

Classifying historical occupational titles of women in a social class scheme

The career mobility of fertile women living in Antwerp during 1846-1906

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1. INTRODUCTION

During several decades, women have theoretically been located across different class models. Although these various theoretical approaches are well founded, with regard to historical occupational data no attempt has been made to classify women into a meaningful social class scheme. The purpose of this article is to construct a social class scheme that integrates all women (women with an occupational registration as well as housewives and women with 'no occupation' as an occupational title). Consequently, this social class scheme allows investigating the social mobility of women throughout their life course. By applying this new scheme – which will be called GENCLASS – to the subject of the female career, the applicability of the scheme will be illustrated empirically.³ Although the social and economic history of careers has been examined in various geographical settings and during different time periods (Mitch, Brown, & Van Leeuwen, 2004), little research has drawn attention to the aspect of gender (Brown, Van Leeuwen, & Mitch, 2004). Investigating the female career in historical perspective thus contributes to this.

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³ In this article, the term career does not refer to the classical (actual) definition of career as the progression of one's professional life, but contains all successive (occupational) activities carried out by women during their life course. In this way, activities labelled as 'housewife' or having 'no occupation' are included in this definition.

In this article, the new social class scheme is applied to fertile women living in the port city of Antwerp (Belgium) during the years 1846-1906. By confining the analyses to the women's fertile life course (period between 15-49 years), the influence of motherhood on the female career is investigated in a historical context. The general question 'how did female careers evolve during the fertile period of women during the second half of the 19th century?' is explored on the basis of the following research questions: what happened to the careers of women when they became mother; did the mother's career change due to the birth of subsequent children; and did parity influence the female career mobility?

2. THEORY

2.1. Woman's place in the 19th-century society

During the 19th century, and especially in the second half, a woman's place in society was influenced by economic, cultural and legal trends. As a consequence, the careers of women were strongly affected by these circumstances (Brown et al., 2004, 36; Simonton, 2006).

In Europe, the 19th-century economic transformations caused a disjunction between living and working. Some economic activities that typically were performed by women disappeared and at the end of this century, the male breadwinner norm emerged. This notion implies that the earnings of the husband are sufficient to support his family, so his wife and children do not have to work for pay. Due to the consolidation of this norm, new ideas about domesticity and privacy emerged at the end of the 19th century (Janssens, 1993; 1998b). By discharging the women from service in the factories as well as by the stimulation of housework and domestic service, women were promoted to live and work in the private sphere of households. Moreover, because the family wages became attached to men's work, the women's housework appeared to be concealed and became less recognised as work (Seccombe, 1993, 111-124; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145). Although the male breadwinner ideology became strongly incorporated in the Western European society, in reality women and children often had no other choice than working inside (the *sweating industries*) or outside the home, because the family could not afford to do

without. This was especially the case for the lower social classes (Janssens, 1998b).

The 19th century was also marked by cultural developments such as romanticisation, emotionalisation and familiarisation. Romanticism and emotions became more important in the three main intrafamilial systems: the relationship between the partners (the partner system), between parents and children (the parental system) and between siblings (the sibling system). At the end of the century, these new views strongly influenced the marriage and family culture (Caine & Sluga, 2000; Hareven, 1978; Perrot, 1990; Shorter, 1975). During this period, the female career was also clearly influenced by marriage (Kay, 2004, 191). In Kay's study, an anonymous quote from the 1859 *Saturday Review* (reprinted in Kenyon, 1995, 99) visibly expresses this historical opinion of marriage as "a woman's profession". The idea that women were supposed to marry and become mother was well incorporated in 19th-century society (Seccombe, 1993, 32-35; Simonton, 1998, 165-170; 2006, 134-135).

Women's social position was not only affected by economic and cultural transformations in society, legal trends were also crucial for the woman's place in the 19th-century society. In Belgium, the Civil Code, which returned to the *Code Napoléon* of 1804, confirmed the juridical inequality between husband and wife. Through marriage, the husband was given the marital power and the wife became legally incompetent. This dissimilar marriage relation lasted until 1958 (Nandrin, 2001, 42-44; Van Molle, 2001, 18). The hierarchical relationship between husband and wife was also confirmed by the Church. In the promises of marriage, the man was acknowledged to be 'legal husband' and the woman to be 'legal housewife' whereby the woman was again subordinated to her husband (De Maeyer, 2000, 37-40).

Near the end of the 19th century, due to the rising incomes, shifts in work location and the centralisation and specialisation of manufacture, the need for women's work in the factories reduced.⁴ As a consequence, most women worked in the retail trade, in hotels, restaurants and the catering industry or they did housework (Seccombe, 1993, 111-124; Simonton, 1998, 87-96; 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145). Rather than having a full-time occupation, most women worked either part-time, irregularly or temporary during their life. Although the great majority of women abandoned their paid

⁴ In Belgium for example, the female working population decreased remarkably between 1880 and 1890 (Heyrman, 2001, 60).

work before or soon after marriage, this did not mean that they stopped working after the marriage as well as before and after having children. Instead, women devised work strategies that allowed combining child care and work. By being active in housebound sectors, women could take care of the children as well as do domestic service in their household (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Seccombe, 1993, 32-49; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145). Domestic activities such as cooking meals, doing the laundry, cleaning kitchens, scrubbing floors, cultivating food crops in their cottage, etc. was carried out by women. Most of them also earned an income by baking bread for sale, by taking in a boarder, by doing needlework for a merchant, by hawking and peddling with goods or by combining market work. Moreover during the last decades of the 19th century, married women also dominated the home industries (sweated trades like needlework, tailoring or producing shoes, gloves, dresses, chairs or cigars) (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Seccombe, 1993, 34; Simonton, 1998, 148-154, 214-222; 2006, 167). The productivity of housewives was essential for the family economy. Although these women were married and raised one or more children, their contribution to the family income was important (Folbré, 1991, 465-466; Van den Eeckhout, 1993).

2.2. The historical under-registration of female occupations

During the 19th century, the women's work and particularly the housework became less visible and the meaning of female work changed (Simonton, 1998, 87-96; 2006, 148-149). Due to the value that was placed on the women's work, a shift in the conception on the housework developed at the end of the 19th century: the 'work at home' became 'not work' (Simonton, 2006, 134). Housewives were then considered as 'not working' because their work did not provide earnings (Hill, 1993, 81-82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49).

The growing 19th century opinion that women were not 'supposed' to work and that their occupation was mostly not a 'gainful employment' had important consequences for the registration of female occupations. The recording was done by "men [...] who had certain assumptions about the position of women in society" (Hill, 1993, 82) so the official registration was not value-free. Due to this cultural context, the registration of the female occupations was inaccurate which led to the official under-registration of female work

during the 19th century (Bracke, 1996, 166-168; Higgs, 1987, 60, 84; Hill, 1993, 80-83). Furthermore some women preferred to withdraw their occupations from the attention of the officials and others did no longer report an occupation when they were married (Alter, 1988, 95-102; Matthijs, 2001, 68-80).

Female occupations were not only under-recorded in the censuses, other sources like the population registers (based on the censuses) and the vital registration records (birth, marriage and death certificates) also suffered from this under-registration problem. These problems are by no means unique for Belgium (Bracke, 1996; Matthijs, 2001, 68-80; Van Bavel, 2002, 280-282), many of the same problems are found in other Western European countries as well (Higgs, 1987; Hill, 1993; Pott-Buter, 1993).

2.3. The meaning of 'housewife' and 'no occupation'

Due to the official under-registration of female occupations in the 19th century, many women were recorded as 'housewife' or women with 'no occupation' as occupational title, although they often worked inside or outside the home (cf. *supra*). Both clarifying the meaning of these two indistinct 'occupations' and identifying the difference between these descriptions, is crucial.

The term 'housewife' refers to women who were active in the housebound sectors. As mentioned before, their activities were not only limited to child rearing and other domestic activities in their household; these women often did remunerative work, for instance at home in the cottage industry (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Seccombe, 1993, 32-49; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; 2006, 148-149). Moreover also women working in the retail trade or the tertiary industry were sometimes recorded as 'housewife' because they worked part-time, irregular or temporary (Hill, 1993, 81-84). The term 'housewife' thus comprises a diversity on activities exercised by 19th-century women.

The description 'no occupation' may refer to a high or a low social stratum. Rich people who did not have or not want to work sometimes preferred to be registered as 'having no occupation'. Unemployed women looking for work and older non-job-seeking housewives were also recorded as 'without

occupation'.⁵ Moreover home workers who did not state their job as an occupation (due to the cultural context of the 19th century) were also registered under this description (Janssens, 1998a, 260-262; Matthijs, 2001, 68-72).

3. CONTEXT, DATA AND METHOD

3.1. Context

During the 19th century, the port city of Antwerp experienced major socio-economic and demographic transformations. In the first half of the 19th century, the economic context changed drastically in Antwerp. Due to a shortage of investments, the textile production that was one of Antwerp's main industries, imploded. By 1850, the employment in this sector was completely lost, whereas the harbour activities developed strongly. In the following decades, Antwerp evolved from an inland port to an international port characterised by an intensive exchange of goods. This shift had important consequences for the labour market: employment became much less regular, employment, such as dock work, became physically more demanding (for men), and women were much more needed in the tertiary industry. The thousands of immigrants (mainly men) who went to the port city because of the new employment possibilities were often confronted with housing, sanitary and integration problems (De Caigny, 2000; Jeuninckx, 1964; Lis, 1986; Veraghtert, 1986; Winter, 2007). Moreover from about 55,000 inhabitants at the start of the 19th century, the Antwerp population grew fast in the following decades. In 1846, more than 88,000 people were living in the port city. During the period 1846-1900, the demographic context changed even more dramatically. The port town then surpassed the front-runner Brussels and developed into the biggest city of Belgium, with about 273,000 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century.⁶ Migration strongly

⁵. The female occupations in the COR* database (cf. *infra*) demonstrate that the percentage of women with 'no occupation' increased strongly when women reached the age of 50. Especially at the end of their lives (> 70 years), many women were registered without occupation (see figure 1A in the appendix; for the appendix accompanying this article, see the website of the BTNG/RBHC: <http://www.flwi.ugent.be/btng-rbhc/en/archive/2010-0102.html>).

⁶. Between 1866 and 1880, the population of Antwerp grew from 117,269 to 169,112 and surpassed the size of Brussels (162,498 inhabitants in 1880) (Vrielinck, 2000, 1668-1669, 1680-1681).

influenced the demographic expansion in Antwerp during this period (Kruithof, 1964; Winter, 2007).

3.2. Data

Since 2003, the Leuven Research Group of the Family and Population (CeSO, K.U. Leuven) has been building a database that contains longitudinal and intergenerational data at the individual level. After ample evaluation of the pros and cons of different data gathering strategies, a letter sample has been chosen. In this database, all persons whose family name starts with the letter combination COR* are selected in the historical sources.⁷ The data collection begins in the population registers and is supplemented with information from the vital registration records (birth, marriage and death certificates).⁸ Because the purpose of the database is to move beyond local studies and to widen the geographic scope, information has been collected for the entire district of Antwerp. The database spans nearly six decades (1846 to 1920) and covers information of three generations.

Although female occupations were often under-recorded during the 19th century (cf. supra), it is nevertheless possible to try to visualise the women's class position during this period by analysing the information we do have about the women's occupational situation. Of course this does not represent the whole socio-economic reality of 19th-century women, but at least it will tell us more about their position in the 19th-century society. For this purpose, selecting a source with a 'good' female occupational registration is important. In the collected COR* marriage acts (N = 789), the brides occupations were recorded in 99.5% of the cases. The marriage certificates never mention 'housewife' as occupation and 31.5% of the brides had 'no occupation'⁹ when they married.¹⁰ These findings are comparable with other Belgium cities in the 19th century (Matthijs, 2002, 104-109). Because of this result, the vital registration records of COR* persons (birth, marriage and death certificates) are used for investigating the women's career during the fertile life course.

⁷ The sample size is 0.38% of the total Flemish population.

⁸ Specific information on the construction of the database can be found in Van Baelen (2007).

⁹ From these brides, 54.5% belonged to the higher social classes, so this confirms that 19th century rich women often preferred to be registered as having no occupation (cf. supra).

¹⁰ The distribution of female occupations in the marriage certificates is presented in table 1A in the appendix.

For the analyses, the collection of vital registration records of the city of Antwerp will be examined during the period 1846-1906.

3.3. Method

Linking the marriage certificates with the birth certificates is essential to answer the research questions. Moreover to take stillbirths into account, the death certificates of these children also have to be linked to the marriage certificates. In the birth certificates of Antwerp (N = 2,621), 13% of the mothers had an occupational registration.¹¹ Sixty five percent of these women gave birth to an illegitimate child (N = 224), which indicates that the occupational registration in the birth acts was not only limited to unwed mothers. In the death certificates, the registration of female occupations is infrequent. When a child died, the occupation of the mother is registered in 5.6% of the cases.¹² By linking the marriage certificates to the birth acts and to the death certificates of stillbirths, the analyses will be restricted in cases, because the occupational registration of mothers is limited in the linked sources. However, a closer look at the birth certificates demonstrated that the information about the woman's occupation was structured differently in various certificates: in some acts, the female occupation 'housewife' was written after the name of the wife where the occupation was normally registered '[...] and Joanna Maria Cornet, housewife, [...]' but other registrars wrote the term 'housewife' before the wife's name '[...] and his housewife, Joanna Maria Cornet, [...]'. In the data entry phase, 'housewife' was only recorded as occupation when it was written at the occupational position in the source (first option). In the analysis however, both options are considered as providing occupational information about the mother. As a consequence, the occupational registration of mothers in the birth certificates increased, which strengthens the analyses.

In this research the *Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (HISCO) (Van Leeuwen, Maas, & Miles, 2002) is applied for the coding of the occupations. This coding scheme classifies all male and female occupations with respect to the data's historical context (time and

¹¹ 342 birth certificates out of 2,621 had an occupational registration of the mother.

¹² Six death certificates of stillbirths out of 108 had an occupational registration of the mother.

place) and is compatible with the ISCO68 scheme of the International Labour Organisation.

By comparing the female occupations over time, it is possible to examine the evolution in the female career during the woman's fertile life course. When a woman stayed in the same social class during two events, this is considered as lateral mobility or stability. Moving to higher social classes refers to upward mobility, moving to lower social classes to downward mobility.

A classification scheme will be used for the investigation of the female career mobility. Recently, the choice can be made between the social class scheme HISCLASS (Historical International Social Class Scheme), designed by Maas and Van Leeuwen (2005) and the social classification scheme SOCPO (Social Power scheme), proposed by Van de Putte and Miles (Van de Putte, 2005, 121-151; Van de Putte & Miles, 2005). However the classification of 'housewife' and 'no occupation' with these social class schemes gives rise to a methodological problem. The descriptions 'housewife' and 'no occupation' are coded in HISCO as '-1' and '51' (hisco relation) for 'housewife' and '-2' for 'no occupation'. When classifying 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in HISCLASS or SOCPO, both groups were considered as 'missing value' and were not incorporated in one of these class schemes (Van de Putte, personal communication; Maas & Van Leeuwen, 2005). Because the objective of this research is to investigate the female career mobility among all women (the women with an occupational registration as well as the so-called housewives and the women with 'no occupation' as occupational title), it is necessary to have a classification system that incorporates 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in a valid structure. However a meaningful social class scheme that integrates all female occupational titles in historical perspective has currently not been constructed (Szelényi, 2001, 686-687; Van de Putte, 2005, 111). Therefore a new classification system which comprises all female occupations, is proposed in the following section.

4. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SOCIAL CLASS SCHEME USABLE FOR INVESTIGATING FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY

4.1. Social stratification and gender

In social stratification theory, the primitive unit that underlies the stratification systems has been disputed for more than two decades. The debate refers to the question whether the family or the individual is the cornerstone of social stratification. Moreover, the gender aspect and in particular the problem of classifying women has also influenced this debate. As a consequence, a diversity of theoretical approaches that locate women in different class models has emerged. A typology of these approaches is discussed by Szelényi (2001). The class models that strengthen the theoretical thoughts in this research will briefly be described underneath.

From the 1950s onwards, the stratification theory and research has been dominated by the *conventional view* (Goldthorpe, 1983; Parsons, 1970). In this approach, the family is the basic unit of social stratification and the social position of the family is dominated by the male head of the household. Due to the gender-based division of labour, the class position of the wife is in this view determined by their husband's occupation (Goldthorpe, 1983; Parsons, 1970; Szelényi, 2001). However, criticism of this approach emerged, especially with respect to the housewives position and the increasing employment of women during the 20th century.¹³ The *joint classification model*, a family-based approach proposed by Britten and Heath (1983), deals in a positive way with this criticism. This model classifies the class position of the family on the basis of the employment situation of both spouses. The individual level effect of the own occupation is not only important in this model, also the contextual effect of the spouse's occupation and the interaction effect between the market and work situations of husband and wife are crucial. Moreover the individualistic *domestic mode of production model* pays specific attention to the position of the housewives (Delphy, 1984; Szelényi, 1992). In this model, household labour is constituted as a distinctive economic sphere that leads to the incorporation of housewives as a segment of the working population.

¹³ In the conventional view, housewives are considered as 'not employed' and consequently as not contributing earnings to the family (Szelényi, 2001, 683).

In her conclusion, Szelényi emphasises that "the joint classification model appears to take us in a fruitful direction" (Szelényi, 2001, 686). By taking into account both the direct effect of the actor and the indirect effect of the 'significant others' (spouse but also parents, friends, co-workers and children), a good alternative for the complex nature of class identification and especially for the 'woman problem' in stratification may be proposed (*Ibid.*, 686-687).

4.2. The construction of a new social class scheme

Before constructing a new social class scheme, it is important to define the meaning of 'social class'. The definition of class as constructed by Van de Putte and Miles (2005) will be taken in this research because their class scheme is theoretically well-founded. In their view, class refers to "social power" that is defined as 'the potential to influence one's destiny – or 'life chances' – through control of (scarce) resources" (Van de Putte & Miles, 2005, 63). The social status of a person is thus determined by the social power (SOCPO) level of this individual.

This article proposes a way to classify female occupations into a social class scheme usable for analysing the female career mobility. Two aspects are crucial in the new social class scheme: the incorporation of 'housewife' and 'no occupation' as separate segments, and the integration of the effect of the husband on the wife's social class. The new social class scheme may thus be considered as a family-based approach because the class position of women in this classification system is also determined by the occupation of the spouse.

Although this research starts from the theoretical foundations of SOCPO, it is not sufficient to simply include 'housewife' and 'no occupation' as two 'new' levels in the social power scheme (for example 'housewife' = SP level 6 and 'no occupation' = SP level 7). First, because this research examines the evolution in female career mobility, it is important to identify the change in mobility (upward, downward or lateral). The question "how does the woman's career evolve (upward, downward or lateral) when for example an ironer becomes a 'housewife' or woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title?" needs to be answered. This question cannot be solved by simply

applying new SOCPO levels because an evolution from e.g., SP level 2 to SP level 6 or 7 will not provide information on the kind of mobility; it only tells that the individual female position changed. Secondly, due to the 19th-century cultural context, identifying the social power of 19th-century women also implies that information on the social power level of the husbands is included. For example a doctor's wife who was a 'housewife' belonged to a different social class than a baker's or factory worker's wife who was a 'housewife'. The spouse's occupation did not only indirectly affect the 'housewives' and women with 'no occupation' as occupational title, in fact all 19th-century women were influenced by this effect. Because of the great outflow of women of the paid labour force around the time of marriage, the future class position and living standard of women were strongly determined by the husband's employment (Seccombe, 1993, 32-35). Moreover the interaction between the social power of the spouses needs to be integrated too in the social class scheme, because speaking about the social power of 19th-century women implicates speaking about the total amount of social power of wife and husband. However, the SOCPO scheme does not pay attention to this aspect. It is thus necessary to construct a new social class scheme that takes both problems into account. This social class scheme will be called GENCLASS (Gendered Classification Scheme).

4.3. Operationalization of GENCLASS

By starting from the female occupational titles in HISCO, the SOCPO classification is first applied to the data. The remaining occupational titles without SP level are the housewives and the women with 'no occupation' as occupational title. By making use of an alphabetical system, these seven groups are then translated or recoded into GENCLASS. The reason for this recoding to an alphabetical system is explained in the appendix. Figure 1 provides information on the assignation of (alphabetical) social power scores to the female occupational titles. The letters in the figure represent the (individual) social power of women. Letters 'a' through 'e' derive directly from the SP levels, while the social power of the housewives and the women with 'no occupation' as occupational title is indicated by 'f' and 'g'.

By analogy with the construction of the women's (individual) social power level, the husband's social power level is also derived from the SP levels. Also these SP levels are recoded into the alphabetical system. To indicate that

the social power of the husband strongly influenced the social power of 19th-century women (because of the 19th-century cultural context), uppercase letters will be used (as opposed to the lowercase characters used for women).¹⁴ Men belonging to SP level 5 are thus recoded to A, men with SP level 4 to B, men with SP level 3 to C etc.

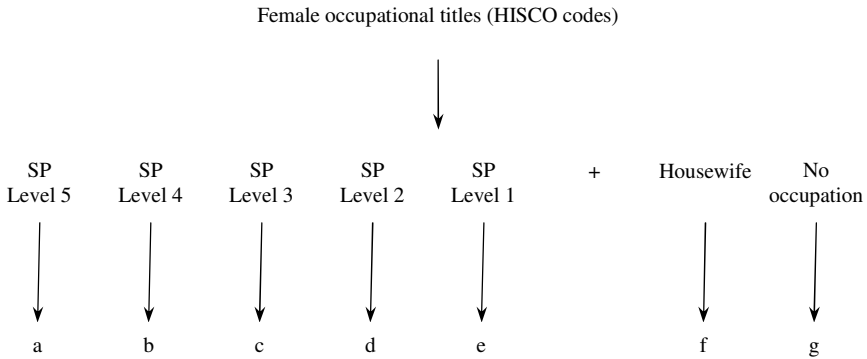


FIGURE 1: RECODING FEMALE OCCUPATIONS IN THE ALPHABETICAL SYSTEM

Because the total amount of social power of 19th-century women is the product of the individual social power level of the wife and the husband, it is necessary that information on both of them is used. Therefore, in the next step, the wife's and the husband's (individual) social power levels are merged. In this way, 35 GENCLASS levels are created. These GENCLASS levels represent the total amount of social power of 19th-century women. Because women are at the centre of this classification model, the wives' alphabetical levels of social power are rendered first, followed by the social power of the husbands (second position in the GENCLASS levels).

Table 1 demonstrates the GENCLASS procedure for married women. The GENCLASS levels of women with a high social power are presented at the left top corner (in italics), women with a lower social power level are shown

¹⁴. Although one may argue that the dominance of men above women is variable across time and place and therefore should not be integrated in this class model, nevertheless, because of the male dominance in Western Europe during the past centuries, this aspect is still integrated in GENCLASS. Moreover if this social class scheme will be applied to former societies that are characterised by an equal position between men and women, the distinction between uppercase and lowercase letters may be omitted in GENCLASS.

(in italics) at the right part of the table. In reality, the extreme opposite social power combinations of wife and husband (for example a wife with the highest social power level 'a' who married a man with the lowest social power 'E') were uncommon during the 19th century.

Wife	Husband				
	A	B	C	D	E
a	<i>aA</i>	<i>aB</i>	aC	aD	aE
b	<i>bA</i>	<i>bB</i>	bC	bD	bE
c	cA	cB	cC	cD	cE
d	dA	dB	dC	<i>dD</i>	<i>dE</i>
e	eA	eB	eC	<i>eD</i>	<i>eE</i>
f	fA	fB	fC	fD	fE
g	gA	gB	gC	gD	gE

TABLE 1: GENCLASS LEVELS OF MARRIED WOMEN

4.4. From GENCLASS to female career mobility

By making use of GENCLASS, it is possible to investigate the social mobility of women in historical perspective. In this research, the purpose is to investigate the evolution in the female career mobility during the 19th century. By analogy with the term 'career' defined by Brown et al. (2004, 8), every woman who once participated in the workforce during her life, can be described as a woman with a career.¹⁵ The evolution in a woman's career (upward, downward or lateral) can be determined by comparing the GENCLASS levels at two events. For example a comparison between the GENCLASS levels at marriage and at birth of the first child can indicate upward mobility. To determine whether an evolution in a woman's career can be considered as upward, downward or lateral career mobility, both the evolution in social power of wives and husbands have to be taken into account. For a better understanding of this, the mobility in the wife's and the husband's social power is first explained separately.

To investigate the mobility in the wife's social power, the female alphabetical level of social power of the second event is compared with this of the first

¹⁵ Both the formal and informal careers of a woman are included in this definition.

event. Nine possibilities may occur (see Table 2). When the wife's alphabetical level of social power remains the same during the two events, the wife's social power is stable (line 1, Table 2). For example a laundress at the first event who is also a laundress, or belongs to the same social power level of laundresses during the second event, is characterised by lateral mobility. When a woman has a higher social power during the second event, she is upward mobile (line 2, Table 2). A baker who became a telephone employee for example evolved from 'c' to 'b' and was thus characterised by upward mobility. However when the alphabetical level of social power of a woman decreased, this is downward mobility (line 3, Table 2). For example a needlewoman at the first event who was a factory worker at the second event evolved from 'd' to 'e' and was downward mobile. In these three situations, the mobility in the wife's social power can be identified. However when 'housewife' and 'no occupation' levels are involved, the identification is unclear because of the indistinct content of these descriptions. The following questions emerge in this context: should an evolution from needlewoman to housewife or woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title be considered as an upward, downward or lateral mobility and what are the criteria for this decision; is there a difference between a schoolmistress who became housewife and a needlewoman who became housewife; and what if both or only one of these women were married to a doctor?

For all of these situations, it is especially important to examine the social power of the husband too. The mobility in the husband's social power is presented in Table 3. Here it is always possible to determine the direction of the mobility.

Event 1	Event 2	Mobility
a - e	= (a - e)	lateral
b - e	> (a - d)	upward
a - d	< (b - e)	downward
a - e	f	?
a - e	g	?
f	a - e	?
f	g	?
g	a - e	?
g	f	?

TABLE 2: MOBILITY IN THE WIFE'S SOCIAL POWER

Event 1	Event 2	Mobility
A - E	= (A - E)	lateral
B - E	> (A - D)	upward
A - D	< (B - E)	downward

TABLE 3: MOBILITY IN THE HUSBAND'S SOCIAL POWER

Both evolutions in the wife's and the husband's social power have to be integrated when comparing two GENCLASS levels for the investigation of the woman's social mobility. Figure 2 demonstrates this integration for a (female) factory worker who married a carpenter's assistant (event 1) and had become needlewoman, while her husband had become carpenter at the birth of the first child (event 2). The upward mobility in the wife's social power of this bride needs to be integrated with the upward mobility of her husband to determine the female career mobility of this woman.¹⁶ Table 4 presents all possible combinations that can occur by integrating the mobility of the two social powers. However, merging the evolutions in social power of the wife and the husband requires explicit rules. In general, four situations can be distinguished.

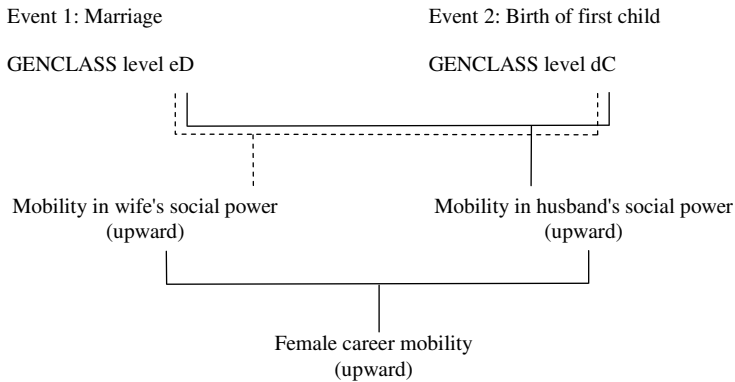


FIGURE 2: FROM GENCLASS TO FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY: AN EXAMPLE

¹⁶ In GENCLASS, both mobilities are joined absolutely, so for example when both social powers evolve 'upward' (see Figure 2), an upward female career mobility is constructed, without comparing the upward mobility of both spouses in relative terms to each other. This means that we do not question whether there is a difference between the upward mobility of a woman who evolved from factory worker to needlewoman and an upward mobility of a carpenter's assistant who became a carpenter.

If the female's social power modifies in the same direction as the male's social power during two events, identifying the female career mobility is simple. For example when a wife is characterised by a downward mobility in her social power during two events (e.g., a needlewoman who became a factory worker) and the social power of her husband also evolved downward during this period (e.g., a carpenter who became a carpenter's assistant), the female career of this woman is consequently marked by downward mobility. The first three rows of Table 4 show the three combinations that can occur.

Event 1 wife	Event 2 wife	Event 1 husband	Event 2 husband	Mobility in wife's social power	Mobility in husband's social power	Female career mobility
a - e	= (a - e)	A - E	= (A - E)	lateral	lateral	lateral
b - e	> (a - d)	B - E	> (A - D)	upward	upward	upward
a - d	< (b - e)	A - D	< (B - E)	downward	downward	downward
a - e	= (a - e)	B - E	> (A - D)	lateral	upward	upward
a - e	= (a - e)	A - D	< (B - E)	lateral	downward	downward
b - e	> (a - d)	A - E	= (A - E)	upward	lateral	upward
a - d	< (b - e)	A - E	= (A - E)	downward	lateral	downward
b - e	> (a - d)	A - C	< (C - E)	moderate upward	strong downward	downward
c - e	> (a - c)	A - D	< (B - E)	strong upward	moderate downward	upward
a - d	< (b - e)	C - E	> (A - C)	moderate downward	strong upward	upward
a - c	< (c - e)	B - E	> (A - D)	strong downward	moderate upward	downward
b - e	> (a - d)	A - D	< (B - E)	moderate upward	moderate downward	?
c - e	> (a - c)	A - C	< (C - E)	strong upward	strong downward	?
a - d	< (b - e)	B - E	> (A - D)	moderate downward	moderate upward	?
a - c	< (c - e)	C - E	> (A - C)	strong downward	strong upward	?
a - e	f	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
a - e	f	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward
a - e	f	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward
a - e	g	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
a - e	g	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward
a - e	g	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward
f	a - e	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
f	a - e	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward

f	a - e	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward
g	a - e	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
g	a - e	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward
g	a - e	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward
f	g	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
f	g	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward
f	g	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward
g	f	A - E	= (A - E)	?	lateral	lateral
g	f	B - E	> (A - D)	?	upward	upward
g	f	A - D	< (B - E)	?	downward	downward

TABLE 4: FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY

In rows 4 through 7 of Table 4, the second situation is presented. When the social power of one of the spouses does not evolve, i.e., a lateral mobility in social power, then the mobility in social power of the other spouse is decisive for the female career mobility. For example an upward evolution in the wife's social power (for example a baker who became a telephone employee) and no development in the husband's social power (e.g., a carpenter's assistant who remains a carpenter's assistant) leads to an upward female career mobility. Likewise, absence of evolution in the wife's social power (e.g., the woman remains baker) and upward mobility in the husband's social power (e.g., a carpenter's assistant who became a carpenter) also gives rise to an upward female career mobility.

In the third part of Table 4 (rows 8 through 15), another possible situation is depicted. If the wife's social power modifies in the opposite direction as the husband's social power during two events (i.e., upward *versus* downward mobility or downward *versus* upward mobility), identifying the female career mobility is difficult. The unanswered question here is 'which mobility in social power (the wife's or the husband's) is dominant?'. To answer this question, it is crucial to pay attention to the distance in mobility of both social powers. For example an evolution in GENCLASS from 'dC' to 'bD' indicates a larger female upward mobility (two levels up) in comparison with the male downward mobility (one level down). Because of the importance of the distance in mobility, the mobility levels in social power will be split up into 'moderate' and 'strong'.¹⁷ When the social power (of wife or husband)

¹⁷ By analogy with the study by Van de Putte, it is also possible to make a subdivision on the basis of SP Level (1, 2 and 3 *versus* 4 *versus* 5) (Van de Putte, 2005). However, this subdivision (in GENCLASS: c/C, d/D and e/E *versus* b/B *versus* a/A) would lead to 18 new

moves one GENCLASS level up or down, this is considered as 'moderate' upward or downward mobility in social power. When the social power (of wife or husband) increases or decreases (at least) two GENCLASS levels, this is called 'strong' upward or downward mobility.¹⁸ The mobility in social power that proves to be the strongest (male or female) then dominates the female career mobility. An example will make this clearer. At the moment of marriage, two spouses were for example baker and carpenter's assistant. During the marriage and at birth of the first child, the woman was characterised by a strong downward mobility (e.g., from baker 'c' to factory worker 'e'), while the man was moderate upward mobile (e.g., from carpenter's assistant 'D' to carpenter 'C'). Because the wife had the strongest mobility (two levels down compared to one level up for the man), the female career evolved downward during these two events. As presented in Table 4, it is, however, impossible to identify the female career mobility when the mobility in social power of both spouses is both 'moderate' or 'strong' (see rows 12 through 15 in Table 4).

In all of the above situations, the female social power levels always belonged to the alphabetical levels 'a' through 'e', so in none of the two events, the wife was a 'housewife' or a woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title. However, because the objective of this research is to determine the social mobility of all women, the career mobility of housewives and women with 'no occupation' as occupational title also needs to be defined. The last part of Table 4 (rows 16 through 33) shows all possible combinations of a woman that was or became a housewife or a woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title during her life course. However, deciding whether an evolution from or to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' can be considered as upward, downward or lateral mobility, is impossible on the basis of the evolution in the wife's social power, because the question "how does the career of a woman evolve when for example a baker became a 'housewife' or a woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title?" cannot be answered (cf. supra). This problem is indicated by the question marks in Table 4. However, the family-based approach of this new social class scheme can solve the above problem. By incorporating the husband's social power into the social class scheme and by paying attention to the interaction between the social power of both spouses, the career mobility of all women can be determined. When a

options in the female career mobility, so for that reason, this approach is not followed in this article.

¹⁸. The following combinations are possible when evolving two levels: an increase from e/E to c/C, d/D to b/B or c/C to a/A and a decrease from a/A to c/C, b/B to d/D or c/C to e/E.

woman's occupational title in one of the events is 'housewife' or 'no occupation', the social power of her husband is crucial because the mobility in the wife's social power does not provide information on the kind of mobility. For this reason, when the occupational registration states 'housewife' or 'no occupation', the career mobility of the 19th-century woman will be derived from the mobility in the husband's social power (see Table 4). For example a female baker who became housewife at the birth of the first child and who was married to a carpenter's assistant, was characterised by an upward career mobility when her husband became carpenter; however, when the husband remained carpenter's assistant, her career was stable during marriage and at birth of her first child. Hence the family context is crucial in GENCLASS when defining the development in the female career of housewives and women with 'no occupation' as occupational title.

4.5. Extending GENCLASS

An advantage of GENCLASS is that this social classification scheme can be extended. On the one hand, an extension can be made from married to unmarried women or widowed women. Instead of joining the wife's alphabetical levels of social power to the levels of the husband, the alphabetical social power levels of the father (for unmarried women) or those of the deceased partner (for widowed women) can also be incorporated. In Table 5, the GENCLASS levels of unmarried women are presented as example. On the other hand, the GENCLASS levels of married women can also be extended by the incorporation of the father's and/or mother's social power that may provide more information for detailed research.

Wife	Father				
	A	B	C	D	E
a	<i>aA</i>	<i>aB</i>	aC	aD	aE
b	<i>bA</i>	<i>bB</i>	bC	bD	bE
c	cA	cB	cC	cD	cE
d	dA	dB	dC	<i>dD</i>	<i>dE</i>
e	eA	eB	eC	<i>eD</i>	<i>eE</i>
f	fA	fB	fC	fD	fE
g	gA	gB	gC	gD	gE

TABLE 5: GENCLASS LEVELS OF UNMARRIED WOMEN

5. FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY IN THE PORT CITY OF ANTWERP

By applying the GENCLASS scheme to fertile women who lived in the city of Antwerp during 1846-1906, this new classification scheme is illustrated empirically. After linking the marriage certificates to the birth acts and death certificates of stillbirths, the database consists of 1,347 individual records. All these records contain occupational information of both spouses at the first event (marriage or birth of a child) and the second event (birth of the first or a subsequent child). The GENCLASS levels were complete for the two events in 82% (N = 1,101) of the cases. Missing values in the mobility of the wife's or the husband's social power are not taken into account when identifying the female career mobility.

The career mobility of 48 percent of all women is determined on the basis of a similar evolution in the social power of both spouses during two events (cf. supra: first situation). Among almost all of these women, the social power of wife and husband evolved laterally. For 22% of the women, the social power of the wife did not change, while the husband's social power increased or decreased (cf. supra: second situation). For 30% of the records, the GENCLASS levels referred to a housewife or a woman with 'no occupation' as occupational title (cf. supra: fourth situation). The career mobility of 54% of these women did not evolve, because the social power of their husbands remained stable during the two events. The situation where the wife's social power modifies in the opposite direction as the husband's social power during two events (cf. supra: third situation) did not occur during this research.

As an introduction of the analyses, the female career mobility is first examined during the whole fertile period of women (15-49 years), so all individual records of the database are used during this analysis. Table 6 presents the evolution in the female career of all fertile women living in the port city of Antwerp during 1846-1906. The career of 64% of the examined group of women was stable (i.e., lateral mobility) during their fertile period. Twenty-five percent of the remaining women were characterised by an upward career mobility and 11% experienced downward career mobility.¹⁹

¹⁹. When the research period is split up in three equal periods (1846-1866 *versus* 1867-1886 *versus* 1887-1906), the small decline in lateral mobility is mainly taken over by the upward mobility.

Hence this table shows that the careers of two-thirds of the fertile women who lived in Antwerp during the years 1846-1906 did not evolve during their fertile years. However it is interesting to examine whether specific events (such as the birth of the first child or subsequent children) influenced the woman's fertile life course explicitly.

			First Child	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Upward	273	24.80	98	30.43
Lateral	703	63.85	173	53.73
Downward	125	11.35	51	15.84
N	1101		322	
Frequency missing	246		66	

TABLE 6: FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY IN THE CITY OF ANTWERP, 1846-1906

The answer to the question 'what happened to the careers of women when they became mother?' is also presented in Table 6 (columns 4 and 5). By comparing the GENCLASS levels at birth of the first child with those at marriage, the female career mobility can be identified. The hypothesis that 'becoming mother' had a significant influence on the careers of women (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Hill, 1993, 82-84; Seccombe, 1993, 32-35; Simonton, 2006, 148-158) will be examined with this family-based approach.

When a woman of the city of Antwerp became mother in the second half of the 19th century, her career was in more than one half of the cases (54%) characterised by stability. For thirty percent of the women, the career evolved in a positive direction (upward mobility). The careers of the remaining women (16%) evolved downward, which means that the social position of these women declined between marriage and first birth.²⁰ A closer look at the data shows that 97% of the Antwerp women was registered as 'housewife' at the birth of the first child, the remaining women (N = 9) kept their job. These housewives came, with the exception of level 'a', from all social levels, with an overrepresentation of the lower social classes (cf. Table 7). Although almost all of these women were recorded as 'housewife' when they became mother, by taking both the wife's and the husband's social power into account (GENCLASS), the results indicate that becoming mother sometimes hardly

²⁰. Due to a downward mobility in the wife's (e.g., a needlewoman who became a factory worker) or the husband's (e.g., a carpenter who became a carpenter's assistant) social power.

influenced the women's career (and if her career changed, that this was mostly not even in a negative way). Moreover this analysis also presents that the birth of a child had a limited impact on the husband's employment and his social power during the 19th century. For 54% of the Antwerp husbands, the social power level remained the same during marriage and at birth of the first child.

Social class at marriage	Housewife at the birth of the first child	
	Frequency	Percentage
a	0	0.00
b	32	10.22
c	21	6.71
d	97	30.99
e	65	20.77
g	98	31.31
N	313	

TABLE 7: SOCIAL CLASS OF HOUSEWIVES

It is not only important to examine the female career mobility at birth of the first child, investigating whether the mother's career changed obviously by the birth of subsequent children is also crucial. Because the great majority of women left their paid work before or soon after the marriage and because we may assume that these women combined child rearing and remunerative work (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Seccombe, 1993, 32-49; Simonton, 2006, 148-149), an evolution from one child to another had probably no distinct impact on the women's career.

Due to the missing values by illegitimate children, the following results will be restricted to legitimate children that Antwerp women gave birth to during the period 1846-1906. Figure 3 provides information on the female career mobility at the birth of subsequent children. Because of the limited observations of women with more than ten children, Figure 3 will be restricted to the tenth child.

Figure 3 clearly presents a high percentage of lateral career mobility. This is not only the case at birth of the first child (as already mentioned in the previous section), the birth of subsequent children also shows a restricted evolution in the career of women. On average seventy percent of the fertile

Antwerp women did not experience any evolution in their career when giving birth to the subsequent child(ren). This result confirms the hypothesis that the women's career is hardly affected by the birth of a subsequent child. The female careers evolved positively for one on five women. After the birth of the first child, on average ten percent of all women were characterised by downward career mobility.

A detailed view on the data clarifies that almost all women were still recorded as 'housewife' at the birth of any subsequent child. This finding is comparable with the findings discussed in the theoretical section. The remaining women were quasi proportionally distributed along the options 'remained to be working', 'remained to be a woman without occupation', 'from no occupation to working' and 'from working to no occupation'.

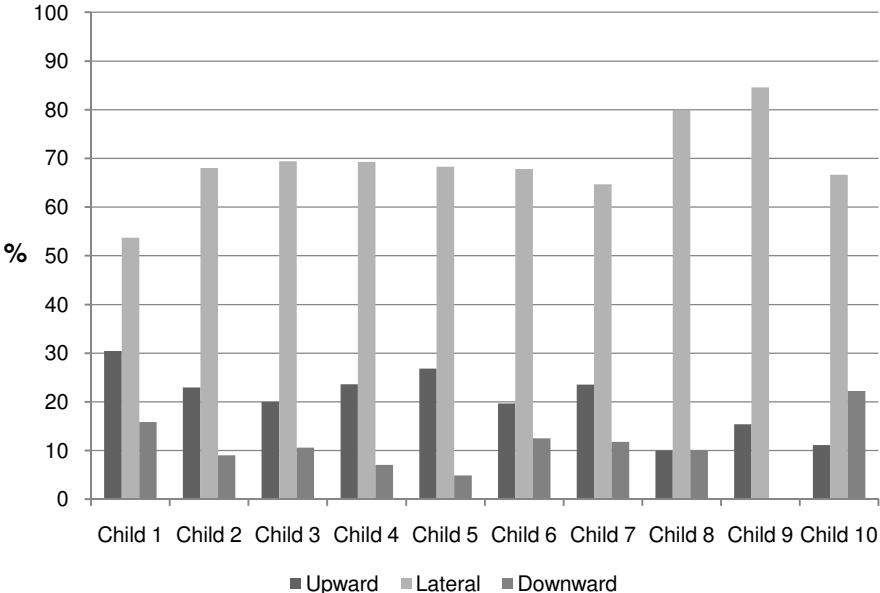


FIGURE 3: FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY AT THE BIRTH OF SUBSEQUENT CHILDREN, CITY OF ANTWERP, 1846-1906²¹

²¹. The number of observations in this figure are N = 322 for child 1, N = 244 for child 2, N = 170 for child 3, N = 127 for child 4, N = 82 for child 5, N = 56 for child 6, N = 34 for child 7, N = 20 for child 8, N = 13 for child 9 and N = 9 for child 10.

Our last question concerns the influence of parity on the mother's career during the second half of the 19th century. The hypothesis is that, on the one hand, women with a high parity of children were forced into the household, so their career mobility will probably be limited (i.e., lateral). Low parity women, on the other hand, will presumably experience mobility (upward or downward) in their career.

As Figure 4 suggests, parity has no significant influence on the careers of women living in the port city of Antwerp between 1846 and 1906. The distribution of the three types of female career mobility does not show significant differences when comparing women by parity. The percentages of upward, lateral and downward mobility are moreover quite similar to the results of the previous section.

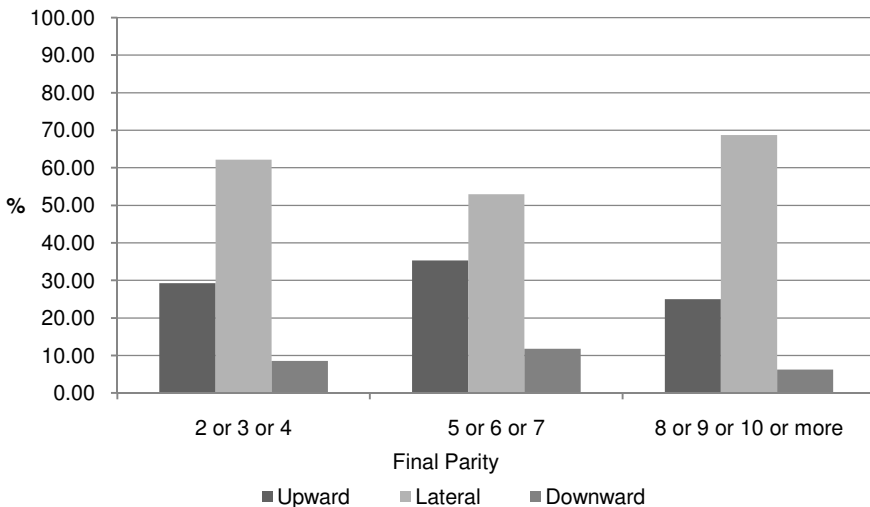


FIGURE 4: FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY BY PARITY, CITY OF ANTWERP, 1846-1906

Now that the results have been described, it is crucial to underline the importance of applying GENCLASS to the analysis of female career mobility. When investigating the social mobility of women in historical perspective, this paper states that it is important to integrate both spouses into a meaningful social class scheme. If one would define the evolution in a woman's career mobility on the basis of the wife's social power only, it would

be difficult to give clear answers when 'housewives' or women with 'no occupation' as occupational title are present in the data (cf. supra).

Let us finish this analysis by looking at the implications of choosing a strategy that only uses the women's occupational title and compare this to the GENCLASS approach. First, without paying attention to the 19th-century historical context where 'work at home' was often for ideological reasons considered as 'not working' (Hill, 1993, 82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49; Simonton, 2006, 134), a shift to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' could be regarded as downward mobility in the wife's social power level. This would mean that in our Antwerp case study as many as 70% of the women who gave birth for the first time would be characterised by downward mobility (see Table 8). The analysis based on GENCLASS shows that the career of only 16% of these women decreased during marriage and at first birth. Secondly, without the GENCLASS approach it is also difficult to assess the woman's social mobility when, for example, a woman with a high social power level becomes a 'housewife' or a woman 'without occupation'. The following question may arise in this context: was it not allowed for this woman to work after marriage or birth of the first child or was it not necessary anymore for her to keep on working (for example because she married a man of high status)? To evaluate these two possible explanations is difficult if one only can rely on information on the woman's social power level. In contrast, both integrating information on the husband's social power level and taking into account the interaction between the social power levels of both spouses, may simplify this issue. Thirdly, if one agrees that it is impossible to identify the change in mobility when for example a needlewoman became a housewife, then the evolution to housewife or 'no occupation' may be considered as indistinct. This implies that these cases are defined as missing values. As a consequence, these women will not be integrated in a social class scheme (this is for example the case in HISCLASS and SOCP0). In our study this would mean that, for example, becoming mother is in accordance with 98% of missing values.

To sum up, only using the women's occupational titles would give an inappropriate impression of the career mobility of 19th-century women. By making use of GENCLASS, the evolutions in social power level of both the wife and the husband are incorporated in a classification system which allows investigating the female career mobility in more detail. Instead of interpreting all evolutions to 'housewife' or woman with 'no occupation' as downward mobility or instead of omitting a large amount of female historical

occupational titles, by applying GENCLASS, a more differentiated and nuanced view on the historical social mobility of women emerges.

	First Child			
	GENCLASS		No GENCLASS	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Upward	98	30.43	98	30.43
Lateral	173	53.73	1	0.31
Downward	51	15.84	223	69.25
N	322		322	
Frequency missing = 66				

TABLE 8: TESTING THE VALIDITY OF GENCLASS

6. CONCLUSION

In this article, a historical social class scheme that classifies women has been proposed. Not only women with an occupational title are taken into account, also the 'under-registered' ones (housewives and women 'without occupation') are integrated in this classification system. Moreover the new constructed scheme – called GENCLASS – is a family-based approach because the woman's class position is determined by the social power level of herself and that of her husband.

To illustrate the GENCLASS scheme empirically, the mobility in the women's career is investigated during their fertile period (age 15 through 49). Women living in the port city of Antwerp during the years 1846-1906 are analysed in this research. The results indicate that, by taking both the wife's and the husband's social power into account (GENCLASS), for half of the women, the birth of the first child did not alter their career and when subsequent children were born, the career of more than two-thirds of the fertile Antwerp women remained stable. Moreover, investigation also shows that parity did not seem to influence the female career. So although it could be assumed that women were characterised by a shift in mobility at the time of marriage or when they became mother, a more detailed picture of the female career appears when not only taking the women's social power into account.

By constructing the GENCLASS system and by applying this scheme to historical data, an attempt is made to classify all women in a meaningful social class scheme. However, at the end of this article, it is crucial to highlight that this new classification system has been tested in a specific area (the port city of Antwerp) and on specific demographic data (the vital registration records) which does not tell the whole story of the 19th-century women's class position. By taking additional occupational indicators (like property, female employment rate, specific residence in the city, etc.) into account and by supplementing the female occupational registrations with additional (occupational) information of the COR* database, it will be possible to test the validity of the GENCLASS scheme and to confirm or weaken the above results. In this way, it will be possible to trace possible deficiencies (biased results, misclassifications, etc.) of this new constructed class scheme and to improve this classification system in the future.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENCLASS	Gendered Classification Scheme
HISCLASS	Historical International Social Class Scheme
HISCO	Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations
SOCPO	Social Power scheme
SP	Social Power

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De classificatie van vrouwelijke historische beroepstitels in een sociale klassenschema. De carrièremobiliteit van vruchtbare vrouwen die tijdens 1846 en 1906 in Antwerpen leefden

SARAH MOREELS

SAMENVATTING

Tijdens de voorbije decennia werden vrouwen theoretisch gelokaliseerd in verschillende klassenmodellen. Alhoewel deze verschillende theoretische benaderingen sterk gefundeerd zijn, werd nog geen poging ondernomen om de historische beroepsgegevens van vrouwen in te delen in een betekenisvol klassenschema. Dit artikel heeft als doel om een (historisch) klassenschema te ontwikkelen dat zowel de vrouwen met een beroepsregistratie als de 'onder-geregistreerde' vrouwen (huisvrouwen en vrouwen 'zonder beroep') bevat. Het nieuw opgebouwde schema – GENCLASS – is een benadering gebaseerd op het gezin omdat de klassenpositie van de vrouw wordt bepaald door het sociale machtsniveau van zowel de vrouw als haar echtgenoot.

Om het GENCLASS schema empirisch te illustreren wordt de carrièremobiliteit van vrouwen die tijdens de jaren 1846-1906 in de Antwerpse havenstad leefden, onderzocht in dit artikel. De analyses worden beperkt tot de vruchtbare levensjaren van de vrouw (periode 15-49 jaar) zodat de invloed van het moederschap op de vrouwelijke loopbaan in een historische context kan worden onderzocht. De vraag 'Hoe evolueerde de vrouwelijke loopbaan tijdens de vruchtbare periode van vrouwen?' wordt onderzocht aan de hand van de volgende onderzoeksvragen: 1) Wat gebeurde er met de carrière van vrouwen wanneer zij moeder werden?; 2) Veranderde de loopbaan van de moeder als gevolg van de geboorte van andere kinderen?; en 3) Beïnvloedde pariteit de vrouwelijke carrièremobiliteit tijdens de 2^{de} helft van de 19^{de} eeuw?

De resultaten tonen aan dat de loopbaan van de helft van de vrouwen nauwelijks veranderde door de geboorte van het eerste kind en dat dertig procent van de vrouwen werd gekenmerkt door een opwaartse mobiliteit tijdens het huwelijk en de eerste geboorte. Bij de geboorte van de volgende kinderen bleef de carrière van meer dan twee derde van de vruchtbare

Antwerpse vrouwen stabiel. Tenslotte toont het onderzoek ook aan dat pariteit geen invloed lijkt te hebben op de vrouwelijke loopbaan tijdens de 2^{de} helft van de 19^{de} eeuw. Hoewel dus kan worden aangenomen op basis van de historische context dat vrouwen werden gekenmerkt door een verschuiving in mobiliteit wanneer ze huwden of moeder werden, blijkt dat een meer gedetailleerdere kijk op de historische sociale mobiliteit van vrouwen ontstaat wanneer zowel de sociale macht van de vrouw en de man (GENCLASS) wordt in rekening gebracht.

Het artikel wordt aangevuld met figuur 1A en tabel 1A in een appendix. Al deze bijlagen zijn beschikbaar op de website van BTNG/ RBHC:
<http://www.flwi.ugent.be/btng-rbhc/nl/archief/2010-0102.html>

La classification des titres professionnels historiques des femmes dans un système de classification sociale. La mobilité de carrière des femmes fertiles habitant à Anvers pendant 1846-1906

SARAH MOREELS

RÉSUMÉ

Pendant plusieurs décennies, les femmes ont été théoriquement classifiées à travers différents modèles de classe. Bien que ces diverses approches théoriques soient fondées, aucune tentative n'a été faite, en ce qui concerne les données professionnelles historiques, pour classifier les femmes dans un arrangement significatif de classe sociale. Le but de cet article est de construire un système de classification sociale qui intègre, dans une perspective historique, autant les femmes avec un enregistrement professionnel que celles étant 'sous-enregistrées' (femmes au foyer et femmes sans métier). Le nouveau schème proposé – nommé GENCLASS – est une approche basée sur la famille puisque la position de la classe sociale de la femme est déterminée autant par le niveau de puissance sociale de l'épouse, que par celle du mari.

Pour illustrer empiriquement le système GENCLASS, cet article analyse la mobilité de carrière des femmes vivant à la ville portuaire d'Anvers pendant les années 1846-1906. En confinant les analyses à la période de fertilité de la vie des femmes (entre 15-49 ans), l'influence de la maternité sur les carrières des femmes est étudiée dans un contexte historique. La question 'Comment les carrières des femmes ont-elles évoluées au cours de leur période de fertilité?' est explorée sur la base des questions de recherche suivantes: 1) Qu'arrive-il à la carrière des femmes suite à la maternité?, 2) Qu'advient-il de la carrière des femmes suite à la naissance d'autres enfants?, et 3) La parité a-t-elle influencée la mobilité de carrière des femmes pendant la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle?

Les résultats indiquent que les carrières de la moitié des femmes ont à peine changé suite à la naissance du premier enfant et que trente pour cent de ces femmes ont eu une carrière caractérisée par une mobilité ascendante pendant le mariage et suivant la première naissance. Suite à la naissance des autres enfants, la carrière de plus du deux-tiers des femmes fertiles d'Anvers est demeurée stable. La recherche prouve également que la parité ne semble pas avoir un impact sur la carrière des femmes. Ainsi bien que l'on puisse supposer, à cause du contexte historique, que les carrières des femmes ont été caractérisées par une variation dans la mobilité au moment du mariage ou quand elles sont devenues mères, un regard plus détaillé de la mobilité sociale historique des femmes apparaît lorsque l'on prend en considération la puissance sociale du mari et de l'épouse (GENCLASS).

L'article est complété par le graphique 1A et le tableau 1A repris dans une annexe. Cette annexe est disponible sur le site web BTNG/ RBHC:
<http://www.flwi.ugent.be/btng-rbhc/fr/archives/2010-0102.html>