

FRANCO-BRITISH



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The name of SSRC has now changed to the ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL



Telephone 01 - 353 5252

APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH GRANT

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

TITLE	INITIALS	SURNAME
PROF/DR/MB MRS/MISS/MS	P.R.	THOMPSON

BRIEF TITLE OF RESEARCH (Up to 12 words)

FAMILIES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY

Regulations and Conditions

Full details of the SSRC research grant scheme, and of the regulations and conditions governing the award of grants, are given in the current edition of the booklet *SSRC research grants scheme*, which is available in universities, colleges and other research institutions, or direct from the SSRC.

Applications may be submitted at any time, but decisions on those arriving after one of the closing dates mentioned in the booklet are not taken until after the next.

When completed and signed, this application form should be sent *in duplicate* to:-

Head of Research Administration
Social Science Research Council
1 Temple Avenue
London EC4Y 0BD
Its receipt will be acknowledged.

Declaration

We have read the regulations and conditions of grant in the current edition of the booklet *SSRC research grant scheme* and we agree to abide by them. We are not bound by any contrary conditions governing the proposed investigation, including obligations to third parties incurred in regard to ownership and use of research results and patents.

new starting date
1 July 85

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT	DATE
<i>Paul Thompson</i>	28 August 1984

SIGNATURE OF HEAD OF DEPARTMENT	DATE
<i>Dennis Marsden (Acting)</i>	30th August 1984

SIGNATURE OF DIRECTOR OF COMPUTER CENTRE DATE

(for completion if appropriate)

SIGNATURE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY	DATE
<i>E. Newcomb</i>	
DESIGNATION	REGISTRAR

JK
29/8/84

NOTES ON COMPLETING THE RESEARCH GRANT APPLICATION FORM

The form should be completed in typescript or black ink

The notes on this page are intended to guide applicants when completing the form

Applicants are referred to the current edition of the booklet **SSRC research grant scheme**, which all applicants should read before completing this form. The declaration must be signed by the applicant, by the head of the department and by an authorised representative of the institution's administrative authority. Where the research will involve substantial use of the institution's computing resources, the application should also be signed by the director of the computer centre or the equivalent. This is intended to signify that the kind of computing resources needed on the project are available at the institution, and that, were the project to be funded, the investigator would be given access to these.

Page 1 The total grant required in Section 6 should agree with the overall total on page 5.

Page 3 The percentage of the individuals time on the project should be specified.

Pages 4 and 5 The title or level of each appointment should be specified together with the year of the scale. Where the project lasts for less than the duration of one year, enter the figures in the appropriate column as though they were for a full year.

Please complete the calendar year heading at the top and bottom of pages 4 and 5 as indicated. Please complete all total headings (unless the total is zero in which case leave blank) including those labelled Financial Summary of Grant and Estimated Incidence of Expenditure. The overall total should equal both the sum of the totals of the Financial Summary and the sum of the totals of the Estimated Incidence of Expenditure. If a grant covers more than five calendar years please copy page four, and complete a sixth column.

If there is insufficient space on the financial planning sheet for items under 14, 15 and 16, please use section 20 to fill out details.

Page 7 All applicants are asked to provide a curriculum vitae and list of relevant publications even though they may have previously applied to the SSRC for a research grant.

Page 8 There is no standard way in which details of the proposed investigation should be presented to the SSRC. Nevertheless applicants are invited to consider the following check-list of questions before completing the form. Applicants should not, of course, answer these questions as such, but careful consideration of them should reduce the need for the SSRC to ask the applicant for more information before reaching a decision.

What are the objectives of the research?

How does it relate to other research in the same field that has either been completed or is going on now?

What contribution (if any) will the research make to the development of theory in the subject?

Are the results expected to have any general or specific practical applications?

Will the research make any contributions to methodology?

How will the research be done? What techniques will be used? What were the reasons which led to the adoption of these methods and techniques?

If the research involves gaining access to the facilities or data of institutions or organisations, what assurances can be provided that access will be obtainable?

Are there any ethical and/or confidentiality problems, and how would they be overcome?

What other practical problems are likely to be encountered when doing the research and what plans (if any) are there to overcome them?

How will the work be divided between the applicants, the research workers, and other staff employed on the investigations?

What will be the specific functions of the research workers and other staff? What type and level of training, experience and skills will be expected from the research workers and other staff?

Will anyone else be associated with or working on the investigation (apart from the applicant and research workers employed out of the grant)?

How will the research be organised and phased over the duration of the grant? In particular how much time will be allowed for writing up the results of the research?

How will the results of the research be disseminated?



Social Science Research Council
1 Temple Avenue
London EC4Y 0BD
Telephone 01 - 353 5252

RI

APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH GRANT

FOR SSRC USE ONLY

1. APPLICANTS (Principal Investigator First)

TITLE	INITIALS	SURNAME
PROF/DR/MR MRS/MISS/MS	P R	T H O M P S O N
POST	Reader in Social History	
PROF/DR/MR MRS/MISS/MS	H	N, E, W, B, Y,
POST	Professor of Sociology	
PROF/DR/MR MRS/MISS/MS		
POST		

2. INSTITUTION AND DEPARTMENT ADDRESS

Department of Sociology

University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

0206 862286

Official Telephone Number
(Please give STD code from London)

3. TYPE OF APPLICATION

PROGRAMME PROJECT NEW REVISED SUPPLEMENTARY

4. BRIEF TITLE OF RESEARCH (Up to 12 words)

F A M I L I E S A N D S O C I A L M O B I L I T Y ; A C O M P A R A T I V E
S T U D Y

5. SYNOPSIS OF RESEARCH (Up to 150 words)

This study will examine the connections between family life and social achievement through a family-based study of social mobility. By comparing experience in Britain and France it is possible to examine the impact of different cultural patterns and social institutions on educational and occupational achievement. The British sample will be based upon re-interviews with respondents from an existing national survey of economic stagflation and social change. The aim will be to understand the role of factors internal to the family in influencing patterns of social mobility.

6. AMOUNT REQUESTED

6 5 7 1 9

7. PROPOSED START DATE

0 1 0 1 8 5

8. PROPOSED FINISH DATE

1 2 3 1 8 7

Please express dates numerically giving day, month and year as DDMMYY

FINANCIAL PLANNING SHEET

Calendar Year
(Jan - Dec)

1985

1986

11. RESEARCH STAFF (Please list staff in order given in section 10).	Date of Scale	Point & Range of Scale	% Time on Project	Expected Duration of Appointment	1ST YEAR				2ND YEAR					
					Salary	Supp	NI	Total	Salary	Supp	NI	Total		
Research Officer	April 83	IA/4	100	3yrs	8641	1585	621	10847	9088	667	649	11404		
					TOTAL £				10847	TOTAL £				11404
12. OTHER STAFF														
Transcriber (1st 2 yrs)	July 84	II/4	100	2yrs	3829	460	298	4687	5287	634	409	6330		
Transcriber (2nd, 1yr 3m)	July 84	II/4	100	15 months	5105	613	397	6115	3966	476	307	4749		
					TOTAL £				10812	TOTAL £				11079
13. SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS														
CONSULTANCIES & HONORARIA														
Interview fees contract to SCPB					TOTAL £				1000	TOTAL £				1000
14. EQUIPMENT (Items in sections 14, 15 & 16 to be listed separately, if necessary on P.6)														
Equipment and Tapes					TOTAL £				3000	TOTAL £				3000
15. TRAVEL & SUBSISTANCE														
United Kingdom					UK TOTAL £				450	UK TOTAL £				650
Overseas					OVERSEAS TOTAL £				300	OVERSEAS TOTAL £				150
					TOTAL £				750	TOTAL £				800
16. OTHER COSTS														
Postage and Telephone					TOTAL £				250	TOTAL £				250
ESTIMATED INCIDENCE OF EXPENDITURE					1985 £				26659	1986 £				24533

17. WHAT DIRECT OR INDIRECT FINANCIAL SUPPORT WILL BE PROVIDED FOR BY THE APPLICANTS OWN INSTITUTION

VALUE £

DESCRIPTION

10. RESEARCH STAFF TO BE EMPLOYED ON PROJECT

Please list staff where known, giving their current institution where this differs from (2).

1	STYLE	INITIALS	SURNAME	FOR SSRC USE ONLY
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	INSTITUTION NAME		EXPECTED DATE OF APPOINTMENT	
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	INSTITUTION NAME		EXPECTED DATE OF APPOINTMENT	
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	FUNCTION ON PROJECT		%OF TIME ON PROJECT	

FINANCIAL PLANNING SHEET (contd)

19 87

19 88

19

3RD YEAR				4TH YEAR				5TH YEAR				FINANCIAL SUMMARY* OF GRANT REQUIRED	
Salary	Supp	NI	Total	Salary	Supp	NI	Total	Salary	Supp	NI	Total		
9537	1751	678	11966	-									
TOTAL £			11966	TOTAL £				TOTAL £				11 RESEARCH STAFF TOTAL £ 34217	
1346	161	104											
TOTAL £			1611	TOTAL £				TOTAL £				12 OTHER STAFF TOTAL £ 23502	
TOTAL £				TOTAL £				TOTAL £				13 SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS TOTAL £ 2000	
TOTAL £				TOTAL £				TOTAL £				14 EQUIPMENT TOTAL £ 3000	
UK TOTAL £				UK TOTAL £				UK TOTAL £					
OVERSEAS TOTAL £			450	OVERSEAS TOTAL £				OVERSEAS TOTAL £				15 TRAVEL & SUBSISTENCE TOTAL £ 2000	
TOTAL £			450	TOTAL £				TOTAL £					
TOTAL £			500	TOTAL £				TOTAL £				16 OTHER COSTS TOTAL £ 1000	
19 87 £			14527	19 £				19 £				OVERALL TOTAL £ 65719	

* If a grant spans more than five calendar years, please reproduce page 4 in order to add a column for the sixth year's expenditure, but still enter totals here.

18. IS THIS RESEARCH CURRENTLY BEING SUPPORTED BY ANY OTHER OUTSIDE BODY OR IS THIS APPLICATION BEING SUBMITTED ELSEWHERE?
IF SO, GIVE DETAILS. DECISIONS ABOUT APPLICATIONS TO OTHER BODIES (INCLUDING THOSE MADE AFTER THE AWARD OF AN SSRC GRANT) SHOULD BE REPORTED TO THE SSRC AS SOON AS AVAILABLE

No.

19. (PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS) PLEASE INDICATE HOW MANY HOURS PER WEEK YOU PROPOSE TO DEVOTE TO THIS RESEARCH PROJECT IF YOU ARE NOT APPLYING FOR THE PAYMENT OF YOUR SALARY ON THE GRANT.

Dr. Paul Thompson - 12 hours per week.

Professor Howard Newby - 8 hours per week.

20. DETAILS OF EQUIPMENT, TRAVEL AND SUBSISTENCE AND/OR OTHER COSTS, AS APPROPRIATE.

Uher tape recorder for fieldwork	£500
Cassette tape recorder for transcriber	£200
Tapes	£2500

PROFESSOR HOWARD NEWBY

Born 1947

1967-1970 B.A. Hons., Sociology Upper Second Class, University of Essex
1970-1972 Research student (Ph.D.) Department of Sociology, University of Essex
1972-1975 Lecturer in Sociology, Department of Sociology, University of Essex
1975-1979 Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Essex
1979-1983 Reader in Sociology, University of Essex
1980-1982 Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA
1984- Professor of Sociology, University of Essex; Director ESRC Data Archive.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

The Deferential Worker, Allen Lane, 1977; Penguin, 1979. Published in the U.S.A. by University of Wisconsin Press, 1979
International Perspectives in Rural Sociology, Wiley, 1978 (ed)
Green and Pleasant Land: Social Change in Rural England, Hutchinson, 1979; Penguin, 1979. Published in the United States by University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.
Community Studies (with Colin Bell), Allen and Unwin, 1971. Published in the United States by Praeger.
Doing Sociological Research (with Colin Bell), Allen & Unwin 1977 (eds). Published in U.S. by Free Press.
Property, Paternalism and Power: A Study of East Anglian Farmers (with C. Bell, D. Rose and P. Saunders), Hutchinson, 1978; University of Wisconsin Press, 1979
The Problem of Sociology (with D. Lee), Hutchinson, 1983.

Articles include

'Agricultural Workers in the Class Structure', Sociological Review, 20, 3, 1972, pp.413-439. Reprinted in D. Weir (ed) Men and Work in Modern Britain, Fontana, 1973. Reprinted in W. Grant (ed) Decision-making in Agriculture, Open University Press, 1975.
'The Deferential Dialectic', Comparative Studies in Society and History, 17, 2, 1975, pp.139-164.
'The Challenge of Rural Sociology Today', Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie, 29, 2, 1981, pp.199-221. Translated and reprinted in Commercio Exterior, 32, 4, April, 1982, pp.347-356.
'Rural Sociology and its Relevance to the Agricultural Economist: A Review', Journal of Agricultural Economics, 33, 2, 1982, pp.125-165.
'Classical European Social Theory and the Agrarian Question', in Gene Summers et al. (eds) Technology and Social Change, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983.
'Husbands and Wives in the Dynamics of the Deferential Dialectic', in D. Barker and S. Allen (eds) Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage, Longman, 1976, pp.152-168.
(with Leonore Davidoff and Jean L'Esperance) 'Landscape with Figures: Homes and Community in English Society' in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (eds) The Rights and Wrongs of Women, Penguin 1976, pp.139-175.

Reports

'The Current State of Research on Social Stratification in Britain', Interim Report for the SSRC, 1980
'The State of Research on Social Stratification in Britain - Final Report', SSRC, 1982

DR. PAUL THOMPSON

Born 1935

1958 First Class Honours in Modern History, Oxford
1964 D.Phil. (Oxford): Thesis on 'London Working Class Politics and the Formation of the London Labour Party, 1885-1914'
1964-1968 Lecturer in Sociology (Social History), University of Essex
1968-1971 Senior Lecturer
1968-1969 Senior Research Fellow, Huffield College, Oxford
1971- Reader in Social History, University of Essex
1977-1978 Hoffman Wood Professor of Architecture, University of Leeds
1980-1983 Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Essex

PUBLICATIONS - Principal Books

Socialists, Liberals and Labour: the Struggle for London 1885-1914, Routledge and Kegan Paul, and University of Toronto Press, 1967.
The Work of William Morris, William Heineman, and Viking Press 1967; revised p/back edition, Quartet Books 1

DR PAUL THOMPSON contd.

PUBLICATIONS contd.

The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and University of Illinois Press, 1975; paperback edition, Paladin, 1977

The Voice of the Past: Oral History, Oxford University Press, and OPUS paperback 1978

Our Common History: The Transformation of Europe, (ed) Humanities Press, and Pluto Press, 1982

Living the Fishing, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983

Journal: Founder and Editor, Oral History, 1971 to date

Articles include

'Voices from Within', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973

'Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change', in D. Bertaux (ed) Biography and Society, Sage, 1982

'Family, Economy and Ideology: the Role of Women and Children in Change', paper presented to the World Congress of Sociology, Mexico City, August 1982

Publications in Translation

'Storia Orale e Storia della Classe Operaia', Quaderni Storici, (35) maggio-ugosto, 1977

'Des recits de vie a l'analyse du changement social', Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie, LXIX, 1980 (translated by Daniel Bertaux)

'Das Problem der Repräsentativität am Beispiel eines Familienprojektes', in Lutz Niethammer, Lebenserfahrung und Kollektives Gedächtnis Die Praxis der "Oral History", Syndikat, Frankfurt am Main 1980

Det Föregångnas Röst, Gidlunds, Stockholm, 1980

21. CURRICULUM VITAE (INCLUDING DATE OF BIRTH) AND RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS OF APPLICANT AND RESEARCH STAFF (IF KNOWN). APPLICANTS MAY LIKE TO LIST OTHER PUBLICATIONS TO ILLUSTRATE THE QUALITY OF THEIR PREVIOUS WORK, AND/OR TO GIVE THE NAME AND ADDRESS OF AN ACADEMIC REFEREE WHO COULD COMMENT ON IT.

DANIEL BERTAUX

Born 1939

1957-1959 Ecole Polytechnique
1963-1966 Licence de Sociologie, Sorbonne
1963-1967 Research on artificial intelligence, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches en Automatisme, Paris
1968- Chargé de recherches en Sociologie, C.N.R.S., currently attached to Centre d'Etude des Mouvements Sociaux (E.H.E.S.S.)
1974, 1977, 1981, 1983, Professeur associé, Université de Montréal, Université du Québec à Montréal, and Université Laval à Québec

Member of International Sociological Association Research Committees on Family Sociology (since 1978), and on Social Stratification (since 1970) and convenor of the Ad Hoc Group on Life Histories (since 1978)

PUBLICATIONS include

Books

Destins personnels et Structure de Classe, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1977.

Une enquête sur la boulangerie artisanale en France (en collab. avec Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame), Reports to CORDES, March 1976. Roneo.

Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences (Daniel Bertaux ed), London and Beverley Hills, Sage Publications, 1981.

Articles include

'Sur l'analyse des tables de mobilité sociale', Revue française de Sociologie, X-4, Oct-Dec. 1969, pp.448-490

'L'héritage sociale en France', Economie et Statistique, 9 February 1970, pp.37-47

'Artisanal Bakery in France. How It Lives and Why It Survives' (with Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame), in Frank Bechhofer and Brian Elliott (eds) The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum, London, Macmillan, 1981, pp.155-181.

'The Life-Cycle Approach as a Challenge to the Social Sciences', in T.K. Hareven and K.J. Adams (eds) Ageing and Life-Course - Transitions - An Interdisciplinary Perspective, New York, The Guildford Press 1982, pp.125-50.

'Stories as Clues to Sociological Understanding', in P. Thompson (ed) Our Common History: The Transformation of Europe, Pluto Press, London, 1982, pp. 93-108.

'The Life Story Approach: A Continental View', Annual Review of Sociology, 1984 (with Martin Kohli).

ISABELLE BERTAUX-WIAME

Born 1944

1973-1975 Research worker on project on History and Sociology of Divorce
1975-1977 Research worker on project on Artisan Bakeries in France
1977 Maîtrise d'Histoire, Université de Paris VII
1977-1978 Research worker on project on Migration to Paris between the Wars
1979- Chargé de recherches en Sociologie, C.N.R.S.; Groupe de Sociologie du Travail, Université de Paris VII
Current research: women and social mobility; family histories.

PUBLICATIONS include

'The life-history approach to the study of internal migration', Oral History, 7, 1, 1979 (translated by Paul Thompson), republished in Paul Thompson (ed) Our Common History. The Transformation of Europe, Humanities Press, London, 1982.

'Une application de l'approche autobiographique: les migrants provinciaux dans le Paris des années vingt', Revue d'Ethnologie Française, X, 1980, 2.

'L'apprentissage en boulangerie dans les années 20 et 30. Une enquête d'histoire orale: report to CORDES, 1978.

'L'installation dans la boulangerie artisanale', Sociologie du Travail, XXIV (1), 1982.

'Récits de vie, itinéraires professionnels, trajectoires structurelles: le cas de la boulangerie artisanale en France', Dourdan (colloque de), L'emploi, Enjeux économiques et sociaux, Paris, Paspero, 1982.

'Vie quotidienne, pratiques féminines et historicité', Revue Suisse de Sociologie, 1983.

22. PROPOSED INVESTIGATION

Before completing this section, please consider carefully the notes to applicants. You do not have to confine yourself to the space provided here. If you do want to write more, please do so on paper the same size as this keeping within margins the same size as those on the Application form, heading each page 'Proposed Investigation (contd)', numbering the pages in sequence and clipping them to the back of the application form. These pages should be submitted in duplicate. If you want the Council to consider other materials (such as working papers, offprints, etc.) along with the application form you should send 40 copies.

Objectives of the Research Proposal

This proposal is for a collaborative project between Dr. Paul Thompson and Professor Howard Newby of the Department of Sociology at the University of Essex, and Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame of the University of Paris. The objective of this project is to link two fields of study which are normally separate, family and social mobility.

It is a remarkable fact that despite the widespread recognition of the importance of family life, both in public political discussion and in the academic fields of sociology, social policy and social history, there has been no sustained research effort to match this concern. In both Britain and France statistical information is regularly collected on demographic aspects of family trends. There is also a substantial research activity on family problems and pathology. But as Rutter and Madge observed in Cycles of Deprivation - the most thorough international review of this literature within the last decade ⁽¹⁾ - it is difficult to draw sound conclusions from it for two reasons. Firstly, most studies are purely local and very few are based on representative samples from the general population. But 'problem families' and 'broken families' must be studied alongside 'normal families' and 'successful families' if we are to understand how they differ and which of their differences are significant. Secondly, there is a particular need for representative studies of differing patterns in the 'quality' of family life - that is to say mutual relationships and communication within the family - for this is the most plausible of the suggested factors in explaining differences in outcome, independent of social class. Strikingly similar conclusions are reached in a very recent British summary of the international literature on children and divorce, ⁽²⁾ and in reports prepared for the 1983 conferences on 'Recherches et Familles' in France. ⁽³⁾ The need, in short, is for studies of variations and changes in family life which are both representative and qualitative.

In Britain the notable series of local studies of ordinary family and community life, led by Young and Willmott, which flourished during the late 1950s and 1960s, has now dried up. These early classics were in any case never nationally representative, concentrating on either old-established working class industrial towns and inner city districts (like Bethnal Green itself) or - by

(1) M.L. Rutter and N. Madge, Cycles of Deprivation, London 1976.

(2) M.P.H. Richards and M. Dyson, Separation, Divorce and Development of Children: A review, Child Care & Development Group, University of Cambridge, prepared for Department of Health and Social Security, London, March 1982.

(3) Revue Française des Affaires Sociales, special issue 'Recherches et Familles', November 1983.

anthropologists - on remote rural areas. The rapidity of subsequent social change has made the atypicality of the localities studied increasingly obvious; and even as local studies they are now two decades out of date. In France there has been no comparable series of urban studies, although there have been valuable local anthropological studies of peasant families. And in both countries there is a basic lack of any general overview of changing patterns of ordinary family culture and relationships. Our proposal is thus addressed firstly to this fundamental need.

We wish however to go beyond this to examine the connections between family life and social achievement through a family-based study of social mobility. The aim of social mobility research is to understand how and why individuals either move from one social background through their life careers into higher or lower social positions, or remain on the same level. It is well-known that behind the competition of individuals through education and in the labour market lies the equally important influence of families, investing their efforts in the future of their children: deciding how many children to have, how to bring them up and educate them, whether the mother should go out to work, what interests to encourage in a boy or girl - and so influencing not only the careers of their own sons and daughters, but the shape of the market itself. Given this, it is remarkable how little reference there is in the literature on the family to social mobility; while social mobility studies, through focussing on the individual rather than the family, have equally neglected the analysis of this key process.⁽⁴⁾ Indeed the two major recent investigations in both Britain and France have not merely concentrated on individuals, but on individual men only, to the almost total exclusion of women.⁽⁵⁾ In our view a family-based study of social mobility would not only bring a significant methodological and theoretical advance in that field of sociology (through allowing the analysis of a recognised yet neglected key dynamic, in which the role of women is as critical as that of men), but could also be equally fruitful in relation to the study of both educational and occupational achievement on the one hand, and family breakdown and cycles of deprivation on the other.

There have been no studies using this approach, either in Britain, France or elsewhere. The addition of a comparative international dimension would be of especial value, enabling us to see more clearly the impact of cultural patterns and social institutions which are taken for granted in one country, yet differ in the other.

Our project, in short, aims to bring together, on a comparative basis, the study of the family and of social mobility. Its outcome would be to provide both new descriptive information and new analysis. This new analysis would have implications

(4) D. Bertaux, Destins Personnels et Structure de Classe, Paris 1977.

(5) J. Goldthorpe et al., Social Mobility & Class Structure in Modern Britain,

at the theoretical and methodological level, and also practical implications for research in social policy.

The Complementary Advantages of Quantitative (Survey) and Qualitative Research

While neglect of large-scale representative survey research has been one of the weaknesses of family sociology, such survey research has been fundamental to the advances made in the study of social mobility and social class in recent decades. There are however certain inherent limitations to the survey method. In particular, it is more suitable for testing established hypotheses than for formulating new interpretations; it documents the present more successfully than social change; and the closed questionnaire form of interview is much less effective than the open-ended life history interview for collecting information on subjective perceptions of, for example, personal relationships, values and ambitions and their development in relation to changes in life situation.⁽⁶⁾ Our proposed strategy is therefore to draw on the strengths of both methods, through carrying out a sub-sample of life history interviews in relation to existing larger scale projects.

The argument for the use of more 'qualitative' techniques like the life history interview does not require spelling out in relation to our first objective, the study of changing family culture and relationships. Its implications are, however, equally important in relation to our second objective.

Social mobility investigations have taken the individual as their sampling unit. One major reason for this has been technical; the need to construct scales of social status (of prestige, life chances, etc.). The most convenient has been found to be a scale of occupations. But social status is much better understood as attached to families than to occupations. It is, moreover, won by the family group over the long term, and is built up not only from the immediate occupations of a husband and wife, but from their social background, and inheritance, their culture and life style, and the achievements of their children.

By making the unit the family, rather than the individual, it becomes possible to see the differing contributions of both men and women to social achievement. Even when the women are not active in paid occupations, their role in bringing up the family's children and creating the family hope is vital to the process. We can also see how family culture is transmitted, or rejected, from one generation to the next; and we can compare the fate of brothers and sisters in the same generation. How is it that in some families a whole generation will rise through education; in others, the children are able to scatter independently into a range of new occupations; while in yet others, all follow in their parents' footsteps?

(6) D. Bertaux (ed), Biography and Society, London 1981; P. Thompson, The Voice of the Past: Oral History, Oxford 1978; Ken Plummer, Documents of Life: an Introduction to the Problems & Literature of a Humanistic Method, London 1983.

It will only become possible to begin to answer such major questions through a combined study of the family and social mobility which rests on the complementary use of the insights of qualitative methods and the representativeness of the survey.

Research Strategy

(a) Samples

In both France and Britain we shall select smaller sub-samples from a large-scale national survey based on a representative sample.

In France this will be the 'TRA' families project initiated by M. Jacques Dupaquier. This consists of a sample of couples married between 1804 and 1820, based on surnames beginning with the letters 'Tra', which have been selected because they do not introduce any regional, class or other bias, whose male descendants are being traced down to the families of the current living generations. When completed in 1984 this will provide a representative sample of unique historical depth, from the 1806 census to the present. The CNRS (Département des Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société) has launched a programme of interdisciplinary research on the variety of family forms among the 8000 contemporary TRA, within which our project is to be included.

In Britain no representative sample of such historical depth is available. We shall however be able to draw on data available from Dr. Paul Thompson's project on 'The Systematic Analysis of Life Histories', which provides a national quota sample of 444 life history interviews of family life and work experience, from informants born between 1872 and 1906, including family occupational grids (see below).

Our British contemporary sample will be provided by the national project (funded by E.S.R.C.) on 'Economic Stagflation and Social Change', directed by Professor Howard Newby. This offers a household sample of 2000 men and women aged 16-65, clustered in 200 electoral polling districts, from whom very full information on occupation and social class, and some basic data on family life, will be collected from structured interviews during 1984. In the original survey 82 per cent of respondents agreed to be re-interviewed as part of the project which is covered by this application.

In each country we shall select from these larger contemporary examples a representative sub-sample of 150 men and women. Our selection will however be adjusted to over-represent certain selected small but particularly significant groups (e.g. sharp upward and downward careers, the well-to-do and the deprived, the self-employed, etc.) in order to facilitate analysis. In the British survey respondents were interviewed by employees of SCPR. Consequently they will be re-contacted by SCPR staff and we have included a budget item to cover this.

(b) Data Collection

Each informant will provide a point of entry and source of information on a family network, which will be our real object of investigation. We shall seek two kinds of information: (i) a detailed family tree; and (ii) a life history in the broadest sense of the term, with the emphasis on the links between family life and the shaping of individual careers.

The family tree will include at least the informant's spouse, children and their spouses, brothers and sisters and their spouses, parents, uncles and aunts, and grandparents. It will thus cover at least three generations. For each person we shall want to obtain not only factual information (date of birth, marriage, death; education; career; housing; and geographical migration) but also a sketch of the key events and influences which shaped their career. Two of us (DB and IB-W) have already successfully collected this type of data in Quebec and in France.

The life history will allow us to trace the informant's own career more fully, especially in terms of ambitions, opportunities, constraints, choices, etc.; but at the same time to obtain an indepth picture of the patterns of family relationships, culture and values, both in their own childhood, and, if married, in their role as parents. In particular, we shall seek information on relationships between the married couple (division of labour; authority; affection and communication; social life) and between parents and children (roles in the house; values and hopes conveyed; discipline; affection and communication; family occasions and leisure; parents, school and occupational choice).

The collection of this information will normally require two or more visits, totaling approximately three hours in all.

We also intend a briefer interview with a second member of the same family, chosen from another generation and if possible from the opposite sex to that of the first informant. This will allow some checking of the family tree, but it will focus chiefly on a life history interview of the type described above. We expect from previous experience (PT, DB, IB-W) that these interviews will have a double value, by providing a second perspective on our 150 families, while at the same time doubling our individual lifestory cases to make a total of 300.

(c) Analysis

We shall begin our analysis family by family, concentrating on patterns of behaviour, family ambitions, the number of children desired, the division of roles, the socialisation of boys and girls, family values, conflicts, and the development of relationships over time. This will include systematic comparisons between generations. As hypotheses are suggested by the close study of these individual families we shall test their typicality wherever possible by comparisons with the larger-scale survey data.

From these case studies many of the structural constraints of individual careers will be evident: such as the obstacles faced by working class families in the education of their children, or the differing opportunities for men and women - and how these constraints have changed over time. But by bringing together cases of families from similar social groups we shall be able to examine how far they share or differ in their responses to such obstacles.

As these family patterns and structural constraints emerge, it will also be possible to trace them back historically, where appropriate, through the data on occupations over many generations of the TRA families which is available to us for France, and the life history material on family patterns and careers for the 1880s to the 1920s which we have for Britain from the 'Systematic Analysis of Life Histories' project.

Our international comparisons will begin by juxtaposing similar groups from each country - workers, shopkeepers, the salaried middle classes, the well-to-do, the deprived, 'broken families', etc. Through this we shall build up a picture of what is common and what is particular to each country, both in terms of structural factors - such as access to education, opportunities for employment and for marriage, housing provision - and also of family values and patterns. The process of building up a national picture and of making comparisons will therefore go hand in hand.

The final stage, however, will be to compare our findings for each country as a whole. We shall examine how the changing patterns of family and social mobility in each country relate to national differences in law (such as in inheritance), policy (such as in education) and culture (such as religion): how far such factors can explain differences in family and social mobility; and how they have been interwoven in the historical development of the two countries.

Time Schedule

1 January 1985: project starts: appointment of British Research Officer (three years); joint preparation of samples, interview schedules; pilot interviews.

March 1985: one week's joint discussion before British fieldwork commences.

April 1985: British fieldwork commences (half the interviews to be carried out by the Research Officer, half by part-time interviewers under our direct supervision); completion by May 1986. Preliminary analysis will begin concurrently. First Transcriber appointed (two years).

September 1985: one week's joint discussion before French fieldwork and concurrent preliminary analysis commences; completion by September 1986.

January 1986: second Transcriber appointed (one year appointment).

June 1986: one week's joint discussion at start of comparative analysis.

December 1986 - December 1987: three further meetings during writing up to discuss comparative volume.

Dissemination

We would intend to disseminate the findings principally through publications on the following lines:

Working papers and articles in each country on aspects of social mobility and patterns of family culture and relationships (all applicants)

A book on the family in Britain 1860-1985 (Dr. Paul Thompson)

A book on family and social mobility in France (Daniel Bertaux)

A comparative study of family life and social mobility in France and Britain (jointly by the applicants).

Other Research Commitments and Research Responsibilities: UK

Dr. Thompson is currently conducting a study of work and family life among car workers in Coventry from the First World War to the present, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, based on life history interviews. This provides a valuable in-depth local study running parallel with our present proposal. His ESRC project on 'The Systematic Analysis of Life Histories' (see above) is now completed. ESRC have agreed to fund a new project under his direction as part of the Ageing initiative, on 'Life Histories and Ageing', which will start in January 1985. It is our intention to co-ordinate the planning of this with our project on 'Families and Social Mobility', by concentrating fieldwork in the same areas and where appropriate choosing older informants for the same families. Although interviewing for the two projects is focussed on different issues, the bringing together of information will be an asset for both new projects.

The detailed planning and supervision of fieldwork of the British side of the 'Families and Social Mobility' project will be jointly directed by Professor Newby and Dr. Thompson, but Professor Newby will take a special responsibility for sampling strategy; while in disseminating the results of the project, one book will be the responsibility of Dr. Thompson alone.

Professor Newby is Director of the ESRC Data Archive, a half-time post. He is co-principal investigator of an ESRC-funded study of 'Economic Stagflation and Social Change', the grant for which expires on 30 June 1985. It is, however, intended to seek further application for funds to continue this project beyond this date. The project covered by the current proposal will make use of the data already collected and which is in the process of being analysed. This will expedite the commencement of the project proposed here.

The research team and international collaboration

The research team have already long-standing experience in working together both in their separate countries (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame have carried out a series of joint projects; Newby and Thompson have been colleagues for ten years) but also internationally. Professor Howard Newby has worked with a number of comparative international projects in the sociology of rural society and class structure, and his current project on 'Economic Stagflation and Social Change' is part of an international American-European study. Dr. Paul Thompson, Daniel Bertaux and

Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame have been actively collaborating for the last six years (as is evidenced by the mutual translations in the CVs appended) both informally and through the Life Histories Group of the International Sociological Association. Their wish to carry out a research project on the lines proposed goes back to a series of mutual discussions in 1980. In 1981 a Linked Studentship in 'Social Mobility and the Life Cycle of Women' was awarded by SSRC and the student appointed, Ms. Kay Gough, is working in liaison with Mme Bertaux-Wiame.

Between us we can offer the various skills which the project requires: experience of large-scale survey research (Newby, Bertaux) and also of life history research (Bertaux, Thompson, Bertaux-Wiame); and expertise in the fields of social class (Newby, Bertaux), social mobility (Bertaux, Bertaux-Wiame), family (Thompson, Bertaux-Wiame), and social history (Thompson, Bertaux-Wiame). We believe that this range of skills, together with our experience of successful mutual collaboration, puts us in a unique position to carry an international project on the family and social mobility to a successful conclusion.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION

Before completing this section, please consider carefully the notes to applicants. You do not have to confine yourself to the space provided here. If you do want to write more, please do so on paper the same size as this keeping within margins the same size as those on the Application form, heading each page 'Proposed Investigation (contd)..' numbering the pages in sequence and clipping them to the back of the application form. These pages should be submitted in duplicate. If you want the Council to consider other materials (such as working papers, offprints, etc.) along with the application form you should send 40 copies.

LIFE HISTORIES AND AGEING

Despite the potential fruitfulness of the approach, there has been no systematic use of life histories or oral history by either sociologists or social historians for the study of ageing in Britain. Sociologists who have used semi-structured interviews with old people have been principally concerned with documenting their current situation and degree of deprivation, rather than the path through which they reached it; while those sociologists who have collected life histories have mainly concentrated on relatively young social deviants (Plummer, 1983). It has therefore been left to oral historians to interview representative old people about their lives. But as historians, they have been concerned with the past rather than the present, and so focussed their interviews on memories of childhood and youth, in which insights into ageing are obtained only incidentally (Thompson, 1978).⁽¹⁾

This neglect is all the more serious since it would help to meet very clearly identified gaps in our knowledge, both historical and contemporary.

The recent social history of ordinary ageing has scarcely been started. We now have, thanks to the work of the Cambridge Group, a much clearer picture of long-term demographic and family structural trends. But as Laslett has observed, 'we can say little as yet about the everyday relationship between old people and their grown-up, independent children for any period earlier than recent times' (Laslett, 1977, p.174). The most recent published work (eg. Quadagno) breaks no new ground in this respect, and we do not yet have for Britain even the more extended perspective of institutions and associations for and of the aged which has been written for France (Stearns, 1977). And the recent past, which falls between the concerns of historians and sociologists, is the least subject to serious research by those of either discipline. There is clearly an important need for investigation here to which the oral history method, as in other aspects of family history (Hareven, 1982; Thompson, 1975a and 1975b; Vigne, 1975) could make a very significant contribution.

Among sociologists concerned with ageing and the family there has for some years been a recognition of a parallel gap. There are three connected reasons for this. The first is the growing acceptance that 'older people are entitled to select their own destiny, within given limits'. It therefore follows that we need to know what it means to be old, to them: for even at the most practical, simple level, those concerns and aspects of their lives 'which are not highly valued by external observers may well be amongst the most significant' (Johnson, 1976; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975, p.315).

Ageing, however, is not a once-for-all event, but a process. Hence the interests and wishes of the old are not created from nothing at the moment of retirement. They are the culmination of a whole life which has 'sculpted their present problems and concerns': a life itself built around many different 'life-threads' - education, work, marriage, children, hobbies and so on - so that it is best understood, both in psychological and social terms, 'as a complex of strands running for different lengths of time throughout a life biography and moulding its individuality' (Johnson, 1976; Rosenmayr, 1981). Thus only a life history approach can unravel these threads to reach a meaningful interpretation of their resulting complex of needs and interests.

The third reason follows from the complexity which this implies in old people's life patterns. Both Johnson and the Rapoport's have attacked the assumption of 'an unrealistic homogeneity' among the elderly and emphasised 'the importance of viewing people in the later phase of life in a less stereotyped and more differentiated way' (Johnson, 1976; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975, p.312). Indeed there is good reason for believing that there is a greater variety of life patterns among the elderly than among earlier age groups, just because their day to day lives are no longer structured by education or work. 'The elderly are distinctive not because they can choose, within broad constraints, but because they must choose; responsibility for structuring their lives is uniquely their own'. Taylor and Ford (1981) remark on the 'seemingly endless' diversity of life patterns they have found through interviewing old people in Aberdeen - they may focus on their wider family, or their spouse, or a continuing job, or a social cause or a hobby, or their own (ill-) health; and 'some lead such active lives that we found it difficult to arrange a time for interview while others are so isolated and lonely that our interviewers felt guilty about terminating the interview and leaving them to themselves'. Taylor and Ford argue for an approach which sees later life as a continuing process: 'a constant struggle to maintain cherished life-styles against the threatening impact of both external events and internal changes', in which different styles of life will prove to have different kinds of resilience. The 'powerful analytic possibilities' which they see in this approach clearly imply once again the central importance of the life history method for research on ageing.

Nevertheless, there has been little response to these calls from both social historians and sociologists. It still remains true, as nine years ago, that 'we need systematic life histories of different kinds of old people in which we explore their experience of becoming old, how they perceive the process and the people who relate to them... what they feel and do... What we need now are studies of old people rather than studies on old age and its problems' (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975, p.320). A whole new dimension to the study of ageing, historical and contemporary, empirical and theoretical, opens up as soon as we are prepared to focus on old people in their own right.

Old people are able to give us three levels of information about ageing, each level from a different perspective and applied to a different generation.

The first is their memories of their grandparents up to the 1920s. Except for the minority who were brought up in a household with a grandparent, these memories are not usually very detailed. Nevertheless it is normally possible to obtain information on grandparents' occupation, housing, and the degree of contact they had with the informant's household. When there is aid in kind, such as food supplied, this will probably be remembered. Some informants are also able to give a vivid character sketch of grandparents and their style of life.

Some material of this kind has already been collected by oral history projects, such as, for example, the work of Elizabeth Roberts on Lancashire⁽²⁾, and our own 'Family Life and Work Experience before 1918' SSRC project. (Thompson, 1975a) The archive of our project contains 444 transcribed interviews with a quota sample of men and women born before 1906, designed to be representative in terms of occupational class and region of Great Britain as a whole. However, we made no systematic attempt to collect information on ageing as such, so that the information is haphazard on such matters, except where a grandparent lived in the informant's household. While it would be worth investigating data already collected, in my view much better information could be obtained through fresh interviews specifically focussing on ageing.

The second level of information is the memory old people have of their own parents in old age in the period 1930-50. This will normally be much fuller, and also over a longer period, for informants will be able to trace the changes in their parents occupations, housing and way of life through middle age into retirement and after. In many cases they will have had an intimate knowledge of their financial and social needs and the sources of assistance on which they were able to draw in their later years.

I am aware of no research by either social historians or sociologists which draws on informants' memories of the ageing of their own parents. However, one very vivid indication of the possibilities (although the method proposed here is quite different) is provided by Lewis's account of the last years and death of an aunt in a poor urban Mexican family (Lewis, 1970).

The third level is through the testimony of old people about their own later years for the contemporary period - for which they are of course themselves the direct informants. It is therefore possible to learn from them not only the changes in patterns of day-to-day living and style of life, community and family relationships, housing, occupation, economic situation, and social and health needs brought by ageing, but also the meaning of those changes in terms of personal experience.

In this case there are clear enough indications of the possibilities in the detailed use of interview extracts in some of the classic social policy accounts of poverty and old age (e.g. Townsend, 1957). The most convincing demonstration of the value of the life history approach comes, however, in the work of the French social geographer, Françoise Cribier on the process of retirement. One of the most striking findings of her work is the need for a continuing structuring of daily life after retirement, which is very closely related to earlier experience (cf. Castells and Guillemard). It is symbolised by the way that many old people continue to set their alarm clock daily. But it can also help to explain some more fundamental consequences of retirement. For example, she argues that the 'need' of a Parisian man to have somewhere to go out to work, even if only a garden shed (and conversely the wife's need to have him out of her space) is the reason why such a high proportion of the city's flat-dwellers migrate to other parts of the country on retirement. (Cribier, 1968, etc.)

Our proposal is to carry out an investigation of ageing in Britain which collects all three levels of information through life history interviews with the same informants.

Since for each period the information would come from a different generational perspective, the argument for this procedure is not that it would enable direct comparisons between periods, but that for each period in its own right there would be significant insights to be gained through life history interviews; and that it would therefore be more practical and economic to collect the data through the same interviews. It would also allow informants to make their own direct comparisons between their experience of ageing, and that of earlier generations in their own family.

In principle, it would be possible to cover a very wide range of topics in these life history interviews; and it is certainly very important that they should be conducted in a flexible, semi-structured way which allows space for the informants' own priorities. The exact form would need to be developed through pilot interviews at the start of the project. Some of the potential scope is indicated, however, in the set of model questions developed from interviewing old people about their childhood and earlier married life (but not about their later life) for our own project. This is printed, together with a full methodological discussion of retrospective interviewing, in my The Voice of the Past (Thompson, 1978, pp.165-185, 243-252).

There would be five main areas of focus in the interviews:

(i) Work and retirement

How has the pattern in shifts of occupation with age changed? To what extent does some paid work continue after 'retirement', and how far is the termination of paid work more abrupt today than in the past? How far has entitlement to pensions and other welfare benefits reduced the significance - and fear - of giving up paid work?

How do people feel about these transitions?

In this area our starting point will be two propositions. The first is that the degree to which retirement is experienced as chosen, rather than imposed, will be critical. We would anticipate important differences between those who were forced to retire because of failing health (as very commonly in the past) or compulsory redundancy (as increasingly today), those who went into a career with a known retiring age, and those who were able to make their own independent choice, often retiring by stages, or even taking up new less demanding occupations.

The second is that there will be a difference between the sexes. Is it true that the impact of retirement from paid work is 'far less drastic' on women, as Townsend suggested (1957, pp.137-153)?

(ii) Married Life

What changes have there been in the impact of ageing and retirement on day-to-day routine and relationships between couples? Are the present generation of retired men more willing to accept domestication and role reversals?

Here we shall start from the proposition that changes have been most important for middle class couples, whose parents would have employed more domestic help. We shall, however, expect to see some shifts of attitudes among working class men, which may be related both to changes in the nature of their own work, and probably more important, to the fact that their own wives were more likely to be working once their children had left home.

The difference of experience between the sexes will of course be intrinsic here. Crawford found that 35% of wives but only 15% of husbands looked forward to seeing more of their spouses on retirement (1971): how far were these hopes or fears fulfilled?

(iii) The Wider Family

What changes have there been in relationships between generations, in terms of social contact and mutual assistance? In the past, was life easier after children had grown up, or did economic insecurity make it just as difficult? How far has the introduction of pensions and welfare benefits changed relationships between the elderly and their children? What has been the impact of the telephone and the car on their social contact? With more fit old people and more working mothers, do grandparents take a more active part in rearing their grandchildren? Finally, what changes have there been in the way that the old hand on their material possessions to their successors?

Once again, we shall start from the proposition that there will be key differences both between the sexes and between socio-economic groups. We should expect, for example, old women to be able to offer more practical assistance, and old men to need more of it, in all social classes. Economic support both for and

from the elderly will clearly vary according to economic means. This however in itself raises an important analytical issue, since old people cannot be assigned to socio-economic groups by occupation. The problem is an interesting parallel to the difficulties which sociologists have faced in defining the social class of women, and we would hope to use the research to explore it further, both in objective and subjective terms. Our initial expectation on this point is that house-ownership, inherited capital, pensions, and continuing subsidiary earning capacity will be no less critical than socio-economic classification by occupation before retirement.

(iv) Leisure

How far have the leisure patterns, hobbies and sports of the old changed?

Again, we shall assume differences between socio-economic groups and between the sexes. Travel requires more resources than watching television. And we would anticipate that for many women a husband's retirement means for the first time that 'leisure' can become a conscious part of life. We would also expect the form of leisure to vary according to two other factors. The first would be the earlier education and occupational experience of the old person: the interests and skills they brought to later life. The second would be the facilities offered by the area: the rural or urban environment, the range of forms of entertainment, voluntary associations, and so on.

(v) Community

How far have neighbouring relationships, and the role of old people in the wider community changed? Is there less visiting and mutual help between neighbours? Are the elderly more, or less, involved in voluntary associations, politics or social causes? How has the decline of the churches, and the rise of specialised welfare or commercial facilities (such as day centres, or bingo halls) affected their day-to-day life patterns?

Here very similar factors will apply to those discussed under leisure. The character of the area, its facilities, and its welfare provision would be still more critical. In addition, its social traditions would be a key factor: a neighbourhood with a relatively settled population and well-established social networks would provide a very different context for later life than one with a rapid turnover. We would also anticipate differences between men and women, both in their participation in formally organised activities, and also in informal friendship and (most notably for the widowed) sexual relationships (Sontag, 1978).

Our proposal is for a sample of 160 to 200 interviews with men and women aged 65-75. This number allows for all the interviewing to be carried out by the research officer, with the greater consistency and quality which that implies, and also the advantages in the analysis of the material. In addition, beyond this

number the sheer volume of material produced by life history interviews presents serious difficulties in the final stages of a project. On the other hand, it is sufficient to introduce a significant degree of variation and representativity.

The sample would need to ensure representation of a cross-section of social classes, a balance between men and women, and a reasonable representation of single as well as married people of both sexes. Given that true national representativeness cannot be achieved with such a small sample (and that a true random scatter would in any case present insuperable practical problems), we propose to proceed as follows.

Firstly, six to eight electoral districts will be chosen to give a cross-section of socio-economic classes in the community as a whole, according to a criterion (such as car ownership, or Labour voting) which applies to all adults rather than just the occupied. In making the final choices, other considerations will be taken into account: the need to include both rural, suburban and inner urban areas, different regions, areas of immigration, and areas with traditionally high levels of married women's work; and availability of other local data useful for the research. Thus the choice of district will be made, within limits to ensure the cross-section of social classes, with the aim of variation rather than representativity.

Within each district, however, the selection of individuals will be on a representative basis, through screening a random list from the electoral registers. The list will be weighted with the aim of achieving an approximately equal number of men and women, and, if further calculation suggests that this will also be desirable, a reasonable proportion of single as well as married men. The use of the electoral register will exclude some but not all non-British-born elderly people and it is proposed to interview those who are selected for the sample, on the grounds that information on their own lives will be of intrinsic interest although in most cases their evidence on earlier generations will not be directly relevant to the aims of the project. We have already been in preliminary discussion of the overall design of an appropriate sample with Barry Hedges of S.C.P.R. (City University) and have planned further consultation on the detailed strategy with him.

The proposed timescale of the project would be as follows.

April-July 1984: appointment and training by us (if not already trained) of Research Officer; design of interview schedule and testing through pilot interviews. These would be carried out in the Clacton - Frinton districts, which are seaside retirement towns within easy access of the University of Essex. Clacton in particular has the advantage from our point of view of having been the subject of an earlier (largely statistical) study of seaside retirement (Karn).

ESRC

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
11 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W1P 8JS
TELEPHONE 01-275 3211

I 01 23 0015

The Finance Officer
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester
C04 3SQ

6 March 1985

Dear Sir,

FAMILIES AND SOCIAL NOBILITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

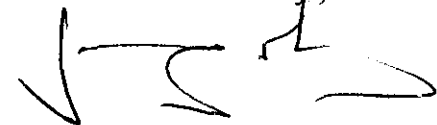
I am directed by the Economic and Social Research Council to state that they are prepared to make an award of not more than £64,820 over the period given in the attached details, towards the cost of the above investigation under the direction of Dr Thompson and Professor Newby.

Payment of the award will be made by the Economic and Social Research Council, in accordance with the instalment payment procedure and subject to the terms and conditions set out in the booklet "ESRC Research Funding, Edition 1", copies of which have already been deposited with your office. The Booklet will be enclosed with the copy of this letter which will be sent to the Investigator.

The investigator should refer any research problems that arise in the course of the award to the Secretary of the International Activities Committee, who is Dr David Statt. In particular, the Council should be informed immediately of any problems with collaboration as this is central to this programme of research. All financial queries should be addressed to Mrs Vera Bishton

If the award is acceptable on these terms and conditions I would be grateful if you would give your acceptance within three weeks. Please complete and return the attached FIN100 form as soon as work on the project starts.

Yours faithfully,



JEREMY MOORE
Finance Branch

Copy to:-

1. Dr P Thompson
2. Professor H Newby
Dept of Sociology
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester C04 3SQ



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
Details of Research Award

Our Ref: I 01 23 0015

INSTITUTION: University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

TITLE: FAMILIES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY

DEPARTMENT: Sociology

INVESTIGATOR: Dr Thompson and Professor Newby

PERIOD: 1 July 1985 to 30 June 1988

PROGRESS REPORTS: Due 30 June 1986 and 30 June 1987

FINAL REPORT: Due 30 September 1988

HEADINGS

	£
1. <u>Staff Costs</u>	
Research Officer Scale 1A pts 4 and 5	58250
Transcriber range II pt 4 and 5 (2 years)	
Transcriber Range II pt 4 and 5 (1 1/2 years)	
Interviewers (SCPR)	
2. <u>Travel and Subsistence inside UK</u>	1100
Travel for Research Interviews (150 visits)	
3. <u>Travel and Subsistence outside UK</u>	1200
Travel for research team (Newby, Thompson and Research fellow) to Paris - 3 visits	
4. <u>Equipment</u>	750
UHER Tape recorder	£500
Cassette tape recorder	£250
5. <u>Other Costs</u>	3250
Tapes (reel to reel), Postage, Telephone	

TOTAL £64820

FINANCIAL PLANNING SHEET

Financial Year
(Apr - Mar)

1985 / 86

1986 / 87

11 RESEARCH STAFF TO BE EMPLOYED	Date of Scale & Point	Incremental Date	% Time on Project	Expected duration of Assignments	1ST YEAR				2ND YEAR			
					Salary	Supp	NI	Total	Salary	Supp	NI	Total
Research Officer	Apr84 1A/4	Oct 86	100	3 yr	6,690	1227	479	8,396	9,155	679	654	11,488
					TOTAL £			8,396	TOTAL £			11,488
12 OTHER STAFF TO BE EMPLOYED												
Transcriber (1st, 2yr)	Jul84 II/4	Aug 86	100	2 yr	3,769	452	294	4,515	5,154	618	400	6,172
Transcriber (2nd, 1½yr)	Jul84 II/4	Aug 86	100	18mths	2,512	302	196	3,010	3,849	462	299	4,610
					TOTAL £			7,525	TOTAL £			10,782
13 SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS												
CONSULTANCIES & HONORARIA Interview fees SCPR												
					TOTAL £			750	TOTAL £			1,000
ESTIMATED INCIDENCE OF EXPENDITURE STAFF COSTS £					APR - JUL	AUG - NOV	DEC - MAR		APR - MAR			
					1,435	£ 6,741	£ 8,495		£ 23,270			
14 TRAVEL & SUBSISTENCE												
United Kingdom												
					UK TOTAL £			340	UK TOTAL £			650
Non United Kingdom												
					NON UK TOTAL £			400	NON UK TOTAL £			0
15 EQUIPMENT												
Equipment and Tapes												
					TOTAL £			2,250	TOTAL £			750
16 OTHER COSTS												
Postage and Telephone												
					TOTAL £			190	TOTAL £			250
ESTIMATED INCIDENCE OF EXPENDITURE NON STAFF £					APR - JUL	AUG - NOV	DEC - MAR		APR - MAR			
					350	£ 1,325	£ 1,505		£ 1,650			

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

19 87/88

19 88/89

19 /

3RD YEAR			
Salary	Supp	NI	Total
9,625	1766	685	12,076
TOTAL E			12,076
TOTAL E			3,157
TOTAL E			250

APR - MAR
£ 15,483

4TH YEAR			
Salary	Supp	NI	Total
2,465	452	175	3,092
TOTAL E			3,092
TOTAL E			400
TOTAL E			60

APR - MAR
£ 3,092

5TH YEAR			
Salary	Supp	NI	Total
TOTAL E			58,516
TOTAL E			21,464
TOTAL E			2,000
TOTAL E			1,100
TOTAL E			1,200
TOTAL E			3,000
TOTAL E			1,000
TOTAL E			6,300

APR - MAR
£

UK TOTAL E		110
NON UK TOTAL E		400
TOTAL E		500

APR - MAR
£ 1,010

UK TOTAL E		400
NON UK TOTAL E		60
TOTAL E		460

APR - MAR
£ 460

UK TOTAL E		1,100
NON UK TOTAL E		1,200
TOTAL E		3,000
TOTAL E		1,000
TOTAL E		6,300

APR - MAR
£

TOTAL RESEARCH STAFF
£ 35,052

TOTAL OTHER STAFF
£ 21,464

TOTAL SENIOR VISITING FELLOWS
£ 2,000

TOTAL ALL STAFF £ 58,516

TOTAL TRAVEL & SUBSISTENCE UK
£ 1,100

NON UK
£ 1,200

TOTAL EQUIPMENT
£ 3,000

TOTAL OTHER COSTS
£ 1,000

TOTAL NON-STAFF £ 6,300

OVERALL TOTAL
£ 64,516

A NOTE ON SAMPLE DESIGN (FOR DISCUSSION)1. Summary of sample design

It is hoped to achieve 2000 interviews with a random sample of adults aged 16-59/64 who are not currently in full-time education ~~or permanently sick~~ ~~or disabled~~.

The area from which the sample will be drawn is Great Britain south of the Caledonian Canal. A three-stage design will be employed in sample selection:

- Parliamentary constituencies
- Polling districts
- Individual

The Electoral registers will be used as the sampling frame.

2. Starting sample size

Initially it was hoped to achieve 3000 interviews and our original proposal was based on selecting a sample of 100 constituencies, taking two polling districts in each and then sampling 27 households for each polling district.

The subsequent reduction in target sample size from 3000 to 2000 necessitates a reduction in number of constituencies in order to maintain a similar degree of clustering. We suggest that ~~25~~¹⁰⁰ constituencies are selected (yielding ~~150~~²⁰⁰ polling districts) with 20 households selected per polling district. This gives us a starting sample of ~~3000~~ households. The average number of successful interviews per polling district would be about 10.

We expect to find around 3.5% of these households to be 'deadwood' - that is the address is vacant, demolished and so forth. Of the remaining 3812, we estimate (on the basis of the 1981 Census) that about 25% will be ineligible for the purposes of this study (all household members will be of pensionable age or in full-time education). This leaves an effective starting sample of 2859 households (requiring a 70% response to achieve 2000 interviews).

3. Stratification of Primary Sampling Units

Prior to selection, in order to maximise the efficiency of the sample it is highly desirable to stratify parliamentary constituencies.

Given the nature of this study, we suggest that the three following variables are used:

- Standard Region
- Density (persons per hectare)
- % Labour vote

/Cont'd...

An additional economic Proxy variable could well prove to be a useful further discriminator. Both car ownership and owner-occupation are possible candidates for this role (the latter generally being held to be the best discriminator). We suggest that before selection we run two listings of all constituencies. The ordering of one list would be by car ownership proportion within two labour vote percentage groups, within three density bands, within standard region. And the other by owner-occupation within two labour vote percentage groups, within three density bands, within standard region.

4. Sample shape

Attached to this note is an indication of the likely shape of the final sample. This is based on a brief analysis of 1981 Census data for Great Britain. The figures given assume a final response of 2000 interviews.

ESTIMATED SHAPE OF ACHIEVED SAMPLE

<u>Standard Region</u>	<u>N = 2000</u>	<u>%</u>
North	120	6
Yorkshire & Humberside	180	9
East Midlands	140	7
East Anglia	60	3
South East	620	31
South West	160	8
West Midlands	180	9
North West	240	12
Wales	100	5
Scotland	180	9

Age

16-24	460	23
25-34	480	24
35-44	400	20
45 - Pensionable age	660	33

Sex of men aged 16-64, women aged 16-59

Men	1040	52
Women	960	48

Employment Status of men aged 16-64, women aged 16-59

(those in f/t education are excluded from sample)

a) Summary ∅

In employment	1440	72
Unemployed	160	8
Not economically active	400	20

b) Men ∅

In employment	880	44
Unemployed	120	6
Not economically active	40	2

/Cont'd...

c) Women ∅

In employment	500	28
Unemployed	40	2
Not economically active	360	18

Socio-economic group of economically active

N = 1600

%

Professional/managerial (1-4, 13)	240	15
Junior white-collar (5,6)	480	30
Skilled manual (8, 9, 12, 14)	400	25
Semi-skilled or personal service (7, 10, 15)	304	19
Unskilled or army (11, 16)	112	7
Unclassifiable (17)	64	4

Household variables

N = 2000

%

Owner occupiers	1160	58
Council or New Town renters	600	30
With children aged:		
0 - 4	440	22
5 -15	1180	59
1 adult only	200	10
1 adult plus at least 1 child under 16	60	3

∅ These figures are based on 1981 Census figures. The DE Gazette estimates for March 1983 suggest that the real figures are likely to be closer to 165 unemployed men and 52 unemployed women (i.e. 217 in all or 11% of the sample).

ORAL HISTORY

MEETING AT ESSEX UNIVERSITY,

Dept. of Sociology, Wednesday
4th and Thursday 5th September 1985.

Present:

- Catherine Itzin - PLD on Ageing Process - gender and age divisions
Degree in feminist social psychology (Open University)
publications: in D. Bromley (ed), Geritology, Images
of women. Also for University of Manchester - images
of older women.
([REDACTED])
- Michele Abendstern - PLD gender divisions in working class leisure in
Rochdale. Interested in women's network, shop floor
culture and "women's changing leisure through the
life-cycle."
([REDACTED])
- Daniel Bertaux - Researcher/Sociologist. from 1967. Main field social
mobility, life stories --- anthropological study.
Interested in Social mobility on the family rather
than individual. Important to study whole families.
publications: in English - Bertaux (ed) Biography
and Society: the Life History Approach in the
Social Sciences, 1981. etc.
([REDACTED])
- Linda Grant - PLD at Warwick.
Undertaking research into car workers in Tur in and
Coventry.
([REDACTED])
- Paul Thompson - 1964 Univ ESSEX (Sociology Dept).
publications include The Edwardians an oral history
from a National Study of 444 interviews plus
'Fishing Families of East Anglia' study and 'Upper
class Families', The Edwardians used about $\frac{1}{4}$ of
the 444.
Interested in analysis of large tape collections and
is attempting two possibilities:
1) more detailed local studies (eg. 150 Scottish inte-
views)
2) car workers project. The British end was funded
by the Levenhulme Trust.

ORAL HISTORY

(Dept of Sociology, University of ESSEX,
Colchester CO4 3SQ [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]).

Mary Laisby -

PLD children and step - parents

([REDACTED])

Margaret Shaw -

Research and Planning Unit
Home Office,
Queen Anne's Gate,
London SW1H 9AT 01 - 213 - 7398)

Graham Smith -

Dundee Oral History Project.

Current Problems in Oral History

Analysis

There is a need for a systematic analysis of life histories.
Some attempt to mix the qualitative with the quantitative using the
Essex computer.

Transcribing

Transcribing remains a slow process involving supervision.

The Ageing and Social Mobility Projects

- A) These projects are now linked.
- B) Experience from the Essex archives should be fed into the new projects.
- C) The basis for the new projects is from the Social and Community Planning Research (SCP3) "People, Jobs, and Recession" Survey. A subsample of this survey will be taken for the projects. People aged 35 to 55 years old will be the point of entry with generations on each side considered.

100 families will be interviewed and another 50 will be chosen in a more strategic way. This 50 will stress smaller Social groups.

The areas which informants are drawn from will be from a list of 35 selected constituencies.

G.B. Social Groupings.

Prof/Managerial	-	15%	Unemployed	8%
Jnr Whitecollar	-	30%	Non-eco. Active	20%
Skilled Manual	-	25%	Unclassifiable	4%
Semi - Skilled	-	19%		
Unskilled/Army	-	7%		

81% have children

58% home occupiers.

The Families

35 - 55 year olds are the entry point; but are not necessarily the middle operation.

Youngest children to be interviewed are 16 year olds.

Always try to interview an older person.

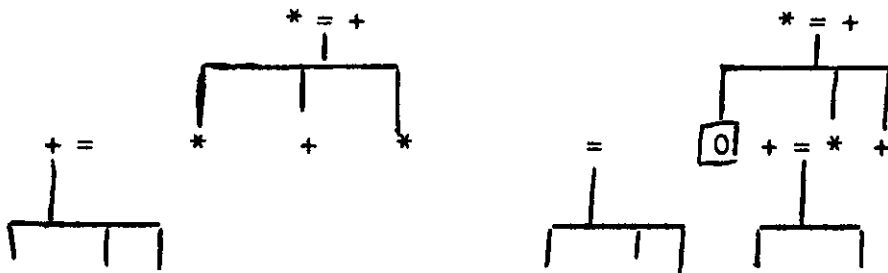
If the entry point informant is male the next interview in that family should be with a female and vice versa.

- Youngest people - 1 interview
- Middle generation - 2 interviews
- Oldest people - 2 interviews.

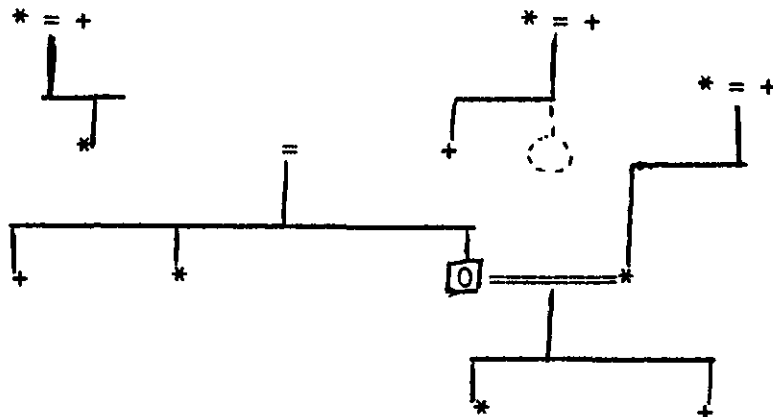
Interview Schedule

Family Tree: Quebec Model 1960's

- * Man
- + Woman
- O Starting point



1985 Model



Start with family tree with main occupation and level of education
 For parents/siblings more detail for occupation.

ORAL HISTORY

Basic information: Birthorder of siblings and parents
When informants left home and where they went
Where born and when
Main occupation
Level of education

Notes on Interview Schedules

- 1) Similar approach to model questions in Voice of the Past
- 2) Community needs to be more clearly focused.
- 3) Work needs to be more selective.
- 4) Emotional/Power Structures of the family need to be studied.
- 5) People's/Family expectations have to be investigated.
- 6) 3 levels of understanding: a) What happened (factual)
b) How do you feel about what happened (emotional)
c) What do you think about what happened (rational).

Interview Schedule for Middle Informants Up to Marriage

Notes

Parents property.
Parents hope for children/Mother and Father may have different expectations.

Social mechanism outside of family eg. Property Law. How did this differ from England France and Scotland.

Isolate differences along class lines.

SECTION 1 Basic Information

- 1) Grandparents - occupation (d of b)
- 3) Mother & Father - d of b/occupation/education
- 4) Brothers & Sisters d of b/occupation/education
- 5) How many years did you live in the house where you were born ?
Where did you live then? (continue for later moves up to marriage).
Types of housing.

NB. Women's paid work after "grey" area.

SECTION 2 Domestic Routine

- 1) Description of house
Who lived in house
- 2) Furniture
- 3) Clothes (not shoes)
- 4) Who did what in the house.
- 5) Who else helped around house ? (prompt: cleaning/cooking, decorating, washing up)
- 6) Parental roles. Need to be less specific about roles in the household.

NB. Question: "Did your father help your mother with any jobs in the house?"
needs changed.

Ask about specific tasks.

ORAL HISTORY

SECTION 3 Meals

Some information on meals in the house eg. speaking at the table

- 1) How food was brought home (shopping)?
 - 2) Jam making/Allotments - home produce - to livestock
 - 3) Who served food
 - 4) Did the family eat together
 - 5) Behaviour at meal times - conversation, elbows on table.
- Concentrate on main meal of the day - DROP MENUS.

SECTION 4 General Relationships with Parents: Influence and Discipline.

- (a)
 - 1) Could you share your worries with your mother? (Repeat for father)
 - 2) Could you chat with your parents? (Closeness/Share with).
 - 3) As a child was there any older person you felt more comfortable with than your parents? (Grandparents, other relatives)
 - 4) Introduce Questions About Other Significant People? (Substitute parents).
 - 5) Punishment - in childhood, Disapproval. Replace 'Swearing' with 'Lying'; 'spoiling clothes' .
 - 6) Ideas and how to behave from both parents or did one do more than the other.
- (b)
 - 1) What kind of people do you think your parents hoped you would grow up to be?
 - 2) Aspirations. Parental hopes for informant and siblings.
What did your parents hope you'd become?

SECTION 5 - Family Activities.

- 1) Open section with a more general question.
- 2) Did your parents play any games with you ?
- 3) Weddings (Catherine)
- 4) Funerals
- 5) Birthdays
- 6) Books in the house

Include in this section questions on T.V., Radio, Motor cars, Piano and Dancing (Music) . Up-date section. Also see section 9 (Cars - Who could drive/who maintained car?).

SECTION 6 - Religion

Shorten section - drop "grace said at meals" and "family prayers"
Keep - Were parents active church goers?
Sunday School?
Include - Temperance and the pledge.

ORAL HISTORY

SECTION 7 - Politics

- 1) When you were at home do remember your parents discussing politics?
- 2) Father's political views.
- 3) Who he voted fr.
- 4) Repeat for mother (2 + 3).
- 5) Individual questions on political clubs (Socio-political)

SECTION 8 - Parents' other Interests

No change. Individual Radio? Cinema?.

SECTION 9 - Childhood Leisure

Update section.

SECTION 10 - Community and Social Class

Rework this section. Seperate Section

- Notes:
- 1) Movement from one class to another
 - 2) Description of neighbourhood
 - 3) Support networks eg. parental unemployment and neighbourhood assistance.
 - 4) Include: If your mother was out when you came home from school where would you go? perhaps in section 2?

SECTION 11 - School

Focus more clearly on parents input - Parents taking an interest in schools
Carver advise.

Parent/Teacher Relationships.

SECTION 12 - Work

Shorten section, but include:

- 1) How do you feel about your job?
- 2) What did you do with wages?
- 3) Would you have liked a different job?

SECTION 13 - Home life after starting full time work/leaving School
Review.

ORAL HISTORY

BERTAUX QUESTIONS/Notes.

- a) Accumulation of family property and passing property on. Directly and indirectly eg. paying for education.
- b) Relationships between School, education and parents.
- c) Choice of school, advise about further education.
Pressures on family income, and eldest children.
- d) Expectations of parents and children - particularly daughters.
- e) Work - Would you have chosen to do another job.
- f) In France youth is defined as the time between leaving school and getting married.

Teenage/Youth section needs to be introduced.

- g) Marriage is often by chance rather than choice.
What were the family views of possible spouse.
- h) Obstacles to Aspirations. - 3 levels:

What was done?

How it was evaluated?

What did you hope for?.

19 June 1985

Dear Howard,

I've had a day thinking about the sample and how to balance out representativity and practicality.

As a result of a working day with Daniel ~~xxxx~~ during his last visit to Europe, we'd like to work with a list of 200 households. This would enable us to take 100 as the 'basic sample' and then double up on some key categories (e.g. the wealthiest, the poorest, etc).

Also, we don't want primary informants who are under 30 or over 55, since we are wanting to start with the 'middle generation' as the entry point to our families.

As I understand it, you have 20 interviews per constituency. Of these approximately 10 would be of the right age, and another 1 or 2 would have refused a second interview. Another 1 would be a single adult with no children, and if he/she had never had children ought probably to be dropped (we decided it would be worth interviewing married couples without children, but childless single people would have even less to tell us). So I think we should get about 7 useful names per constituency. To allow a margin for further pessimism, I have assumed that we need the names of all informants aged 30-55 who have agreed to reinterview, in 35 constituencies.

I then plotted all 100 constituencies on a map and had a pragmatic think, looking at how the regions were represented. My first conclusion was that since, if we want to 'represent' anything we need 10 to 12 families at the very minimum, we have to look at your regions in groups- otherwise we'll end up with scatters of 4 families in East Anglia etc etc. I then proceeded as follows:

London of 12 keep 4 (cut south and south-east)
South-West, South and East Anglia of 31 keep 9

I favour concentrating on the home counties- Beds, Herts, Surrey, Sussex and Kent. Looking at the list of towns, there is nothing to lose in choosing, e.g. Brighton Pavilion rather than Torbay or Cheltenham. But

you may think we should drop one of the low density 'commuter countryside' seats in favour of the deeper rurality of Norfolk or Dorset.

Wales and Midlands of 21 keep 6 (2 South Welsh, one rural Heref, 3 Midland)

Yorkshire and Lancashire of 21 keep 7 (drop all Yorks and half Lancs)

Tyneside and Scotland of 15 keep 9 ('positive discrimination' here in favour of Scotland.

The list of 35 seats produces 18 Conservative, 17 Labour/other
18 low 7 mid and 10 high density.

Can you let me have your reactions?

[Faint, mostly illegible typed text follows, appearing to be a draft or a very light scan of a letter.]

Graham
13 Oct 85

On the matter of sampling I'm a bit concerned with the present strategy which aims to increase the numbers of working class people interviewed.

(1) Basing families social class on the male wage-earner is dubious not only in itself, but also because of the way the original sample is classified. The individual people in the sample are given a social class number which is based on their own present job. So if we want to find more lower class families we cannot simply use the information provided in the print-outs. For example I interviewed a class 2 female (contacted prior to the Paris meeting) who is married to an unskilled labourer.

(2) If we then look at this family's life over time we find that the majority of her adult life was spent working as a housewife (class -1), while he was a private in the army.

(3) On a more practical level we will have to make sure that a large proportion of the women in our sample are not economically active, i.e. class -1, however the problem is that we do not know in advance details about their husbands or childrens class positions.

Graham

However this may not greatly matter since I do not believe that the same classification used in the original research can be used in the analysis of the present work. If we take the family unit as the base, rather than the individual, then the original research classification of individuals cannot be directly applied to families.

The great danger here is that we fall into the trap of interviewing too many working women .

(4) On refusals to be interviewed I have recently had there are two from class 7, one class 6, and one class 3. This is before our policy of trying to get the higher numbers. All this proves is that we have to try harder with a certain class of individual. However it may be that in our total sample of 35 to 55 years the higher numbers are/were less likely to have children. Doesn't sound right, but perhaps you know what the figures in reality and in the sample are? If you do I'd be interested.

Anyway best sign off,

AM to Best,
Gard

EAST ANGLIAN HISTORY WORKSHOP

East Anglian History Workshop Journal

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Thought I'd use up
this paper!

Peckham, 29/10/85.

Dear Paul,

enclosed is a list of addresses of people whom I intend to interview. I've extracted one or three people from all the Lancashire and Cheshire constituencies (except Oldham East). I've done the same for Surrey - as I thought I might as well make a start.

Doing the same for Barnet and Enfield - which are the only two London constituencies with no missing people - left me with three names of which I've listed two, leaving the third for Cathy.

I found some of the addresses abit confusing. I've written down exactly what was on the face sheets. I hope you can work them out.

There are actually quite a few constituencies in London and the Home Counties which have one or more missing names (I've enclosed a list of these too). Maybe I ought to go to Colchester next week and, go through the face sheets once again and get in touch with SCPR to see if we can get the names from them.

Apart from these problems - what do you think of the schedule? Look forward to hearing your comments and to seeing you soon. Hope all goes well in Italy.

Best wishes,

Michele

from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

20 October 1987

Dear David,

We have been looking at how the interviews so far collected for our Families and Social Mobility study compare with your sample, and I realise that I do not have two vital pieces of information.

Firstly, my description of your sample design is in terms of the occupied informants only and the classification is presumably from the Reg-Gen: prof/man (1-4,13), Junior white c (5,6), Skilled manual (8,9,12,14) semi-skilled or personal service (7,10,15), unskilled or army (11,16) and unclassifiable. How do these categories relate to the classes 1-7 which you finally used?

Secondly, what overall distributions of your classes 1-7 and -1 did you have in your completed sample? And do you have a break-down of the husband's occupations for -1?

It would be a very great help if you could give me some more information on these points. We have completed nearly 100 families and I need to work out the best strategy for targeting the remaining 20. It looks from my figures as if we have badly overshot on your classes 1 and 2 and underrepresented -1, but there is still time to correct this.

Thanks & best wishes

Paul

Occupational category	stag class	SEC	stagfl %	1981 census
<u>NM</u>				
Professional (higher)	1	3	1.0	4.7
Employers and managers (higher)	1	1	5.6	
Professional (lower)	2	4	2.6	26.2
Employers and managers (lower)	2	2	8.5	
Intermediate non-manual	2	15	14.8	10.3
Self-employed and farmers	4	12-14	5.3	
Junior non-manual	3	6	17.6	
<u>M</u>				
Foremen; armed forces	5	8,16	6.9	26.5
Skilled; personal service	6	7,9,9	20.4 28.4	28.4
Semi-skilled	7	10	11.1	12.3
Unskilled and farmworkers	7	11,15	5.5	6.2
Unclassified				8.3

Target of 100 of 120
 (-1 classified by spouse)

23 Nov 87

base or spouse	or spouse print	occupied	done	or	need
✓ 10+5	1	3 9 ✓	15	(+5) 15 ✓	
✓ 18+10	2+4	4 25 ✓	32	(+5) 37 ✓	is excess of 1
1 17	3	- 19	16	19	need 3
✓ 25	5+6	8 20	25	28	3
3 22+5	7 (or 6, 7)	10 24 ✓	24	(+5) 29	3
		25 97			
		123			

Classes 3, 5, 6, 7

need *

% occupied

in overall survey was

Class	%	Description	Still need	have
1	9.4	higher professional & admin; large managers & proprietors	13	
2	17.9	Lower prof & admin; small managers & proprietors; higher technicians & supervisors	22	
3	19.5	routine non-manual personal service workers	14	5
4	8.7	small proprietors (some as employees) farmers & small holders	5	3
5	8.1	lower technicians & supervisors	4	4
6	12.5	skilled manual	12	
7	23.9	semi & unskilled manual & agricultural workers	17	7

Unoccupied

25.7

11 14

of whom spouses %	target	done	to do
1 12.8	19 5	2	3
2 7.6	10 2		3
3 2.4	3 1	1	
4 11.0	15 4	3	1
5 9.5	13 3		3
6 15.0	20 5	3	2
7 15.0	20 5	3	2
WTACC 26.0	25	10	

3 2

from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

27 October 1987

Dear David,

Many thanks indeed for the data on occupations, which I found extremely helpful. I can now see clearly how far we have ourselves deviated from the overall pattern in your survey (although one would expect some significant variation, as we took a ~~different~~ particular age group from among your informants).

The question which still bothers me is the apparent unrepresentativeness of your respondents when compared with (as I read them) the findings of the 1981 census on occupations. I have tried very roughly to match up the two sets of figures as enclosed. I know I have made some small mistakes in allocating various bits and pieces, and the figures don't quite add up (I did them in my head). However they give such a strong impression that you are over-representing all the ~~non~~ non-manual occupations and somewhat under-representing all the manual occupations, that I wonder whether this is broadly true, or have I got it all wrong?? To put it very simply, I read the census as reporting 35.7% in non-manual occupations, and your survey as 55.3%. Is there a catch, or am I on the right lines?

On your last question, I don't really understand the difference between putting the stepfamilies project through the department or CARE: who gains what, how the administration would vary, and so on. Obviously I'd like to follow the most beneficial procedure. If you had a moment to chat about this on the phone, it would be helpful.

Bert Miles

Paul

FROM: [REDACTED]

3 January 1989

Dear Graham,

I have now managed to get some more information on the sample refusals, principally through my notes of a meeting in September 1986. At that time Michele and Cathy reported that they had no reply from 27 letters in London and the South East. Very few of these were followed up except four from Islington sent by Michele. Of these it appeared that one informant had died eight years ago and at another house nobody of this surname had ever lived there. In Lancashire and Cheshire Michele reported two refusals from people who were "too busy". Eleven letters were returned "not known at this address" (including one deceased). Michele followed up most of these but was unable to obtain further information. These included six Asian informants.

One other addition to my previous note on refusals: Mr Bode Knight of Budley who refused had not lived at the sample address in the last four years and looked to Marion to be aged 30 rather than 50.

Hoping you have had a splendid new year celebration and are now recovered from it. Meanwhile I will be reading your impressive notes on the sample which has just arrived.

Paul Thompson

Graham Smith
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 083 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

*MB no single parents
few divorced*

Draft Report on Sample: Refusals.

Introduction.

The starting point for our families was the middle generation informants. These informants were a sub-sample drawn from the much larger sample used in the national project (funded by the E.S.R.C.) on 'Economic Stagflation and Social Change' which was directed by Professor Howard Newby.

From the original larger sample we only selected those people aged between 35 and 50 years from the original sample of those aged between 16-65. We also limited our selection to married men and women with children who had agreed to be re-interviewed at the time of the original interview.

Seventy-eight of those selected in the sub-sample, out of a total of (55 in Scotland ... in England and Wales) either refused to be re-interviewed or had moved away from the address given to the initial project.

Refusals.

The tables (tables 1 to below) show by class, gender, and constituency refusals. The definition of social class is taken from the original 'Economic Stagflation and Social Change' project. -1 was used to label women who were either economically inactive or worked less than sixteen hours per week.

Class

In our sub-sample there was an imbalance in social class in Scotland. Too few informants were drawn from the working class and too many were drawn from the professional middle class. This imbalance may well be rectified in the overall British sample, or justified in terms of our qualitative approach, however the people who refused a re-interview or had moved away from their address given on the original interview, has some bearing upon the sub-sample.

Table 1; Scottish Refusals and 'Gone Away' By Class.

Class	<i>+2 England/Wales</i>					TOTALS
	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	
1.	1					1
2.						0
3.	3	1	1		1	6
4.						0
5.			1		1	2
6.	1				1	2
7.		1	2	2		5
-1.	2	2	1		4	9
TOTALS	7	4	5	2	7	25.

Draft Report on Sample: Refusals

From the above table, leaving aside class -1 (see section below), it is clear that social class 3 and 7 contained the greatest number of refusals.

Similarly in the Welsh and English sample (see table 2 below) social class 7 and social class 3 contained a higher amount of refusals, with the addition of social class 5, than other social class groups. Again it would seem that the professional middle class were more likely to agree to be re-interviewed than sections of the working class.

It is also worth noting that some within social class groupings 3 to 7 found that they had too little time to be re-interviewed. These tended to be housewives working inside and outside of the home, lorry drivers, and shift-workers.

Table 2: Welsh and English Refusals and 'Gone Away' By Class.

Class	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTALS
1.	2	0	0	0	1	3
2.	0	0	0	0	2	2
3.	2	0	1	1	4	8
4.	0	0	1	0	2	3
5.	1	1	1	1	1	5
6.	2	0	1	0	1	4
7.	4	0	2	1	1	8
-1.	5	1	2	6	5	19
TOTALS	16 *	2	8	9	17	52 *

* McGinty refusal not included - information on class not available.

Class and 'Gone Away'

The class groupings who were most likely to have moved between the time of the first and second projects were social class 3. From the Welsh and English sample it is clear that it tended to be those from higher up the social scale who were more likely to have moved (the Scottish sample is too small to draw conclusions on this matter).

The importance of this to our survey is not so much to do with sampling by social class, but rather the type of families who move around every

three or four years may well be under-represented. The geographically mobile middle class, although not missing from our sample, may well be more significant than the numbers represented in our sample.

Geographic Differences: Constituency and Area

In the Scottish sample the constituencies of Moray and Nairn, Dundee West, Pollok Glasgow, and North Lanarkshire contained the greatest number of refusals (see table 3 below).

Table 3: Scottish Refusals By Area and Gender.

Constituency	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTALS
Moray & Nairn	-	1 (1F)	1 (1F)	-	1 (1F)	3 (3F)
Aberdeen N	2 (2M)	-	-	-	1 (1F)	3 (1F, 2M)
A/deenshire W	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dundee E	-	1 (1F)	2 (2F)	1 (1M)	-	4 (3F, 1M)
Midlothian	-	-	1 (1F)	-	2 (2F)	3 (3F)
Glasgow Pollok	3 (3F)	-	-	1 (1F)	1 (1M)	5 (4F, 1M)
N Lanarks	1 (1F)	2 (2F)	-	-	-	3 (3F)
Monklands	-	-	1 (1F)	-	2 (2M)	3 (1F, 2M)
Central Ayrshire	1 (1F)	-	-	-	-	1 (1F)
TOTALS	7(5F, 2M)	4 (4F)	5 (5F)	2(1F, 1M)	7(4F, 3M)	25(19F, 6M)

(F) = Female / (M) = Male

Unlike the Welsh and English sample (see table 4 below) the 'gone aways' did not tend to occur in the urban areas.

Table 4; Welsh and English Refusals By Area.

Area	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTALS
S. Wales	2	0	3	3	3	11
Midlands	6	0	1	0	3	10
Lancashire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Northumberland	0	1	1	1	0	3
Norwich	2	0	0	0	1	3
London	2	0	1	0	6	9
Islington	0	0	0	0	2	2
South-East	4	1	0	4	2	11
Luton	1	0	2	1	0	4
TOTALS	17	2	8	9	17	53

From the above table we can see that two-thirds of the refusals in London are 'gone aways'.

The table below (table 5) compares the reasons for refusal over a number of British regions.

Table 5: Refusals By Regions

Region	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTALS
Scotland						
Wales	2	0	3	3	3	11
North England	0	1	1	1	0	3
Midlands	6	0	1	0	3	10
South-East	7	1	2	5	3	18
London	2	0	1	0	8	11
TOTALS	17	2	8	9	17	53

Class and Gender (-1 class in particular). See tables 6 and 7 below
 Overall the balance in gender was correct in our sub-sample, however it is interesting to note, amongst the Scottish sample, that the women who were not economically active that those married to men in middle class jobs and in manual working class jobs either refused or had moved away. The other refusal was from a women whose husband was not working and she says that, "I really don't think I could find time as I look after my people who aren't too well." Although the spread of refusals from -1 women was across the social scale, two points are worth making. The first is that -1 women who refused interviews tended to come from the working class, while it was those married to men in middle class jobs who had moved away. From our sample the -1 women married to middle class men is rather disproportionate, and it would be worth bearing this in mind when we come to report on single income families in Scotland.

Table 6; Scottish -1 Refusals and 'Gone Away' By Husbands' Class.

Husbands' Class of -1 Wives	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTALS
1.					1	1
2.	1				2	3
3.						0
4.						0
5.						0
6.	1	1				2
7.		1				1
-1.			1			1
TOTALS	2	2	1	0	3	8.

N.B. Missing -1 is unemployed male (3532) who had moved house.

In both the Welsh/English and in the Scottish samples female refusals outnumbered male. In Scotland there were 19 female to 6 male and in Wales and England 34 female to 19 male.

Table 6; Welsh and English Women By Refusals and 'Gone Away'

	No Grounds Given Interv.	Did not Recall Original	No Time For Interv.	Other Reasons	Gone Away	TOTAL
TOTALS	10	2	5	8	9	54

A large number of women gave 'other reasons' for refusal these overwhelmingly had to do with family: marriages, deaths, children e.t.c. A significant number said that they had no time to spare for the re-interview.

Did not recall original interview

Since our sample followed up the earlier project there some points arose which through some light on the first sample.

Out of the Scottish refusals there were those (four) who simply did not recall or said that they did not remember the original interview. One of those who did not recall the previous interview was obviously not the person originally interviewed (3756). One of those contacted who refused outright claimed to have written to the original survey team stating that she did not "wish to be contacted in any way" again. The areas of Elgin, Pollok - Glasgow, North Lanarkshire, and Dundee West were those which gave the greatest problems in respect of refusals on grounds of not remembering the previous interview.

A North Lanarkshire informant (renumbered 6801BF) who was re-interviewed, after reluctantly agreeing, said that the first interview had been conducted by a "local girl" who after the interview was complete ignored her whenever they met by chance. One of those who refused on grounds of lack of time (3728) said that she had only agreed to the original interview and to the possibilities of a re-interview, because the original interviewer was a local school teacher who not only had some standing in the community, but was teaching at the same school as the informant's grandchildren.

Out of the Welsh/English sample two of those who we re-contacted did not recall the previous interview or "never heard of the previous survey". These were in Northumberland and the South-East. Two of those who had 'gone away' (and are counted as such in the above tables) in the South Wales area were tracked to their new addresses. They did not recall the previous interview. Indeed they both would seem, like the Scottish informant 3756, to be completely different from the persons interviewed: one was under eighteen years of age; the other was over fifty.

NOTES ON SCOTTISH REFUSALS.

Outright refusal, no grounds given (7):

(3478) Aberdeen. SNP, Age 32, male, 2 children, Class 6. Signed both by himself and his wife this possible informant wrote, after an interview time had been arranged, that "We do not wish to be interviewed now or in any future time."

(3480) Aberdeen. Labour, Age 36, Male, 1 child Class 3.

(3531) Pollok. Labour, Age 43, female, 2 children, Class 1. Wrote that, "I am not interested in being interviewed in this project, I have stated this in a previous letter, and I don't wish to be contacted in any way."

(3503) Pollok. Conservative, Age 36, female, 2 children, Class -1.

(3526) Pollok. Labour, Age 41, female, 4 children, Class -1.

(3700) Bishopbriggs. Conservative, Age 52, female, 3 children, Class 3.

(3679) Troon. Refused to say, Age 30, female, 2 children, Class 3.

Did not recall previous interview (4):

(3756) Elgin. Didn't know, Age 30, female, 2 children, Class -1. Original case notes did not fit with the name and address given, for example the woman contacted was a elderly grandparent.

(3578) Dundee. Labour, Age 50, female, 5 children, Class 7. She said that she "didn't have a clue" about the previous interview".

(3688) Bishopbriggs. Conservative, Age 54, female, 2 children, Class -1.

(3717) Chryston. Labour, Age 39, female, 1 child, Class 3.

Did not feel that they had time to be interviewed (5):

(3728) Elgin. Labour, Age 52, female, 2 children, Class 7. Was about to go into hospital for an operation.

(3602) Dundee. SNP, Age 37, female, 1 child, Class 3. Wrote that "I regret I am unable to take part in your further survey as I am committed to many other things and do not have the time to take part in this."
[NB Change in surname from Forbes to Ward.]

(3592) Dundee. Don't Know, Age 47, female, 3 children, Class 7. Wrote a note: "I no longer want to go on with this, nor do I have the time."

(3646) Midlothian. Labour, Age 36, female, 2 children, Class 5. refused on the grounds of "lack of time".

(3541) Monklands. Didn't know, Age 44, female, 1 child, Class -1. Wrote to say that, "my circumstances haven't changed any at all since

you were here. I really don't think I could find time as I look after my people who aren't too well. Hope you understand."

Others (2):

(3601) Dundee. Labour, Age 53, male, 1 child, Class 7. The address given in the original case notes interview was his sister's and not his own. Contacted through his sister. Agreed to be interviewed then refused to answer his door.

(3521) Pollok. Labour, Age 40, female, 3 children, Class 7. Failed to turn up for two appointments. Her husband had no idea where she was, but would have liked to have known.

Gone Away

Nine people had moved address since the original interview. One of the nine was contacted and interviewed, however eight proved impossible to track. These were:

(3734) Elgin. Conservative, Age 45, female, 6 children, Class -1. Neighbours said that she had moved to England.

(3480) Aberdeen. Labour, Age 36, female, 1 child, Class 3.

(3643) Midlothian. Liberal, Age 31, female, 2 children, Class -1.

(3636) Midlothian. Liberal, Age 49, female, 1 child, Class -1.

(3532) Pollok. Labour, Age 49, male, 3 children, Class -1.

(3689) Bishopbriggs. SNP, Age 39, male, 1 child, Class 5.

(3714) Chryston. Didn't know. Age 38, male, 3 children, Class 6.

NB these include a good many not followed up because of our class quota-
 best to exclude them from tables I suggest

Refusals

age class pol childr

Bob Little: Northumberland

1 Started but not completed
 2 family interviewed, 3 not:

Mrs [redacted] no answer, two visits	37	7	Con	4
Mrs [redacted]: says she has not been interviewed before and refuses	53	5	Con	2
Mr [redacted]: no time, long distance lorry driver	35	5	Con	3

Kay Sanferson: Norwich 0603- 502992

1 family interviewed, 3 not:

Mrs [redacted] removed, not traced	41	3	Lab	2
Mr [redacted] refused	45	6	Lab	2
Mr [redacted] refused	38	5	Con	2

Cathy Itzin: SE ~~Islington~~ and two Islington

26 families interviewed (~~xxxx~~ ? 2 started but not completed)

12: no answer to letter, not followed up (~~xxxx~~ because not needed)

Mr [redacted]	55	-1	Lab	
Mrs [redacted]	32	-1	Con	
Mrs [redacted]	44	3	no vote	
Mrs [redacted]	53	-1	Lib	
Mr [redacted]	44	2	Con	
Mr [redacted]	38	2	Con	
Mrs [redacted]	43	-1	Con	
Mrs [redacted]	30 31	1 1	Con Con	3
Mr [redacted]	54 37	1 1	Con Con	5
Mrs [redacted]	37 34	-1	Con	2
Mrs [redacted]	34	-1	Con	3
Mr [redacted]	46	2	Con	

Others not interviewed:

Mr [redacted] - said yes, but kept putting off with ^{excuses}	40	1	Con	
Mrs [redacted] - moved to Isle of Wight from Islington	45	-1	no vote	
Mrs [redacted] - letter refused, no reason	49	3	Con	
Mrs [redacted] - refused, no reason	46	7	no vote	
Mrs [redacted] - no- family problems	47	-1	SDP	
Mrs [redacted] - no- change in circumstances	42	-1	Lib	
Mrs [redacted] - no- never heard of ^{previous} survey, don't want to take part ^{part}	48	-1	Lab	
Mrs [redacted] - moved	35	-1	Con	
Mr [redacted] - not known at address for 4 years	54	4	Con	
Mr [redacted] - no- against interviews and research	50	5	Lab	
Mrs [redacted] - no- no- father just died	38	-1	Lab	
Mrs [redacted] - never known at address (Islington)	33	-1	Lab	
Mr [redacted] - never known at address (Islington)	38	4	Alli ance	

Sheila Owen-Jones, S Wales and Marion Haberhauer S Wales

Mrs [redacted] - said yes but failed to keep 3 appointments-
had moved but we ^{traced} ~~found~~ her to ne address- seems to be an alcoholic? 41 -1 Lab 2

Mr [redacted] - moved, not traceable 39 7 Lab 1

Mrs [redacted] - no, 'not interested' 59 -1 Lab 5

Mrs [redacted] - no, no time, looking after grchildren all time 46 -1 Lab 8

~~Mrs Hills - unable to contact, away 33 -1 Lab 3~~

Mrs [redacted] - no- fearful of interviews and government use-
after discussion, changed her mind- ^{three times} then/never in
at time agreed- was illegitimate, not told ~~by~~ until 37,
brought up by a great-aunt 53 -1 Lab 7

Mrs [redacted] - yes, then out at time of interview-
third visit, refuses, not convenient 54 -1 d.n. 2

Mr [redacted] - moved, son says he is retired anyway
ew contact- mistaken identity? 37 3 Lab 3

Mrs [redacted] - too busy for interview- publican's wife
also caring for elderly parents in another town 33 3 Lib 3

Mrs [redacted] - moved, traced by phone-
/data incorrect, she is under 18! 53 3 SDP 3

Mrs [redacted] - no, just didn't want to be interviewed 46 -1 Lab 3

Mrs [redacted] - no time 41 7 Lab 2

Marion Haberhauer and Sandra Lotti, Midlands

Mrs [redacted] - moved, address unknown 42 2 Con 2

Mrs [redacted] - no 32 6 Lab 1

Mrs [redacted] - no 38 7 Con 2

Mrs [redacted] - no 54 -1 SDP 1

Mrs [redacted] - moved but traced, refused 44 -1 Con 2

Mrs [redacted] - no 37 -1 Con 3

Mr [redacted] - no 30 7 ^{no}Vote 1

Mrs [redacted] - unable to contact, away 33 3 Lab 3

Mr [redacted] - never in 34 7 Lab 2

Mr [redacted] - working away, not available this year 42 7 Lab 2

Lancashire

I have no data at all here of Michele's refusals, just three cards
of people not approached as superfluous to quota

Sandra Lotti and Marion Haberhauer- Luton (group with rest of SE)

Mr [REDACTED] - no (Indian)	48	3	dn	1
Mrs [REDACTED] - no, doing shift work, no time	39	6	Lib	1
Mrs [REDACTED] - no, 'too personal'- is ex-directory	36	3	Con	2
Mr [REDACTED] - started, but could not complete- long distance lorry driver, never knows when will be home	54	4	Lab	2
Michele and Sabittia London				
Mr [REDACTED] - letter returned, unknown at this address	32	2	Con	2
Mr [REDACTED] " "	30	1	Lab	2
Mrs [REDACTED] " "	34	-1	Con	1
Mrs [REDACTED] " "	31	-1	Lab	2
Mr [REDACTED] - moved, no forwarding address	51	6	Lab	3
Mr [REDACTED] - away, seems to have gone, house empty	50	5	Lab	3
Mr [REDACTED] - no, doesn't want to be interviewed	49	1	All	3
Mrs [REDACTED] - no, " "				
Mrs [REDACTED] - no, 'not interested, got a lot on'	51	-1	Lab	1

FAMILY, AGEING AND SOCIAL MOBILITY: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introductory Note

Our purpose in interviewing is to gather a combination of ethnographic (daily life 'as it was') and dynamic (the narrative life story, 'how it happened') information. We want a range of essential detail, but too many questions risk destroying the narrative flavour of the interview. The best balance will differ between informants, so that it may be worth using more questions with those who say less spontaneously. But in general we should aim to collect full ethnographic detail only as follows:

(a) Grandparents' generation (born 1905-1935): primarily on their own ageing.

Memories of their own grandparents and parent's ageing will inevitably be very variable, and cannot constitute a real cross-section; it will be worth collecting what comes relatively freely, but not pushing beyond this, so that the main effort of the interview should be focussed on informant's later years. The second priority would be accounts of themselves as parents. Ethnographic detail of their own childhoods need not be sought as we already have a fuller survey of this from the 444 Edwardian interviews.

(b) Middle generation (born 1930-1955):

We should concentrate for ethnographic detail on two periods only, one in childhood and the other in marriage, choosing what seems to interest the informant most. In the case of marriage, it would be best to concentrate on the most recent period in which there were still schoolchildren in the home. If we try to cover each phase in full detail we shall either exhaust the informants, or produce interviews which are too long so that we don't have the resources to transcribe them.

(c) Children's generation: (born 1950-1970):

We should collect for two/three periods, the first from childhood, the second as a teenager, and the third (where applicable) from marriage.

Chronologically we shall therefore be collecting 'as it was' information for the following time periods:

	<u>Childhood</u>	<u>Teenage</u>	<u>Marriage</u>	<u>Ageing</u>
1900				
1910	Edwardians		Edwardians	
1920				
1930				
1940				
1950				
1960				
1970	middle generation		grandparent's generation	
1980	children's generation	children's generation	children's generation	grandparent's generation

We should expect to require two or three sessions for middle generation interviews, two sessions with grandparent's generation and one session with children's generation - totalling approximately four, three and two hours' recording respectively. If the average recording comes above ten hours per family we shall not have the resources for transcribing all the interviews.

For middle generation informants born after 1945 it is likely that their parents may be under 55 and their children under 15. We may need to consider using a special brief interview with their parents (the grandparents generation) focussing primarily on parenting, and carry out an additional interview with one of the great-grandparents focussing on ageing.

For divorced informants the choice of focus will be especially difficult and will depend on the length of each phase. We do, however, want to collect accounts of unsuccessful marriages 'as they were', and also especially of parent-child relationships following divorce and in step-families. These families therefore ought to require an additional session.

The schedules have to be used strategically to shape interviews which are held together by the dynamics of the life story, but pause at certain moments to allow a fuller, static picture (Figure 1).

1. Simple
Sequence

2. Broken
Sequence

Reconstituted after
transcription

But from both the story and the daily life picture, information will come on cross cutting themes, which will be important for both types of analysis - such as on houses, childbirth, child discipline, marital roles, sex etc. Depending on the informant, it may be wise to collect the information on these topics as part of a single discussion - especially if the subject is a delicate one and the informant has begun to talk freely about it.

Hence the schedule needs to be understood as a series of thematic blocks which can be put together either horizontally ('as it was') or vertically ('how it changed') (Figure 2).

In the interview guide, the boxes indicate key facts which are sought. These do not always require questions, and questions are not always suggested for them. The left column indicates the key issues on which the interview should focus. Where a question is underlined, always try to ask it in the form given. The right column consists of possible follow-up and prompt questions which are intended only for selective use.

FAMILY TREE

grandfather = grandmother

grandfather = grandmother

father = mother

self

NB: Start to draw the tree on an extra-large piece of paper, with the first part outlined in the top left corner. You then have room for family of marriage on the right side, and descendants below.

INTERVIEW GUIDE: MIDDLE GENERATION

Name	Present Address	Year born	Birthplace	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
------	-----------------	-----------	------------	---------	-----------	----------	---------

1. FAMILY TREE GRANDPARENTS

a) As we talk, can we draw a family tree of your family?

Can we start with your grandparents? (SHOW TREE PAPER)

b) CHILDHOOD MEMORIES OF GRANDPARENTS: BASIC

paternal grandfather	born	where lived	occupations	financial resources	health
-------------------------	------	-------------	-------------	------------------------	--------

grandmother

maternal
grandfather

grandmother

Do you remember your grandparents

Where did they live?

How old were they? Did they seem old?

What had been their occupations? Were they retired?

Did they have enough to live on comfortably? Pension?

Did they seem to get on well together?

c) GRANDPARENT'S LEISURE

Can you remember what their main interests were? Did they go out regularly? Occasionally? Where to? Who with?

Did this decline as they got older?

Who did they see the most of? Did they have friends? Did they mix with their neighbours?

Did any neighbours do anything for them? Cook a meal, do their shopping? Did you? Did either of your parents?

d) RELATIONSHIPS WITH GRANDPARENTS

How often did you see them?

What about your parents?
Were they invited regularly to your
parents house?
Did you visit them? How often?

Did they see any other member of your
family regularly? Occasionally?
Who? Who did they see the most?

What part did they play in your upbringing?

Did they look after you when your
parents were at work?

Can you remember any conflicts between
your parents and grandparents about how
you should be brought up?

Did your grandparents take any interest
in your schooling/work?

(IF LIVED WITH INFORMANT) What part did
they play in the running of the home?

Can you remember if your grandparents
helped your parents in any other ways,
e.g. financially?

Were you close to them?

Did they make you things? (toys,
clothes) Did they give you pocket
money?

Would you say that any of your grandparents have been a strong influence on
your life?

e) GRANDPARENT'S HEALTH, CARE AND BEREAVEMENT

What was their health like?

Did they lead active lives? When did
their health begin to fail?

Were they will or not able to look
after themselves for long?

Who looked after them during this time?

When did your grandfather/mother
die?

Did you go to their funeral?

What do you remember about it? Can you
describe it? Who was there?

f) GREAT UNCLES AND AUNTS: ENTER ON TREE

Did you have any great uncles
and/or aunts? Do you rember them? Occupations

IF WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE:

Who looked after the children while your mother was at work?

j) IF INFORMANT HAD SUBSTITUTE PARENT, e.g. grandparent, step-parent
REPEAT FOR THEM

born	where from	education	occupations
------	------------	-----------	-------------

k) AUNTS AND UNCLES: ENTER ON TREE Birth order & occupations needed

Did you have any aunts or uncles?

Do you remember them?

f) SIBLINGS

Did you have any brothers or sisters? Education & occupations can be
asked later

ENTER ON TREE, CHECK BIRTH ORDER

Birth, Name order	born	Education	Occupations of self & spouse
----------------------	------	-----------	------------------------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

Total including informant

Include stillbirths and early deaths
but not miscarriages

Of whom died before 15

2. HOUSING AND DOMESTIC ROUTINE IN CHILDHOOD

How many years did you live in the house where you were born? Where did you live then?
CONTINUE FOR MOVES UP TO MARRIAGE

Do you remember why your family made these moves?

Homes	Where	When
-------	-------	------

First

Second

Third

Fourth

Fifth

Sixth

Can you describe the house at....? SELECT BEST REMEMBERED

Was this house rented or owned? How were the rooms used?
How many bedrooms, other rooms;
furniture.

Did anyone else besides your parents and brothers and sisters live in the house?

Other relatives, or lodgers? (If
LODGERS: where did they sleep? Where
did they eat?

How much did they pay?
Did you have much to do with them?)

Now I'd like to talk about who did what in and about the house when you were a child? Did your parents pay anyone to help in the house?

What were her/his duties: cleaning;
looking after children; hours, pay?
How did you get on with her? Who
supervised/paid her/him? What did she
call your mother/father/yourself? What
did you call her?)

FOR SERVANTS WHO LOOKED AFTER CHILDREN: ADD ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM SECTION 4 ONWARDS

Who did the following jobs around the house, your father or mother: cleaning; cooking; washing up; shopping; fires; washing clothes; decorating; repairs and improvements?

cook	preserves/	wash-up	washing	shop	decorating	garden	livestock
	drinks				repairs		
					improvements		

mother

father

Did your mother or father make any of the family's clothes?

Were any clothes bought secondhand? Where?

Did you have any tasks you had to carry out regularly at home to help your mother and father?

How long did you continue to do these tasks? After you left school?

REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS

How did the family manage with washing and bathing?

How often did you bath? (Outside/Inside toilets, plumbing and bathrooms, washing machine)

Can you tell me about going to bed at that time?

Fixed time? Did your mother or father or anyone else put you to bed? At what age did you put yourself to bed? Did you share the bedroom with anyone? The bed? Did your parents ever let you come into their bed?

3. MEALS

Now I'd like you to describe the meals you had in those days.

Which was the main meal? Who did the cooking? Cooking equipment (range or gas, cooker, fridge) Which room did you eat in? What members of the family were present?

Did they do any baking or preserving? What about home-made drinks?

Bake bread; make jam or jelly; bottle fruit or vegetables; make pickles; wine or beer?

Did your father or mother grow vegetables and fruit?

Who?

Did they keep any livestock for family?

Hens, pigs, goats? Who?

Were you allowed to talk during meals or not?

Could you choose what you wanted to eat from what was cooking or did you have to eat a bit of everything?

Were you expected to hold your knife and fork in a certain way and sit in a certain way?

When could you leave the table?

4. GENERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS AND SIBLINGS: INFLUENCE & DISCIPLINE

can confide shows affection takes out on own

mother

father

Do you remember talking much with your mother as a child?

Could you share your worries with her?

Would she listen to your problems?
Would your mother tell you about any of her worries? If yes: did you feel comfortable when your mother was confiding in you? Is there any conversation with her you especially remember?

Did she show affection?

REPEAT FOR FATHER

Do you remember either of them crying?
Could you chat with your parents about family problems?

As a child, was there any older person you felt more comfortable with than your parents?
(GRANDPARENTS, OTHER RELATIVES)

NOTE: IF THE PARENT HAS REMARRIED WHAT WAS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INFORMANT AND STEP-FAMILY?

Did your parents bring you up to consider certain things important in life?

What did your parents think of telling lies? Spoiling clothes?

If you did something that your parents disapproved of, what would happen?

If PUNISHED: By whom? How?
How often? Ever by other parent?

Do you remember any particular occasion when you were punished? How did you feel about it?

Do you think one of your parents influenced you more than another?

no part in discipline	verbal only	restrictions	corporal: rarely or occasionally	normally or often	severe
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Mother

Father

What kind of person do you think your parents hoped you would grow up to be?

Did your parents expect you to achieve certain things in life? What? (Money, Status)

REPEAT FOR BROTHERS AND SISTERS

How did you get on with your brothers and sisters?

Was there one you felt particularly close to?

Was there one you did not get on with? If quarrelled: did your parents say anything about that?

5. PARENTS FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND HEALTH

Did your parents save money for you?

Do you remember if your mother or father belonged to any savings clubs? Insurance, sick, funeral? Were you insured by your parents?

Did they open a bank account in your name?

Do you know what arrangements your parents had about money?

Who paid the bills (gas, electricity, coal)? Who decided about big purchases, e.g. furniture? Did your father or mother have a bank account? Do you remember if your mother or father owned shares of investments?

IF HOME RENTED: Did you see anything of your landlord? How was the rent paid? How did you feel about the landlord?

Do you remember feeling that your parents had to struggle to make ends meet?

Did your parents ever mention that they were sacrificing themselves for your benefit?

Did they get financial help from anywhere?

Friends, relatives, church, social security? How were they treated? What did you feel? Did they help people who were poorer than themselves?

What difference did it make to the family when your father was ill or out of work? How often?

REPEAT FOR MOTHER

Were you or your brothers or sisters ever seriously ill?

How did this effect your family?

What kind of ideas about money did you get from your childhood?

Did your parents give you any pocket money?

How much? Regularly? What for?

6. FAMILY ACTIVITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOME

a) When you were a child, did your parents play any games with you?

Did your brothers and sisters join in? Was there anyone else?

Did your father ever look after you on his own?

Would the family get together in the evenings?

What would they do? Radio, Record player, T.V.?

Did you have any musical instruments in the home? Players? Was there anyone in the family who sang? Did you ever make music together as a family?

Were there books in the house?

Did you belong to the library? Newspapers? Magazines? Do you remember your mother or father reading?

Did they ever read aloud to you or to each other? Or tell you stories?

About their own past lives?

When you had a birthday would it be different from any other day?

Did you receive any presents; have anything special to eat; guests?

b) Were you taken out by your parents visiting neighbours, friends or relations?

With whom?
Were you taken out shopping?
With whom? Do you remember any other outings with your parents?

Did you ever go out just with your father? Weekends?

Could anyone in your family drive a car? If yes: who? Did they own the car? Who maintained the car? Would the family go on outings? Where? Who would go?

Did you ever go away on holiday?

For how long? Regularly?
Which members of the family went?
Where?

c) Did you stay with relatives?

Were there any (other) relations of your parents you saw quite often?

Did they live nearby?
When did you see them? Where?

Do you remember them influencing you in anyway, teaching you anything?

Can you remember an occasion or occasions when the whole family would get together?

Celebrations? Religious days?
Funerals? Weddings? Holidays?

Would that include aunts and uncles?
Were family get togethers unusual at that time?

7. INFORMANTS LEISURE UP TO MID TEENAGE

As a child, who did you usually play with yourself?

Brothers; sisters; neighbours? Did you have your own special group of friends? Did you play games against other groups?

Where did you play?

Yard/garden/street/other homes/elsewhere? What games did you play? Were you allowed to get dirty when you played? Did boys and girls play the same games?

Were you free to play with anyone you pleased?

Did your parents stop you or discourage you from playing with certain children?

If yes: why?
What did they think about girls or boys fighting in the street? Were you ever involved in a fight? Who with? What caused the fight? If a child hurt you would you tell your mother, or your father, or both?
What would they say? Would they tell you to hit back?

Did you belong to any youth organisations?

Boys Brigade, Scouts, Guides?
What activities? When you were at home after school did you have any hobbies? Did you keep any pets; collect anything; do gardening? (stamps, cigarette cards)

Did you go fishing; for walks; swimming; bicycling? With whom?

Did you take part in any sports?

Did you watch any sport (football, rugby, boxing, swimming)?
Did you follow a team? Away games?

Were you sent to dancing or music lessons?

Did you go to any theatres; concerts; music halls; cinemas while you were still at school?

8. WEEKENDS AND RELIGION

Could you tell me how you spent weekends in those days?

Saturdays? Shopping, sport, evenings. Sundays?
Did you have different clothes?
Did you play games?

Did your parents attend a place of worship or not?

Denomination? How often? Both mother and father?

never attend occasionally regularly denomination

Mother

Father

Did either hold any position in the church/chapel? Did you attend? If yes: how often? Did you go to a Sunday School or not? Were there Sunday School outings? Did the church/chapel run any temperance club? (PROMPT: Band of Hope?) Were any members of your family members or not? (If yes: who? Activities: (e.g. evening classes, outings) Did any of your family sign the pledge? (Abstaining from alcohol?)

How much would you say religion meant to you as a child? Why?

9. POLITICS

When you were at home do you remember your parents discussing politics?

Do you know what party he voted for? Why?

If yes: what sort of discussion? Do you remember your father voting in a General Election?

REPEAT FOR MOTHER

Was your father/mother a member of a political party? Do you remember him working for one of the parties at an election? Did your parents take part in any political activity other than at election time? Did your parents attend any of the social clubs run by political parties.

What influence do you think your parents political outlook has had on you?

no views changeable votes for: member/active supporter

father

mother

10. PARENTS OTHER INTERESTS

When your parents were not doing their work, how did they spend their time?

Together, separately?

Did your mother have any interests outside of the home?

When she went out what did she do (visiting friends, cinema, dancing?) Who did she go with? (PROMPT: father, friend, relation). Was she working at this time? Who looked after the children?

How much of his time would your father be at home?

When did your father get home from work in the evening? How many evenings a week would he spend at home? How much was he about the house at weekends? How would he spend the time? Did your mother have more free time on Saturdays? Did your mother and father have a radio or gramophone? Did your parents often listen to records or the radio? Did you have to stay quiet while the radio/gramophone was on? Did your parents discuss radio programmes? Were you allowed to choose programmes/records?

Did your father or mother attend any clubs or pubs?

When did he/she go (on way home from work, after tea, Sunday dinner time?)

Did your father take part in any sport?

Did he watch sport? Did he bet on the races? Snooker?

Did your mother take part in any sports or games?

Bowls

11. COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

Did your parents have friends?

Where did they live? Where did they see them? Did they share the same friends? Did your mother have friends of her own? Where did she see them? Did she visit anyone who was not a relation?

REPEAT FOR FATHER

REPEAT FOR FATHER

Were people ever invited into the home?
How often? Who were they? (PROMPT:
relations, neighbours, friends?)
Would they be offered anything to eat
or drink? Would you say that the
people invited in were your mother's
friends or your father's friends, or
both?
Did your parents ever go out to visit
friends or neighbours?
What do you think your parents did when
they got together with their
friends/neighbours? (Music, games,
radio)

Did any of them give your mother
help in looking after the house
or family? Did other neighbours
or relatives help?

How?

Did your mother or father help
neighbours or friends out? Who would
they help? How would they help?
Regularly?
If your mother was out when you came
home from school where would you go?
Would a neighbour, friend of the
family, or relative look after you?

If your mother was ill or confined to bed how did she manage?

Do you remember what happened when one
of your younger brothers/sisters was
born?

At that time did you think of people belonging to different social groups or
classes?

Could you tell me what the different
ones were? What class/group
(INFORMANT'S OWN TERM) would you say
you belonged to yourself? What sort of
people belonged to the same class/group
as yourself? To the other groups?
What sort of people lived in your
neighbourhood? Who were considered the
most important people?
Where you lived did all the people have
the same standard of living, or would
you say there were different groups?
Do you think that one group felt itself
superior to the rest?
Were some families thought of as
respectable?
Were some families thought of as rough?

Do you remember seeing a policeman around when you lived as a child? What did you think of him? How do you think he treated people?
Did you ever get into any scrapes with the law yourself?
Was there anyone in your neighbourhood who people disapproved of? Who? Why?
How was this disapproval shown?
(Racial, Religious groupings)

Do you think your mother thought of herself as a member of a class?

Working class, middle class?
Why? Why not?
What made her put herself in that class? (own home background, her job, her type of house, your father's position?)
How did your mother feel about people who were not in the same class as herself? (PROMPT: Minister, doctor, doctor's wife, teachers)

Did you think it was possible at that time to move from one class to another?
Can you remember anyone who did?

12. SCHOOL

Now I'd like to ask you about school.
Did anyone give lessons before you started at school? How old were you when you first went to school?

Council Church Private Mixed/single sex

First School

Second School

Third School

Fourth School

What kind of school was it?

What did you think of it?

Did your parents choose this school for you?

Why?/Why not?

Did you have good friends at school?

Were they better or worse at studying than you? Did any of them try to avoid coming to school?
What was more important to you: your friends or your schoolwork? Were you good at schoolwork? (Did you study well?)

Were your brothers and sisters at the same school?

Did they protect you at school - or you them? Who from?

IF NOT: at which school?

Do you remember times when your schoolwork was poorer/better than before? When?

Do you remember any times when your schoolwork was better than before? When?

How did you feel about the teachers?

If you did something the teachers disapproved of, what would happen? Did the teachers emphasise certain things as important in life? If yes: what? And what did your parents think of this?

Did your parents encourage you to do school work?

Was it important for them that you did well? Did they ever help you with homework? Did your parents ever come to the school to speak to the teachers? Did they have meetings with the teachers after school?

Did the teachers encourage discussion in class?

If you had problems with school work did you have anyone to discuss these with? Were you encouraged to speak proper English in class?
(By whom: teachers, parents)
Did you speak in a different way at home?

When did you leave this school?
Where did you go then?

REPEAT FOR OTHER PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS ATTENDED. WERE CHOICES POSSIBLE (e.g. at 11 plus):

Advantage/disadvantage

Why did you go to this school?
Would you have liked to have
gone to another?

IF CHOSE PRIVATE/SELECTIVE
SECONDARY SCHOOL, ASK AS FOR
COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY

Did you keep your old friends or not?

How old were you when you left
school? Would you have stayed
longer if you had had the opportunity?
Did you attend any part-time
education afterwards?

Evening classes?

IF AT COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY:
did your parents/teachers/friends
encourage you to go to
College/University? Why did you choose...?
What did you study?

Subject, new friends, new attitudes;
influence of tutors; intellectual
discussion; religion; politics;
clubs; societies; other leisure. Was
College/University regarded as
vocational training?

What influence did your
time at.....have on your life?
Did you keep your old friends or not?

13. WORK

While you were at school,
did you have a part-time job?
How did you get it?

(Through parents, friends, parents
friends). Who did you work for?
Did you enjoy this job, or not? Did
you give any of the money to your
mother? What was it spent on? Why did
you give it up?

Why did you choose it?

REPEAT FOR OTHER PART-TIME JOBS UNTIL LEFT SCHOOL

Did you receive any career
guidance when you were at school?

Did your parents try to influence
you on your choice of a
job/profession?

Did either of them have a precise idea
about what you should do in life?
Did they tell you to avoid any given
job or profession?
What sort of job would you have liked?
Were your parents afraid of you being
unemployed after you left school?
Was your idea of a good job influenced
by your parents?
Or a reaction to them? Or to your
brothers/sisters' jobs?

What was your first full-time job? Why did you choose it? How did you get it?
How long did you stay in it? Why did you give it up?

CONTINUE COMPLETE WORK HISTORY: OF MAIN JOBS: ALSO ASK:

Did you like it or dislike it?
What exactly did you have to do in this job?

How did you learn?

Was training given?
What were you paid?
Did you feel that was a fair wage, or not? Could you save any of the money? (Bank, insurance)
How did you get on with the other people you worked with?

Were there chances for promotion in your job?

By seniority; by experience; by knowledge? Were you promoted? Why?/Why not?
Were you aware that there were/were not chances of promotion when you first started the job?

Did you (or any of your employees) belong to any trade union/professional organisation?

Did you take part in any of its activities? Did you feel that employers and workers had the same, or different interests?
Who was your employer?
How did your employer treat you? How did you feel about him/her?

IF AN EMPLOYER OR MANAGER ALSO ASK:

Can you tell me who owned the business?

Partnership, limited company? How was it founded?

How was it run?

How did you learn about the different sides of the business (technology, sales, staffing, finance)?
Which interested you most? Did you become a partner?

What share did you have in the profits and losses? Did senior partners/directors share a social life together?

Invite each other to dinner?
What did the workers call you?
Which of them did you know by name?
Did you meet any of them outside work?

ASK ALL:

Would you have liked a different sort of career?

Do you feel a pride in what you have achieved/done at work?

Can you tell me what were the main occupations of your brothers and sisters?

What did their husbands/wives do?

CHECK TREE AND BOX

14. HOME LIFE AND LEISURE FROM LATER TEENAGE YEARS

I'd like to ask you about your home life by the time you were in your late teens. How long did you continue to live with your parents?

IF SEPARATELY:

Did you live alone or share with anyone? Can you describe the house? Where did you mainly eat? Did you have any domestic help?

IF NOT WORKING:

How did you manage for money?

Would you have rather done something else?

How did you spend your time?

Housework, social calls, family business?

IF WORKING:

How much of your wage did you give to your parents?

Did starting full-time work change your relationship with them at all? With brothers and sisters?

Can you tell me something of how you spent your spare time as a young man/woman?

Did your interests change? What did you do when you finished work for the day? Would you ever meet your workmates/colleagues after work? Where would you go? What would you do?

Did you belong to any clubs or societies?

What was a good night out in those days?

IF FEMALE:

Did you go shopping with friends? Did you meet to talk with women friends? What would you discuss?

IF MALE:

Would you meet friends in the evening?
Where? Who? When?

Did you ever go to the pub? How often
did you go to the pub? Who did you
meet there? Why did you go there?
What would you talk about?

Did women go into pubs in those days?
Why not?

What did you think of women not being
allowed to go into pubs?

Did you ever go dancing?

Where? Could a woman ask a man up to
dance?

Did you have a regular partner?

Did you go to the cinema?

Who with? What films do you remember?
What films did you like? (Horror,
romance etc.)

Did you go to the music hall
or theatre at that time?

Who with?

IF THEATRE: What plays did you like?

IF MUSIC HALL: What acts did you like?

How did the audience react? To a bad
act?

Did your parents expect you to be
home by a certain time?
Did they expect to know
where you were?

What would happen if you were out late?
Would your mother or father wait up for
you? Would they be worried? Would you
get into trouble for staying up late?

Did your parents disapprove of any of your activities at this time?

What did they do?

What did they think of young people who
got into fights/gambling/pinching
things?

Did you smoke?

When did you start? What did your
parents think of you smoking? Did they
smoke? Did you stop smoking? Did you
try to stop smoking?

Did you take part in any
sporting activities?

Did you watch any sports such as
football or boxing?

Did you ever go to the fair when it was
in town?

How would you spend your days off?

Did you go walking or cycling?

IF YES: Did you cycle/walk with anyone
special?

Did you ever walk around the town with
friends in the evening or on your day
off?

Did you spend your Sunday any
differently?

Church/chapel; Sunday school?

Did religion mean more or less to you after childhood?

Did you make any new friends -
boys or girls - at this time?

How did you meet them? Did you stick
to a group of friends? What did you do
with them? Where?

Did you ever bring friends home? Did
you have your own room where you could
entertain them?

Did you have any special friends at this time?

Boys or girls? Were there any special
places where boys and girls could meet?
Where could you go with them? Were you
allowed to be with them alone?

Did your parents meet your friends? Did they tell you what they thought
about them?

15. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX

Do you remember your parents'
attitudes towards sex?

And sexual relationships? Did your
mother's and father's attitudes differ?
In what way? What information did they
give you about sex? When? How?
Were you able to talk to your parents
about your sexuality, sexual experience
or relationships? Mother? Father?

INVITE RESPONDENT TO DESCRIBE THE HISTORY OF THEIR OWN SOCIAL/SEXUAL
RELATIONSHIPS BEFORE MARRIAGE - IN WHATEVER WAY IS APPROPRIATE FOR THEM

Did you have relationships with anyone
before your marriage? Describe: Who?
When? Where? In what circumstances?
What was important to you about this
relationship? Why did it end?
Repeat for all key relationships.

Were any of these serious? Did the
possibility of marriage come into any
of these relationships?

IF APPROPRIATE, CONTINUE:

How would you describe the sexual side
of your marriage? Has it been an
important part of your relationship?
Has it changed over the time/period of
your marriage? Describe, give reasons.

16. ATTITUDES TO MARRIAGE

Did your parents expect you to marry?

How did you know/how did they let you know? Did your parents' marriage influence your attitude towards marrying? In what way?

Did you expect to marry?

Did you have a particular kind of person in mind - e.g. social class, looks, age?

How far did you get your ideas of a good marriage from your parents?

Were they close? Affectionate? How did they show this? What were the failings or weak points in their relationship? Did they argue or fight? What form did this take? Do you think they had a good marriage? Why? Why not?

17. MARRIAGE

Can you tell me how you and your husband/wife first met?

How old were you? How old was your partner? Describe meeting (common friends, role of relations), courtship, how the relationship developed and how long, a formal engagement or not, the decision to marry.

Did you marry the kind of person you expected to marry?

Where did they come from? What kind/'class' of family? Were they the partner of your dreams?

How did your parents feel about your choice?

Would they have preferred you to marry someone else? How did your partner's parents feel about the marriage?

What kind of wedding did you have?

Guests. Honeymoon.

Where did you live immediately after you married?

How long did you live there?
Where did you go then?

Why did you move?
DESCRIBE HOUSE, NEIGHBOURHOOD, ETC.

FOR MARRIED HOMES:

Did you own any of these houses?
Did anyone else live in the house with you?

Other relatives, lodgers? Where did they sleep? Where did they eat? What did they pay?

Would you have liked to have
lived in a different kind of place?
Did you improve it?

Heating. Kitchen. When?

	Where	When	Owned/Rented
First home			

Second

Third

Fourth

Fifth

Sixth

Did you save up to get married?

Did your parents or your partner's
parents help you in any way
at the time of your marriage?

With money? Other ways?

How did you spend your time
when you were not working when
you were first married?

18. FINANCE AFTER MARRIAGE

FOR WOMEN: Did you continue to
work after your marriage?

(Part-time/full-time, where? How much?)
Why?

What was your husband's attitude
to your working?

How did you feel about it? What was
your husband's job when you got
married? Did he have other jobs before
or after?

ASK FOR ALL JOBS.

PROBE: including part-time, casual
jobs.

Were you happy with your husband's work
and income?

FOR MEN:

Did your wife have a job when
you married? Had she any other
jobs before that?

Did she continue working after your
marriage?

IF YES: How did you feel about that? What jobs has she had since then?

ASK FOR ALL JOBS.

MEN: How much of your earnings would you give to your wife? How? When?

tip-up allowance knows wage

WOMEN: Did you know how much your husband earned?

How much did he give you?

IF BOTH EARN: Who earned the most? Did this matter?

Did you or your partner inherit any money or property on marriage? Have you inherited any money or property during your marriage?

Did you discuss how to spend your money?

How did you and your partner manage your joint expenses after your marriage? Did you have bank or post office accounts? A joint account? Separate accounts? Did you have a savings account? Who paid the bills? Who decided how money should be spent? Who decided on new furniture? Food; drink; clothes for children, husband, wife; presents; outings/holidays?

Who owned the house/flat?

Under what conditions? Joint mortgage? In whose name was the house or flat if rented? Why? Who was landlord?

Did you ever have to struggle to make ends meet?

Were you ever in receipt of benefits? What? When? Why? Other financial help - relatives, friends?

Did you argue/disagree over money?

Occasionally? Often? Has your financial situation or management of money changed over your marriage?

19. CHILDBIRTH

Did you want to have children sometime in your life?

What influenced you in this? Had you got an idea of how many you wanted?

How many did you have? FILL IN TREE

	Name	Born	Last Education	Main Occupation
First				
Second				
Third				
Fourth				
Fifth				
Sixth				

Did you plan to have children when you did?

How many did you want to have?

Were you and your partner in agreement about the number and timing/spacing of your children? If not, how was the difference resolved?

Did you use any contraceptives or birth control then or later on? Different at different times?

WOMEN: How did you feel about getting pregnant?

DESCRIBE COURSE OF PREGNANCY AND BIRTH.

What antenatal care did you receive? Were there any difficulties in the pregnancy? Did you attend childbirth classes?

Did you know what to expect in childbirth?

How did it go?
Did your husband participate in the preparation or the birth itself? How different was your experience in having the other children?

Was it a home/hospital birth? How did you feel about it? Could it have been different or better?

MEN: What did you feel when you knew you were going to have a child?

Were you involved in her pregnancy? Did you go to childbirth classes? Follow the growth of the baby?

Were you present at the birth?

Want to be at the birth? How did you feel about it?

What about subsequent births?

20. CHILD REARING: INFANTS

a) FIRST WEEK

WOMEN: IF HOSPITAL BIRTH,
how long were you in hospital?
Was the baby with you from the
time of birth?
Did you breast feed or bottle
feed or both?

All the time?

Did you have any difficulty in feeding?
What help did you get? What did you
need to learn to care for your baby,
e.g. feeding, handling, clothing,
bathing, changing?

How did your experience differ
with the other children?

MEN: What contact did you have
with her and your baby during
the first week

At hospital or at home?
What help did you give with the baby in
the first week? What did you need to
learn e.g. feeding, handling, clothing,
bathing, changing? How did you find
out?

How about with the other children?

b) FIRST YEAR

How did you look after the
child in the first year?

What child care was shared? Who did
feeding, bathing, clothing, playing,
getting up in the night?

Who did the domestic housework?

Cooking? washing? cleaning?
shopping? Did the pattern of this
change after the birth of the baby?

feeding bathing changing dressing playing nights

mother

father

What help did you get/give?

From partner? Own mother/father?

Did having a baby change your
relationship with your parents?

Mother-in-law/father-in-law?
Others? Or with your in-laws, or
friends?

If you needed advice about the
baby, Who did you talk to?

Did your mother live near?
Your mother-in-law?

How often did you see your
mother/in law?

Advice from them?

In what ways did having a baby
change your life-style?

Outings, holidays, position at
work?

Was being a parent how you expected it to be like?

21. CHILD-REARING: CHILDREN

FOR BOTH PARENTS:

As the children grew older, who did what in caring for them?

Who fed, helped dress and bath, played read, took out?

Would father look after them on his own? Take them out on his own?

Did you use a playgroup, nursery, etc?

feeding dressing bathing playing reading take out

mother

father

WOMEN: Did you want to work outside the home as well as in?

Did you need to?

MEN: Did your wife want to work outside the home after the baby?

Why?

Did you want her to?

IF WIFE WORKED, ASK BOTH:

What work? Did she earn from working at home?

Part-time/full-time; pay; hours; where? Home work, e.g. child-minding, sewing, cooking.

Who looked after your children?

How much did it cost? How did you feel about leaving the child/ren with someone else?

22. LOVE AND DISCIPLINE

(a) The Marital Relationship

How would you describe the relationship you have with ...?

Are you close? Affectionate? How do you show this? What is it you like/dislike most about...?

What do you do when you disagree?

Do you quarrel? How do you resolve differences?

Do you talk to each other and share things that are important in your lives?

Has your relationship changed over the period of your marriage?

How would you describe the sexual side of your marriage?

Has it been an important part of your relationship? Has it changed? What attitude to sex passed on to children?

The Parent/Child Relationship

Before you had children of your own, did you have any definite ideas about how children should be brought up? How did you get these ideas? Did you and... have the same or different ideas about bringing up children?

How would you say you showed love and affection to your children?

How much did you and... talk to your children?

Do you remember an important conversation you had with any of your children?

Did you have any beliefs about discipline?

If they did something you disapproved of, what would happen?

What sort of things did you disapprove of?

How did your children get on with each other?

Did you bring your children up to consider certain things important in life?

Did you hope your children would achieve certain things in life?

Did you save money for your children's future?

What kinds of attitudes about money did you try to pass on to your children?

23. DOMESTIC ROUTINE

Now I'd like to talk about who does/did what in and about the house. Did you pay anyone to help in the house?

What were these ideas? Did you talk about this? How did you resolve the differences?

In what ways did you want for your child-rearing to be the same or different than your parent's rearing of you?

What about? Listen to their problems? Would you confide in them - your worries? Did you read to them and tell them stories? Did you talk to them about your own past life - or their grand-parents?

With whom, on what topic?

Did you punish your children? How? For what?

Did you have any trouble with your children at any point?

What did you think of telling lies?

Where any of them particularly close? Did you expect them to behave in a particular way towards each other?

What? (Money, status)

How? How much? For what? Will your children inherit any money or property at your death?

Did you have any financial problems in raising your children? Describe.

What were her/his duties? cleaning; looking after children; hours, pay? How did you get on with her? Who supervised/paid her/him? What did she call you? What did you call her?

Who did/does the following jobs
around the house, you or.... ?
cleaning; cooking; washing up;
shopping; washing clothes; fires;
decorating; repairs & improvements?

Did you get a washing machine?

cook	preserves	wash-up	washing	shop	decorating	garden	lives
	/drinks				repairs/ improvements		to ck

wife

husband

Did you or ... make any of the
family's clothes?

Were any clothes bought second-hand?
Where?

Did your children have any tasks
they had to carry out regularly
at home to help?

How long did they continue to do these
tasks? After they left school?

24. MEALS

Now I'd like you to describe the
meals you had/have.

Which was the main meal?
Who did the cooking?
Cooking equipment (range or gas,
cooker, fridge)
Which rooms did you eat in? What
members of the family were present?

Do/did you do any baking or
preserving? What about home
made drinks?

Bake bread; make jam or jelly; bottle
fruit or vegetables; make pickles;
wine or beer?

Do you/.... grow vegetables and
fruit?

Who?

Do you keep any livestock for
family? Hens, pigs, goats?

Who looks after them?

Did you allow your children to talk during meals or not?

Could they choose what they wanted to eat from what was cooking or did they have to eat a bit of everything? Were they expected to hold their knife and fork in a certain way, and sit in a certain way? When could they leave the table?

25. FAMILY ACTIVITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOME

Would the family get together in the evenings?

What would they do? Radio, record player, TV? Did you have any musical instruments in the home? Players? Was there anyone in the family who sang? Did you ever make music together as a family?

Were there books in your house?

Did you belong to the library? Newspapers? Magazines?

Did you or your spouse do any reading? Did you ever read aloud to your children or to each other? Or tell them stories?

About your past lives?

When you or your children had a birthday, would it be different from any other day?

Did you/they receive any presents; have anything special to eat; guests?

Did/do you take your children out visiting neighbours, friends or relations; shopping?

Did/do you go on any outings? Weekends?

Did anyone in your family drive a car? IF YES: who? Did they own the car? Who maintained the car? Would the family go on outings? Where? Who would go?

Did one of you ever go out on your own with your children? Who? Where?

What did you do on your own with your child/ren? What did your spouse do on their own with the child/ren? What did you do together as a family?

Do you ever go away on holiday?

For how long? Regularly? Which members of the family went? Where? Did you stay with relatives?

Were there any other relations you have seen quite often?

Did they live nearby? Do you phone them? When did you see them? Where? Do you remember them influencing your children in any way, teaching them anything?

Can you remember an occasion or occasions when the whole family got together?

Celebrations? Religious days? Funerals? Weddings? Holidays? Would that include aunts and uncles? Were family get togethers unusual?

26. CHILDREN'S PLAY

Who did/do your children play with? Did they have their own special group of friends? Were they free to play with anyone they pleased? Did you discourage them from playing with certain children?

What did they play? Where?

Did they have any hobbies? Did they keep any pets? Did they go fishing; swimming; cycling; dancing or music lessons? Did they take part in any sports?

Did/do they belong to any youth organisations?

27. OWN LEISURE

When you were not doing your work, how do/did you/... spend your time? Did you have any interests outside the home?

Did you go out? Where did you go? With whom? What did you do on your own? What did your spouse do on their own? What did you do together?

Did/do you/... attend any clubs or pubs? Did you/... take part in any sports or games?

During this period, what time would you get home from work? How much time did you spend at home?

How did you/your spouse's work influence family life? How did family life/demands influence you/your spouse's work? Were there any big career moves/changes in occupation that had an impact on your relationship/family? Specify?

28. WEEKENDS AND RELIGION

Could you tell me how you spent weekends?

Saturdays? Shopping, sport, evenings. Sundays? Did you have any different clothes? Did you play games?

Do you attend a church or not?

Denomination? How often? Both of you?

never attend occasionally regularly denomination

husband

wife

Did either of you hold any position in the church/chapel? Did your children attend? IF YES: how often?
Did they go to a Sunday School or not? Were there any Sunday School outings? Did the church/chapel run any temperance club?(PROMPT: Band of Hope?)

Were any members of your family members or not? (IF YES: Who?)
Activities: (e.g. evening classes, outings)
Did any of your family sign the pledge? (Abstaining from alcohol?)

How much would you say religion has meant to you as an adult?

Why?

29. POLITICS

Do you vote in a General Election?

What party? Why?
REPEAT FOR SPOUSE

Do you/your spouse ever discuss politics?

Did you/your spouse take part in any political activity other than at election time?
Did you/your spouse attend any of the social clubs run by political parties?

What influence do you think your political outlook has had on your children?

no views changeable votes for: member/active supporter

Wife

Husband

30. FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL CLASS

How important have friends been to you in your married life?

Where did they live? Where did you see them? Talk on telephone? Did you share the same friends? Did your spouse have friends of their own?

Were people ever invited into the home? How often? Who were they? (PROMPT: Relations, neighbours, friends?)
Would they be offered anything to eat or drink? Would you say that your people invited in were your friends or your spouses friends or both of you? Did you ever go out to visit friends or neighbours? What did you do when you got together with your friends/neighbours? (Music, games, radio)

Have any of them given you..../
spousehelp in looking after the
house or family?
Have other neighbours or relatives
helped?

Did anyone outside the home help you/
your spouse look after the house or
family? Relations; friends; neighbours?
In what ways? Regularly? Did you/your
spouse help neighbours or friends out?
Who would they help? Regularly?
If you/your spouse was out when the
children came home from school, where
would they go? Would a neighbour,
friend of the family, or relative look
after them?

If you or was ill or
confined to bed, how did you
manage?

What happened when your children
were born?

Do you think of people belonging
to different social groups or
classes

Could you tell me what the different
ones are?

What class/group (INFORMANT'S
OWN TERM) would you say you
belonged to yourself?

Why? (own home background, job, house,
education, spouses position?)
What sort of people belong to the same
class/group as yourself? To the other
groups?

What sort of people live in your
neighbourhood?

Who are considered the most important
people? Where you live, do all the
people have the same standards of
living, or would you say there are
different groups?
Do you think that one group feels
itself superior to the rest? Are
some families thought of as
respectable? Are some families thought
of as rough? What is your attitude to
the police? How do you think they treat
people? Is there anyone in your
neighbourhood who people disapprove
of? Who? Why? How is this disapproval
shown? (Racial, Religious groupings)

Do you think ... thinks of
themselves as a member of a class?

Working class? Middle class? Why?
Why not? What makes them put themselves
in that class? (own home background,
job, type of house, spouse's position?)
How does ... feel about people who are
not in the same class as themselves?
(PROMPT: doctor, doctor's wife,
clergyman, teacher).

Do you think it is possible to
move from one class to another?

Do you know anyone who has?

31. CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

Did you have ideas about what kind of education you wanted your children to have?

Does education matter? Did you have any ambitions for their education? Were they different from those your parents had for you? Did you have the same expectations/plans for both your daughter and son?

Did you believe that girls should be treated the same way as boys when you had your children?

That they should be taught the same - e.g. girls' carpentry, football? Boys sewing, cooking, dancing, piano? How did you teach your boy to behave to his sister (e.g. opening doors, carry things)?; your girl to her brother (sew for him, cook for him)?

What kind of schools did your children go to up to 11?

Council/church/private. What did you think of the school? Were you satisfied with it?

Did you talk to the teachers or go to school meetings?

Was somebody at home when they came home?

What kind of schools did they go to after 11 ?

Council/church/private? Boarding? Mixed/single sex? Secondary modern/Grammar/Comprehensive?

Why did you choose...?

IF SELECTIVE/PRIVATE:

How do you think going to affected their relationships with their friends? And with you?

IF BOARDING: How did you feel about their going away from home?

Did they suffer? Did you miss them? Were there losses as well as gains? What gains?

Did you help them with their school work?

Homework

Did you talk to the teachers or go to school meetings?
Did you ever look for a better school for them?
How did they do at school?

As well as you wanted?

How old were they when they left?
Did you want them to go on to college/university/evening classes? DETAILS

Did they?

How do you feel your children's education has affected their lives?

Child	School	Before 11			After 11		
		Council/ Church Private	Mixed/ Single Sex	Boarding	Council/ Church/ Private	Mixed Single Sex	Boarding
1st	1st						
	2nd						
2nd	1st						
	2nd						
3rd	1st						
	2nd						
4th	1st						
	2nd						
5th	1st						
	2nd						
6th	1st						
	2nd						

32. ADULT CHILDREN

What kind of jobs did you hope your children would get?
What were their jobs?

Did you have ambitions for them? Are you satisfied with their work careers?

ENTER/CHECK ON TREE

Job:	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Age of leaving home
------	-------	--------	-------	--------	-------	-------	---------------------

Child

1st

2nd

3rd

4th

5th

6th

At what age did your children leave home?

Where did they go? What did they do? How did you feel about it? Did you help them? How?

What has been your relationship with them since they left home?

How often do you see each other? Do you talk on the telephone? What do you do when you meet? Would you say you are close? Are you as close as you would like to be?

33. AGEING GRANDPARENTS

Are both your parents still alive? When did they die?

Can you tell me something about their lives in later years?

When did you notice that they seemed to be getting old?

How? Before or after retirement?

When did your father (and mother) retire?

How did they manage financially?

Did they receive individual pensions? Did they have any other source of income? Would they accept help from anyone if they needed it?

Did they help you financially?

Did they transfer any money to you at this stage in their lives? Or in their wills?

Did your parents spend more time together after retirement?

Were they both happy about this?

Did your father look forward to retiring? (REPEAT FOR MOTHER IF RELEVANT)

Did your mother look forward to your father retiring?

Did she like having him at home?

How did it affect their relationship?

Did it alter her life-style to any extent? Did he get under her feet?

What were their main interests - outside and inside the home?

Did they take up any new interest or hobby on retirement?

Did they lead active lives?

How often did they go out?

Where to? Who with? Did this change as they got older?

Were they in any clubs? Church groups? Were they religious?

Did they join any groups specifically aimed at the elderly?

Did they keep up their involvement in activities practiced in their younger days?

Did your mother go out without your father?

Your father without your mother?

How often did you see your parents?

Your parents-in-law? Did they visit you regularly? Did you visit them too?

How often did you phone them?

Did you go out together? Where to? How often?

Did you ever go on holiday with them?

Did they see any other relatives? Who?

Who did they see the most?

Did your relationship with your parents change as they got older?

Did they influence how you brought your children up? Was there ever conflict over this?

Did your children visit them regularly?

Did they stay with them? Did they go on holiday with them?

Did they look after them when you were at work? Did they give them pocket

money? Did they make them anything?

Were they close to them? Do you think they were an influence on them?

How?

Did they always live in their own home?

Did they rent or own it?

Did they receive any form of home help?

Did neighbours help them in any ways? Did they do anything for their neighbours? Did you/your partner help them? In what ways?

IF NOT: where did they live?

With whom?

When did they move?

Whose decision was it?

Were they happy with it?

Did they miss their own home? When did they move (health/money?) How did you feel about the move? How did it affect you - your lifestyle and your relationship with your parents?

IF LIVED WITH INFORMANT:

Did it curtail your privacy, freedom, cause friction with partner?

Did they help?

Cooking, babysitting?

Did they need full-time care?

Who in the family took care of them?

IF IN RESIDENTIAL CARE:

How often do/did you visit?

Did anyone else in the family? Did they come and see you? Did they go out with you or anyone else? Did they like living in.....

What happened when your father/mother died? How did (s)he die?

How did your mother/father cope? Had she nursed him? Or you?

What kind of funeral did they have? Had they prepared for their death?

Describe funeral; who organised; guests Had they written a will? Talked about dying? How did their death affect your life? Inheritance? Did your relationship with your mother/father change?

How long did it take her/him to adjust?

Has she made any new friends, interests? Has it aged her/him?

Has it made you think about growing older yourself?

34. DAUGHTER/SON-IN-LAWS AND GRANDCHILDREN

Did you expect your children to marry?

Both your daughter and your son? Did you have any ideas about the kind of person you wanted them to marry and when?

Who did they marry?

Occupation? Education?

How do you feel about (in-law)?

Do you have any grandchildren?

Did you want to be grandparents? Did you have any idea of what it would be like? How has it been?

As a grandparent, what have you done with and for your grand-children?

35. END

What has been the best thing
about your life?

The worst thing?

What would you most like to do
in the time ahead?

APPENDIX

Divorce

TO BE USED AT WHATEVER STAGES IN THE CHRONOLOGY IT OCCURRED

Have you been divorced?

When?

How long had you been married?

What happened?

Why?

INVITE RESPONDENT TO TELL THE STORY IN SOME DETAIL tell the story in some detail.

How did you feel about it at the time?

How do you feel about it now?

What financial, custody and access arrangements were made?

What contact have you had with your ex-partner?

What contact do the children have with their father/mother?

How do the visits go?

DESCRIBE VISITS

SUBSEQUENT LONG-TERM/LIVE-IN RELATIONSHIPS, RE-MARRIAGE/STEP FAMILIES

Have you got a second partner? Have you re-married? Why? Why not?

Has s/he children by an earlier marriage?

Who? When?

USE APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS FOR THE SECTIONS ON MARRIAGE

REPEAT QUESTIONS ON CHILDREN AND

STEP-CHILDREN



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

PROGRESS REPORT
(Edition 1 : March 1985)

Table with Award Reference Number: 1 0 1 2 3 0 0 1 5

1 Award Holder(s)

Table with columns: Title, Initials, Surname, Date of Birth. Rows for Dr P.R. THOMPSON and Professor H. NEWBY.

2 Full Official Address and Telephone Number

Department of Sociology
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

0206 873333

3 Title of Research

Families and Social Mobility

4 Aims and Methods of Research (restrict to this space only)

A study examining the connections between family life and social achievement through a family-based study of social mobility. By comparing experience in Britain and France it is possible to examine the impact of different cultural patterns and social institutions on educational and occupational achievement. The British study will be based upon re-interviews with respondents from an existing national survey of economic stagflation and social change. The aim will be to understand the role of factors internal to the family in influencing patterns of social mobility.

5 Period of Award

1/7/85 - 30/6/88

6 Period covered by Progress Report

to 1/6/87

7 Amount of Award

£64,820

8 Amount Expended to date

£34,739.28

The British side of this comparative project is going well and the fieldwork is now three-quarters completed.

As explained in our report on project G0125 0010 Life Stories and Ageing, we have been able to carry out the fieldwork of these two projects together. This has enabled us, whenever possible, to interview three rather than two generations in each of the families in our sample. The sample basis of this project has remained unchanged and it is therefore gaining substantially from the joint fieldwork.

The Research Officership has been split on a half-time basis between Catherine Itzin and Graham Smith, who took up work on 1 September 1985 and 1st October 1985 respectively. Both have proved excellent fieldworkers and have also been contributing very actively to our preliminary analyses of the material. Apart from the advantage of bringing two minds to the work, dividing the post has had the additional advantage of allowing Catherine Itzin to work in the south and Graham Smith to be based in Scotland, and so reduce the travelling required in interviewing our very scattered sample. It should be noted that they had not both been appointed until 3 months after the starting date of the grant period, and we hope that a similar extension at the end of the period will be allowable in order for them to complete their three years.

As reported with reference to project G0125 0010, we have encountered one serious practical problem. This is that among the informants interviewed for the original Howard Newby Stagflation sample who agreed to be interviewed for a second time when seen for that survey, who were the basis for our sample for the Families and Social Mobility study, a surprisingly high number had either since changed their minds, or moved, or have proved impossible to contact without repeated visits. We have since discovered that similar problems were encountered in the original study (which was contracted out), causing a response rate for that of 64%, with the worst problems encountered in inner city constituencies, where the removal rate over two years has proved very surprisingly high. In these districts the Stagflation study achieved an eventual response rate of only 51% after up to five visits before contact was made with each informant. We have found similar problems, for example in inner London, where any progress required similar repeated calls. In one sample area in Blackburn with an Asian population it became rapidly clear that the turnover was so complete that it would be fruitless to try to trace the former informants, not one of whom now lived at their previous address. But in other areas where there seemed a real possibility of increasing the response rate through persistence, we have made it our policy to attempt to do so.

The combination of a lower response rate than expected, and so a more scattered sample than we had originally planned, along with repeated visits, has dramatically increased the cost of travel for the project. When the situation had become absolutely clear I wrote to Dr Statt requesting a small supplementary grant, and he responded by writing that this could not be considered, but he would allow us to transfer money between headings. We have consequently been able to continue as planned, but with a slight reduction of the total number of families studied.

The project has been developed, and its preliminary analysis has now begun, through a series of meetings, of which four have also been attended by our French colleagues. We have held one of these meetings in Paris. The other meetings have been regularly attended by two of my ESRC PhD students, giving them direct experience of research in action.

The early meetings during the autumn of 1985 were concerned with the definition of the sample and the development of a full interview schedule for each of the three generations to be interviewed. In each case the interview takes a life story form and includes sections on the experience of and attitudes to ageing as well as on work and family life. Fieldwork began right at the end of 1985, had reached the half-way point by the autumn of 1986 and should be completed by September 1987.

In the meantime we have held a series of meetings to discuss the interpretation of this material. We have been fortunate to be helped in this by Gill Gorell Barnes of the Institute of Family Therapy, who has been a very stimulating presence in helping us to pick out the ways in which influences are transmitted across the generations within the family. We believe that the combination of the 'family systems' approach used in family therapy with sociological perspectives provides a new and very revealing way of looking at our material, and we hope that one of our publications will be a discussion of this innovatory form of analysis.

Our principal anxiety with this project is with the comparative dimension. We had originally understood that the research grant on the French side would match our own. This turned out not to be the case. The resources which have been provided are much smaller, and in our view frankly inadequate. Still more seriously, we are informed that they do not allow for the payment of either interviewers or transcribers. As a result, the French fieldwork is lagging far behind our own: only a quarter of their sample has been interviewed, and at present the interviewing appears to have been suspended. Nor has the material which has been collected been transcribed. I reported my anxieties about the situation some time ago to Dr Statt. We are confident of being able to produce a valuable report from this research on Families and Social Mobility in Britain; but it is quite clear that the comparative dimension of the analysis will have to be delayed. Indeed we fear that, short of effective pressure from ESRC on the French co-fundors of the project, it will have to be - at least as originally conceived - effectively abandoned.

10 Changes to original award

Indicate whether there has been any change in the award holder(s), research staff or institution since the award commenced.

None

11 Research Staff

Name, status and period of appointment

Catherine Itzin	Research Officer	from 1 September 1985 for 3 years
Graham Smith	Research Officer	from 1 October 1985 for 3 years

12 Publications

Indicate all publications which have arisen from the research to date or are in preparation, with details of author, editor, publisher and date of publication. If there are no such publications at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space please continue on paper the same size as this.)

Graham Smith, '"Fur Coat, Nae Knickers": Working Class Attitudes to Social Mobility and the Family in Scotland', Paris Conference, Atelier Constitution des Trajectoires Sociales, May 1986

Catherine Itzin, 'Families and Social Mobility: the Function of Myth and Pretence in Perceptions of Social Class', Oxford International Conference on Myth and History, September 1987

Graham Smith, 'Equality: Connecting Word and Deed', Oxford International Conference on Myth and History, September 1987

Catherine Itzin, Graham Smith and Paul Thompson, Love Nor Money, book proposal to Oxford University Press

13 Dissemination

Indicate if any other dissemination in the form of conferences etc has taken place during the period covered and any future plans for further dissemination you may have. If there are no such plans at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space continue on paper the same size as this.)

As above.

Award Reference Number							
I	0	1	2	3	0	0	1 5

1 Award Holder(s)

Title	Initials	Surname	Date of Birth
Professor	P R	THOMPSON	<input type="text"/>
Professor	H J	NEWBY	<input type="text"/>
			<input type="text"/>

2 Full Official Address and Telephone Number

Department of Sociology
University of Essex

3 Title of Research

FAMILIES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

4 Aims and Methods of Research (restrict to this space only)

A study examining the connections between family life and social achievement through a family-based study of social mobility. By comparing experience in Britain and France the impact of different cultural patterns and social structures is evaluated. The British study is based on re-interviews with respondents from an earlier national survey of economic stagflation and social change. The aim is to understand the role of factors internal to the family in influencing patterns of social mobility.

5 Period of Award

1.7.85. - 30.9.88.

6 Total Amount Expended

£63,158.00

7 Summary of Research Results (refer to Guidelines; restrict to this page only)

This project has examined the connections between family life and social mobility through in-depth life story interviews with a national random sample of 110 married men and women aged 30-55 and with a second older or younger generation member of the same family. The British material is being compared with similar interviews from families in France.

In contrast to the massive post-war exodus from the French countryside and the shift of a high proportion of families from a peasant or small entrepreneurial background to industrial, service or professional work, in Britain, where this major transition belongs to the 19th century, recent social mobility has taken place within a more stable context. Our findings suggest that this context has given the family a primarily protective influence promoting continuity rather than change in education and occupational status.

In terms of informants' own careers, the most striking contrast was found between the experience of men and women. While most men experienced a slight upward movement in working conditions and often in occupational status through their career, women invariably suffered a downward movement with the onset of childrearing and the assumption that women's rather than men's careers should be sacrificed. This pattern was the most consistent of all those we found in our sample families.

Viewed in intergenerational terms, particularly when account was taken of mother's occupations, the typical family remained in the same broad occupational status. This relative stability was associated with short distance geographical mobility, typically outwards within the urban regions. Among our families these moves tended to be into better housing and linked to slight occupational improvements, but each type of movement or its absence could also occur independently.

A minority of informants had been much more frequent movers. Although most of our middle class families settled early in working life, a few were restless 'spiralists' moving for their careers. Another group were of rural origin and occupationally mobile, sometimes upwards. In contrast, a third were army families, with whom frequent moving and the consequent dislocation of children's education and wives' social and occupational lives was associated with exceptional marital disharmony, often leading to subsequent problems of lack of initiative and displacement.

We found a more consistent association with upward mobility among long distance migrants. With Scottish families particularly these include emigrants; and it was found that in choosing where to go and first finding housing overseas family networks were crucial, and also that emigrants returned to Scotland primarily to meet family needs such as from ageing parents.

The upward mobility of external immigrants - as of some internal migrants of rural origin - was associated with an entrepreneurial or peasant family culture which proved dynamic in the new context: a parallel with similar forms of family self-promotion through business or education which appear to be more widespread in France. A small group of British families originating from declining industrial regions had also used education to promote their children into superior new careers. We found however that such conscious use of education as a mobility path out of the working classes was surprisingly rare.

Among the minority of British families who experienced intergenerational mobility upward or downward, structural economic and familial factors were both found significant. Fallers were victims of regional unemployment and the vulnerability of small business; but they were also associated with large family size, divorce or alcoholism. Risers were long term migrants from entrepreneurial or peasant family cultures, or children with aspiring mothers often from 'sunken' middle class backgrounds, or only children. They also include, more surprisingly, some children from broken families. Our preliminary conclusion is that in the relatively stable British context, the more rooted and cohesive the family, the more extensive its network, the more conservative its influence on occupation. Dynamic family influence is more frequent in the face of sharp structural economic change, or with very small or broken families.

The analysis of patterns of movement has been combined with a theoretical exploration of the processes of intergenerational transmission within families: of the inheritance of cultural capital (such as social networks or educational traditions), and also of each family as a separate intergenerational system of interlocking social and emotional relationships which can propel individuals into paths of not only continuity but also of reversals of family culture.

8 Changes to Original Award

Indicate whether there has been any change in the award holder(s), research staff or institution since the award commenced.

None

9 Research Staff

Name, status and period of appointment

Graham Smith, Research Officer, half-time 1 October 1985 - 30 September 1988

Catherine Itzin, Research Officer, half time 1 September 1985 - 31 August 1988

10 Publications

Indicate all publications which have arisen from the research to date or are in preparation, with details of author, editor, publisher and date of publication. If there are no such publications at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space please continue on paper the same size as this.)

Graham Smith, 'Mito dell'uguaglianza e realtà della disoccupazione: un'esperienza di storia orale a Dundee', Informazione: notiziario bibliografica di storia contemporanea italiana, 13 (1988), pp.6-10 - translation of 'Equality: connecting word and deed', conference paper, Oxford, 11-13 September 1987.

Graham Smith '"Fur Coat, Nae Knickers": working class attitudes to social mobility and the family in Scotland', conference paper, Atelier Constitution des Trajectoires Sociales, Paris, May 1986

Catherine Itzin, 'Families and social mobility: myth and pretence in perceptions of social class', paper to Sixth International Oral History Conference, St John's College, Oxford, 11-13 September 1987

Kay Sanderson, 'Women's Lives: social class and the oral historian', Life Stories/Récits de vie 4 (1988), pp.27-35

Kay Sanderson, 'Meanings of class and social mobility: the public and private lives of female civil servants', paper to BSA conference, Edinburgh March 1988, forthcoming in BSA Conference Papers (Dr Sanderson was associated with the preparation of the project as a Linked Student.)

Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, 'Des recits de vie aux histoires de famille', Congress of Association Canadienne de Sociologie et Anthropologie, Monkton, May 1988 (forthcoming in Actes du Congrès)

Daniel Bertaux & Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, 'Le patrimoine et sa lignée: transmissions et mobilité sociale sur cinq générations', Life Stories/Récits de vie 4 (1988) pp.8-26.

Paul Thompson, Catherine Itzin & Graham Smith, "Nor love nor money": family dynamics and social ambition - book, in preparation (theory and case studies)

Also in preparation:

Graham Smith: monograph on geographical mobility and social mobility

Catherine Itzin: monograph on gender and social mobility

Paul Thompson: book on family relationships in Britain since 1830, to be published by Oxford University Press.

11 Dissemination

Indicate if any other dissemination in the form of conferences etc has taken place during the period covered and any future plans for further dissemination you may have. If there are no such plans at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space continue on paper the same size as this.)

Nil.

'Families and Social Mobility: A Comparative Study'

The objective of this comparative project was to link two normally separate fields of study, the family and social mobility. On the one hand, although statistical information is regularly collected on demographic aspects of family trends in Britain, research on family relationships and their transmission between different generations has concentrated overwhelmingly on families in difficulties. There has been a serious lack of sample-based studies of ordinary families and normal processes of intergenerational influences with which to compare them.

On the other hand, despite the recognition of the importance of parental influence and other familial factors both in the achievement and in the definition of social status, investigations of social mobility have almost exclusively focussed on statistical studies of individual occupational mobility. This strategy has effectively prevented consideration not only of the role of the family in social mobility, but also, because they are less consistently in paid work, of the social mobility of women as individuals.

The research design was to select in both Britain and France sub-samples of 150 informants from large-scale national sample-based surveys and to carry out life story interviews with them and in addition with a second member of the same family of a different generation.

We are pleased to report that (with some modifications described below) the British fieldwork was successfully carried out and has resulted in excellent qualitative data from which we have in preparation one collective and three separate monographs (see above, Section 10). The Anglo-French collaboration, on the other hand, while undoubtedly enhancing the project, has fallen short of the level which we had envisaged.

Anglo-French Collaboration

When we designed our joint research application it was in the belief that equal financial resources would be made available on each side, so that a comparable set of empirical data would be collected in Britain and France. In fact the funding provided on the French side was at an extremely low level. There was no money for either research assistants, or for interviewers, or even for transcribing the interviews. Although we reported this to ESRC, pressure from the British side yielded no improvement in provision. The result has been that the French team have been able to interview only a quarter of the number of families that were intended. While this has not prevented joint work in interpreting our material, it has meant that a meaningful systematic comparative analysis of the two national samples is not possible. In this respect the Anglo-French comparative dimension has therefore proved disappointing.

In other respects we have found the collaboration very stimulating. We were able to work closely together, both during the preparation of the research design and the drawing up of the interview guide, and during the preliminary analysis of the earlier sets of family interviews. This has resulted in a continually creative exchange of ideas. It highlighted many assumptions of social structural features or influences which we took for granted in our own countries, and it stimulated the theoretical interpretation of our findings. It has become clear, for example, that some of our original hypotheses apply much more clearly to one culture than to the other: thus the family with a joint 'project' for raising its

children socially seems to be linked to migrant families most commonly with a peasant or entrepreneurial background. These are common in France, but rare in Britain except among immigrants. This contrast has led us to argue that in the relative stability of post-war British society, in contrast to France, family culture has tended to work against rather than in favour of social mobility. This exchange of interpretative ideas, which will continue into the future, has been a very fruitful outcome of the collaboration. It could not, we believe, have taken place outside the context of a joint project.

Data Collection

The fieldwork strategy was to select a 'middle generation' of men and women aged 30 to 55, married with children, and where possible to interview an older or younger generation (over 16) member of the family in addition. The middle generation were a sub-sample of informants previously interviewed for the ESRC Stagflation project survey, who had agreed to be re-interviewed. Informants for this national survey were clustered in 200 polling districts. We initially decided to select informants from 35 constituencies in Scotland, the north-west, the west midlands, London and the south-east.

While we adhered to this basic strategy, we were obliged to modify it in a number of respects to meet difficulties which we encountered. We found that an unexpectedly high number of informants had either changed their minds since their previous interview, or - especially in inner city polling districts - had moved and were untraceable. We discovered that similar problems were encountered in the original Stagflation survey, which was contracted out, resulting in a national response rate of 64%, falling to only 51% in inner city districts, despite up to five visits being made to each potential informant. In our own fieldwork, where contact was made, we found that some people were unwilling to undergo another long interview; some others had been upset at the previous interview by the lack of confidentiality, since the interviewer employed came from their own community; and others claimed never to have been interviewed for the earlier survey - and in a few cases, given the discrepancy between the basic survey data and themselves, this seemed likely. Although our fieldwork effort had been strengthened by working jointly (as previously reported) with our ESRC project on Life Stories and Ageing, we found it necessary to meet these difficulties not only by adding further polling districts - so that the fieldwork became more scattered, time-consuming and expensive - but also by reducing the overall target number of families for interview.

As the fieldwork proceeded it became clear that there was not only a bias in the refusal rates in terms of district (which could be corrected in the choice of further polling districts added from the national sample), but also a class bias. We were surprised to find that the lowest refusal rate was among the professional and managerial classes, who proved willing to give substantial time to talk fully about their work and family lives. We therefore introduced a stratified occupational quota to ensure an appropriate class balance. There were also indications from a number of contacts which were made where informants eventually refused to be interviewed, that refusals could also be due to family secrets (such as illegitimacy). The sample is biased towards intact families by being based on couples (and so excluding single parents), and the refusals are likely to have increased this. Others were unable to be interviewed because they were too rarely at home (lorry drivers, shift-workers), or

overwhelmed by current pressures (working housewives also caring for a sick mother, or with too many children in too little space). On the other hand, some people did want to be interviewed partly because they had such family problems which they wished to talk about. There are clearly inherent difficulties in achieving a satisfactory sample of any fieldwork which demands long and intimate interviews with informants. Our experience suggests that a more effective strategy than a straightforward random sample would have been a more highly stratified sample, filled randomly. This would, however, have proved considerably more expensive to carry out.

The sample as completed consists of 110 middle generation informants, 48 younger generation and 55 older generation. The families include some lone informants, as well as others in which three generations were interviewed. The quality of the interviews obtained is high. Rather than the three hours of interview envisaged, older and middle generation interviews are typically of four or more hours each, resulting in 70 to 150 pages of transcript. Each interview combines an account of family background and occupations with a fully life story, covering childhood, working life, marriage and childrearing. All interviews are fully transcribed.

The interviews are currently held in the unstaffed oral history archive at the University of Essex. Since qualitative life story interviews are unsuitable holdings for the ESRC Data Archive, no central national collection has been established for archiving them for the future benefit of social researchers generally. We believe that facilities could be provided by the National Life Story Collection at the National Sound Archive and hope to negotiate the eventual deposit of the tapes and transcripts of the interviews there.

Analysis and Findings

The full exploitation of qualitative interviews is invariably a lengthy process. We have attacked it in three ways. Firstly, a basic coding of the interviews has been completed so that information for the set as a whole can be tabulated. We have combined this with a reanalysis of data on occupations of family members (parents, siblings and children, but in that case not grandparents) from the 444 quota sample interviews collected from our earlier SSRC project on 'Family Life and Work Experience before 1918'.

Secondly, all the older generation interviews have been read qualitatively for the writing of "I don't feel old..." later life then and now. This book, which has been completed and is in publication by Oxford University Press, is the outcome of our 'Life Stories and Ageing' project, and has been a major concern of Professor Thompson and Dr Itzin during the last twelve months. It has been particularly relevant to the current project in allowing us to explore processes of family influence and transmission from the grandparental generation of the sample families.

Thirdly, as was originally envisaged, we have begun the examination of the same processes through looking at whole families in detail. We have in preparation, as our first major monograph from the project, an interpretative study focussing on six case study families: "Nor love nor money": family dynamics and social ambition.

Our intention is to follow this joint book with three separate monographs (see Section 10) for which we have individually begun preparation. The

findings which follow are therefore a preliminary outcome only of the continuing analysis of the rich data set which the project has yielded. We divide our findings below into, firstly, types and factors of social mobility, and secondly, forms of transgenerational analysis.

Types and factors in social mobility

Our material provides information on three basic dimensions of social mobility: geographical, housing and occupational. While movement on one dimension tends to be linked with another, this is not always the case.

In terms of geographical and housing mobility, the overall patterns reflect those known from other evidence. Typically informants made three or four relatively short distance moves. Most of this movement was within urbanised regions, predominantly outwards from the centres. Working class families of the older and middle generations were moving as young parents from rented property into council housing schemes - after which they rarely moved (interestingly, this also applied to one middle class family on a Coventry council estate). Originally the move into council housing represented a significant improvement, but subsequent environmental deterioration has undermined this effect. Other working class families, especially in the south, were moving to owner-occupied housing in the city suburbs or commuter belt. In some cases this was achieved through a series of four moves in each generation, and it was striking how with some families mobility of this type was a central aim, independent of and frequently without occupational mobility. They saw their houses as a symbol of their social achievement and standing.

With middle class families a similar geographical pattern of outward movement is found, but it started with earlier generations, and the investment aspect is more emphasised. It has recently been complicated in two ways: by tendencies to return to inner city areas in young adulthood, for example, as students; and in later life, to retire to the countryside.

A minority of families moved much more frequently, or much further. These families proved of particular interest. These frequent movers reached a maximum of nineteen homes so far for one Scottish informant. Three types stand out among them.

The first were middle class families making occupational career moves with, for example, large organisations such as banks or nationalised industry. Such 'spiralists' proved however to be very few: our middle class informants are typically either settled 'burgesses', or moved once or twice only at the start of a career.

A second type was of rural origin. Migration from rural to urban areas was still continuing with the older and middle generations, mainly from peripheral regions. In class terms these families were often ambiguous, combining waged work as servants or labourers while young adults with small farm croftwork, contract work, or artisan skills. Rural farm workers and servants moved frequently between jobs and lived in tied housing. Almost all of those of rural origin in the sample have lived in seven or more homes. Although the effect on their schooling was disruptive, this mobility appears to have combined with a 'jack of all trades' background to make for an occupational adaptability. A minority were also upwardly mobile. Two factors seem to have encouraged upward mobility. One is previous entrepreneurial work, for example for sawmills,

by parents or grandparents. The other, found in two Scottish and one English instance, is a paternalistic gift of money or property to a former servant by an employer.

If with those of rural origin a lack of local rootedness appears to combine positively with strengths within the family, a reverse effect was found with the third type, army families. Here again we found that almost all had lived so far in seven or more homes. But rather than being associated with upward mobility, this small group in our study stand out in their difficulties in reconciling work and family life. Like earlier rural workers they live in tied housing, and this inhibits them from gaining a foot in the housing market. Nor does the occupational culture of the services encourage individualistic initiative. And unlike the 'spiralists', the rural worker or the long distance migrant, they are unable to choose either where or when they move. This lack of control over geographical movement can provide the family with severe problems ranging from disruption of children's education to uncertainty and instability in the social and working life of the spouse. In army families this was associated with a striking tendency to marital stress, tension or breakdown between the parental couple. Marital disagreement and discontent arising from postings during service life was often followed by later life problems of displacement and loss of initiative. In army families, in short, high geographical mobility combined negatively with occupational culture and especially with family culture to inhibit upward social mobility.

We found a more consistently positive association with upward social mobility among long distant migrants (i.e. beyond region of origin). Clearly these informants had been originally pushed to move, either by lack of economic opportunity - from rural agricultural decline or industrial unemployment in Britain or abroad - or from racial persecution - in eastern Europe or East Africa. (There were no migrant West Indian families in our sample.) But with these families, cutting loose from previous cultural backgrounds was used positively to seize new chances. This was possible through two kinds of dynamic within the families. External migrants from overseas usually had an entrepreneurial or peasant culture of collective advancement, but with the effort often shifting in the younger generation from family business to professional ambitions. Similar patterns were also found in some families of rural origin within Britain.

A second type of advancement is found, by contrast, with the small minority of upwardly mobile families from classic industrial working class backgrounds. A group of Welsh and English families, mostly originating from mining communities with declining work opportunities, had positively encouraged their children to better themselves through education, and most often specifically to become teachers. Some of these upwardly mobile internal migrants had moved as children with their families, while others had left their communities to pursue their education and careers.

These two means of social mobility are of course well known and have been described in many classic social studies of immigration and education. We were surprised, however, to find them almost exclusively among long distance migrants. Neither minor entrepreneurial activity nor the conscious use of the education system as a mobility path appear common among second (or more) generation urban British working class families in our sample. The comparison with France is helpful here. In France a much higher proportion of families are of peasant, small shopkeeper or artisan

origin, so that the first type of migrant is much more common. But it has also been noted how the younger generation of the established working class steelworker families of the Meuse, now facing redundancy, have switched from a strategy of family support within the community to finding new professions through education, again with strong parental support. It seems likely that the most typical relationships between social mobility (or its absence) and British family culture reflect the earlier establishment of an urban and industrial working class and a relatively slow pace of change up to the late 1970s.

Certainly in Britain, both among middle class and working class geographical stayers or short migrants, family culture appears to work much more conservatively and protectively. Well educated parents ensure that their children are educated too; entrepreneurial families attempt - with mixed success - to maintain their small businesses as builders or specialist craft producers or shopkeepers; working class children follow their parents into the steelworks or the mill or the car factory. We had anticipated (partly on the basis of earlier findings by our French colleagues in France and Québec, with families we now note to be typically migrants of rural origin - as also the subjects of most North American studies of immigration) finding instances of family projects of upward social mobility through business or education much more widespread. It appears that a cohesive family culture typically becomes dynamic only in response to sharply changing social and economic context, such as long distance migration. Conversely downward mobility due to occupational factors is typically found among stayers, who have become unemployed with the shrinking of local industry.

Long distance migrants were as expected mostly found in the South East, whether from overseas or the British peripheries. Our interviews also provide interesting information on emigration. While a very few English families had members who emigrated or worked in the Empire for substantial periods, in Scotland over a third of the middle generation informants recalled family members in their own and in the older generation emigrating in the post-1945 period. Emigration was most frequent in the 1950s and 1960s when work and material advancement seemed easy to find: 'Plenty of meat, your fridge was always filled, didna hae to worry about money or nothing'. By the 1980s it has declined to a trickle among the younger generation. Contrary to the impression given by earlier studies based on statistics (and therefore more vulnerable to emigrants' exaggerations of their skills), this emigration was of not only skilled but also unskilled workers and their families. Lorry drivers, labourers and factory workers as well as the skilled found they could achieve a better standard of living abroad, and even develop their own businesses in the service sector.

Desire for a higher standard of living was, however, typically expressed by emigrants in terms of family advance as much as individual aspirations. Family also played a key role in the migration process, with earlier migrants providing initial hospitality. (This was a feature for some but not all migrants into Britain, but not with long distance internal migrants.) And particularly strikingly, return migration to Scotland was above all for family reasons: either because a spouse or children or both were unhappy, or because the older generation were alone and in need of support.

The patterns of occupational mobility reported by our sample also reflect the findings from other evidence. Almost all middle generation male

informants have experienced improvements in terms of income, conditions and security since they first started work. This generation entered employment from the 1940s to the 1960s and benefitted from the long post-war expansion. Most of this improvement is however modest in terms of occupational class. Intergenerational occupational class moves both between and within the working and middle classes were found with only a minority - 2/5ths of the sample families. Of these 26% were risers and 14% were fallers. As would be anticipated, upward mobility was concentrated in London and the South East (57% of all families) and markedly lower in industrial regions (falling to 11% of families). Conversely, there were half as many fallers from London and the South East as from the industrial regions.

It is also noticeable how families in these industrial regions particularly benefitted from post-war policies for promoting regional growth, especially in the public sector. Many were able to take advantage of the new job security and opportunities for advancement offered by the nationalised coal, gas and electricity industries, state education, local council work and to a lesser extent the National Health Service. Advancement to supervisory or lower managerial posts in the public sector was also open to children from working class families. Conversely, recent industrial decline especially of the public sector has made such families today especially vulnerable to downward mobility through unemployment. Middle class families found opportunities in both public and private sector middle and upper management, and a more significant factor for them has proved to be size of firm, due to the increasing vulnerability of small businesses in this period, and their relative lack of opportunities for promotion. There were a number of cases of downward mobility (inter and intra-generational) due to the failure of small family businesses.

Unlike most investigations of social mobility, our study provides information for both men and women. As expected, these present markedly different patterns. Women's mobility can be evaluated either in relation to family background or as an occupational career. It was noticeable that a significant number of women whose fathers - and also whose husbands - were in manual occupations were themselves white collar workers. On the other hand, whether professional, white collar or manual workers, women informants had invariably experienced careers broken at the birth of their first child. All had then ceased full-time work for periods varying from four to sixteen years after the birth of their last child.

Although upward social mobility through marriage is often suggested as an important opportunity for women, we did not find this frequent - downward social mobility through marriage in terms of father's and husband's occupations was almost as common. More important, such discussions of male occupations have failed to notice that marriage, through motherhood, leads to marked downward social mobility in the woman's own career (which may be of higher occupational status than her husband's) even when she remains in the same occupational class, through periods of not working, part-time working, and general lowering of occupational ambitions. In none of our sample families was any doubt expressed that motherhood should take priority over a woman's career. This assumption and practice is the most universal of all the impingements of the family on individual social mobility which we have observed. While men's occupational decisions certainly took some account of family needs with important consequences for their careers, none had comparably drastic effects.

Family also proved to be a key influence when we examined the minority who were transgenerational risers or fallers in occupational class. Among fallers we have already noted the impact on some working class families of unemployment in declining industrial regions, and also the vulnerability of small business for middle class families. Among familial factors it is firstly noticeable that there is a higher proportion of fallers among informants brought up in large families with five or more children - although it should be emphasised that some other large families also appeared particularly resilient. There was also a strong association with divorce, which had in some cases resulted in the downward mobility of a previously upwardly mobile informant. A last factor was alcoholism.

It is interesting that our reanalysis of the quota sample of 444 interviews collected in the early 1970s on 'Family life and work experience before 1918' suggests continuities in most of these factors in downward mobility. There are a more significant number of cases of declining family businesses and obsolescent skills in this earlier set, but we again find large families in poverty - where elder children were sent out early to earn in unskilled dead end work, or kept at home to look after younger children; and also, with comparable effects, instances of alcoholism and especially of family break-up through death or separation.

Among risers the familial factors appear still more salient. We have already discussed the long distance migrants with dynamic family aspirations. It is particularly noticeable that the few families in which whole groups of siblings rise together are typically of this type. A second factor in some families is pressure from an aspiring mother who had acquired middle class values through work in service or as a teacher or nurse: a variant form of the 'sunken middle class' mothers first noted by Jackson and Marsden. There is a particularly significant proportion of risers among only children, a historically new development since the earlier set of interviews on the contrary show only children more often held back to provide support for their parents. Lastly and most surprisingly, in view of the extensive literature on problem families, the risers include several children whose families were broken in childhood. The earlier set of interviews also reveal a much higher proportion of successful children from broken families (despite examples to the contrary) than would have been anticipated.

These findings fit, however, with our suggestion above that in the context of a relatively stable society such as 20th century Britain, the effect of family culture and cohesion is essentially conservative and protective rather than dynamic. Furthermore, the larger and more rooted a family, the more this will be. The ties may be loosened in a number of different ways: through migration, through being a small one-child family, or even through family breakdown. We may cite, as the exception which illustrates the rule, the case of a transgeneration Coventry family of car workers with a lone sibling riser, 'the clever bod of the family', who had gone to university and on to a professional career. He turned out to have been brought up outside the family, after suffering from polio as a boy. One way or another, it appears that the loosening of family ties may often be an essential prelude to upward social mobility, either backed by family support or through lone determination.

Forms of transgenerational analysis

We have so far presented our findings in terms of overall patterns of mobility among individual men and women, interpreted through placing them

in their family and social context. We have also approached our analysis from the other end, by looking at individual families as a whole, both from Britain and France. We see this as a forensic process, interrogating the material in detail to test class assumptions and generate new theories and hypotheses. Our Anglo-French collaboration has been particularly worthwhile here.

Our starting point has been a broadening of the concepts used in analysing social mobility, which becomes immediately possible once the focus is shifted from individual occupational mobility to families. Occupation ceases to be the sole indicator of social position: family housing, education, culture and inheritance can also be taken into account. The role of women, instead of being largely ignored, becomes central both as child-rearers and as transmitters of both family influence and their own independent occupational culture (as in the cases of women teachers). Equally important, rather than simply documenting the mobility which occurs, motivations, relationships and emotions also become accessible. We see our task as to identify, through the close analysis of this rich and varied data, processes of intergenerational transmission.

We are looking at this question in two ways. The first (influenced by Bourdieu) is to ask what aspects of a family's material and cultural capital can be transmitted, and how this is achieved. Thus one family from central France have a male lineage of five generations of artisan and small entrepreneurial activity: beginning as millers, moving to bakery, then to a seed and fertiliser business, and finally with the informant to the sale of cattle fodder. His wife is a doctor and one son is one of the town's main estate agents.

Close examination reveals a variety of crucial factors in this chain of transmission. While the family's financial capital is of some importance, a much more crucial factor emerged as the inheritance of a social network of local clients. This was why, while each generation had to seek its own opportunities, the family line studied here were up to the informant all engaged in a trade relating to grain processing, and always pursued this in the same small locality. The social network was thus both a key transmission, and determined them as geographical stayers. Even their latest switch to estate agency appears in the same light, for the family had put its savings over the generations into house-renting, and was again able to build on its established network.

A second process revealed is how, as with the proverb 'It is not the peasant who inherits the land, but the land who inherits the peasant', so with this entrepreneurial family one son would always be called to be successor to the business. The other sons were excluded by this choice and forced to look for new occupations elsewhere: pushed into geographical and perhaps occupational mobility. This rule was brought home when, following the wartime death of one son who had been determined as family heir, a younger son who had already begun a banking career was recalled to take his place: 'he just had to help his father'.

A third factor is marriage. These small businesses needed a vigorous working partner in the wife, particularly in bakery. But equally interesting was the effect, in the present generation, of marriage to a socially superior wife. The family proved a clear illustration of how a competition for the symbolic appropriation of the children may follow. In this case, in all but surname the husband and his children became absorbed

into his wife's family, thus achieving through his marriage the most crucial upward step in his own lineage.

The second approach is to examine each family as an intergenerational system of interlocking social and emotional relationships. We have been especially influenced in this by family systems theory, and have developed our ideas through a series of joint workshops at the Institute of Family Therapy. This way of looking at families has been developed for treating those in difficulties: thus the therapist assumes that the member of a family presenting for treatment may be manifesting the symptoms of a pathology elsewhere in the system. The dominating ageing businessman father, for example, suffers acute but inexplicable pains because his son is a grown-up but still obedient boy who will not demand responsibility. A series of deviant patterns has been identified, particularly in relationship to broken families: the child who becomes a parental figure, for example, not only taking adult roles at home but declining to go to school, or the child who fills the empty place as a substitute quasi-spousal confidante in bed or out.

Although the family systems approach fits well with interactionist perspectives and also with the role theory commonly used in sociological work on marriage, and also with more recent research on the distribution of power in families, it goes beyond it. Such studies do not take the individual family as a system in its own right. The only comparable sociological precedent of which we are aware is the earlier Chicago work of Bossard and Boll on large families, which was developed from role theory as a way of showing how each of a large group of siblings chose distinctive paths.

We have found in our sample families that some have repeating patterns of difficulties: each generation escaping from unhappy homes with early pregnancies and marriage, leading in turn to another unsatisfactory or broken marriage. But it has been equally interesting to identify more positive repeating patterns (such as families where the women who chose husbands who cook; or where - notwithstanding transformations in party political opinion - parents continue to insist on the same thrifty attitude to money) or conscious reversals (such as a factory machinist rejecting the inexpressive and unsocial model of his parents for a close joint marriage).

Given the associations we have indicated between childrearing, marriage, divorce and mobility, we see the further exploration of these patterns of continuity and reversal as a crucial future task. The assumption in family systems theory that influence can be handed down either through imitation or through rejection of a previous generation's pattern is particularly important for it implies a major reason for the failure of statistical studies to identify clear trends in inter-generational influence. This is a general point whose implications deserve much further exploration. We believe, in short, that the recognition of each family as itself a social-emotional structure, an interactional behaviour system which can propel individuals into particular paths, is for sociologists in our field a major step forward in explanatory theory.

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FAMILIES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY: THE FUNCTION OF MYTH AND PRETENSE
IN PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS

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The traditional model for categorising people by social class has been occupational status based on the OPCS (Office of Population & Census Statistics) Classification of Occupations (1980). Since the 1911 Census it has been customary also within the OPCS to arrange the large number of groups of occupational classification into five broad categories called Social Classes. More recently, Goldthorpe (1980) has redefined and rearranged occupational classifications to create seven social class groups, partly in response to the apparent contradictions between the Registrar General's classification and the social status actually ascribed to people in particular occupational groups.

In both cases, although the occupational classifications are extremely complex, they are also very crude and do not take into account how people actually perceive the class system or their place in it. Classification by occupation excludes a multiplicity of criteria that are used consciously and unconsciously in people's self-perceptions, or their perceptions by and of others in the ascription of social class status. Some has now been written about the reflection of women's oppression represented by the classification of 'housewives' as economically inactive, or of women according to occupational status of husband or father.

The most obvious evidence of the inadequacies of occupational classification as a measure of social class is the extent to which the five OPCS Social Class groups have come, in common useage, to be equated with a whole range of positive or negative cultural attitudes or social values and to be used synonymously with designations of people as upper, middle and lower or working class.

Thus membership of social classes 4 and 5 is usually equated with living conditions, life styles, values and qualities, often with negative and 'victim-blaming' connotations which have no necessarily causal connection with occupational status, and it is usually taken to be synonymous with being lower or working class. People in social classes 1 and 2 are labelled middle or upper class, and are often assumed to be, or assume themselves to be, 'better' people in senses that far exceed occupational status or level of income. People in social class 3 tend to be divided 'up' or 'down'

according to whether their work is non-manual or manual (another reason for Goldthorpe's reclassification). In short, occupational classification does not take into account other apparently 'objective' criteria of class status nor the 'subjective' perceived notions of individuals about it. It accounts in part for an economic definition of divisions, but what of the cultural and social divisions? What, for example, of education? Of home ownership? Of kind of home owned and where? Of codes of behaviour? Of notions of respectability? Of accumulated or inherited 'wealth'? Of intellectual interests cultural 'tastes'? Of lifestyle? Of accent? And above all, of attitudes? Some of these are not wholly independent of occupational status, but none are adequately included within its implications either.

This paper will review traditional concepts of social class and compare these with the beliefs held about the class system by individuals who have been or are upwardly and downwardly mobile within it. It will also explore apparent contradictions between the actual ways in which individuals live their lives (e.g. education, occupation, home ownership, behaviour, etc), their perception of the class system and their place within it, and the attitudes they have about it. It will look particularly at the function of family myth and individual pretense in assisting the process of social mobility within and between generations.

This paper is based on data collected as part of the ESRC/University of Essex sponsored study of Families and Social Mobility. Using a life history methodology, this study is interviewing at least two and where possible three generations of the same family: a middle generation aged 35-55, and an older and younger generation (aged 16+) where they exist. Interviews with each individual last between 6 to 10 hours, are tape recorded and transcribed. A standard questionnaire covers the life span of each individual and includes all aspects of family life, education, occupation and leisure. One section is devoted wholly to questions about community and social class. Middle generation respondents constitute a random sample from the electoral register in selected constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales. Data in this paper has been obtained from respondents in Gillingham, Tonbridge and Guildford constituencies.

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