of work can be seen in many other distributions shown later in this atlas. Unemployment underlies many other problems and processes in society.

Mapping Mixes: Colour Print D

It would be wrong to treat adults who are out of work for officially very different reasons as a single group, although the geographical connections between the groups they are in are strong. One way to represent this complexity is through bivariate colour mapping where the relationship between two univariate geographical distributions is revealed. Colour Print D uses bivariate mapping to show the pattern between the locations of different groups of working-age adults who are not working. Here the two distributions being compared are working-age adults who are unemployed or on a government scheme and working-age adults who are retired or permanently sick. Shades of colour ranging from yellow to red are used to represent increasing rates of unemployment, while shades of colour ranging from yellow to blue show the proportion of adults retired early or permanently sick in each ward. Wards which contain few of either group remain yellow, or are shaded light green or orange to show which group is relatively more numerous. Wards which contain high proportions of both groups are coloured various darker shades of purple as the red and the blue mix, to coalesce eventually as black in those place where both high unemployment and high rates of retirement and sickness predominate. The numbers by the key boxes show what proportion of the population lives in each category of ward. Thus, 7.8% of people in Britain live in areas where more than a tenth of the working age population is in each of these out-of-work groups. Almost all these wards are in Wales, Scotland and the northern metropolitan countries, with none in Greater London or the West Midlands county. At the other extreme, 16.0% of the population live in areas with the lowest proportions of both groups. It is immediately evident that most wards have either high rates of both groups or low rates of both, but there are interesting exceptions to this generalization. These exceptions together form

patterns in space that show how lack of employment in suburban London is different from the northern cities, affecting mainly younger people, and so colouring these wards red. The most unusual wards are those which have low unemployment but a high proportion of working-age people who have retired early or are permanently sick. On Colour Print D these wards are given shades of blue and can be seen in counties such as Lancashire, which has one of the most diverse socioeconomic landscapes in the country.

Who Makes What?

To understand how the current pattern of employment came about, the industrial structure of the economy has to be considered. The 1980s collapse of manufacturing employment in the north and the midlands, and the rise of jobs in services in the South East and in some regional capitals (page 75), underlie much of the change which has brought about the pattern just described. Almost without exception, all types of manufacturing industry have declined over the last two decades, and all service industries (other than transport) have seen rising employment (Figure 3.9). These changes have not only occurred in different places but also to different groups of people within those places. In the last decade employment rates have fallen for all broad age-groups of men except those aged between 30 and 44, and have risen for all groups of women below age 60 (Figure 3.10). Industrial changes also alters the compositions of people by occupation in each area. Most people employed in manufacturing are in craft and related occupations or are plant & machine operatives (Figure 3.11) and almost all of these people are male (Figure 3.12). Professional occupations have tended to be in the “other service industries” which have grown most strongly in recent years. The distinctive local geography of occupations is revealed by listing the districts which contain the most of each group. For instance, various types of professionals were most numerous in Cambridge, Vale of White Horse, Hart, Bearsden & Milngavie, the City of London, Kensington & Chelsea and Ceredigion (see Figure 3.13). The very different geographical patterns to men's and women's work is shown by mapping their most likely occupations in each ward (page 79).

Change in Work

Although the proportion of women in the workforce has risen steadily over the last two decades, a dramatic change in economic activity has also occurred between different groups of men in employment. The proportion of men in full-time employment fell sharply over the 1980s whilst the proportion who were self-employed rose by a slightly smaller amount. When differentiated by age, these two changes can be seen to mirror one another (Figure 3.5), and so it is reasonable to assume that many men who lost full-time work during the last decade stated that they were self-employed in 1991. It is almost

impossible to know how many of their new businesses were successful. For women it is often forgotten that the rise in full-time work has been larger than the increase in part-time work, both in absolute and in relative terms (Figure 3.4). It is also interesting to see that full-time work suffered the lowest falls in recent years in parts of the midlands, the north and in Scotland (page 71). Employment growth in the south was largely attributable to increases in self-employment. Part-time employment increased around the coast, while unemployment rates appeared to fall in the Northern region and increased most strongly in the South East between the last two censuses. This was partly the result of the timing of these statistics, as the annual maps of unemployment change show (page 97; Dorling 1992), with London suffering particularly badly from 1990 onwards. More important, however, is the geography of the increases in early retirement and of increases in sickness amongst people of working-age (see Figures 3.29 and 5.4). Formerly working people have been encouraged to reclassify themselves as not seeking work, and only detailed analysis of sources such as the census can show what the effect of these changes has been over space. Simultaneously, men who are in work are now working longer hours than they used to, with the majority of men working more than sixty hours per week having families with young children (Figure 3.21). This increase has been due, in part, to the sharp rise in jobs in those managerial & professional occupations which involve long hours of work (Figure 3.19). Increasingly it appears that people who have work have too much work to do, while many other adults have too little work, and thus cannot afford what the majority are producing so earnestly.

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