

Is Scotland a Meritocracy?

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Outline

- 1. Introduction: Meritocracy and Mobility
- 2. Background: Professional and managerial migration, ethnicity and the operation of regional escalators
- 3. Methodology
- 4. Results – Edinburgh and uneven social mobility
- 5. Conclusions – in search of theoretical development

1. Introduction

Occupational advancement – a meritocracy
or social mobility of the elite?

Moving up? Is there a spatial pattern of
opportunity?

1. Introduction

Occupational advancement – a meritocracy or social mobility of the elite?



Gordon Brown, UK
Prime Minister, 18
Jan 2010

- 'Only 10 per cent of the new jobs created in the next ten years (in UK) will be unskilled. That means 90% of the jobs of the future come with better chances of decent pay, steady promotion and long-term prospects...'
- 'It means the majority of people having not a job but a career.... **I believe in an aspirational Britain. Opportunity and reward cannot be hoarded at the top... I want to see the talents and potential of all the British people fulfilled: social mobility for the majority**'.

1. Introduction – spatial opportunities – the idea of a national 'escalator' region



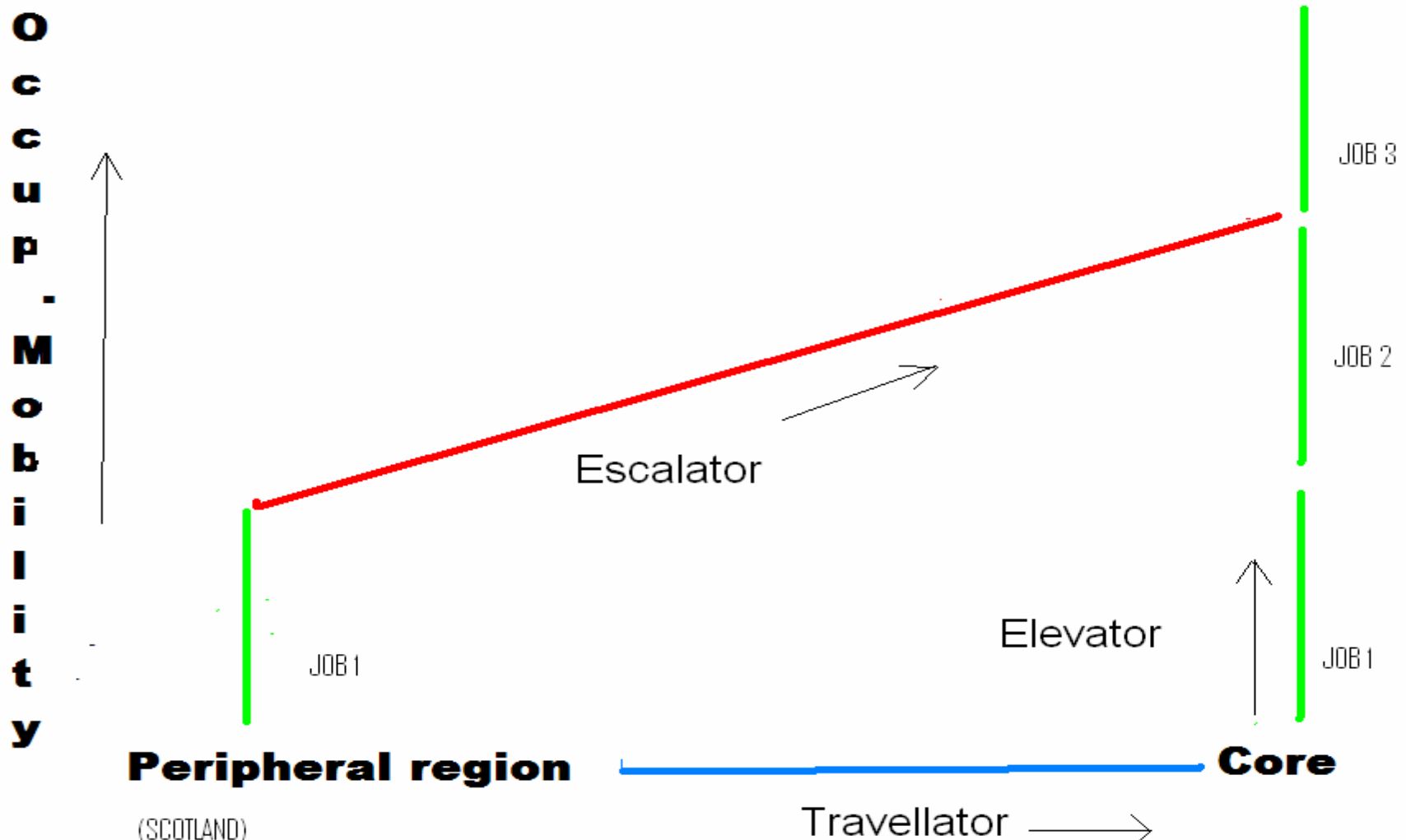
Migration and social mobility: South East England as an escalator region.
Regional Studies,
26,1-15 (1992)

Migration and escalator regions

Escalator regions: faster social mobility for people residing in the escalator region

Uneven opportunities to move up naturally attracts migrants to escalator regions

Migration – Escalator elevator and travelator moves



Relevance to Scotland?

- Does Scotland have uneven opportunities for occupational advancement?
- Has Edinburgh become a Scottish escalator region?

Scotland: a differentiated labour market

- Scotland – periphery or differentiated regional labour market?
- Edinburgh as regional escalator?
 - a) Centre of Scottish devolved government – parliament, education and health labour markets
 - b) Financial services hub (?? before 2008)
 - c) Regional office headquarters etc



2. Background: Suggestions about occupational mobility from the academic literature

Labour mobility occurs in a fragmented labour market where skills/talents are organised in different ways by employers

- Careers chain one job to another
- Skill level can determine the nature of spatial and occupational mobility
- Skill credentials often referred in relation to 'human capital', may be very different from cultural capital

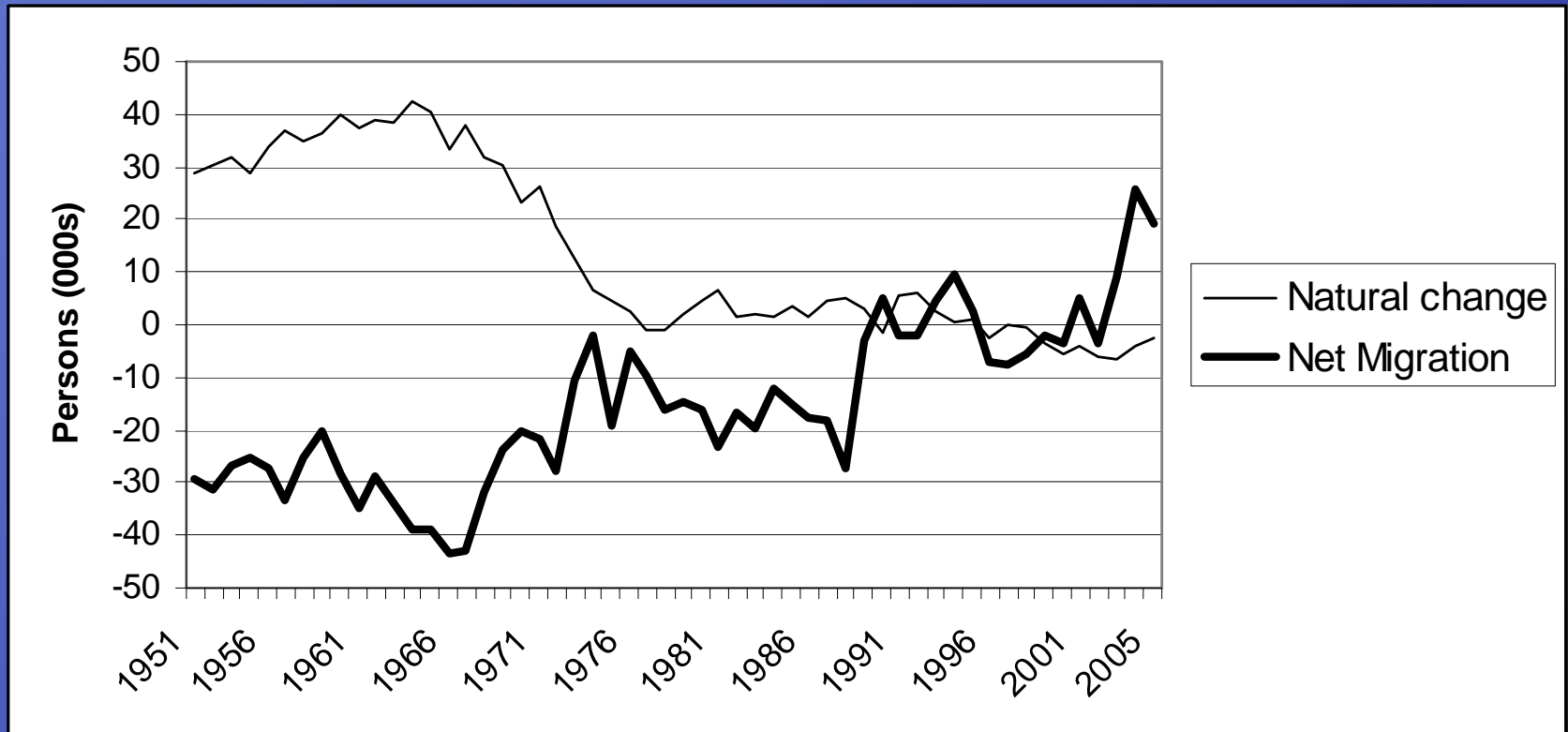
Professional and managerial mobility

- **Labour market reorganisation**

NB Gordon Brown's speech

- Uneven advancement of **highly educated** (Mulder and van Ham 2004)
- Unequal advancement for **ethnic minorities** (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999; Platt, 2005)
- 'Service class' migration and global **and regional cities** - Fielding 1992, 1997: Castells, 2000
- Transnational Capitalist Class - Sklair, 2001

2. Background: Some **unexpected migration trends** - net migration has shifted in favour of Scotland



Scottish natural population change and net migration (source : GROS)

Motivations for movement (%)

(Source – survey by Findlay et al 2003)

Dominant motive	English-born : last move directly from England	Scottish long distance moves
Employment	72.7	38.1
Housing	3.0	17.3
Quality of life	6.1	19.8
Personal	15.2	17.7
Retirement	3.0	6.6
Other	0.0	0.4

3. And so – to some new research

- modelling social mobility in relation to migration in and to Scotland

Grounded research questions about occupational advancement

- What determines upward occupational mobility in Scotland?
- Is there any census evidence of Edinburgh emerging as a regional escalator (1991-2001) in relation to other parts of Scotland?
- Is there differential occupational advancement between the English-born and ethnic groups?
- Is it moving to Edinburgh or living in Edinburgh that matters?

Methodology – Part 1

- Scottish Longitudinal Study: 5.3% of the Scottish population
- Linked records for 1991, 2001
- Social class categories (SEC class 1 and 2 = high social class; SEC 3,5,6 and 7 = low social class; SEC 4 = self employed, 8 never worked and unemployed).
- Analysis omits SEC 4 and 8, and anyone not in other categories in 1991 and 2001, and anyone under 15 or over 55 in 1991.
- Dummy variables created for low and high social class

Occupational advancement

	2001 SEC 1,2	2001 SEC 3,5,6,7
1991 SEC 1,2		Moving down
1991 SEC 3,5,6,7	Moving up	

4. Results – Part 1

Occupational Advancement (From SEC 3,5 in 1991 to SEC 1,2 in 2001)

Total population by place of residence (percentages). Excludes SEC4 and all 'other'. (Source special SLS tabulations)

Place of residence	% upward mobility, 1991-2001
Edinburgh	26.39
Glasgow	19.13
Other Scottish city	20.58
Scottish town	18.71
Scottish countryside	19.20

4. Results –Part 1:

Occupational Advancement (From SEC 3,5 in 1991 to SEC 1,2 in 2001)

English-born and Scottish born populations by place of residence, (percentages). Excludes SEC4 and all 'other'. (Source special SLS tabulations)

Place of residence	% upward mobility (English born)	% upward mobility (Scottish born)
Edinburgh	36.95	25.88
Glasgow	24.77	18.59
Other Scottish city	24.47	20.36
Scottish town	25.38	18.80
Scottish countryside	26.38	18.12

Methodology – Part 2

- First set of models – ‘moving up’ -dependent variable for low social class 1991 = 0 for not moving up and 1 for moving into SEC 1 and 2
- Logistic regression (STATA) on a range of independent variables
- Key independent variables =

Country of birth (Scotland/England and Wales)

Place of residence, 1991 and 2001 (5 categories including 1991 Council Area of Edinburgh).

Change of place of residence - mobility 1991-2001 allowing Scottish escalator effect to be examined.

Methodology - 3

- Other independent variables
 - Gender
 - Age
 - Individual ethnicity
 - Individual tenure, 1991
 - Post-18 qualifications, 1991
 - Health, 1991, 2001
 - Change in household
 - Change in children

Logistic regression – 4 models

Model 1 : Country of birth

Model 2 : adding place of residence, 1991

Model 3 : adding independent socio-demographic variables

Model 4 : adding mobility variables (1991-2001)

Probability of moving into social classes 1 or 2 for individuals in social classes 3 or 5 in 1991

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef	Std Error	Sig	Coef	Std Error	Sig
Country of Birth (ref Scotland)						
England or Wales	0.421	0.056	***	0.429	0.043	***
Outside Great Britain	0.322	0.081	***	0.299	0.073	***
Place of Residence 1991 (ref Countryside)						
Town				-0.020	0.027	
Other City				0.110	0.030	***
Edinburgh				0.416	0.041	***
Glasgow				0.024	0.039	
Constant	-1.428	0.037	***	-1.481	0.020	***
Log Likelihood	-28247.464			-28184.537		
Wald	72.97	df=2		234.01	df=6	
Original Log Likelihood	-28301.543			N	51580	

Probability of moving into social classes 1 or 2 for individuals in social classes 3 or 5 in 1991

		Model 3			Model 4		
	Sig	Coef	SE	Sig	Coef	SE	Sig
Country of Birth (ref Scotland)							
England or Wales	***	0.270	0.048	***	0.274	0.048	***
Outside Great Britain	***	0.264	0.085	***	0.257	0.085	**
Place of Residence 1991 (ref Countryside)							
Town		0.048	0.030		-	-	-
Other City	***	0.206	0.033	***	-	-	-
Edinburgh	***	0.296	0.045	***	-	-	-
Glasgow		0.174	0.044	***	-	-	-
Sex (Female)		-0.085	0.023	***	-0.083	0.023	***
Age		-0.034	0.002	***	-0.032	0.002	***
Ethnic		-0.805	0.222	***	-0.826	0.224	***
Change in presence of child							
No Child 1991 Child 2001		-0.227	0.039	***	-0.214	0.039	***

Results summary

- Occupational advancement is greater for those not born in Scotland (Model 1)
- Moving up is easier for those living in Edinburgh – it is an escalator/elevator location (model 2)
- ('Other') Ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in terms of moving up
- Education consistently enhances occupational mobility
- Residential mobility shows positive association with moving up occupationally
- Moving to Edinburgh enhances occupational advancement (ie an escalator as well as an elevator effect)

NB: selection effects

5. Conclusions

So, has Gordon Brown got a basis for seeking an aspirational society?

- In Scotland, the most powerful determinant of social mobility remains education (ie merit)
- But some labour market structures limit opportunities for advancement – ethnicity, place of birth/residence – ie how you are identified and where you are born/live still matters as well as merit

It is not just merit and personal characteristics that matter:
Geography and place also affect opportunities for advancement

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Thanks for listening!