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THE SOCIETY OF HOUSING MANAGERS
AND WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN HOUSING

VOL. 2.

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The City University

Department of Social Sciences

September 1989

The following have been redacted at the request of the university:

Quotes on page 408

Names in Appendix 2 on page 599 and
Appendix 3 on page 600

Signature from Appendix 6 on page 603.

Please also note that pages 422 and 443-449 are missing from the original thesis.



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CHAPTER 7

7 THE POST-WAR PERIOD 1945-65

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Society had maintained its existence during the war, but in twenty years that followed, changing housing and social circumstances eventually led to the amalgamation of the Society and the Institute in 1965. This Chapter deals with the narrative of that crucial period, while the next two Chapters take a more detailed look at some of the causes and effects of these events. It is particularly important to establish the background to these events. The history of housing since the war is extensively covered in a number of publications (for example, Donnison (1967), Balchin (1981), Burnett (1978), Short (1982), Malpass and Murie (1982)). But in general little is said about changes in the administration of housing, though Merrett (1979) does give some attention to housing management and Malpass and Murie discuss case studies of the 1960s and 1970s. Some attempt will be made here to outline both the changes in policy and those in administration. Following Merrett's analysis of housing policy this is divided into two sub-periods: 1945-51 and 1951-64. This description of the housing background is followed by an account of one of the major changes in the Society - the admission of men. The organisation of the Society is considered only in respect to the two main areas of change: its employment role and recruitment and training. The final Sections of the Chapter deal with the amalgamation with the Institute of Housing.

7.2 THE HOUSING BACKGROUND

7.2.1 Housing Policy, 1945-51

The Labour government, which returned to power in 1945, inherited an acute housing crisis. The "Blitz" of 1940 and the flying-bomb attacks of 1944 had entirely destroyed 200,000 dwellings and had damaged three and a half million more. 250,000 of which were uninhabitable (Merrett, 1979: 236). Cullingworth estimated that the shortage of dwellings was in the region of 1,400,000 because the increase in population and the increase in smaller households had added to the building shortage caused by the war (Cullingworth, 1960: 34). However government did not know, or did not want to know, the full extent of the problem: for example, it was estimated that 750,000 houses would be needed to afford a separate dwelling for every family desiring to have one (Foot, 1975: 64 & 81). Even so, the problems of gearing up production seemed overwhelming since there was an acute shortage of building labour and of materials (Foot, 1975: 62, 63).

Much thought had been given during the war to problems of solving the post-war housing crisis (see also Chapter Six). There was, even among the civil servants, some agreement that extensive state and local authority action would be needed to avoid a repetition of the wasteful problems which had occurred after the First World War. In Aneurin Bevan's words: "If we are to plan we have to plan with plannable instruments, and the speculative builder, by his very nature, is not a plannable instrument." (Donnison, 1967: 184) Thus the building

drive which began in 1945 was subject to tight central control and the local authorities were the main agents for carrying it out.

The main thrust of the government's policy was on new building using generous subsidies to encourage the local authorities, restrictions on private building to ensure that resources were available, beginning to plan town development in a much broader way, and bringing in new high space standards (Burnett, 1978: 281,282). Attention had also to be given to dealing with the immediate crisis by extending requisitioning, building prefabricated dwellings and pressing ahead with repair of damaged dwellings (Merrett, 1979, 237,238).

The success of this policy was jeopardised by financial crises. Problems related to international trade, foreign exchange and the desire to maintain England's position as a world power meant that there was strong pressure for public expenditure cuts. In recurrent crises from 1946 onwards the local authorities were encouraged to limit their housing output (Donnison, 1967: 166). "The imposition of a rigid numerical ceiling on output, sustained for so long a time, had a chilling effect on the outlook and morale of all concerned." (Donnison, 1967: 166) As materials began to be more plentiful building controls were relaxed.

The other major innovation of the Labour government was the New Towns programme. After the New Towns Act of 1946, fourteen New Towns were designated by 1950, mainly in the South East. These followed ideas which had been

discussed for many years by planners, of setting up towns where employment, housing and leisure facilities could be planned to meet people's needs and on green field sites to keep down building costs (Burnett, 1978: 280). New Towns were managed by development corporations appointed by Central Government (Donnison, 1967: 306). Though there was much enthusiasm for the idea and world wide interest, the New Towns did not in the end contribute in a very significant numerical way to meeting housing need. Even by 1972, their total population was only equivalent to 1.2% of the population of the country (Burnett, 1978: 280).

7.2.2 Housing Administration, 1945-51

Central Government

It might be assumed that the realisation of the crucial importance of housing and the subsequent housing drive would have resulted in greater attention and resources being given to the local authority housing service. To some extent this was true. Bevan's decision to use the "plannable instrument" was queried by those who wondered whether the 1,700 odd local authorities could cope with the new responsibilities thrust upon them. "Bevan was proposing the biggest enlargement of local government activity, in degree if not in kind, in the history of local government: would the new machine really work?" (Foot, 1975: 72). Some experts, including Labour spokesmen, had suggested that a separate Ministry of Housing should be established and had assumed that it would work directly without using other agencies. The Ministry of Works, which had been running the wartime

special repair service. was also held to have ambitions for a take-over of housing provision (Foot, 1975: 70). Bevan concentrated on ensuring that his chosen instrument would be fit for use. with a great drive to enlist the enthusiasm of the local authorities and to provide them with finance. But the focus of this activity was construction and repair. though it was realised that fair allocation of new housing was an important issue (Foot, 1975: 72).

The Ministry of Health continued to be responsible for housing and to monitor progress. but very much in terms of numbers built. Mollie Empson. a SWHM Member. succeeded Peggy Hill as Housing Management Adviser. but one post was a very small commitment in terms of the Ministry as a whole (Fox, 1974). Any Central Government concern for housing management was expressed only in the form of advice. either through the Housing Management Adviser or once again through committees and reports. Two reports were issued over this period:

1945 Management of Municipal Housing Estates
(Second report of the Housing Management
Sub-Committee of CHAC. (CHAC. 1945)
("Balfour Report. 1945")

1949 Selection of Tenants and Transfers and
Exchanges (Third Report) (CHAC. 1949)
("Gibson Report")

The first seems to have attracted more attention from SWHM so this will be considered briefly in Section 7.2.3 as an example of Central Government work on housing management and the role of SWHM.

Local Government

If at Central Government level attention was on numbers

and housing output. this was reflected at local government level. Much of the attention went to the departments which were concerned with building. Housing management remained of low status relative to architects' and surveyors' departments. a fact which had important repercussions when it came to discussions about what was to be built. Glamour and prestige went to the departments producing the new building; the humdrum work of managing it still had a very low profile. (Information from interviewees) (See also Dunleavy. 1981: 139)

Interviewees who had been working for metropolitan departments testified that they were subject to the most appalling pressures since they were seen by those in need of housing as the representatives of that authority which should provide it and were in the front line. Sometimes their task had not been made easier by the actions of Central Government

"The dreadful thing was that. before we had in fact housed the last lot from the last rocket. the war was over and men began to come home and into the office saying 'Where's my house? We've been told we're going to be housed when we come back from the army.' They'd been shown prefabs in Delhi and Cairo and they'd been given a little buff form and they'd been told. 'fill up the form and take it back and you'll get a place like that.' And there they were. in our office. More thumping of the table: worse than that. I mean. we had a chap jumping over the counter once. and a chap turning up (the housing manager's) desk onto her. And it really was terrible. because they simply didn't believe us. that we hadn't got houses for them." (Interviewee)

Such pressures on housing departments continued well into the 1950s. It does not seem to the writer surprising therefore that staff in housing departments developed defensive attitudes and strict "rationing" theories in which they followed quite often popular prejudices

against non-residents for example.

Little academic attention was given to housing management during this period. A rare early example is the work of Kilbourn and Lantis which, as early as 1946, showed that a very wide gulf existed between the problems which housing officials considered the most important and those which were most significant to the tenants (Kilbourn & Lantis, 1946).

Later critics of housing management outlined the problems which they saw but seem to have given little attention to structural influences on housing managers' behaviour. This can be seen in the work of Burney (1967), Morris & Mogey (1965) and Sharp (1969).

Lambert, Paris & Blackaby (1978) similarly discuss the process of allocation in the context of housing shortage but say little about the effects this has on the attitudes of the staff. Cullingworth (1963) was one of the few writers who gave even brief attention to the working situation of housing staff. One of his case studies is discussed in more detail later in the Chapter.

Housing Associations

By the end of 1945 membership of the National Federation of Housing Societies stood at 210 housing societies and associations. The concentration on local authority building gave them little scope and the older housing associations found their economic position precarious until the Housing Repairs and Rents Act of 1954 (Allen,

1981: 51). However, the older societies did continue improvement work (interviewees). One new development was self build housing societies whose numerical contribution was small. Another was industrial housing associations, prompted by employers' problems in getting staff in locations where housing was short. The Coal Industry Housing Association was the largest of these (Allen, 1981: 54) but another vigorous and prominent one was the British Airways Staff Housing Society, formed by employees themselves (Allen, 1981: 55). This became the unusual (for the U.K.) example of a large co-operative employing professional staff. In general, however, housing associations were managed along traditional lines.

The Balfour Report of 1945

This enquiry had been started while the war was still being fought. In January 1944, the CHAC sub-committee was requested by the Central Housing Advisory Committee to consider

"whether any further advice ought to be given to local authorities regarding the management of municipal housing estates in the light of the special conditions likely to arise in the immediate post-war period" (CHAC, 1945: 3).

They were asked to give particular attention to temporary accommodation.

Unfortunately it is not possible to get much information about the workings of this committee since the relevant file (PRO HLG 37/20) at the Public Record Office appears to have been swept bare of everything except a letter from the Incorporated Society of Auctioneers and Landed Property Agents in 1944 regarding the fact that they were

instituting examinations for housing managers.

The introduction to the published report does mention specifically that the committee received oral evidence from the Society of Women Housing Managers and the Institute of Housing, as well as written evidence from a number of bodies (CHAC. 1945: 3). Written evidence had been prepared by the Society (SWHM. Minutes. 22.4.45) and the oral evidence given by the Society's representatives on June 4th had led to a request for further information about the transfer of tenants from larger to small houses (SWHM. Minutes. 7. .45).

The report, however, was not particularly favourable to the views of SWHM. It is in fact quite a brief document and began by noting that a number of points from the first report (CHAC. 1938) were still very valid: for example, the concentration of the housing functions in one department were still very desirable and, because of the war, many local authorities had not implemented these recommendations.

"We consider that those local authorities who have not recently reviewed their general arrangements for housing management in the light of the report and circular of 1938 should immediately do so." (CHAC. 1945: 4).

The report went on to consider particularly two factors which the committee considered attributable to the war: the shortage of houses and the shortage of trained housing managers. The main management matters dealt with were the selection of tenants and the management of temporary accommodation. On the selection of tenants the report recommended that local authorities should take the

broad view of the classes of person they provided for.

It was on the issue of the shortage of staff and the need for training that the report was probably most disappointing to the Society. The final recommendation simply said "Local authorities should grant the widest possible facilities for the training of student housing managers under competent officers of their Housing Departments" (CHAC, 1945: 15) and suggested that arrangements for paying students should be extended. Once again there was no official help or money available for the training of staff. Moreover, in its text, the report had mentioned that "professional bodies, such as the Chartered Surveyors' Institution, are interested in the requirements of the housing manager, and ready to meet them, if necessary by new developments" (CHAC, 1945: 11). By implication this might seem to devalue the Society's and the Institute's qualifications. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Health for 1946 similarly mentioned the need for local authorities to create more training facilities and the fact that the CSI had decided to create a new qualification of high standard in housing management and hoped that larger local authorities would be able to provide extended training facilities up to the standard of the new examinations (Ministry of Health, 1946: 168). Once again the Society and the Institute were ignored.

7.2.3 Housing Policy 1951-64

In October 1951 there was a general election and a Conservative government was returned. During the

election campaign the Conservatives had pledged themselves to build 300.000 dwellings a year and Macmillan, who became Minister of Housing, was keen to redeem this pledge. So, initially, the government continued to use the local authorities and encourage them to meet the expanded targets for housebuilding, while at the same time they began to relax controls on private builders and stimulate the private sector (Merrett, 1979: 246). But higher numbers were obtained by lowering standards (Burnett, 1978: 284, 285).

The period 1953 to 1956 saw a phase of policy reformulation among the Conservatives, with a switch to supporting private enterprise as the main vehicle for expansion, a restriction of local authority building for general needs and a return to large scale slum clearance, beginning with the Housing Repairs and Rents Act of 1954. The attention to repair of the older stock, which had begun in the 1949 Housing Act, was given increasing emphasis with the introduction of improvement grants and permitted rent increases (Merrett, 1979: 248).

The Conservatives were returned to power again in the 1955 general election and continued the same policies. Economic problems brought about public expenditure and housing cuts in 1958 and 1960 (Merrett, 1979: 250, 251). The Conservatives again attempted to stimulate the private sector through the 1957 Rent Act.

The final phase of this Conservative period saw the attempt, through the 1961 and 1964 Acts, to encourage the formation of a stronger voluntary sector in this country

with old style housing associations and new style housing societies and the setting up of the Housing Corporation in 1964. House-building by local authorities, by 1964, when the Conservatives went out of office, was still running at a higher level than in any year since 1955 (Merrett, 1979: 254).

7.2.4 Housing Administration, 1951-64

Central Government

One important administrative development of the 1950s was that housing was at last separated from the Health Ministry. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government was responsible for four main functions: public health, housing, planning and local government (Sharp, 1969: 15). The regional office organisation which had survived from the war was merged with the regional organisation which had been set up by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. But the role of the regional organisation was uncertain and it was under threat of abolition, especially in the mid 1950s (Sharp, 1969, 216-217). It finally settled into the format of six regional offices, as against nine during the war and the immediate post-war period.

Despite the fact that there now was a Ministry of Housing, its philosophy was still very much to leave management to the local authorities and not interfere - even in determining the amount of housebuilding (Griffith, 1966: 220-295).

Evelyn Sharp, writing in 1969, was prepared to criticise

housing management as a whole.

"There is almost as much complaint about local authorities' general management practices as about their rent schemes. Readers of the popular press know how frequent are the stories of council tenants who are not allowed to keep pets or hang washing out to dry, and of tenants who are alleged to be in danger of imminent and unreasonable eviction or to have obtained a council house out of term by favouritism. The number of such stories which attract the attention of the press is but a fraction of those which come to the notice of the Ministry (Sharp. 1969. 87. 88).

However Sharp was prepared to fall back on the traditional line that this is not the Ministry's responsibility. "Here, if anywhere, is a field where the local authorities are the absolute masters of their own policies..." (Sharp. 1969: 88). although she did admit that such independence was being breached by legislation such as the Race Relations Act 1968. Also it was clear that the Ministry had been active in offering advice and in investigating complaints.

"Complaints are so numerous that investigation takes up an unexpectedly large amount of the housing division's time... The Ministry employs a full-time adviser on housing management - a qualified member of the Institute of Housing Managers - almost the whole of whose time is spent advising local authorities in the field and acquiring information for the Ministry about local practices, which are surprisingly varied." (Sharp. 1969: 88,89)

There was no suggestion, however, that something more fundamental should have been done about such a volume of complaint.

Thus the Ministry maintained its "hands off" attitude towards housing management, continuing to assert that this was a matter for the local authorities. The Ministry's own organisation was at this time rather understaffed in relation to housing and, as there was only one housing management adviser, this did not give

housing management a strong voice at central government level. Derek Fox, who succeeded Miss Empson (adviser from 1946 to 1968), made this point much more forcefully. He pointed out that, from the aspect of making contact with the local authorities, one person could not possibly provide a good enough service. While from the point of view of providing advice within the Ministry, he found indifference and even hostility from the non-professional officers (Fox, 1974). He felt that there was a particular lack of staffing on housing management as compared with other professions. Dunleavy has also amply demonstrated that the voice of the housing "consumer" at levels was very weak in the formation of housing policy (Dunleavy, 1981).

Housing Associations

For the first part of this period, housing associations continued a steady if unspectacular expansion mainly in housing for special needs, particularly housing for the elderly (Allen, 1981: 56).

The situation began to change as the Conservative government, concerned about the shrinkage of the privately rented sector, gave attention to increasing the role of the "third arm" of housing provision. In 1961 it offered 25 million on loan, through the National Federation of Housing Societies, for housing associations to build new properties for letting on a non-profit basis. By the end of 1963, all this money had been lent to cost rent societies. The operation had threatened to alter radically the functions of the NFHS so, in the 1964 Housing Act, Central Government set up a new body, the

Housing Corporation. to administer the scheme (Allen, 1981: 60-63). The Housing Corporation was initially only concerned with cost rent and co-ownership societies but it marked a new stage of government intervention in the housing association movement. Rapid expansion in this type of society followed, but their constitution and way of working was often very different from that of the older trusts and more akin to commercial bodies.

Local Authorities

By the post-war period, because of the increase in council house building, many departments had enlarged their size. In particular, inner London and metropolitan departments tended to be involved in slum clearance on a large scale. In addition local authorities, at the urging of the Ministry, had become heavily involved in system built and high rise building (Berry, 1974: 86; Dunleavy, 1981: 34-81). It was during this period that criticisms of housing departments began to be more generally substantiated.

It was alleged that housing departments often handled their responsibilities in an insensitive way but, sometimes, the critics recognised that housing departments were partially the victims of other departments' or government policies. Muchnick (1970), for example, studied the making and implementation of Liverpool's redevelopment policy in the 1960s. This was a case where the housing department did have enormous powers and was responsible for programming the clearance and redevelopment. There was a closer interlocking

between the interests of the housing department and the politicians and lack of political representation of those actually moved by the redevelopment programme. In other cases, such as Newcastle (Davies, 1972) it was the planning department which contained the "evangelistic bureaucrats" with grandiose plans which rode roughshod over residents' wishes.

Another focus for criticisms was allocations policy. Elizabeth Burney's "Housing on Trial" (Burney, 1967) was a critique of local authority allocations policy from the aspects of race relations. Burney pointed out how the factors which led to direct or indirect discrimination against coloured applicants stemmed from the fact that public housing was rooted in its 19th century origins and especially the idea of "grading" tenants which people tended to associated with the "Octavia Hill" tradition. Morris and Mogey, writing in 1965, were highly critical of housing management's claims to be anything more than a landlord and argued that housing management had neither the time nor the talents to deal adequately with social help, consumer research or community organisation as some housing management apologists claimed they did.

It was coming to be realised, as Morris and Mogey mentioned, that "standards of house care have risen markedly since the war, and that the proportion of 'problem' council tenants is now much smaller". This allowed the housing department more time to give personal attention to the elderly and to the poorest families. However Morris and Mogey questioned the wisdom of this and whether housing managers were qualified to do so

(Morris and Mogey, 1965: 3). The steady growth in the professionalism, complexity and organisation of social work since the 1930s had made housing claims in this respect vulnerable. Morris and Mogey felt that councils had very stereotyped views of tenants and commented on the paternalism of housing departments and the ways in which tenants' freedom to enjoy their own home was limited.

Donnison (1960) ended his review of housing policy with a brief discussion of the uneven nature of housing administration in the local authorities. He expressed doubts as to whether they could respond even to a wider view of housing management, let alone become comprehensive housing authorities. His summary makes interesting reading.

"In attempting to introduce criteria of social justice and administrative efficiency into the field of housing management - a field previously governed by the entirely different criteria of personal influence, local tradition, profit and loss - the housing authorities are carrying out one of this country's most difficult and important experiments in social administration." (Donnison, 1960: 35)

Despite giving less than justice to some pre-war local authorities' and housing associations' efforts to house those in need, the extract does express the considerable misgivings with which many in the social administration field viewed housing management.

Important influences were also arising from the growing scale and scope of housing work. Housing departments were growing ever larger; slum clearance could be seen as a large scale numerical operation and some authorities

gave increasing attention to numerical targets and to ideas of efficiency which tended to emphasise quantity rather than quality (Interviewee).

This process is little documented but one example of this which did receive a brief public mention in the literature was that of Lancaster. J. B. Cullingworth in "Housing in Transition" (1963). includes a short account of events in the housing department. First of all he describes the enormous pressure after the war.

"These were very stormy years for the local Council. Housing had become a political issue of enormous local importance. The weekly newspapers carried full reports on housing matters and pressed the Council strongly for 'full information' on the operation of its policy." (Cullingworth. 1963: 38-39)

The housing committee was under great pressure. especially on issues concerning allocations.

The expansion of the housing programme to meet these needs and respond to government policy. by 1953 led to concern about the costs of the housing programme. and the necessity for further rent increases led the Council to look carefully at its costs.

"The only item which seemed capable of being cut was that of management. The Housing Department. set up in 1931. had developed into a large welfare organisation with a staff of sixteen. seven of whom were qualified housing managers. The Department was run on Octavia Hill lines and was approved as a training office by the Society of Housing Managers." (Cullingworth. 1963: 48-49)

A great deal of emphasis was placed on tenant welfare and integration with the social services. However this conception of housing management was now questioned as being too costly. It was decided that a reduction of the

annual cost of management from 4 to 2.10s a house was to be achieved by transferring responsibility for repairs to the Engineers' Department, dismembering the Housing Department and giving notice to all but two of the staff, bringing in new untrained staff instead. Cullingworth comments that "These issues were confused by certain clashes of personality which make it difficult to give a clear analysis of the situation" (Cullingworth, 1963: 49). but it is at least clear that there was a sweeping away of intensive management. Although it is claimed by Cullingworth that costs fell abruptly, this was only from 11.000 in 1952-3 to 8.900 in 1954-5; this does not quite seem to be the order of saving promised.

There is a lack of other local examples as well documented as this. There are indications, however, that the changes in housing management and the size of housing authorities could have been having an adverse effect on the number and position of women employed. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine.

In general, it was clear that the new attention given to public and social housing after the war and the expansion of scope of its activity should have provided opportunity for expansion of trained staff.

The sense that the Society was somehow or other losing out in this post-war development was an important factor in its activities. The following Sections will discuss first of all the issue of the admission of men, which became prominent in post-war discussions, and then the

more general organisation of the Society.

7.3 THE SOCIETY AND THE ADMISSION OF MEN

7.3.1 The Basic Arguments

Chapter Six has already described how the question of admitting men had been raised as early as 1943. The main argument put by Jean Thompson, who proposed the motion in November 1943, was that it was in the interests of housing to admit both men and women: if the Society did not, then men would have no alternative but to enter the Institute of Housing and "if we insisted on a one-sex training we might hold up a big advance" (D.W., 1944: 4). The arguments put forward against the resolution gathered around the danger of swamping the Society by admitting large numbers of men, men getting the best posts, overloading the training system, and the loss of the all women's society (D.W., 1944: 5).

A letter from "a mere male" in a subsequent issue of the Quarterly Bulletin put the challenge firmly in SWHM's court.

"What are these qualifications which make women exclusively fitted for housing management about which we hear so much? Will you be able to persuade the Ministry of Health to exclude men from the national post-war schemes for housing, whilst you are at the same time protesting against sex discrimination and claiming equality?" (A Mere Male, 1944)

It was not surprising, therefore, that the question was raised again almost as soon as war ended. As one of the Society members most involved in the admission of men said,

"It was so clearly absolute nonsense not to have them. I mean, there we were with the post-war boom in housing...and this tremendous need for proper

housing management and yet we were, with what we said was a marvellous training scheme and all our wonderful tradition, we were limiting it to women - and in those days it was mostly unmarried women because in those days married women didn't - a lot - come forward for training. It was blatantly stupid." (Interviewee, Member of Unification Committee).

On the other hand, there were still a lot of misgivings in the Society about admitting men, especially among the older members.

"As far as I remember, it was mainly the younger people who wanted men to be admitted and the older people who were agin it. And you couldn't blame them, because they'd had to fight, tooth and nail, for recognition and I think they probably foresaw the way we should be taken over by the men." (Interviewee, Member of Unification Committee)

"I can remember Miss Samuel pleading, with tears in her eyes 'If you let men in, they'll take over all the best jobs, they'll be the Directors of Housing, you'll be the rent collectors'."

Younger members, especially those already involved in local authority careers, had less sympathy with this point of view. One said that the debate

"struck me as a lot of nonsense. I couldn't think why we didn't admit them. I mean this, I think, was us in our most absurd light...I'm sure it was at this stage I began to wonder what I'd come into. I couldn't see the validity of the arguments at all for not admitting men - sex never seemed to me to come into it at all...I couldn't see what all the argument was about" (Interviewee, Member of Unification Committee).

"The Society missed the bus. I don't think Octavia Hill would have stood for a moment in keeping it for women only for as long...I have a feeling it was her followers who enshrined the women approach. But at the same time, in those days it wasn't the sort of work that men would have been interested in anyway. After the war, my generation were longing to open it up because there were hundreds of dedicated young men coming out of the forces who wanted to come in, and who had no respect for the Institute because, although they ran an exam, nobody was trained... Anybody could get in, they were terribly lax over admitting... (Interviewee, Member of Unification Committee).

Others admitted a few more doubts. One said that

"We thought we were going to be swamped and I still think that was probably...though it happened in a different way...what has happened..."

But this same member was not essentially opposed to admitting men

"I'd always thought we were terribly, narrowly feminist. that it would help in a way because we were getting applications from men by that time. There was a certain narrowness which always bothered me...an exclusiveness...and we just weren't big enough to do all the jobs that were there with the expansion after the war."

Other interviewees similarly admitted to some doubts though eventually they had come down on the side of admitting men. As there was such a wide division of opinion it was not surprising that the decision on the admission of men took some time and was, for the Society, quite bitterly fought.

7.3.2 The Campaign 1943-1948

The issue had first been raised at the 1943 AGM, where the motion was put:

"That in the view of the immense development of housing schemes likely to take place after the war and the public recognition of the value of trained management, the Council be asked to consider the possibility of making the Society's training available to men as well as women." (D.W., 1944: 4)

At this stage, the resolution was passed by a large majority, only 10 votes being cast against it (D.W., 1944: 5). But, although this motion referred the matter to Council, there is no formal record of discussion until July 1945, apart from the letter from "a mere male" in the June 1944 Bulletin already mentioned.

In the summer of 1945, there was a letter from the Acting

General Secretary of NALGO asking that, in view of the Society's consideration of this matter, representatives of each organisation should meet to discuss it. A meeting was arranged (SWHM. Minutes. 18.8.45) at which the negotiations on the Society's admission of men and on its new salary scales were discussed, and apparently linked, as there was a hint that the question of the admission of men was likely to be raised in salary negotiations (SWHM. Minutes. 22.9.45). A memorandum was prepared for submission to NALGO (SWHM. Minutes. 13.10.45). Agreement was reached on the salary scales, though there were some problems about applying them to women housing managers (SWHM. Minutes. 9.2.46 and 9.3.46). In May 1945, NALGO once again wrote to the Society on the training of men and invited the Society to appoint representatives to discuss this (SWHM. Minutes. 11.5.46). A meeting took place on 15th June (SWHM. Minutes. 13.7.46) but the September Council minutes record only that a letter had been received from NALGO asking the Society to consider again the question of opening its training to men and it was agreed that the subject should be discussed at the AGM (SWHM. Minutes. 14.9.46).

At the AGM in November 1946, a motion instructing the Council to take appropriate steps to amend the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Society so as to allow the admission of men was passed (SWHM. Minutes. 7.12.46).

The Society was now faced with the task of trying to implement this resolution. An Ad Hoc Committee was set up to consider procedural matters. This consisted of

three elected members and four Honorary Officers. the elected members being Miss Alford, Miss Barber and Miss Baynes (SWHM. Minutes. 7.12.46).

A particular problem had now appeared which is alluded to in the Minutes. This was that Sir Parker Morris, for many years the Society's legal adviser and friend, was firmly opposed to the admission of men. He felt that, having campaigned so long for women housing managers, this would be a negation of what he had campaigned for (Interviewees). The minutes mention that the Miss Baskett had had an interview with Sir Parker Morris on the admission of men and it was agreed that the President, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Miss Baskett and the Secretary should see him on this matter, stressing the fact that his services had been much appreciated and putting the point of view of the majority of the members of the Society. It was also agreed that the Society consider the question of paying for legal aid in this matter, apart from any help from Sir Parker Morris (SWHM. Minutes. 7.12.46).

It was later agreed that the Society should engage a solicitor to handle the legal aspects of the admission of men: it was clear that Sir Parker Morris remained concerned about this development (SWHM. Minutes. 20.12.46. 11.1.47).

The Ad Hoc Committee continued to meet every month working its way carefully through the constitutional and other changes that would be needed on the admission of

men. It recommended that regional meetings should be held so that members and students should have the opportunity to discuss the proposal before it came up at the AGM. An opportunity was also provided at the Annual Provincial Conference to discuss this issue.

It became clear that 75% of the members would have to be in favour of the resolution before such an amendment could be made. The question of proxy voting was discussed and dismissed, but it was decided that the meeting should be held at a time when the largest possible number of members was able to attend. A Sunday morning was chosen for this (SWHM. Minutes. 8.3.47). A memorandum on the action taken by the Council was circulated to all members before the Annual Provincial Conference and it was agreed that the special resolution would finally be put to the AGM in November 1947.

The draft resolution had to be approved by the Board of Trade and negotiations had to be carried out with the RICS as to whether they would extend the Women Housing Manager's Certificate to men (SWHM. Minutes. September 1947). Careful consideration had to be given to the voting procedure and it became apparent that the meeting to consider the special resolution could not be held on a Sunday because of the Sunday Observance Act of 1833. It was agreed to hold it on a Saturday at 5.30 (SWHM. Minutes. September 1947). The RICS finally gave their agreement to men sitting for the housing manager's certificate if they were trained by the Society. However the issue was obviously closely fought at the AGM and the special resolution did not receive a sufficient majority:

146 were in favour and 56 against (SWHM. 1948: 4). Miss Samuel, who to some extent seems to have been the leader of the opposition, even asserted that the voting procedure used was invalid. It was clear that some members had been absent and the question of voting by proxy was raised again, but it was noted that this had previously been rejected by Council (SWHM. Minutes. 6.12.47).

However the matter was not left to rest. Presumably because the vote had been so emphatically in favour of the resolution, it was thought worth trying again. Subsequently legal opinion confirmed that the voting at the AGM had been legal (SWHM. Minutes. 10.1.48). 45 Fellows and Ordinary Members called for an Extraordinary General Meeting to reconsider the issue, a call which the Council had to comply with, and arrangements were set in hand for this (SWHM. Minutes. 10.1.48). It was clear that Miss Samuel and others were likely to contest this: for example, Miss Samuel queried the amount of money already spent on this issue and on legal advice (SWHM. Minutes. 14.2.48). The possibility of legal queries being raised by objectors meant that the form of resolutions and voting procedure had to be gone into even more strictly (SWHM. Minutes. 13.3.48).

The Extraordinary General Meeting was held on April 18th 1948. The special resolution was proposed by Miss J.M.Y. Upcott, one of the people who had worked with Octavia Hill, and the motion was carried by 152 votes to 44.

Although it may not have been fully apparent at the time, the admission of men did leave the Society with a problem about its role. Hitherto it had had a dual function - the promotion of good housing management following Octavia Hill methods, and the furthering the cause of women in housing employment. Once men were admitted to the Society, it could no longer promote women's employment in quite the same way. But many of the changes in housing were beginning to bring even more into question the relevance of "Octavia Hill methods". It was clear that methods would have to be adapted and change; but if they changed, how far were they any longer distinctively the Society's? And if both aspects of the role changed, how far was there any longer justification for the survival of the Society as a separate body? The extent of these problems gradually became apparent during the next few years.

7.4 THE SOCIETY'S EMPLOYMENT ROLE 1945-65

7.4.1 Introduction

In the pre-war period, the Society had almost acted like a trade union in working to protect the employment interests of its members and had at times been closely involved in appointments. During the war period, it had also been closely involved with Central Government appointments. In the post-war period, circumstances changed and the Society gradually lost this role, at a time when the employment of women managers seems to have been under some pressure, at least in certain authorities. The process can be traced by looking first of all at the Society's general role in regard to

salaries and the employment of women and then examining the record of how certain cases in particular authorities were dealt with, contrasting this with what had happened pre-war.

7.4.2 General work on salaries and equal opportunities

In December 1944 the Society had approved new salary scales for housing managers as it had done in the past (SWHM. Minutes. 10.12.44). There had always been a certain amount of negotiation about these scales but this time there was more serious trouble about getting them accepted in the local authorities. Local authorities employing SWHM managers had been informed of the new scales but

"The Town Clerk of Hemel Hempstead had suggested consultation with the Eastern Provincial Council for Local Authorities Administrative, Technical, Professional and Clerical Services. Mrs. Cully (Cheltenham, Miss Samuel (Bebington) and the Town Clerk of Rotherham had stated that their Councils would only negotiate about salaries with such bodies, not with individual professional societies. The Town Clerk of Rotherham had suggested getting in touch with the Association of Municipal Corporations." (SWHM. Minutes. 3.3.45)

In other words, the growth of more formal unionism in local government meant that the functions of a professional society and of a union were becoming more clearly differentiated.

The Society decided to stick to its salary scales but also to make a tentative approach to the National Association of Local Government Officers to discuss the matter (SWHM. Minutes. 3.3.45) and these negotiations had started by April 1945 (SWHM. Minutes. 22.4.45). It was agreed to make Rotherham a test case for negotiating

through NALGO. Cheltenham had agreed to the new scales but registered its objection to the Society's procedure and had instructed the Town Clerk to take up the issue with the AMC. while Southall had deferred its decision pending the result of negotiations with NALGO (SWHM. Minutes. 22.4.45).

By May 1945 the Association of Municipal Corporations had sent a circular to Town Clerks expressing disapproval of the Society's action in not submitting the new salary scales to negotiation (SWHM. Minutes. 27.5.45). In these circumstances it was clearly necessary for the Society to bring itself more in to line with current local government practice. Negotiations with NALGO were protracted and, as we have seen in Section Three, the issue of the exclusion of men was raised by NALGO. Procedure for the application of grades in the Administrative, Professional, Technical Division of the national scales with NALGO backing was gradually agreed, though there was still a problem about the grading of trainees (SWHM Minutes 11.5.46). Later on, the issue of salaries became one of the first issues on which the Society and the Institute of Housing took joint action in negotiations with NALGO (SWHM. Minutes. 30.10.54). The Society thus lost some of its role with regard to salaries although it still took part in these general negotiations and in pressure for equal pay (SWHM. Minutes. 22.4.45) and equal opportunities.

For example, in December 1956 it is clear that some housing managers' posts had been advertised as restricted

to men. It was decided that in suitable cases, where a manager's post was advertised as restricted to men, a letter should be sent to the employing authority drawing attention to the fact that the profession was open to both sexes (SWHM. Minutes. 8.12.56). However, once the Society had admitted men, it seems that it was not felt possible to campaign for the employment of women in the same way as it had previously. Indeed even the membership of bodies concerned with women was open to question. In November 1959, when the organisations to which the Society was affiliated were being given their annual consideration, the subscription to the Women's Employment Federation was renewed but the Secretary was asked to find out if there was a men's or a general Employment Federation to which it would be useful to affiliate (SHM. Minutes. 28.11.59). The Secretary eventually reported that there was no such body (SHM. Minutes. 26.11.60) so it seems that no further action was taken.

7.4.3 Action on individual authorities and casework

In the pre-war period, the Society had often been consulted by individual employers on conditions of employment for women managers and had also acted where managers had felt circumstances to be unsatisfactory, though it had not always been successful in this.

In the post-war period, there are reports of a number of incidents where the Society was unable to take any effective action. The fact that those cases reported in the minutes included authorities as diverse as Kings Lynn, Chesterfield, Romford, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Guildford and Tunbridge Wells may indicate some general factors affecting women's posts and the reports of these incidents will be examined briefly.

Kings Lynn

The housing manager had asked "whether the Society would support her application for a higher grading for herself and her deputy. It was agreed that the Society could not

be of direct assistance." (SHM Minutes. 14.1.61)

Chesterfield

In May 1946 the Town Clerk of Chesterfield enquired what the Society's reaction would be to a new system for managing the estates with a central control of letting and management under a housing manager who might or might not be a member of the Society and District Offices under this housing manager which would be run on the Octavia Hill system. The Society stated that it would welcome the centralisation of management and open advertisement for a housing manager but would have to reserve its position on the training of students as this would depend on the appointments made (SWHM. Minutes. 11.5.46).

In November 1947 it was reported that there had been some 60 applications for the post of Housing Manager at Chesterfield of which three were women and the majority were Fellows or Members of the Institute of Housing (SWHM. Minutes. 1.11.47). A man who was a Fellow of the Institute of Housing was appointed to take charge of all estates including the one managed by a Society member. However, it was said that Chesterfield were in favour of the Octavia Hill system so no further action was taken at that point (SWHM. Minutes. 6.12.47).

Romford

In September 1946 it was reported that Miss Craig's duties had been curtailed by the loss of selection of applicants and supervision and ordering of repairs and she had decided to apply for other posts (SWHM. Minutes. 14.9.46). The Training Committee decided not to send any

further students to that office but no further action was taken. At a later meeting, the unsatisfactory position which led to the resignation of Miss Craig was discussed and it was decided that Society representatives should meet the Chairman of the Housing Committee and the Town Clerk. It was decided that the Society would not prevent its members applying for a post there. However, since the post did not appear to give full scope for housing management duties it would be circulated with the usual asterisk indicating that members should contact the office before applying.

Newcastle-under-Lyme

In this case the Society's practice seems to have differed even more from its pre-war activity. A letter was received from a SWHM member at Newcastle-under-Lyme stating that, as the council were considering changing over to a rent collector and welfare officer organisation, all members of the Society on the staff had resigned. The minutes just flatly record that it was agreed that no action should be taken (SWHM, Minutes, 12.4.47).

Guildford RDC

Mrs. Penny, the Housing Manager, notified the Society that she would be resigning her appointment at the end of December 1947. "She thought it likely that the Committee would not appoint an Octavia Hill manager in her place." It was noted that there were three ordinary members and one student and that Guildford was a training office (SWHM, Minutes, 6.12.47) but there is no record of further action.

Tunbridge Wells

It seems from the records here that, in January 1957

"Further information was reported about the post of Housing Manager advertised by the Borough of Royal Tunbridge Wells. It was decided that the Society should not intervene between Miss Strange and the Borough but that, if she was still in negotiation with NALGO and wanted the Society's support, the Secretary should ask NALGO if there was anything a professional society could do that would help their case." (SHM. Minutes. 12.1.57)

Subsequently,

"The Secretary had been in touch with Miss Strange and with NALGO Headquarters: there was nothing further that could be done and Miss Strange had decided to resign." (SHM. Minutes. 16.3.57)

There are no further details so the circumstances of the case are not at all clear, but it is clear that the Society was playing a very restricted role and the union the more important one.

7.4.4 The significance of the Society's changed role

The case studies, though not a representative sample, provide some indication that the changes in the Society's role in respect to employment were quite significant. This was a period in which, for various reasons, the employment of women housing managers was to some degree under attack. First of all there was the problem of men returning from the war hoping to be reinstated in jobs women might have occupied during the war. Secondly there was the growth in the size of housing departments which tended to lead some people to conclude that men should manage them. Thirdly, though linked with this, were the changing ideas about housing management. Chapter Nine discusses in more detail both the factors affecting women's employment post-war and some limited statistical evidence about housing employment. But the case studies

mentioned here indicate that the Society was not any longer able to give much effective support to its members in local employment issues. In this aspect of work the presence of another more numerous professional body working along different lines would inevitably weaken any influence which the Society would have.

7.5 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

7.5.1 Recruitment trends

Initially, the membership of the Society received a boost with a number of new students coming in. The Annual Report for 1945-46 reported

"The increase in the number of women applying for training which was beginning to be apparent in the summer of 1945 has continued, and the influx of students, most of them newly released from war service, created a record at the beginning of 1946."

However, this welcome increase had brought its own problems since some students were having to wait for months before a training office could be found for them (SWHM, 1946: 2). The increase in the number of students was not maintained in later years (see Table 7.1). The Society continued with its examinations, revisions of the syllabus and careful attention to placement in training offices. In addition it began to run more short courses and study schools for students. This Section will not examine the changes in syllabus in detail but will look at some of the issues which arose when people began to consider the difficulties in recruitment and possible problems with the training, in the context of falling numbers. Thus we will examine the financial difficulties of training, competition from other examinations and problems concerned with the nature of the training.

TABLE 7.1

SWHM/SHM MEMBERSHIP FIGURES PUBLISHED IN
ANNUAL REPORTS 1938 - 1958
(No figures published in 1946)

Note: Revised Membership Regulations came into force 1.9.47
and the financial year was changed in 1952

Year	Fellows	O.M.s	Licen- tiates	Asso- ciates	Students	Totals	Fellows and O.M.s non-practising
1938	26	159		63	60	308	
1939	25	178		70	69	342	
1940	24	173		72	87	356	
1941	24	197		69	73	363	
1942	31	193		92	72	388	
1943	35	214		71	88	408	
1944	34	242		71	90	437	
1945	35	256	*	79	122	492	
1946	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1947	32	268	11	126	ⁿ 205	642	48
1948	36	276	19	105	161	597	54
1949	36	296	29	111	136	608	52
1950	38	305	31	106	124	604	62
1951	39	323	38	108	117	625	63
1952	39	326	44	104	111	624	72
1953	38	329	53	99	113	632	68
1954	37	334	105	61	105	642	72
1955	46	325	64	106	88	629	68
1956	47	319	65	102	99	632	65
1957	46	329	62	114	65	616	61
1958	46	318	66	124	59	613	61

* Licentiate Scheme first in operation

ⁿ Heavy post-war intake

The continued existence of the Junior Organisation into the post-war period indicates one continued means of general support for students and younger members. The Junior Organisation published its own broadsheet for some time (copies for the period 1949 to 1951 are extant and show a lively range of interest). The Junior Organisation also contributed to the debates about training. But it was itself struggling to maintain the interest of its members and concerned about the slow rate of recruitment (for example, Clutton, 1949).

7.5.2 Finance for training

The Balfour report of 1946 had failed to make any provision for finance for training for housing management other than recommending that local authorities should increase their provision of trainee posts. While this did ease financial difficulties for some students, it also meant that recruitment was less under the control of the Society and it was the local authority which decided which examinations the student would sit. Also the Society's preferred pattern of training in two offices, one of which was a private one, did not necessarily fit with the common pattern of local authority traineeships which assumed that the students would stay with the original employer. So the practice of insisting on two offices was one which came under review in this period (SHM. Ad Hoc Committee on Recruitment, Training and Membership, 1959). It was also clear that the Society should give more attention to the question of payment of students during training (SWHM, February 1948) but this was difficult when the Society was insisting on training in a private office where the attitude to paying students

might be less generous than in local authorities. The RICS also decided to require a minimum of two years' practical training in approved offices before the student could sit for the Woman Housing Manager's Certificate, though this was reduced to eighteen months for graduates (SWHM. 1946: 3). At this time also, the Society made provision for students who wished to work full-time for financial reasons: they were required to have a minimum of two years before the examinations.

In 1945 the Junior Organisation discussed pay for students. The Chairman of the Training Committee and the Training Secretary attended this meeting and it was agreed that a memorandum on pay for students should be submitted (SWHM. Minutes. 3.3.45). This was subsequently done and circulated to heads of offices (SWHM. Minutes, 22.4.45).

7.5.3 Relationships with examining bodies

The Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute

This body contacted the Society to ask if the Society would accept their examinations but the Society was not keen on this proposal (SWHM. Minutes. 3.3.45).

The RICS

The RICS acted as the examining body for the Woman Housing Manager's Certificate. But in 1945 they introduced a Professional Associateship in Urban Estate Management "designed to supply the need of a professional training and the qualification for the management of the many large new housing estates which are coming into

being". This did not seem to be regarded with any alarm by the Society who hoped that a number of the Society's students would take this professional qualification (SWHM. 1946: 3). However, the fact that the certificate did not provide any exemptions even from the early stages of the Surveyors' professional examination (SHM, Minutes, 15.3.58) meant that only the most determined took this course. The fact that an alternative high status qualification in estate management now existed must have provided increased competition for the Society and it seems likely that the Surveyors' qualification would be seen as being very fitting for the new large scale management developing in the post-war period. The majority of RICS members were and remained men (see Chapters Nine and Ten) so this meant that candidates with the Housing Managers' Certificate were facing increased competition from well qualified men. However it still remained the case for many years that there were few qualified candidates for jobs in housing: any kind of qualifications in housing management were thin on the ground (Interviewees).

The Institute of Housing

The Institute of Housing qualification was the other main qualification taken by housing staff. Society members regarded this as being at a lower level than their qualification and pointed out that there was no practical experience requirement. The Society was therefore concerned when they discovered that the Society's qualification was being given less status than the Institute's one in the Local Government Examinations Board List of Approved Examinations for Promotion

Purposes, which had implications for salaries. Remedying this involved long and protracted negotiations with the Local Government Examinations Board, including making arrangements for an independent assessment of the scripts of the two bodies by the RICS (SHM, Minutes, 16.1.60).

Finally, the Examination Committee of the LGEB recognised the examinations as parallel (SHM, Minutes, 18.3.61) but this was referred back "because of possible repercussions with other professional bodies". The Society expressed its concern (SHM, Minutes, 13.5.61) but by this time negotiations for the new professional unified qualifications were well on their way so the question was becoming less relevant.

7.5.4 Problems of training

The main problem which seems to have arisen was the exacting nature of the Society's requirement for practical training. This was very important because it provided particular problems when the number of students was fluctuating for any reason. Also it was held to limit the number of students who could be taken on since they had to be mobile (though some of the requirements were modified in suitable cases) (Interviewees). Another issue which was raised was the nature of the work done in practical training. The Society was still stressing six months continuous rent collection from the same set of tenants as an essential part of practical experience (SWHM, Minutes, 14.6.47) but this might be seen as less relevant by students and others (Members employed at Stevenage Development Corporation, 5.11.58). During

their examination of training and recruitment in 1948. the Junior Organisation suggested three main reasons for lack of recruits: the number of competing professions. insufficient knowledge of housing as a career. financial difficulties of students. Certainly many interviewees felt that there were increased opportunities for women in the post-war period which adversely affected recruitment for housing. The Society made efforts on this and on other occasions to intensify the drive for recruitment by getting articles accepted in national journals and increasing propaganda to schools and colleges (SWHM. Minutes. October 1948).

The question was considered again in 1959. The report on recruitment suggested that there were some factors beyond the Society's control affecting recruitment population changes: the increased marriage rate among women. the tendency to marry earlier (which also led to women candidates choosing professions which offered more scope for part-time work). the change in the nature of housing work (involving more administration "which perhaps had less appeal to women") and a change in "patterns of mobility" with girls being less willing to work away from home. This report stressed the need for a unified professional qualification and possible amalgamation with the Institute (SHM. Ad Hoc Committee on Recruitment. Training and Membership. 1959). In addition, it carried out a thorough analysis of possible sources of recruitment and made a number of suggestions for a recruitment drive. many of which were subsequently implemented.

7.6 AMALGAMATION WITH THE INSTITUTE OF HOUSING

7.6.1 The formation of the Standing Joint Committee

As we have seen, after the initial increase in membership around 1945 to 1948, the post-war period had been for the Society one of declining membership and re-examination of its role. Once the decision had been taken to admit men, the rationale for having two separate organisations concerned with housing work was severely weakened. The review of the work and development of the Society carried out in 1948 seems to have concentrated on maintaining its separate existence (SWHM. Minutes. November 1948). However relationships with the Institute of Housing had been improving. The next important step was the formation of the Standing Joint Committee in 1954.

Public discussion of the possibility of amalgamation with the Institute had started fairly early in the 1950s, following the co-operation on salaries described in Section Four of this Chapter. A motion forwarded to the Society, after a joint meeting of the South East regional group and the South East Branch of the Institute in May 1954, recommended that "the Executives of the Society and the Institute of Housing meet to consider the amalgamation of these bodies" (SHM. Minutes, 17.7.54). The Society appointed a small committee to collect information about the Institute to consider ways in which co-operation might be possible and consider the implications of amalgamation (SHM. Minutes, 17.7.54). This committee in its report stressed that there was little difference between the Institute and the Society as regards aims, organisation, many of their main

activities. and the syllabus of their examination. However they considered that there was a significant difference in the selection and training of new recruits and that amalgamation of the two bodies. while bringing some benefit to Society members would ultimately swamp them because of the Institutes' greater numbers. Unless there was a radical change in the Institute's arrangements for selection and training. it was feared that the result would be a general decline in standards.

The committee therefore recommended that the Society should not seek amalgamation but should co-operate with the Institute. explore opportunities for further co-operation including the possibility of a joint Training Board independent of both Societies. There would be no objection from the Society's point of view if individual members would like to apply for membership of the Institute (SHM. Minutes. 9.8.54).

In March 1955. an invitation from the Institute of Housing to establish a joint committee to examine possible spheres of collaboration was accepted (SHM. Minutes. 19.3.55). From then on there are regular reports of the meetings of the Standing Joint Committee (e.g. SHM. Minutes. 23.7.55). Initially, it was established for a trial period of a year (SHM. Minutes. 23.7.55). Co-operation began on matters of common interest such as conditions of work and Income Tax relief on subscriptions (SHM. Minutes. 12.5.56). An attempt was made in 1958 to co-ordinate evidence to the CHAC sub-committee (SHM. Minutes. 27.9.58).

There was a 'hiccup' in December 1958 when one of the Institute's representatives had prepared a report for his Council which the Society's representatives felt was misleading. There was "a stimulating and enjoyable meeting at which there had been much plain speaking". It was agreed to inform the Institute of changes in wording which the Society's representatives thought desirable and to request that in future a draft should be agreed upon before distribution. The Institute requested a meeting of two representatives from each organisation in order to further discuss differences in outlook on training and membership. After discussion it was agreed to leave all arrangements about future meetings to the discretion of the Society's representatives (SHM. Minutes. 17.1.59). This might seem to indicate some coolness on the Society's part. An informal meeting was held between four of the senior members in March 1959 but the two Society representatives felt that "The Institute's representatives had been less interested in discussing details of training than in exploring the possibilities of amalgamation: it was therefore difficult to see where the negotiations were leading". The Council expressed the hope that the Joint Standing Committee would continue to discuss all matters of mutual interest other than amalgamation that involved questions of recruitment, training and membership which were in turn under discussion by the Ad Hoc Committee (SHM. Minutes. 14.3.59).

At a meeting in March 1959. the Institute pressed the question of amalgamation. They said that their main

concern was that the status of housing management was weakened by having two professional bodies (as negotiations with NALGO had illustrated). They suggested that amalgamation would be worth sacrifices on both sides.

The Society's representatives said that there would be no point in having one body if it was not a good body.

"We made it clear that, although we fully recognised that the best members of the Institute were as good as, or better than, the average in the Society, we were bothered about their tail (i.e. members accepted without qualifications)... We expressed our fear that, as the smaller of the two bodies, we would be swamped by amalgamation, but the Institute felt that this was not a danger because so many of their members shared our views."

The Institute members were then asked to give their views on the Society and the main points made were:-

"(a) They thought the Society clung too much to its original practice of dividing work regionally, with one qualified assistant entirely responsible for 300-400 houses. They considered this an extravagant and unsuitable method for a modern office.

"(b) They wondered whether our training scheme, by which we set great store, produced noticeably better end products than their own less planned and less supervised methods.

"(c) They feel that their members get more value out of the Institute than ours do from the Society of Housing Managers (through more and better attended Branch meetings, for example).

"(d) Although they claim to be aware of the shortcomings of their standards of admission to membership, they consider our methods to be unnecessarily severe and inflexible. They asked where the profession would be if they kept to our restrictive standards." (SHM. Minutes. 2.3.59)

In reply to (a) the Society's representatives said the Institute's representatives were out of date and it was unusual for any of their offices to be run in this way. But they considered the rest of the points fair comment (SHM. Minutes. 2.3.59).

Thus the response to the pressure from the Institute was initially rather negative. However, by 1959 a more general debate had begun in the Society with regard to its future and, as it is well recorded, it provides a good opportunity for examining the differing views held by Society members.

7.6.2 The debate on the future of the Society 1958-59

In the late 1950s, the question of the future of the Society became the subject of an extensive consultation process within the Society. The immediate spur to this was a letter sent for the consideration of Council by the Secretary of the South Eastern Group of SHM. This group had recently discussed the future of the Society and felt that the subject was important enough to notify the Council. They felt that, because of the small numbers of the Society and the fact that new entrants were few, the Society was no longer holding its own in the housing world. They had considered amalgamation with the Institute of Housing but felt that the Society would be swamped and its basic principles abandoned so they were in favour of closer links with the RICS and asked for the observations of Council on this (Shaw, 1958). The Council replied to the Group and felt that all regional groups should be asked to discuss the matter and submit opinions and suggestions (SHM. Minutes. 17.5.58).

So a process of consulting the regional groups was set in motion. The reports from the meetings of the regional groups were received by the Council by the autumn of 1958 (SHM. Minutes. 27.9.58). It is worth considering them

because they probably represent some of the different strands of opinion which were present in the Society at that time.

The Scottish Branch

This branch agreed that there was a problem, were unanimous against amalgamation with the Institute of Housing, favoured stronger links with the RICS, but were not sure how this would be viewed by the RICS. They discussed at length some of the reasons for the failure to attract students and some of these were worth quoting:

"There is an impression that the Society may be following too closely on lines based on the book of Octavia Hill, which are not wholly appropriate now in view of the changes that have taken place in the housing sphere...some members felt that too much stress is laid on rent collecting...It is not questioned that rent collecting is essential and most important and that it is necessary experience for anyone hoping to reach higher posts in housing, but there must be a clear distinction between the work of a "rent collector" and the work of a "housing assistant"." (Robertson, 1958).

London Branch

This report contained a lengthy account of opening speeches by Miss Christopher (Marylebone Borough Council) and Miss Cockburn (Barnes Borough Council). Miss Christopher was strongly in favour of amalgamation with the Institute in view of the Society's difficulties and in order to get a united voice for the profession with less duplication of effort. She felt that the voice of Society members would be heard within the new organisation. Miss Cockburn was more dubious about amalgamation with the Institute

"they had no selection, no clear educational minimum, no guaranteed training, no minimum housing experience...The Society is alive, democratic, there are enthusiastic young members, the numbers have remained steady since the war and its influence is

out of all proportion to its size. Therefore, there would need to be big and certain advantages in favour of the Society's disappearance and Miss Cockburn cannot see them at present."

The discussion which followed summarised many of the points raised in other meetings: the desirability of having one body, doubts about the Institute's low standards, fear of being swamped. The majority felt that the Society should be preserved as it stood, increase its publicity and maintain friendly relations with the Institute of Housing. (Philipp, 1958).

South Wales Group

This group felt that there had been a lack of background information from Council and they needed more statistics on SHM, and the Institute. The same doubts about the Institute were expressed and, if the worst came to the worst, the possibility of SHM becoming a section of the RICS was preferred (Jenkins, 1958).

North-West Group

This group also felt that it had not enough facts and that the S-E Group was possibly being too pessimistic: if necessary, they felt that members' interests were closer to the Institute of Housing than the RICS, but felt that more information should be given and the matter, discussed again (Garlick, 1958).

North-East Group

This group rejected both amalgamation with the RICS and the Institute of Housing. Again Miss Cockburn had introduced the discussion and the report rather reflects her talk, rejecting amalgamation with either RICS or the

Institute and hoping the Society could continue. "A few older members...said they would rather see the Society finish altogether than have its standards lowered."

Written comments from individual members of this group were largely against amalgamation (Clapton, 1958).

Stevenage Development Corporation

Members employed there sent in a special report as they did not attend the London meeting. This report examined what was wrong with the Society: recruitment, training, posts held by SHM members, the Society and the Institute.

"It was agreed that, while the ideals and standards of the Society are splendid, it is unfair and unrealistic to regard the Institute as ogres. The Institute with its larger number cannot have the same "esprit de corps", but does nevertheless have many members who think along the same lines as we do."

So this group did not rule out the possibility of amalgamation with the Institute. But for immediate action they thought that something needed to be done about the general attitude

"In our attitude to housing and to tenants we must stop being patronising...Historical circumstance had made housing seem a charity and housing managers the ladies bountiful. Working in a New Town quickly disillusioned one in this respect. We shall accept [the Institute's] invitations...to their London meetings and go to see for ourselves what the "ogres" are like when they are all together..."
(Members employed at Stevenage Development Corporation, 1958)

It is not surprising that ordinary Society members, not having been part of Council's discussion of finance and membership, should have been somewhat shocked to receive an invitation to discuss the Society's future; nor that the predominating view should be the hope that things could continue as they were. But some differences in

views are interesting. It is clear that there were very strong doubts about the Institute but the views of the members at Stevenage were interesting here. They represent not only members working in local government (held by interviewees to be more in favour of one professional body) but also, because of the timing and nature of recruitment for the New Towns, some of the younger members: these were the members who were least apprehensive in their attitude to the Institute of Housing.

Council met to consider the group reports again on 29.11.58. By this time statistics of Society and Institute membership had been prepared which tended to confirm the gloomier opinions. (See Tables 7.1, 7.2-7.5) Council concluded from the consultations that there was no widespread demand for amalgamation with the Institute of Housing but that closer contact should be fostered. Reasons for problems in recruitment were again discussed and it was agreed to set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Recruitment, Training and Membership to submit a report and recommendations to Council (SHM Minutes, 29.11.58).

The Ad Hoc Committee on Recruitment, Training and Membership reported by July 1959. The main recommendations of the committee were: increased payment for students in training, some relaxation on fees and on one office training, more publicity for the qualification, a full scale recruitment drive, and the possibility of taking up the recommendation of the CHAC report to provide a lower form of training (SHM, Ad Hoc Committee on Recruitment, Training and Membership, 1959).

TABLE 7.2

SWHM/SHM SELECTION SUB-COMMITTEE FIGURES 1948-1958
(INCLUDING CANDIDATES IN NORTHERN IRELAND)
('A' = Accepted for training; 'R' = Rejected)

YEAR	FEMALE				MALE				TOTAL INTERVIEWS both classes			
	Full A.	Licen. R.	Full A.	Licen. R.	Full A.	Licen. R.	Full A.	Licen. R.	Female	Male	Grand	Total
1948	34	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	40	-		40
1949	35	-	11	3	1	-	-	-	49	1		50
1950	53	3	17	1	1	1	2	-	74	4		78
1951	36	1	10	-	1	-	-	-	47	1		48
1952	35	10	1	-	2	-	-	-	46	2		48
1953	23	2	6	1	1	-	-	-	32	1		33
1954	27	4	8	-	4	1	-	-	39	5		44
1955	33	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	42	-		42
1956	20	1	9	-	2	1	1	-	30	4		34
1957	11	-	9	2	1	1	-	-	22	2		
*1958	14 (3)	-	6	3	1	1	-	-	23 (3)	2	Say	28

* Eleven months. Three candidates (female) awaiting interview in December 1958. In this year there was only one meeting of the N.I.H.T. Selection Board.

Source: SHM Minutes, 29.11.58

TABLE 7.3

SWHM/SHM ENQUIRIES RE TRAINING 1948-1958
(INCLUDING NORTHERN IRELAND)

YEAR	Female	Male	Total	Number interviewed by Sel. Ctees.	Percentage of number interviewed to total enquiries
1948	258	101	359	40	11%
1949	262	119	381	50	13%
1950	270	47	317	78	25%
1951	213	54	267	48	18%
1952	181	23	204	48	24%
1953	210	104	314	33	11%
1954	195	50	245	44	18%
1955	168	68	236	42	18%
1956	171	97	268	34	13%
1957	122	97	219	24	11%
*1958	119	71	190	28	15%

* Eleven months

Source: SHM Minutes, 29.11.58

TABLE 7.4

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERSHIP
as at 5th November 1958

('Associates' correspond to SHM Ordinary Members)

Retired	4	
Honorary Members	14	
Fellows	195	
Associates	832	
Students	439	1,484

(Note: At 31st May 1958, the Society's Honorary Members totalled 26: two more have since been elected.)

Source: SHM Minutes 29.11.58

TABLE 7.5

SHM STUDENTS AT 29TH NOVEMBER 1958

<u>Full Training</u>			
Probationers (4 graduates)	9		
In training (3 graduates)	<u>20</u>	29	
<u>Licentiate Training</u>			
Probationers	-		
In training (one in England)	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	
Completed Full Training, but not yet qualified	11		36
Completed Licentiate Training (one in England) do	<u>5</u>		<u>16</u>
			<u>52</u>
Total			
Awaiting Full Training: March 1959	2		
March 1960	<u>1</u>		
		<u>3</u>	
Due to complete full practical training, March 1959		<u>8</u>	
Awaiting Selection Sub-Committee, December 1958		<u>3</u>	
Awaiting Election as Ordinary Members, November 1958		<u>5</u>	

Source: SHM Minutes 29.11.58

In September 1959, the Secretary reported on what was needed for a recruitment drive, and concluded that the Society should press for a unified training scheme and examination for entry into the profession. It also examined the reasons outside the Society's control for decline in membership.

The social changes mentioned are of interest. First there was the tendency to marry earlier which meant that many young members of the Society did not get wide experience as assistants. Also many women candidates chose professions which offered more scope for part-time work. It was felt that the social revolution which meant that housing work now had more administration and less social work had possibly made housing less attractive to women. There seemed also to be changes in patterns of mobility, with girls less willing to work away from home and men wanting to settle for family reasons: this had clear implications for the desirability of one-office training and local recruitment drives (James, 1959). Table 7.3 does indicate that the level of enquiries from women about careers in housing management had dropped more proportionately than the level of enquiries from men in the period 1948-58. However, since the Society did not admit men until 1948, some increase in the proportion of men could be expected. But far fewer initial enquiries from men resulted in candidates for the selection committee so even in 1958 14 female students were accepted and only 1 man.

7.6.3 The Joint Examination Board

As we have seen, there were good reasons why progress towards unification should first be made in the examinations. Firstly the Society was concerned that with falling numbers the RICS might decide to stop running the examinations. Secondly both the Society and the Institute were embarrassed by the dispute with the Local Government Examination Board over the status of the two examinations and during this dispute the nonsense of having two parallel examinations was pointed out to them. Thirdly some pressure from central government was added to the pressure from local government. The Minister of Housing and Local Government, the Rt. Hon. Henry Brooke MP, speaking at the Society's national conference in 1960 and following up remarks made about training in "Councils and their houses", expressed "concern that consideration should be given to introducing a unified professional qualification" (SHM, 1960: 1).

Following on this, a meeting was set up at the RICS to discuss the possibility of a unified qualification for housing management (SHM, Minutes, 14.5.60). Among the possibilities put forward by the RICS was the setting up of a Joint Examining Board to administer a new examination for housing management, with representation from the RICS, the Institute and the Society. It was agreed that a meeting should be held with the Institute to explore this possibility and this was done at a meeting of the Joint Standing Committee. The main problem which arose over the Joint Board was the amount of representation to be given to the RICS (and which RICS would find acceptable) and the proposal that the

Institute would administer the examinations which initially was not acceptable to the Society (SHM. Minutes. 11.6.60). Council agreed that the constitution of the Board should be reviewed five years after the first examination. Practical training was a difficulty as had been foreseen. Despite some difficulties in reaching agreement on these points, agreement was reached in a reasonably short time, a report on the Constitution and rules of the Board being presented to the Society on 18th March 1961 (SHM. Minutes. 18.3.61).

The Society had been forced to cede the administration of the examination to the Institute and the provisions for practical training were not nearly as strong as the Society would have liked (Interviewees). The Society being in a rather weak bargaining position had not been able to gain more. The Board was inaugurated on 1st January 1962 (SHM. 1962: 3) and proved an important vehicle of contact with the members of the Institute (Interviewees).

By breaking the link with the RICS, the negotiations over the new qualification thus provided an important precedent. It made it more likely that, if an independent Society had to be abandoned, the idea of amalgamation with the Institute, which had previously been resisted by the majority of SHM groups, might be seen in a more favourable light.

7.6.4 The Nottingham Conference

While the negotiations about the new qualification were still going on, the review of the future of the Society had been expanded. Because the discussions of recruitment, training and membership at the October Members' Meeting had been inconclusive, Council decided that the Regional Conference at Nottingham University 22nd-24th April 1960 should be wholly "domestic", that the report of the Ad Hoc Committee and recommendations should be circulated for discussion, and that there should be group discussions on these issues for much of the time at the Conference (SHM. Minutes. 28.11.59). Subsequently a list of questions was drawn up for the groups to consider (and those who could not attend were asked for their replies) (SHM. Minutes. 16.1.60). These questions covered the future of the Society as an independent body, membership, recruitment and training (SHM. Minutes. 19.3.60). This structure and the increased information available to members seem to have aided a clarification of views for, at the final session of the conference, two recommendations to Council were made:

"To ask the Council to consider approaching the Institute of Housing about the possibility of forming a new unified professional organisation of those engaged in housing management."

"To ask Council to consider acting on the Secretary's report on recruitment and the recommendations of this conference as a matter of urgency." (SHM. Minutes. 14.5.60).

These recommendations from the Nottingham Conference seem to represent a decided shift in opinion from the consultation with the regional groups only a relatively short while beforehand. What was the reason for this? It is possible that either or both were not

representative of the views of the membership. What seems likely, however, is that the length of discussion and the better information distributed had made members more realistic about the difficulties of continuing as an independent body. Many were probably reluctant to face this until it became really clear. Possibly members were also forming a more realistic idea about the difficulties over increased links with the RICS. Evidence from the interviews indicated that senior members of Council were becoming more convinced about the necessity for amalgamation and, as in any organisation, their discussion with others would have carried weight.

7.6.5 The final stages

Owing to the absence of Minutes for this period, the same amount of detail is not available for the next stages in the negotiations, but it is clear that, once the Nottingham resolution had been accepted matters, began to move ahead. At the Society's AGM in October 1961, the latter half of the meeting was taken up with the discussion

"That Council be requested to approach the Institute of Housing concerning the possibility of forming a new unified professional organisation of those engaged in housing management, and to report on this matter to a general meeting of the Society during the following year."

This motion had "overwhelming support" and was passed by a show of hands (SHM, 1962: 2). The matter was referred to the Standing Joint Committee. "It had been found that both sides have had misconceptions about the other organisation and that in many respects the differences were smaller than had been thought." (SHM, 1962: 3)

In the year 1962-63. the Standing Joint Committee considered the practicalities of unification and produced a report to present to the Annual General Meeting of both bodies (SHM. 1963: 2). The 1963 AGM gave its approval by a very substantial majority to the Report on Unification and authorised the Council to implement the recommendations as soon as possible (SHM. 1964: 2). By that stage joint machinery was set up to deal with advance planning and to ensure a smooth transfer of responsibility for the planned changeover date of April 1965 (SHM. 1964: 3). Working together at this stage was particularly important for both organisations because of the imminence of London Government reorganisation (SHM. 1964: 3).

Agreement was reached by the AGMs of both bodies and the new Institute of Housing Managers came into being in April 1965.

7.7 CONCLUSIONS

The period 1945-1965 was a crucial one for the Society. Post-war housing conditions and post-war social changes both produced stresses which demanded change. In particular the rationale for an all female Society was increasingly bound to be challenged but, when the Society began to admit men it became increasingly difficult to carry on justifying the existence of two separate bodies for housing.

With the admission of men, the Society lost its specific role of encouraging the appointment of women, while much

of the work it had previously done in the employment field was seen as being no longer appropriate in post-war conditions.

Although the Society had benefited from the post-war enthusiasm for housing, the increase in recruitment was not sustained for long. Central government initially paid little attention to housing management and vague phrases in official reports about more trained staff for housing were not backed up by money. This meant that the Society's training pattern produced financial pressure on students who did not have independent financial resources. Local authority based training places began to appear but these could equally well be available for Institute of Housing training which was less exacting and expensive. Examination of the membership figures bears out the conclusion of senior Society members that continued existence as a separate body was not likely to be a viable option. Increasingly the only option seemed to be amalgamation with the Institute of Housing. This left the Society in a slightly weak bargaining position, although the Institute of Housing was also keen on the merger and to some extent made the running in raising the issue. From the Institute's point of view, the existence of two separate organisations was an embarrassment, particularly in negotiations with national bodies and with Central Government, and especially because of the Society's good reputation.

The move toward unification in 1965 seems to have been rather more smooth and trouble-free than the campaign for the admission of men in 1948. But it was not entirely

smooth going because in both organisations there were those who opposed unification. The Standing Joint Committee were in a position, typical of negotiators (see Rubin and Brown, 1975: 13,14), of "fighting two battles...you were negotiating with the enemy so to speak and fighting a rearguard action with your own troops" (Institute interviewee). Both sides were anxious that the bulk of their membership should be carried along with them and that a further split should not result. This aim seems largely to have been achieved. There does not seem to have been any specific check on drop-out of members after unification and the statistics given in the next Chapter do not clarify this point completely. Society interviewees thought that possibly one or two of the older members did not transfer to the the new body but they would have been about retirement age anyway. Certainly there was no wholesale defection from either body.

This does not mean that there were no doubts or reservations. Some of them have been stated or implied in the extracts already given: but in the next Chapter we look at the advantages and disadvantages of unification as reflected in written and oral statements of those involved at the time, as well as in the statistics about membership after amalgamation.

CHAPTER 7

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CHAPTER 8

8. WOMEN WITHIN THE INSTITUTE OF HOUSING AFTER 1965

8.1 INTRODUCTION AND THE SOURCES OF THE DATA

This Chapter looks at the situation of women in the Institute of Housing after the amalgamation of 1965. The first Sections of the Chapter outline the changes in women's participation in the Institute over this period - changes in representation in Council and in the numbers and proportions of male and female Fellows, Members and Students. The remainder of the Chapter is devoted to looking at some possible reasons for these changes. First of all the opinions of the interviewees about this are examined. Then some material from the literature on group interaction and from the literature on sex stereotyping and sex differences is considered to see whether this helps to understand the changes within the Institute.

However the changes in the Institute were also affected by what was happening in housing employment. The changes in housing employment are complex so they are examined in the next Chapter but a number of issues run across both Chapters which are very closely linked.

In looking at the changes in the position of women in the Institute since 1965, three main sources of data have been used:

- (1) The record of membership for 1965 and 1977 from the published Institute Year Book and for 1983 a computer printout of membership provided by the

Institute. as a Year Book had not been published by the time the analysis was done. Overseas and retired members were omitted.

- (2) The record of membership of Council of the Institute as published in annual reports and journals.
- (3) The record of student members passing the final qualifying examination as published by the Institute.

Of these three sources the record of membership of the Council is both accurate and continuous over time. The examination pass lists will generally be expected to be accurate and are also continuous over time. The record of membership is subject to more reservations which are discussed below. This Chapter will show that the conclusions to be drawn from the three sets of data are reasonably consistent and point to the same underlying trends so reservations about one set of data are not quite as serious as they might be.

None of this data was analysed in terms of gender by the Institute so all the work had to be done manually. In addition, the data was not collected together; for example, it proved quite difficult to get a complete set of examination pass lists. (Analysis of membership records by gender was finally introduced in 1987 following years of pressure for this to be done.) The Institute had in May 1983 a total of 5,081 Members, Fellows and Associates (see Table 8.1). These are listed in the printout and Year Books under employing authority. As there was no existing analysis for gender these records had to be analysed by hand, summarising the

numbers for each class of members under each authority. For London Boroughs and Metropolitan District Councils and the larger District Councils and housing associations, each authority was listed separately. For the smaller authorities, the numbers were summarised. In each case the numbers and summaries had to be cross checked to avoid errors in transfer. This was extremely time consuming work. It was decided to limit the analysis to three different years: 1965, 1977 and 1983. so there is no continuous data for this aspect of membership.

TABLE 8.1

ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERSHIP
SPRING 1983

	FELLOWS		MEMBERS		STUDENTS		ASSOCIATES		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Local Authority	212	14	962	221	1270	760	274	51	2718	1046
Housing Association	35	13	166	88	195	299	54	16	450	317
Other	23	5	122	58	133	116	68	25	346	204
TOTAL	270	32	1250	367	1598	1976	396	92	1514	1567
%	89	11	77	23	60	40	81	19	69	31

Source: Computer printout supplied by Institute of Housing

It seems likely that the membership records are more subject to error than the other data sources. This is because updating of the Institute's records is taken from forms returned by the membership and there has sometimes been a time lag before records were adjusted. So members may appear as employed in an authority they have left or sometimes organisations or members appear twice. It cannot be known whether these problems have remained the same over a period of twenty years, but it would be important if they affected men and women unequally. However, there is no evidence that this is so. There does not at this stage seem to be reason to assume that the methods used by the Institute distorted representation of men and women substantially, but reservations about these records would argue against taking small changes in percentages or numbers too seriously and will be kept in mind when interpreting the data.

Membership of the Institute is voluntary. There is no requirement to be a member of the professional body to practice, as with architects. Since much of this Chapter is concerned with women's participation within the Institute itself and their relationship with it, this is not a serious problem. It does mean, however, that there is no total list of qualified men or women and therefore no means of directly comparing the percentage of those qualified who participate in the Institute. The voluntary nature of Institute membership is more of a problem if one wishes to use these figures as estimators of the numbers of men and women in more senior posts in employment. This problem also existed prior to 1965 but

the circumstances were different. In the 1920s and 30s it seems likely, from evidence provided by interviewees, that few women who were working in housing dropped out of membership of the Society though there was a drop out through marriage. There were very few women in the Institute so Society membership for that period provides a reasonable indication of the number of qualified women working in housing, though not of the unqualified (but it would be rare for an unqualified woman to be in a senior post).

The Institute initially drew its membership from people in post rather than training them (see Chapter Seven). Even in the post-war period it is likely that a larger proportion of men working in housing were not members. It is clear from current membership figures of the Institute that there is a large 'drop out' rate of members after they have gained the qualification which many see as necessary to job progress. Thus Institute membership figures are unreliable indicators of the total number of qualified men and women in employment. In Chapter Nine we will consider how Institute figures compare with the small amount of data available from employment sources.

In examining the data from the Institute records it is important first of all to be clear about the significance of the different classes of membership. These are examined in the next Section before going on to look at the changes in drop-out of the different groups between 1965 and the 1980s.

8.2 THE CONSTITUTION AND CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE INSTITUTE 1965-1985

As constituted on unification there were two classes of membership of the Institute: Fellows and Professional Associates.

Fellows

Fellows were elected by the Council and had to be at least 30. be employed by a housing authority in the performance of approved duties. have been a professional associate or equivalent "for a period". and had to satisfy the Council "that he is a fit and proper person to become a Fellow. both by reason of his own character and by reason of the responsibility of the office which he holds" (Institute of Housing Managers, 1968: 10).

Professional Associates

Professional Associates had to be at least 23. employed by a housing authority on approved duties. have passed the required examination. and "satisfied Council that he is a fit and proper person to become a Professional Associate. both by reason of his own character and by reason of the responsibility of the office which he holds" (Institute of Housing Managers. 1968: 10).

The constitution then allowed for the Institute to elect Honorary Members and Affiliates and admit registered Students. "none of whom shall be deemed to be members of the Institute" (Institute of Housing Managers. 1968: 9-11).

Affiliates

Affiliates had to be at least 30, have at least five years experience of housing work or have been a registered student for at least 10 years, and have satisfied the Council "in regard to his practical knowledge, experience and character" - an essay of 1,500 words was required as evidence of practical knowledge. Also the following could be elected as Affiliates: "A licenciate of the Institute who signifies his wish to become an affiliate: a former member who is no longer engaged in housing work" (Institute of Housing Managers, 1968: 11).

Students

Students had to have four GCE "O" levels and be employed on housing duties (Institute of Housing Managers, 1968: 11).

Constitution of Council

Figure 8.1 summarises the major differences between the two pre-existing bodies in 1965 and the new Institute. A number of changes made were considered significant by ex-Society members and are the subject of comment in Section Five of this Chapter.

FIGURE 8.1

CONSTITUTION OF COUNCIL: Institute & Society pre 1965, Institute in 1965

<u>Office</u>	<u>Institute pre 1965</u>	<u>Society pre 1965</u>	<u>Institute in 1965</u>
(a) Honorary members as ex officio members	Immediate past President included	Immediate past President not included	All Honorary officers
(b) Other members	Fellows in whole time employment of Housing Authority only	Members, but at least 5 must be Ordinary members	3 elected members to be Professional Associates
(c) Number of other members	Between 5 and 20	18	Absolute maximum of 20, or 24 including ex-officio members
(d) Retirement of other members	One third annually	The same in effect	After transitional arrangements, one third annually - applied to each class of membership separately
(e) Eligibility for re-election	Yes	Yes, but if retiring member has served for 18 months or more he or she is ineligible for for one year following	If retiring member has served for six years continuously to be ineligible for re-election for one year
(f) Branch representation	10 Branches	7 groups but less clearly defined	Minimum of 1 corporate member from each branch to be ensured by formula for national elections
(g) General			Minimum representation of 25% of former members of each of the former bodies on Council

Changes in the membership rules

There were small changes in these rules from time to time. For example, in 1970 Students over 40 who had been registered for more than 10 years were invited to transfer to affiliate (Institute of Housing Managers, 1971: 4). In 1975-76 there was a limited exercise in special membership in which non-member chief housing officers of the re-organised authorities in England and Wales were invited to apply for membership (Institute of Housing, 1976). The major changes over the period was however in 1977-78 when the Articles of Association were revised and new categories of membership introduced. The position then was as follows (Institute of Housing, 1978):

Council Composition

The Council was increased by six members to a total of twenty-eight to enable each of the twelve U.K. branches to be represented by one member (either Fellow or Professional Associate). After 1977-78 one third of the membership of Council was to retire each year.

Membership

The major change was to two classes of membership: Professional (including Fellows and Professional Associates) and Non-Professional (the other groups plus students).

Fellows remained largely as before.

Professional Associates were now to be called Members.

Associates were a new class formed to include the former Affiliates and Licentiates and the whole of the remaining Licentiates were transferred to this class.

These changes had been the subject of much debate, especially the new expanded non-professional class. There had been objections to the term Affiliate, originally proposed for this class, but also to the new name Associate which was rather like the name of the former professional class.

There have been minor changes since 1978 but the names of the classes of membership have remained more stable to the present day. For the purpose of this study, the term "Member" has been used to describe the Professional Associate/qualified class and Licenciate/Associate for the unqualified class.

Students

The major change affecting students occurred in the period 1969-72 when the examination was restructured to become three examinations each of five subjects, rather than two examinations each of seven subjects (Institute of Housing Managers. 1972: 4).

Despite fears that the new syllabus and entry standards might reduce numbers, by May 1972 it was evident that registrations for the examination were in a very healthy state (Institute of Managers. 1972: 5). (The entry requirements had been revised to 5 GCE passes of which 2 had to be at A level: English O level was compulsory but Mathematics was no longer compulsory.) (Institute of Housing Managers. 1972: 5)

In 1978, following great pressure for change, a new qualification, the Professional Qualification, was introduced. This had an ambitious programme of study designed to upgrade the qualification (Williams, 1985). It tended to reinforce the existing trend towards a higher number of graduates entering the course, though the entry qualification remained the same.

Name of the Institute

The name of the Institute was changed to "Institute of Housing" in 1975.

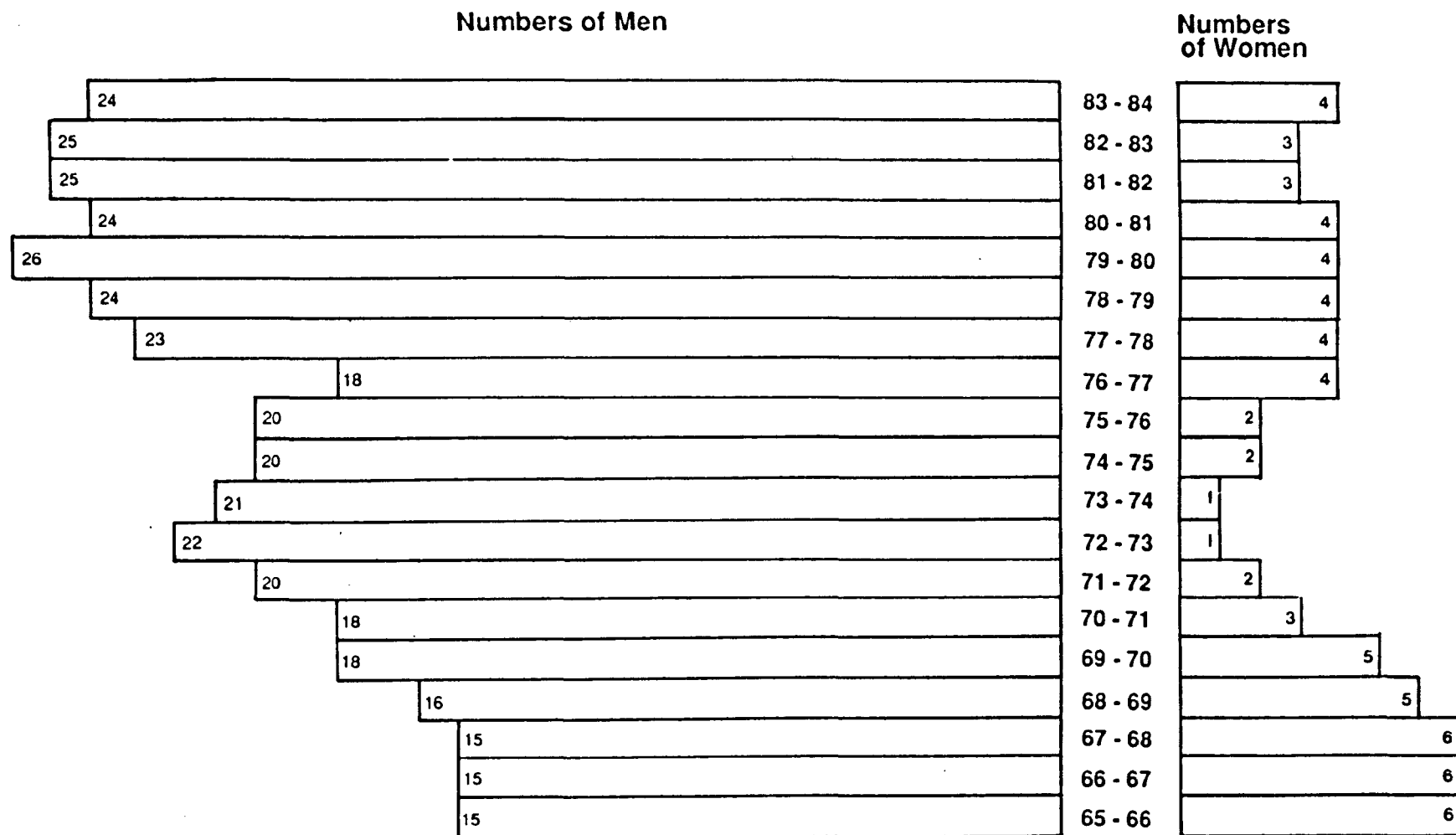
"The Council argue that while our present title was the joint choice of the two former independent professional bodies at the time of amalgamation some ten years ago, many members of the Institute feel that it was a compromise necessary to obtain the benefits of having one unified body for the profession, but at the same time a title which does not fully convey the breadth and variety of the work of the profession." (Institute of Housing Managers, 1975: 12)

Some ex-Society Members, however, felt that this was another sign of the total domination of the ex-Institute Members.

8.3 CHANGES IN THE COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE

The actual numbers of members on the Council of the Institute of Housing varied from 21 to 30 over this period. Therefore it is useful to look both at the actual numbers and at the proportions of men and women members of Council over this period. Figure 8.2 is a graph of the membership of Council and shows clearly that representation of women on the Council remained stable for a few years after unification but then started to fall around 1969 and reached its lowest ebb in the two Councils 1972-73 and 1973-74 when only one woman remained

Figure 8.2 Institution of Housing Council - Men and Women members (1965 - 84).



Source - Institute of Housing Yearbooks and Journals

on Council. The number of women on Council began to climb again after that but even by 1984 was still less than in 1965. If we look at the ratio of women to men members shown in Table 8.2. the picture is even starker.

TABLE 8.2

RATIO OF WOMEN TO MEN MEMBERS OF INSTITUTE OF HOUSING COUNCIL
1965 to 1984

YEAR	WOMEN (actual number)	MEN (actual number)	RATIO* OF WOMEN TO MEN
1965-1966	7	15	1 : 2
1966-1967	7	15	1 : 2
1967-1968	7	15	1 : 2
1968-1969	6	16	1 : 3
1969-1970	5	18	1 : 4
1970-1971	3	18	1 : 6
1971-1972	2	20	1 : 10
1972-1973	1	22	1 : 22
1973-1974	1	21	1 : 21
1974-1975	2	20	1 : 10
1975-1976	2	20	1 : 10
1976-1977	4	18	1 : 5
1977-1978	4	23	1 : 6
1978-1979	4	24	1 : 6
1979-1980	4	26	1 : 7
1980-1981	4	24	1 : 6
1981-1982	3	25	1 : 8
1982-1983	3	25	1 : 8
1983-1984	4	24	1 : 6

* rounded ratios

Source: Institute of Housing Annual Reports 1966-1984

In 1965 the ratio of women to men was 1:2. at the lowest point in 1972-73 it was 1:22 and by 1983-84 it had only recovered to 1:6. One factor should perhaps be mentioned here. It had been a condition of unification that representation of the former bodies should be continued for the first three years of the new organisation. For this period a procedure was used to ensure a minimum representation of twenty-five per cent of former members of each of the erstwhile bodies amongst the corporate members of the Council (Institute of Housing & Society of Housing Managers. 1963: 19). After this period the representation of women on the Council was left open to "market forces".

8.4 CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE INSTITUTE

8.4.1 The general picture

Table 8.3 shows the statistics for members of the Institute for the three years when the analysis was done: 1965. 1977 and 1983. Table 8.4 shows the corresponding figure for students. These have been presented separately because conclusions which put too much weight on the student figures could be rather misleading (see Section 4.5 of this Chapter. Table 8.3 shows that, for the members other than students, the proportion of women dropped between 1965 and 1977, reviving slightly between 1977 and 1983. For students on the other hand, the proportion of women had risen by 1977 and rose much more markedly by 1983. But when we look in more detail at the different classes of membership we can see that the pattern is variable; Fellows, for example, show a drop by 1977 but continue that drop until 1983. This variation between classes of membership is important because there

TABLE 8.3
INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERS 1965, 1977 AND 1983

	1965				1977				1983			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fellows	223	79	61	21	224	85	39	15	270	89	32	11
Members	713	79	189	21	952	82	201	17	1250	77	367	23
Licentiate Associates	17	20	68	80	138	86	22	14	296	81	92	19
Total Members	953	74	318	26	1314	83	262	17	1916	80	491	20

Source: Insrtute of Housing Year Books and printout

TABLE 8.4
INSTITUTE OF HOUSING STUDENTS 1965, 1977 AND 1983

	1965				1977				1983			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Students	837	85	142	15	1728	76	535	24	1598	60	1076	40

Source: Institute of Housing Year Books and printout

is a certain judgement required in deciding what classes to consider. It could be argued, for example, that in considering members we should only consider full voting members (Fellows and Members) since they are the ones who will influence elections. On the other hand, Licentiates and Associates were members of the organisation and fully able to attend meetings (but so also are students, though student attendance is generally low). Because there is a variable pattern, it seems wise to look at each class of membership separately and to consider such detailed analyses as may cast more light on the various movements.

An analysis which brings out interesting points is by type of employer. The Institute lists all members by type of employer, apart from retired members who have been left out of all these analyses. In the following Sections, when analysis by employer is given, three categories are used: local authority, housing association and "other". The first two are self-explanatory but it should be noted that the "other" category is very varied. It includes public bodies like the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, New Towns, the Housing Corporation, but also a few private employers plus colleges and similar bodies. The mix of these bodies is rather different in 1983 to what it was in 1965. Bearing this in mind, we will go on to look at each class of membership separately.

8.4.2 Fellows

Table 8.5 shows the Fellows in 1965, 1977 and 1983 broken down by type of employer. It shows that the total number and percentage of women Fellows had a marked decline both between 1965 and 1977 and between 1977 and 1983. By 1983, the actual number of women Fellows was almost half of what it had been in 1965 while the number of men Fellows had increased slightly. When we look at what happened in relation to women Fellows with certain types of employer, the position is even more interesting. In local authorities the number of women Fellows in 1983 was half of what it had been in 1965. For housing associations over the same period, though the figures are small, the number of women Fellows only reduced slightly but the proportions were reversed, owing to a really substantial increase in the number of men Fellows employed by housing associations. A similar pattern is

TABLE 8.5

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING FELLOWS 1965, 1977 AND 1983
BY TYPE OF EMPLOYER

	1965				1977				1983			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Local Authorities	200	87	30	13	168	87	26	13	212	94	14	6
Housing Trusts	7		15		23		8		35		13	
Other Public Bodies	16		16		33		5		23		5	
TOTAL	223	79	61	21	224	85	39	15	270	89	32	11

Source: Institute of Housing Year Books

seen among the "Other Public Bodies" with a very marked decline in the number of women and a marked rise in the number of men by 1977, evening out a little in 1983. Although the numbers of Fellows are small, changes here must be regarded as important because of the significance of senior women acting as "role models" for younger women.

8.4.3 Members

Table 8.6 shows that the overall pattern for women members is of a reduction in the relative proportion of women in membership from 1965 to 1977 (though numbers remained about stable). By 1983 the proportions of men and women members appeared to be returning to their 1965 status. Once again there were different patterns for different types of employer. In local authorities the proportion of women members had been low in 1965 (14% as opposed to 21% overall). This remained the same in 1977.

TABLE 8.6
INSTITUTE OF HOUSING QUALIFIED MEMBERS 1965, 1977 AND 1983
BY TYPE OF EMPLOYER

	1965				1977				1983			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Local Authorities	637	86	102	14	775	86	128	14	962	81	221	19
Housing Trusts	7	14	43	86	78	69	35	31	166	65	88	35
Other Public Bodies	69	61	44	39	99	72	38	28	122	68	58	31
TOTAL	713	79	189	21	952	83	201	17	1250	77	367	23

Source: Institute of Housing Year Books and printout

By 1983. the proportion of women had improved slightly to 19%. Because the overall numbers employed in local authorities are larger than in other sectors. this 19% in fact represented almost two thirds of the total women members in 1983. The position in housing trusts is even more interesting. In 1965 there were only 7 male members in housing trusts. roughly a sixth of the membership in this sector. By 1977 the position was already reversed with more male members (69%) than female. This had readjusted slightly in 1983. There is some similarity here to the pattern observed for women Fellows. For other public bodies the situation was more stable. with men maintaining a predominance of 60-70% over the period. though once again the predominance of men was more marked in 1977. In the next Chapter we will be able to compare these results with those of a recent general survey of housing associations.

8.4.4 Licentiates and Associates

Substantial changes took place in the way this class of members was defined during the period 1965 to 1983 (see Section 8.2). Because of this. and because the overall numbers are small. it was not considered useful to present a separate Table or breakdown by employer for this class of membership. Overall it should be noted that. while 80% of this class of membership were women in 1965. only 14% were women in 1977 and this had only improved to 19% in 1983 (see Table 8.3). Thus the cumulative result of changes taking place. at least by the 1980s was that this was another route for an increase both in the number and proportion of men in membership with the Institute. However. this class of membership

does not have voting rights and at the moment has little real role in the Institute. though this is still under discussion.

8.4.5 Students

Only a small proportion of Institute of Housing registered students are of the kind which might be assumed. i.e. full-time students at a Polytechnic or University. At the time of analysis, there were only two full-time degree courses for housing, numbers attending these were quite small and they were not included on the Institute pass lists.

In the period being studied, the students of the Institute were, in the main, people in full-time employment. The majority were studying on day release at Technical college with a minority studying by correspondence or on their own. The minimum entry requirement meant that their age would be at least eighteen but the average age would tend to be higher with some being in their 30s or 40s.

Over this period, the Institute qualification tended to have a high failure rate. But once qualified, the student already had a job and practical experience and would be looking for career progression. There is no data available about how many of those qualified stay in housing work but, given that they already have a job in housing and a qualification which has taken some effort to obtain, the motive to remain in housing is likely to be quite high. Student membership and pass rate

therefore has a particular interest for this study, because it forms the pool from which the qualified membership is drawn. For example, if the proportion of qualifying students who were women was low, it would not be logical to expect a high proportion of women in membership.

Because the Institute for many years put Mrs or Miss against the names of students on the pass list, it is possible to use this as a means for analysing the numbers and proportions of men and women and, from discussion with those involved, it appears that this is reasonably accurate. However, in 1983 the production of the pass lists was computerised and the format of the list changed: Mrs and Miss no longer appears. It would only be possible to analyse by gender by cross referencing with other records, and discussion with Institute staff confirmed that this would not only be time consuming, it would also be inaccurate. So this record stops in 1983.

Table 8.7 shows the statistics for men and women students qualifying 1965-83. As already mentioned, this is continuous and accurate data except for 1980 where the basic data is incomplete at the Institute. The table shows very clearly a drop in the percentage of qualifying students who were women after 1965, reaching its lowest point in 1971 with 13%. After 1971 the rise is quite marked, up to 47% in 1982. It should also be noted that, since numbers qualifying rose markedly over the period as well, a substantially larger number of women had qualified by 1983.

TABLE 8.7

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEN AND WOMEN QUALIFYING 1965-1983

Year	Men	Women	Total	Women as % of total
1965	25	12	37	32
1966	14	5	19	26
1967	25	8	33	24
1968	34	8	42	19
1969	83	14	97	14
1970	83	14	97	14
1971	144	22	166	13
1972	18	4	22	18
1973	69	22	91	24
1974	103	33	136	24
1975	112	31	143	22
1976	135	37	172	22
1977	167	83	250	33
1978	182	78	260	30
1979	199	101	300	34
(1)1980	incomplete data			
(3)1981	197	97	294	33
1982	145	91	236	39
(2)1983	32	61	93	66

(1) Diploma pass lists for May and December missing.

(2) May PQ only; diploma missing.

(3) First final pass lists to include the professional qualification.

Source: Institute of Housing Pass Lists and Housing Journal

The figures given in Table 8.7 also indicate a possible increase in the percentage of women students with the introduction of the Professional Qualification. To check this out, figures for the Professional Qualification are given separately in Table 8.8 and confirm the impression that the Professional Qualification did have a higher proportion of women students, though the percentage fluctuates.

TABLE 8.8
MEN AND WOMEN COMPLETING THE INSTITUTE OF HOUSING
PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION 1981-1983

	Men	Women	Total	Women as % of total
1981 May	20	25	45	56
Dec	26	31	57	54
1982 May	49	43	92	47
Dec	43	39	82	48
1983 May	32	61	93	66

Source: Institute of Housing Pass Lists and Housing Journal

It is argued here that these statistics from the pass list form the best indicator of the aspect of student membership we are interested in, i.e. the production of a pool of qualified staff. It is necessary to consider why the other source of student statistics, the students listed as registered with the Institute in the Year Book and printout, form a less reliable source although it has to be used for some data.

The reasons are largely historical. It has already been stated that Institute students were people in employment and this was the case with both the bodies which amalgamated in 1965. But the Society, as we have seen, had a very structured training scheme and only accepted as students people who were in a trainee post in an approved office. With the Institute, the position had been considerably different and, prior to the setting up of the HMEB, there had been little restriction on people in employment registering as students. This meant that the Institute had a great many students who either failed examinations frequently or were not actively studying. The report on unification stated that "no person can continue to be a registered student for more than ten years" (Institute of Housing and Society of Housing Managers, 1963). But students who were registered with the Institute before that date were exempt from this rule. The majority of students transferring from the Society were likely to be female and the majority of students from the Institute male. This is one reason for the discrepancy, in 1965, between proportions of men and women registered as students and proportions of men and women qualifying.

In 1965, there were 837 male students registered (Table 8.9) but only 25 men qualifying (Table 8.7); a ratio of 1:33. On the other hand, there were 142 female students registered (Table 8.9) but 12 qualifying (Table 8.7); a ratio of 1:12. A difference between students registered and students qualifying is inevitable in a course which lasts three years and where recruitment is rising. But the ratio between registered students and students

qualifying is very different for men than it is for women. The reason for this is likely to be that the majority of the students who were not actively studying or were taking a very long time over qualification were male students who had originally registered under the old Institute of Housing scheme.

TABLE 8.9

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING REGISTERED STUDENTS 1965, 1977 AND 1983

	1965				1977				1983			
	Men N	%	Women N	%	Men N	%	Women N	%	Men N	%	Women N	%
All Local Authorities	770	89	100	11	1455	79	380	21	1270	63	760	37
Housing Associations	10	23	33	77	145	58	106	42	195	49	200	51
Other Public Bodies	57	86	9	14	128	72	49	28	133	52	116	47
TOTAL	837	85	142	15	1728	76	535	24	1598	60	1076	40

Source: Institute of Housing Year Books and printout

These "non-studying" students did not tend to play much part in Institute meetings. From time to time after 1965 there were efforts to persuade people to relinquish registration or to get qualified. For example, in 1970-1971 "students over 40 years of age and who had been registered for more than ten years were invited to indicate their intention of sitting the examinations of the Institute or, alternatively, transferring to

Affiliate membership" (Institute of Housing Managers, 1971: 4). This action resulted in some loss of membership. But there seem to have been periods when the ten year rule was not very strictly applied. For this reason, the overall numbers of students registered must be treated with some caution, especially in the earlier years. It can hardly be said to represent membership in any real sense, since these people were neither allowed to vote, nor usually participating in meetings nor sitting the Institute's examinations. This is the reason for separating student from member statistics in most of these analyses.

Bearing these factors in mind, Table 8.9 indicates that the percentage of students registered who were women rose between 1965 and 1977 and rose even more between 1977 and 1983. Though this would have been affected by the reduction in the largely male "non-studying students", the figures indicate a real increase in both the numbers and proportion of women students in local authorities. Once again the housing associations show a different pattern (and these figures are probably less affected by the "non-studying" problem). Three times as many women students in 1965 is changed to a predominance of men in 1977, followed by a reversion to near equality in 1983. This is similar to the movement in other classes of housing association membership. In the "others" category, there is an improvement in the position of women over the period.

Another issue which arises when we compare statistics of students qualifying with statistics of students

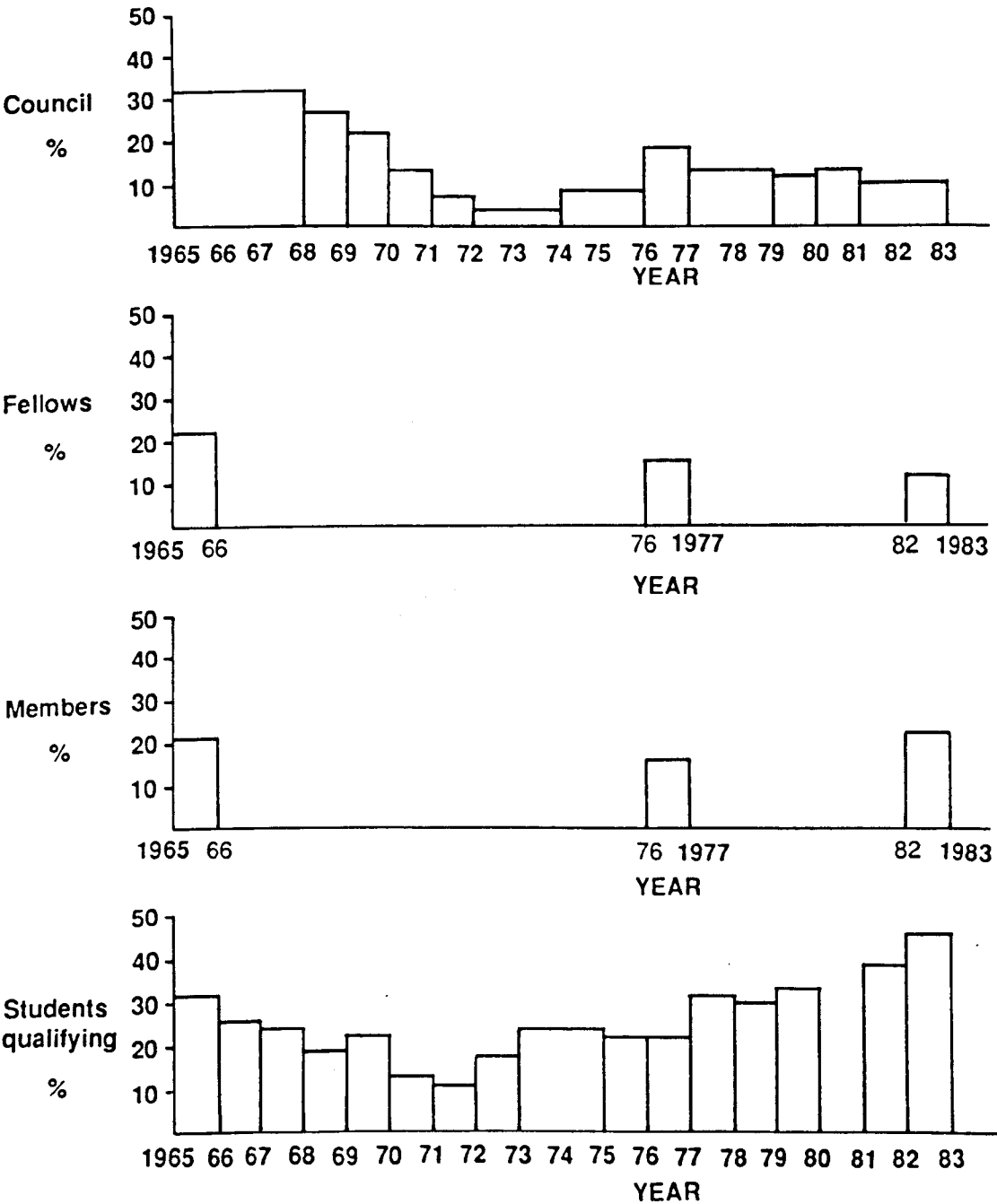
registered, is the identification of the lowest point of women's participation. The continuous data for women qualifying show this very clearly to be 1971. This is consistent with the data on women on Council which identifies 1972-74 to be the lowest point of participation. Because of the problems of collecting the data on the overall membership, this is only available for 1965, 1977 and 1983. So the lowest point of women's participation may be masked in this data. However it could be argued that, for a number of reasons, changes in the qualified membership are likely to be less dramatic than the changes in recruitment or on Council. This is an important point which is discussed in the following Sections.

8.4.6 Summary of the changes shown by the Institute of Housing statistics

This Section brings together and compares the changes in the different classes of membership which have been discussed in detail in the previous Sections. Figure 8.3 provides a graphical comparison of these changes.

Representation of women on the Council of the Institute showed a very marked change following the amalgamation. The number and proportion of women on Council reached its lowest point in 1972-74. Representation has increased since then but in 1984 was still only 1:6. The decline in women's participation at Council was more marked than the decline in women's membership generally.

Figure 8.3 Comparison of changes in womens participation at council , fellow , member and student level of the Institute of Housing 1965 - 1983 (percentage).



The trends in representation of women as Fellows of the Institute show a consistent decline from 1965 to 1983-84.

The proportion of Members of the Institute who were women on the other hand shows a fall by 1977 followed by a slight rise to 1983-84.

Students qualifying show a similar pattern but it is more marked. with women reaching 47% of the whole in 1982 and 66% of those qualifying under the new Professional Qualification in 1983.

It can be concluded that there are two main trends which need to be accounted for. The first is an overall long term decline in women's influence and participation within the Institute from the mid 60s to the mid 70s with some revival since. The second is a difference in trends for various groups. with more senior members (Fellows), and housing association employees. showing the most marked and sustained decline and students showing the most marked revival. In particular the trend in student numbers seems to indicate some special factors at work. In addition it is worth noting that the amount of perceived change may have been greater than some of the actual changes. A comment by an interviewee was "the Society sank without trace". Similar comments were made by other interviewees - that they felt that women's influence was wiped out - and by younger members of the Institute that they saw it as a very male dominated body at the time. This probably indicates the importance of the changes at Council and at Fellow level. since these were the people who were likely to be more prominent in Institute business and at public meetings. The ordinary

members and students were not likely to be aware of the statistics of membership and in fact the breakdown by gender was not available.

The following Sections of this Chapter look at the reasons for decline in women's participation, particularly in the years following amalgamation. The focus is within the Institute, and therefore particularly on the changes at Council level, which we have already seen are of particular significance. First of all, the opinions of the interviewees on the reasons for the changes they perceived are examined. Then the literature on group interaction is used to see what light this can shed on events. Finally, some of the literature on sex stereotyping and sex differences is used to identify the effect of these factors. The conclusion summarises the likely weight of these different factors.

But the changes within the Institute were also affected by changes in the world outside, particularly in housing employment. Because these changes are complex, they are examined in the next Chapter.

8.5 REASONS FOR DECLINE IN WOMEN'S INFLUENCE AS SEEN BY INTERVIEWEES

In this Section, the main source of information is women who were members of the Committee on Unification. Comments from other interviewees and the male committee members interviewed are added where appropriate. Many comments particularly relate to the perceived decline in women's influence in Council and in participation within Institute meetings and committees.

8.5.1 Difference in attitudes, particularly with
 with regard to status

The most common reason given, by five out of the eight interviewees, was the difference in aims and attitudes between the ex-Society and ex-Institute members, particularly with regard to status and style of meetings.

"I don't like generalising...but on the whole men tend to be more ambitious and they rather like being able to say "I'm a member of Council". It always struck me that, when we got applications for jobs, the men always said...members of branch committee...etc.. whereas women didn't think of it really - didn't think of it so much as an honour or as an added qualification, more as something you bore."

Eagerness to participate in meetings and the style of meetings was also felt to differ.

"Well I don't think that [women] were on the whole all that interested in that kind of thing really. If you take away the "club" atmosphere which was very enjoyable...I don't think that most of us are frightfully keen on lots of meetings and extra things - and of course they were a bit more formal, they do rather indulge in mayors and formal lunches and speeches and things which isn't our style at all - much more status, wearing chains and things - I think men are like that, they like that sort of thing - look at Masons or Oddfellows or any of that sort of thing - they like that sort of thing; I don't think women do to anything like the same extent - and found it difficult to play up to that sort of thing."

Another interviewee expressed the dislike for formality even more forcefully.

"The agreement we thought we'd found round the table was more apparent than real. Inasmuch as a lot of the things have crept back. A silly "for instance" - the Institute was full of the most stupid dangling of badges and chains of office and all this kind of thing and we cut all that out except for one specially designed badge for the President. And now it's got right back, every branch has it - and they got around it by making presents that people couldn't turn down. I mean we weren't going to have any "danglers" and then Mr. X you see presented the President's badge."

In addition, this interviewee repeated the difference in attitude to sitting on Council.

As the number of ex-Society members on Council reduced so the problem of a difference in attitudes became more acute.

The emphasis on status by the men was seen as an important difference.

Another interviewee said

8.5.2 The mechanics of election

A number of the interviewees had realised that the mechanics of election would work against any minority.

But this was accentuated by the constitution which the Institute adopted which gave heavy representation to the branches.

"Some of the things we were a bit foolish about. For instance. they had this branch representation and they assured us that they were not delegates from the branch so that went into the constitution and it transpired that in fact they were treated as delegates...and if we'd realised it we would have had the constitution as it is now. with some deliberate branch representation and a lot more general places. But very often people didn't get on to Council because somebody with fewer votes got it because there was nobody from that branch."

"You see you really had to do it through the branches and I think a lot of our people weren't assiduous enough at the branches but in any case...there were not enough of them - you see if you imagine the Institute of Housing was four times as big as the Society and you've got a branch which has never had anyone from SHM in it before and by reasons of geography has only got three members of the branch. or six or ten...and nobody who votes has known them as long as they've known John or Reg - it's as simple as that."

"Another thing about the Society: the Society was London based and it was small and people weren't local...So in each branch there was a little minute quantity of people who weren't locals, while a lot of the others were."

One member felt that the image of the Society did not help women to get elected in the new Institute.

"I think also that the reputation we had among Institute people was of a lot of old fuddy duddies who didn't know anything about anything and therefore weren't worth voting for. One got an awful lot of jibes about Octavia Hill - I mean, a lot of it was nonsense for those of us who were up and coming and managing big departments and so forth. But one got the snipes back about ladies with ink bottles strapped to their waist and so forth. it's like the coals in the bath syndrome with tenants - a lot of that came from the Institute. probably out of ignorance. But I think that probably the two main reasons - that we just weren't known or if we were known we were known for what we were, which was little tight managing bodies which couldn't grasp the broader issues - I don't think we'd ever pushed ourselves enough to try to do it."

Another ex-Council member felt that the importance of the posts held was a factor.

"Various people were put up and weren't elected - again you've got to get yourself known...on the whole, the Institute, they tend to elect to Council people who are in the really big jobs. I don't think it's a good thing but that tends to happen...if the ex-Society people are not in the top jobs they are not known."

This tendency of the Institute to elect people with the "big jobs" was contrasted by some interviewees with the tradition of the Society in encouraging participation of younger members. "The Society had more junior people on Council." But one of the Institute negotiating team said: "We don't want a lot of young girls on Council."

It was agreed by most ex-Society interviewees that few women had the "big jobs" though differing reasons were given for this. This aspect will be discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Participation of women at branch level was seen to have been a critical issue but, as can be seen from the quotations above, some women felt themselves to be in a rather isolated minority in the branches. Branches vary however

"At branch level, I enjoyed E-Anglian branch... travelled long distances, a good group, mainly men, felt completely accepted there. But then rearrangement and Chilterns branch never really gelled - not involved with it. Did tend to be mostly chief officers. I think perhaps we had a lot of people...who had to draw out for a while...the older generation were beginning to leave, some of them didn't join the Institute - they wouldn't join - perhaps it fitted in with them retiring."

But another committee member felt that Institute meetings in particular were not up to scratch

"And I think when we began to come to the surface again and attended some of the meetings, the lectures and the meetings, talks and discussions were of such poor quality, quite honestly, that I personally felt it was a waste of time and I could spend my very small amount of spare time better in other directions."

"And also I felt that a lot of the people, the speakers who spoke on behalf of the Institute, they were long winded, they were wordy, they just wanted to hear their own voices and it was completely irritating and, as I say, I just dropped out."

It can be seen from the quotation above that it was thought that some ex-Society members did not transfer to the new body. It has not been possible to find any documentary evidence about this and, surprisingly, those involved with the amalgamation did not remember any specific check being made. So the only evidence is interviewees' estimates and these varied a little, though there was general agreement that the numbers not transferring to the new body were not large and were mostly older members near to retirement.

It seems that a number of women, although they transferred to the new body and remained in it, did not actively participate, either because of unhappiness with the "style" of the new body mentioned earlier or because of overload at work. This latter factor particularly affected some London members as the amalgamation of the London boroughs into larger units was going ahead at the same time.

"amalgamation was taking place in the London boroughs and those of us who were involved in that just went under and stayed under for about three years - just could not look beyond our own job responsibilities. And I think that is why quite a lot of people dropped out of active membership."

"and I think rather than stay and battle with them on their own terms, we shrugged and turned away."

That's how I feel and I know several others [names] battled on and they were marvellous. I can't speak for anyone but myself and my immediate friends, but we all felt we couldn't be bothered with it."

Another commented on those women who had dropped out:

"I think maybe a handful didn't transfer, but you see they did not go on fighting...and on that Council you really had to go on...and I would...But I know an awful lot of the old SHMs couldn't really be bothered to go on at this pace."

The feeling that some of the women "couldn't be bothered" or felt it was hopeless anyway was clearly important in terms of women's participation.

"I wonder if its because women haven't got so much push as men and whether people felt the were up against a brick wall anyway." (Younger Society member not on unification committee)

The implication of what a number of these interviewees said was that some women remained members of the Institute as a formal thing but ceased to feel that they "belonged" or to participate actively. This also affected some of the younger members as well (e.g. Clark, 1983). This is important because it corresponds with the statistics which tend to show that the proportion of women members did not fall as drastically as their influence on the Council did.

8.5.3 Intention?

Was there a deliberate intention to "eliminate" the Society presence?

"I was discussing something with a Scots member who said "Ha. ha. you did not think about it when you amalgamated, that we would be two to one and we'd get everybody on." Well, I mean, we had thought about it and that wasn't our idea at all, we thought we'd vote for people on their merits...but if you're voting for people on Council or something you do tend to vote for the people you know."
(Interviewee, member of unification committee)

This suggestion that there was some intention on the part

of ex-Institute members to deliberately crowd out the ex-Society members was only specifically mentioned by one other interviewee (not a committee member). She felt that

"I suspect it might have been deliberate policy... I've no real reason to say that but I think in a lot of people's minds in the Institute this was a takeover and this was a deliberate policy to get the numbers down."

She mentioned the procedure by which branches agree who is to stand and then lobby for them as important in getting people on and felt that this might have been used in a deliberate way.

This view was not shared by the ex-Institute interviewees from the unification committee. One admitted that he was "not satisfied with the arrangements for democratic election. Once the safeguards had run out, two ladies who were admirable and carried responsible jobs were not elected. I wished we could have retained the brighter ladies of the Society."

The reasons he gave were that there was a general feeling that they could not reserve seats for members of the old organisations and that old Institute members were always inclined to vote for people with the biggest jobs. So that the people who got on council were

"men, and the people at the top of the profession. Inevitably, this did not take cognisance of the fact that these admirable ladies were not elected. I and some of my colleagues regretted that; they dropped out."

Another ex-Society committee interviewee, while not going so far as to ascribe deliberate planning, felt that the wiping out of Society representatives was inevitable and

she had in fact foreseen this. "I was cynical: I'd been working with the men for so long, I knew what the London housing managers were like." So she felt that whatever was said in the negotiations the majority would revert to their old ways once the unification was accomplished.

She gave two examples of this.

"You knew jolly well that they were going to continue the system of having Council members going on for 20, 30 or 40 years: no matter what you said about having to come out every three years they'd find a way round it."

The second instance was the name of the new organisation. The Society had stuck out for the inclusion of "housing managers" in the title but

"You knew darned well that they'd go back to the Institute of Housing just as soon as they'd get the chance. I remember the arguments over the name..."

[The change back to Institute of Housing in fact was made in 1965.] This interviewee summed up that the women lost out because "they were all too nice, the men were all too nasty...".

Both these instances, the failure to ensure that people did not remain on Council for excessive lengths of time and the reversal of the name, were mentioned by other interviewees as instances of failure to maintain apparent gains made during the negotiations about unification. The above interviewee did however acknowledge the "genuine intentions" of some ex-Institute members. Two others at least felt that Society members did not get an accurate view of what the Institute was like.

"I think we thought we were getting more say in it than we actually got. I think we underestimated how much the rest of it [the Institute] was. We looked only at the gilt tip and we didn't look at the tail very much and thought perhaps that tip was representative, but I don't think it was. We saw the best of the Institute and we didn't see all this

other mess that was going on underneath." (Member of unification committee)

One of the ex-Institute interviewees agreed with this. He felt that inevitably the negotiating team might not have been totally representative of both organisations, but this was more marked in the case of the Institute because in the Society

"Everybody was properly qualified and the educational background was fairly rigidly applied, I think, so that they were a more homogeneous body than we were so in a way it could be true. I mentioned earlier that the Institute had these widespread standards...a more varied body".

This Institute interviewee's earlier comment about the Institute had been that

"a high proportion of the members were. I suppose, to put it bluntly, people who hadn't qualified, in some other department - treasurers or Town Clerks or something - and perhaps had been put on to some aspect of housing work, or sometimes the engineering department. Sometimes the housing department was set up...sometimes under pressure of numbers, they found themselves engaged in housing management, at the top or further down. Well, from a professional point of view the standard was pretty mixed...the level of education was very mixed as well...from X who was at Eton and Trinity to chaps who left school as soon as they could..."

However, most of those women who felt that the Society members had, in the end, lost out badly or that they had failed to recognise the true nature of the Institute membership, felt that the decision to amalgamate was still justifiable.

"We've been submerged, but would we have died anyway?"

"My two chief assistants are my support and...were all against this amalgamation, and a few other people were too: they said we shall just be buried. They were really right, but there was nothing else to do, we hadn't the money, we hadn't the resources to stand on our own ..." (Member of unification committee)

8.6 REASONS FOR DECLINE IN WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP: GROUP DYNAMICS

8.6.1 The types of group relationship involved

This discussion of the comment of interviewees has identified a number of themes which occurred in their descriptions of the process of unification. The differences in attitudes between Society and Institute members, the mechanics of election and the fact that women were in a minority and less known and felt that they were not accepted, and the possibility of a definite intention to eliminate Society influence within the new organisation, can be identified from the comments made. In the next two Sections, some of the literature on group dynamics is examined to see whether this can be helpful in understanding the processes that were occurring. Because unification involved the mixing of two previously separate and somewhat rival groups, we look first of all at the literature about relationships between groups (see Section 8.6.2). But after unification, the dynamics of relationships within groups would also apply, so some of the literature about relationships within groups is the focus of Section 8.6.3. Obviously the two issues are closely linked.

8.6.2 Relationships between groups

It is clear from the comments in Section Five of this Chapter that the two groups amalgamated in the new Institute had a certain amount of unease and suspicion regarding each other and, to some extent, stereotyped views of each other. For the unification working party these views had been modified by the experience of

working together. but the rank and file had not had that experience. This situation of friction between two groups is one which has been explored in the literature of Social Psychology. Earlier writers linked hostility to other groups (out groups) with early childhood development or with the development of certain types of personality. e.g. theories about the "authoritarian personality" (Allport, 1958; Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). These subsequently were strongly criticised. e.g. McKinney (1973).

Theories such as that of Sherif (1967) argue that existing relations between groups generate attitudes which are consistent with that relationship. Sherif derived hypotheses to be tested experimentally. He looked first at the stage of group formation. Two hypotheses relevant to this study are

"When a number of individuals without previously established relationships interact in conditions that embody goals with common appeal value to the individuals and that require interdependent activities for their attainment, a definite group structure consisting of differentiated status positions and roles will be produced." (Sherif, 1967: 76)

and in this situation

"norms regulating their behaviour in relations with one another and in activities commonly engaged in will become standardised, concomitant with the rise of group structure." (Sherif, 1967: 76)

A number of the earlier Chapters of the present thesis describe the stages of the establishment of the Society of Housing Managers as a group with common goals and the emergence of a group structure. The descriptions of the Society illustrate the strength of group norms within the Society which was particularly close knit. We have not described the formation of the Institute in equivalent

detail, but it is clear from interviewees that it had also produced its own structure and norms. It is also clear that some members saw the Institute as being less homogeneous than the Society.

Sherif further went on to examine relationships between two groups thus formed and hypothesised that

"When members of two groups come into contact with one another in a series of activities that embody goals which each urgently desires, but which can be attained by one group only at the expense of the other, competitive activity toward the goal changes, over time, into hostility between the groups and their members."

"In the course of such competitive interaction... unfavourable attitudes and images (stereotypes) of the out-group come into use and are standardised, placing the out-group at a definite social distance from the in-group." (Sherif, 1967: 81)

Group conflict then tends to produce an increase in solidarity within the groups and a tendency to overestimate the achievements of fellow group members and underestimate the achievements of out-group members (Sherif, 1967: 81).

These hypotheses have a reasonably good fit with events relating to the Society and the Institute. In the 1930s the groups were, as shown in Chapter Five, competing for the same goals: the employment of their members in senior posts in housing organisations, recognition by local authorities and by central government as the premier voice of authority on housing management, adaption of their particular views on housing management. As we saw in Chapter Five, after the initial breaking of common membership of the Society and Institute considerable hostility developed between the two bodies. The rivalry

between them continued during and after the war and it was only gradually, as more common goals appeared as shown in this Chapter, that hostility diminished. This also is consistent with later stages of Sherif's theories which argue that intergroup hostility will only diminish in the presence of super-ordinate goals requiring continued co-operation (Sherif, 1967: 93). But as Sherif (1967: 21) argues, the human past has a heavy hand. Intergroup attitudes must be interpreted within the framework both of past relationships between people and their future goals.

It is clear from the comments in the previous Section that stereotyped attitudes arising from the past relationships remained to cloud relationships within the new Institute. "Ladies with ink bottles strapped to their waist" is an example of an Institute stereotype of Society members (as related by the latter).

One Institute interviewee said that there were "people on both sides who took the most ridiculous attitudes for years...men, who felt that the Society members were 'a lot of sloppy women who get all sentimental over housing'." (Unification committee member)

An Institute interviewee commented that when Institute members began to meet Society members more they found that they were not as "prunes and prisms" as they had imagined. His comment that "some chaps were sternly anti-feminist you know" indicates the extent to which the Society was seen as feminist even though some members - and some feminists today - might reject this label.

Meeting Society members. Institute members found they were not "ladies. you know. of the kind which they envisualised" and "it was an eye opener" to realise the quality of some of the Society members. This interviewee had some awareness of the psychological processes at work.

"There was a good deal of prejudice against a lady who was in charge at X at one time who was said to be rather aggressive...And I think a lot of people didn't know. so I think that if they didn't know they just guessed...in these situations you get a lot of rationalisations...reasons which aren't reasons...what it really is is our party wouldn't be in power if....." (Institute interviewee)

The Society stereotype of the Institute was less vivid but included the view that Institute members were less educated and that Institute members did not care so much about people. that they were much more concerned with status and large numbers. that they did not have such high standards or professional practice. Each group tended to underestimate the achievements of members of the other group: little recognition was given in interviews to pioneering achievements of members of the "opposing" group. One Institute member described the Society stereotype of Institute members as he saw it: "people had to meet across the table...they found we didn't bring a pint of beer with us..."

The super-ordinate goal which had emerged in the 1950s and 60s to bring these two conflicting bodies together was that of achieving a unified professional body for housing. It could be argued that it was by then clear that neither body could achieve its aims without the co-operation of the other. But not all members of either

body were convinced that this goal was really worth the price. It has already been pointed out that only a few members of each body had had the experience of continued co-operation towards this goal. So the possibility of friction between these two groups was high. In these aspects Sherif's theories appear to provide a useful interpretation.

Although there have been further experiments to test different aspects of Sherif's theories which have modified his work, his formulation of the extent to which incompatible goals are an important contribution to group conflict still stands (Gaskell and Sealy, 1976: 60-77). One factor in intergroup conflict which has been emphasised is the breakdown of communications between conflicting groups (Newcomb, 1947). This is also exemplified in the history of the Society and the Institute in the 1930s and the post-war years show a gradual resumption of communications with the gradual perception of common goals.

Jamous and Lemaine (1962) studied competition between groups with unequal resources, noting that the handicapped group became discouraged and did not want to compete. Again this can be compared to the situation within the Institute after 1965, the Society being the group with less resources in terms of membership being the one which felt like that, "rather than stay and battle with them on their own terms we shrugged and turned away" (Society interviewee).

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helpful when looking at the position of the small group of ex-Society members (or later only one) on the Institute Council and of the equivalent ex-Society membership in branches of the Institute.

8.6.3 Relationships within groups

The literature on relationships within groups is enormous and only some particularly relevant points can be mentioned here.

"Groups develop definite "pecking orders" in terms of amount of speech and influence permitted. During the early meetings of the group there is a struggle for status amongst those individuals strong in dominance motivation." (Argyle. 1967: 70)

Low status members of a group talk little. A person's position in hierarchy is primarily a function of how useful he has been in the past. "The group uses techniques of reward and punishment to maintain this system.

"Groups develop norms of behaviour which can be regarded as a kind of culture in miniature. Such norms will govern the styles of social behaviour which are approved and admired. Anyone who fails to conform is placed under pressure to do so, and if he does not is rejected."

Thus Argyle summarises some of the facets of group interaction which have been studied (Argyle, 1967: 71).

If we look first at the situation within the Council of the Institute, this could be seen as a new group in the stage of formation. But it was also, as we have seen, an amalgamation of two existing groups. Even at the beginning, with the guarantee for ex-Society membership, the ex-Institute group was numerically dominant. Ex-Society members were emphatic that the style of the new body was very much that of the Institute, partly because

the Secretary of the Institute. Henry Key, took over as Secretary of the new body. Thus the ex-Society members were in the weaker position to start with. Whenever an issue came up which activated conflict between the norms of the two pre-existing groups, the Institute norms were likely to prevail, giving the ex-Society members even more of a sense of being outnumbered. As time went on and the ex-Society membership was reduced, these members, if they disagreed with the majority, were increasingly likely to be treated as deviant and rejected.

"I was the last SHM left on Council, the last year. I was the only person of the old Society. I was the only person from a housing association and I was totally miserable...it was impossible really"

is a very accurate description of somebody regarded as deviant by the main group on at least two counts.

Ex-Society members in Institute branches would have been in a similar position if they tried to participate: their background and values were different and they were newcomers to the group. The interviewees' comments given earlier have described this situation in the branches and also show that in some cases it was possible for ex-Society members to make the adjustment to branch membership participation. It should be noted also that the differences in background could include class and education. Because of the financial problems involved in Society training, many members, particularly those recruited pre-war, came from middle- or upper-class backgrounds. The Society had strict admission standards and many of its members were graduates. Although some prominent Institute members had Public School backgrounds, the system of recruitment tended also to

bring in the grammar school boys who were making a career in local government. These differences were commented on openly or more subtly by a number of interviewees.

Discussion earlier has indicated that the literature on both between group and within group relationships may be helpful, as this was an intermediate situation, one in fact where group mixing was occurring. Rackham and Morgan (1977), among others, have commented on the extremely tricky situation produced by groups mixing, even in the training situation where groups have only been formed for a few days, and they advocate extreme caution for trainers in mixing groups and stress how in an interactive group individuals' behaviour becomes fixed and their behaviour patterns stabilise even though this stability may sow the seeds of future dissonance. Ex-Society members would therefore have had only a short time to adjust to the new type of group before behaviour patterns became fixed and the possibility of better adjustment reduced (Rackham and Morgan, 1977: 198-219).

So the difficulties which ex-Society members faced within the new Institute can be explained and clarified in a number of ways, using general group theories. But, did difficulties occur only because the ex-Society members were new members from previously conflicting groups? Or were they considerably exacerbated because the ex-Society members were women and most of the Institute members men? In the next Section we look at some specific aspects of feminist theory which could apply to this situation.

8.7 REASONS FOR DECLINE IN WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP: STEREOTYPING AND SEX DIFFERENCES

8.7.1 Sex differences, stereotyping and group interaction

The previous Sections have looked at the general factors affecting interaction between and within groups. But the amalgamation of the Society of Housing Managers with the Institute of Housing was the amalgamation of a predominantly male group with a predominantly female one. The issue of gender relationships and sex stereotyping could therefore be influential but this has not been much explored in the general literature about groups. On the whole it has been the province of feminist theorists and of psychologists interested in gender differences. (Using Bouchier's definition of feminism as "any form of opposition to any form of social, personal or economic discrimination which women suffer because of their sex.") (Bouchier, 1983: 2). This literature is now a vast one and it would be pointless to survey the whole. The next Sections will therefore look briefly at some evidence on the existence and contents of stereotypes and, again briefly, at the arguments about the origins of sex differences because that argument is relevant to views of what should be done about inequality. The main concentration, however, will be on identifying some aspects of stereotyping and sex differences which could have had an influence on the events being discussed in this thesis and examining these to see how they relate to the evidence presented here.

8.7.2 The existence and content of stereotypes

In Allport's words "a stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category" (Allport, 1958: 187). Much of the early work on stereotyping focused on race (e.g. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950).

Nevertheless the concept of stereotyping was seen as important in relation to the role of women in society and has been the focus of much psychological research. Maccoby and Jacklin in 1975 carried out a major review of this literature. Their breakdown of the kind of attributes which tend to be ascribed to males and females gives a useful guide to some of the contents of stereotypes and is shown in Figure 8.4.

Feminist writers have consistently stressed the importance of the way in which male and female roles are seen as being predetermined and therefore certain characteristics are assigned to each (for example Figes, 1970; Firestone, 1980; Mitchell, 1971; Friedan, 1975). Socialist and radical feminists however tend to put more stress on the role of economic, social and cultural exploitation of women rather than on psychological processes per se (e.g. Mitchell, 1971; Firestone, 1980).

FIGURE 8.4

MACCOBY AND JACKLIN: Beliefs about sex differences

Unfounded belief about sex differences

1. That girls are more social than boys.
2. That girls are more "suggestible" than boys
3. That girls have lower self-esteem.
4. That girls are better at rote learning and simple repetitive tasks, boys at tasks that require higher-level cognitive processing and inhibition of previously learned responses.
5. That boys are more "analytic".
6. That girls are more affected by heredity, boys by environment.
7. That girls lack achievement motivation.
8. That girls are auditory, boys visual.

Sex differences that are fairly well established

1. That girls have greater verbal ability than boys.
2. That boys excel in visual-spatial ability.
3. That boys excel in mathematical ability.
4. That males are more aggressive.

Open questions: Too little evidence or findings ambiguous

1. Tactile sensitivity.
2. Fear, timidity and anxiety.
3. Activity level.
4. Competitiveness.
5. Dominance.
6. Compliance.
7. Nurturance and "maternal" behaviour
(- including passivity).

Summary extracted from Maccoby & Jacklin (1975): 349-354

Note criticisms of Maccoby & Jacklin's methodology or summarisation, e.g. Block (1976), Griffiths & Saragga (1979).

Wolpe (1977) gives a good simple expression of some common aspects of sex stereotype roles as expressed in daily life:

"In regard to the division of labour within the family, it is the woman, in her role as housewife and mother, who is predominantly responsible for child-minding, housework, and care of the family. In this familial role, women not only reproduce the labour force through the birth and care of children till they reach an age when they can enter the labour market, but they also provide domestic services and "products" (meals, making and care of clothes, etc.) which enables those members who work to reappear daily in their jobs."

"There is also a sexual division of labour within the economic structure of the society outside of the family...women are relegated to what has been termed a secondary labour market and this...is not unconnected with the division of labour in the family." (Wolpe, 1977: 1)

Adams and Laurikietis (1976: 19) give another simplified expression of stereotyped views of gender roles as they affect young people. They talk about various myths about men and women:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| "Myth number one | Females are passive and unaggressive.
They care for and support others.
They are domestic and dependent.
They are easily upset and emotional, given to crying.
They should be dominated by men. |
| "Myth number two | Males are active and aggressive, independent and adventurous.
They can cope with the world.
They are logical and unemotional.
They ought to be able to dominate women.
They are tough, violent, ambitious, ruthless. |
| "Myth number three | If males don't behave in a masculine way and females in a feminine way, there is something wrong with them." |

It can be seen how this simplified explanation of the stereotypes still relates to a number of the items on Maccoby and Jacklin's list.

Clearly, while there is much common ground, the exact formulation of the stereotypes varies between different writers and different theoretical orientations. In this Chapter some simplified aspects of the common stereotypes will be picked out. The ones chosen for discussion here will be ones which might be expected to have some influence on the interaction between the Society and the Institute or on women's careers in housing. These stereotypes will be related to the evidence from the members of the Society and Institute and records to see if there is any ground for supposing that such ideas were influential in these events. The aspects which will be examined are:

- General differences in intelligence between men and women;
- Aptitude for specific types of study or occupation;
- Women's role in the family and caring;
- Dominance and leadership;
- Dominance in language;
- Male and female styles of organisation.

First, however, it is necessary to look briefly at the some of the views about the origins of stereotypes because these colour the whole discussion.

8.7.3 The origins of sex differences

A great deal of the literature about stereotyping centres around the origins of sex differences. Such theoretical discussions do have practical outcomes because they influence views on what should be done about inequality between the sexes. Maccoby and Jacklin (1975: 360 onwards) carried out an extensive review of this literature and discuss

"three kinds of factors that affect the development of sex factors: genetic factors, shaping of boylike and girllike behaviour by parents and other socializing agents, and the child's spontaneous learning of behaviour for his sex through initiation."

In their review of the evidence summarised in Figure 8.4 they identify a small number of factors where they consider that there is some evidence for innate sex differences. However, other writers have criticised Maccoby and Jacklin's findings as being incomplete, misrepresenting the evidence or failing to take account of some factors (for example, Block, 1976). Griffiths and Saraga (1979) continue this criticism with a good analysis of some of the biases inherent in much of the research and argue for a different framework for analysis. The essential point of this argument is that explanations based on genetic factors, in their view, justify and defend the current status quo. Griffiths and Saraga point out the need to take a wider perspective than many psychologists do. The study of socialisation into sex roles is incomplete if it neglects the origins of these roles which, in Griffiths and Saraga's view "need to be examined and understood as a product of women's oppression under capitalism" (1979:36). Theories about the origins of social roles are therefore important in that they lead to different views of what needs to be done to change those stereotypes. This also relates to the later discussion of possible changes in women's role in housing (Chapter Nine).

In examining the stereotypes further the attempt is now made to concentrate on specific aspects which may have been influential in the progress of women in housing and in the interaction of men and women during the amalgamation process and after.

8.7.4 Differences in generalised intellectual abilities

This is represented in Maccoby and Jacklin's classification by the beliefs that girls are better at rote learning and simple repetitive tasks, boys at tasks which require higher level cognitive processing and inhibition of previously learned responses, and that boys are more analytic. A more generalised view is expressed in Goldberg's famous study which showed female college students giving lower grades to essays which were given the names of female authors (Goldberg, 1958). "It appears that the work of males is more valued even if it is identical to that of females" (Shibley Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976: 100).

Given that the unification of the Society and the Institute took place in the early 1960s when many people were still reflecting traditional stereotypes, it could be possible that this factor affected the unification process. However, the evidence from interviews both with men and women indicates that in terms of perceived intellectual ability "Society" members did not suffer and this aspect of stereotyping on the whole did not operate. Because of the different procedures involved in selection and training, both Society and Institute interviewees perceived the Society members as having a higher general standard of education and ability. However it was clear that not all Institute members were aware of this until closer social contact took place. If this stereotyping was operating in housing, it was more likely to have affected other women in housing in their general opportunity for career progression rather than among those who knew about the background of the Society.

8.7.5 Aptitude for specific types of study or occupation

In Maccoby and Jacklin's categories this is expressed, for example, in the items "that girls have greater verbal ability than boys". "that boys excel in visual-spatial ability. "that boys excel in mathematical ability".

Supposed differences in aptitude for different types of study have frequently been used as part of the justification for women not playing a significant part in particular areas of study and their associated occupations. Much of the argument has centred around the general area of science (for example, Weinreich-Haste, 1979). The technical, building side of housing has been male dominated, so perceived weakness here might also have affected the status of women in mixed sex interaction in the new professional Institute. This issue is further discussed in Chapter Nine but it is seen as being linked with difference in visual-spatial ability. Maccoby and Jacklin (1975: 351), summing up the evidence on this particular aspect, say "Male superiority on visual-spatial tasks is fairly consistently found in adolescence and adulthood, but not in childhood". They also conclude that, though the two sexes are similar in their early grasp of quantitative concepts and their mastery of arithmetic, in adolescence boys' mathematical skills increase faster than girls' (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1975: 351, 352). Murphy (1979) points out that Maccoby and Jacklin's review of the findings has been criticised as being incomplete and too subject to error and concludes

"All of this goes to demonstrate the point that great uncertainty exists in this area, and it is dangerous to assume at the present time that there are such things as clearly established sex differences in intellectual functioning." (Murphy, 1979: 161)

Shibley Hyde argues that "Females consistently show poorer spatial and mechanical abilities than males do" (Shibley Hyde, 1976: 84). She also seems to give some credence to the view that this difference in ability is governed by a sex linked gene though it may be reinforced by social and psychological factors (Shibley Hyde, 1976: 85). Other writers (for example, Sayers 1979) emphasise the effect of sex role pressures. However, Shibley Hyde goes on to demonstrate how unrealistic it is to argue that differences in occupations are due to genetically determined spatial ability

"The current estimate of the frequency of the recessive sex-linked gene for high ability at spatial visualising is 0.5 (Bock and Kolakowski, 1973). Hence, we would expect 50 percent of all men to have relatively high spatial ability, as compared with...25 percent of all women. If this genetically determined ability were the sole determinant of becoming an engineer, we would expect to find the ratio of men to women in this profession to be...67 percent men and 33 percent women. Clearly the 1 percent of engineers who are women is far from what we would expect if sex differences in spatial ability were alone responsible for women's lesser participation in the profession. The difference must be attributed to various cultural sources." (Shibley Hyde, 1976: 85)

What Shibley Hyde says of engineering must also be true of those occupations associated with the building industry where spatial ability plays a part - for example, planning, architecture and the technical side of housing work.

Whatever the justification for the arguments about different aptitudes, we have seen that the Society stood in a rather ambivalent position here. Octavia Hill had

emphasised the need for a basic business-like approach which would include the ability to deal with figures and the technical side of housing. This had been continued by the Society in its training. To this extent Society members could be seen as overcoming this stereotype and many did. In addition, some of the senior members had full RICS qualification which, because of its heavy "technical" content tended to compensate for this. However the stereotype of the "caring" role attached to women and the Society was likely to be seen as the antithesis to technical/financial and managerial role.

8.7.6 Women's role in the family and "caring"

A central issue for most feminists is the stereotyped view of women's role within the family and the psychological and social assumptions linked with this. Firstly there is the role within the family. Mitchell points out "Bearing children, bringing them up, and maintaining the home - these form the core of woman's natural vocation, in this ideology" (Mitchell, 1971: 106). "The causal chain then goes: maternity, family, absence from production and public life, sexual inequality." (Mitchell, 1971: 107)

In addition, by an extension of this role, women are seen as possessing the psychological attributes associated with caring and as being responsible for the caring and nurturing role within society generally. This is represented in Maccoby and Jacklin's list by such items as girls being more social than boys, and the issues of "compliance", "nurturance and maternal behaviour - including passivity".

Because of the tendency of sex differences to be seen as bi-polar, to some extent this nurturing, caring, female role is seen as the counterpoint to the active dominant technical role of men. (See, for example, Sayers' discussion of psychological sex differences in Hartnett, 1979: 46-55.) There is extensive evidence that the main burden of caring for the sick, disabled and elderly falls on women. For example, recently, concern about this has led to the formation of the Association of Carers (Toynbee, 1984). The image of women having this "caring, welfare, female" role had appeared in housing in the past, was to some extent seen as the opposite to "business management" and the "technical" side, and could have affected the interaction between male and female members of the Institute. This could be despite the fact that those members most concerned with unification did on the whole perceive each other much more realistically. Women members of the committee concerned with unification grew heartily sick of having the amalgamation referred to jokingly as a "marriage" - perhaps a good illustration of the way in which jokes can be used to belittle women. The caring role could also affect the careers of women in housing both because of the assumed psychological attributes and because of the practical reality of having to care for children or other dependents, in particular elderly relatives. This issue will be examined further in the next Chapter.

We have seen in Chapter Five that the Society had on occasion made use of the "welfare" image which emphasised

the caring female role so this issue was already double edged as far as the women were concerned even though this argument had been abandoned by the Society many years before unification.

Some of the stereotypes of Society members mentioned earlier. "Ladies with ink bottles strapped to their waist". "A lot of sloppy women who get all sentimental over housing". seem to reflect this "old fashioned" welfare stereotype rather strongly.

This stereotype resurfaced in a rather interesting way in the Institute in 1984. An article purportedly reviewing the history of the amalgamated Institute on its long awaited award of a Royal Charter. "The long road to royal recognition". was published in the December 1984 issue of the Institute's Journal "Housing". The article reflected an orientation which proved to be offensive both to women ex-Society members and at least one of the men. It included the view that "The Octavia Hill tradition of women serving a primarily caring role on the charitable side of the housing profession was no doubt intensified when it was the male-dominated Institute who first established housing management as a recognised career in the local authority world" (Hirsch. 984: 4). Although the writer had consulted various sources. the views reflected seemed largely to be those of a senior male member of the Institute. John Macey.

The article provoked a spate of letters. One typically referred to the "disgustingly patronising tone of the remarks about the former Society of Housing Managers"

and, in relation to the earlier quotation about the "Octavia Hill tradition", commented "The whole basis of Octavia Hill's approach was efficiency...the people she trained were taught to run an efficient and human service, while never losing sight of the broader issues (contrary to John Macey's very typical remark quoted later in the article)" (Houstoun, 1985). The remark referred to was "The larger authorities have tended to appoint men, who have had a wider view of what housing management means than women" (Hirsch, 1984: 4).

If this stereotype could surface so strongly thirty years after the unification of the Society and the Institute there certainly seems to be ground for supposing that it would have been influential in the 1960s.

8.7.7 Dominance and leadership

The same kind of stereotyped thinking, that sees women as naturally having nurturing, social and submissive characteristics, sees men as being more aggressive, self-confident, ambitious and naturally having a dominant and leadership role (for example, Maccoby and Jacklin, 1975: 353-354; Sayers, 1979: 51-55). This leads to problems for women who wish to take on leadership or creative roles (Reid and Wormald, 1972: 161.162; Hargreaves, 1979: 185-199).

This factor could have been important in the interaction of Society and Institute members. If the assumption was that men would take on the leadership role then the failure of women to survive on Council and in senior

positions within the Institute is more explicable.

From interviews with the women members, it is clear that the majority did not overtly subscribe to this view. Indeed, they recognised that there were women in the Society capable of carrying out these tasks and would sometimes say that they were often more capable than men. However in actual social situations, women who do not subscribe to these stereotypes may still be influenced by them - this is particularly demonstrated in the studies of the role of language in social interaction discussed more fully below (for example, Spender, 1980).

From interviews with the smaller number of male members involved in unification, it was clear that most of them appreciated the abilities of the senior women in the Society. They did also imply, however, that Society members were not so well known in the Institute generally and that attitudes of members of the negotiating team were different from those of the Institute members generally. There was a clear association between "success" in the Institute and holding down the big jobs which could well be an intervening variable with regard to this factor. Perception of women as not having leadership qualities has been indicated as important in affecting some women's progress in management jobs, particularly when organisations get large (for example, Cooper & Davidson, 1982: 365.33) and this important factor is so pervasive that it seems likely that directly or indirectly the perception of women as not having a natural leadership role did affect the women in the new Institute.

It is likely that the perception of men as "naturally" having a more dominant role would affect elections to positions of influence within the newly formed mixed Institute. It would also affect interaction in meetings. "Women in virtually every group in the United States, Canada and Europe soon discovered that, when men were present, the traditional sex roles reasserted themselves regardless of the good intentions of participants. Men inevitably dominated the discussions." (Freeman, 1979: 563)

This quotation, describing the early days of the women's liberation movement, summarises much of the feminist argument in this respect. Men's dominance in society is reflected in their dominance in meetings. Freeman was explaining why women in the women's movement soon found it necessary to restrict their meetings to women. All female activities have remained a central feature of the women's movement though not without continuing discussion (for example, Mitchell, 1971: 56-58).

The Society of Housing Managers had decided to move from an all female to predominantly female organisation in 1948 and subsequently in 1965 to amalgamate with a male dominated organisation. It is likely therefore that male dominance at meetings would reinforce difficulties Society members had in fitting in both to branch meetings and committees. It seems logical to argue that this difficulty would exacerbate the feeling of Society members being "deviant" and "rejected" which have been discussed in the context of relationships within groups.

The members of the Society most concerned with unification were so concerned to make it work that they rejected any moves to continue some form of separatist organisation or network (interviewees). It is interesting to speculate whether any organisation of this type might have safeguarded women's interests better within the Institute: it has certainly proved necessary in order to revive them (see Chapter Ten).

8.7.8 Men's dominance in language

Dale Spender (1980), Robin Lakoff (1975), and others have shown how men's dominance is enshrined even in the conventions of language and discussion. The detailed findings on the conventions of conversations between men and women, which indicate how easy it is for men to dominate such discussions and how women are seen as "pushy" or aggressive or shrill when they try to assert themselves, indicate that the same factors are liable to operate in meetings and thus it is easy in mixed sex meetings for men to dominate the meetings. Dale Spender believes that these theories are easy to demonstrate in any mixed group and it is a continual struggle for women "to get in the 50 percent worth".

"Indeed, there are indications that when women do try and speak, and interrupt at the same rate as men in a mixed group, they are often labelled as persistent, tenacious and annoying by the male participants." (Cooper and Davidson, 1982: 43)

Such factors were likely to have been operating within the Institute both at Council and at branch level and the reports of women interviewees given earlier bear this

out. This is likely to have added to the feelings of the women that they were "excluded" and had no place within the new Institute. In such circumstances, for example, the same weight is not given to a female contribution to discussion as to a male one (Spender, 1980: 47). This factor is very insidious and extremely difficult to combat because it is covert and, if a woman challenges it by her behaviour, she will tend to be labelled as aggressive etc. This factor could still be operating within the Institute today. Certainly some of the women who have fought for women's rights within the Institute today feel that they are labelled as "persistent, tenacious and annoying" by the male participants.

Elizabeth Vallenge has illustrated how men's dominance in public conversation within an organisation and in more public meetings still can have extensive effects.

She has commented of would-be MPs

"They also have to learn quite literally to talk... Women are not generally articulate, nor are they normally encouraged to take pleasure in the cut and thrust of debate."

"Several of the women members have emphasised to me that while men will dominate the question and answer sessions of public meetings, women will consistently come up afterwards to ask of the MP...a question which is more intelligent and to the point than any which have been asked in open forum." (Vallenge, 1979: 11)

This corresponds to the comments of ex-Society members that discussion at branch meetings was at a very low level while at the same time they often felt unable to make a full contribution.

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CHAPTER 9

9. WOMEN IN HOUSING AFTER 1965 - THE BROADER PICTURE

9.1 INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES OF THE DATA

In Chapter Eight the changes in membership of the Institute were discussed in relation to the amalgamation of the Society and the Institute with a particular concentration on council membership. It was argued that since the changes seemed to show a number of different trends the reasons for changes were likely to be complex also. In particular, changes in women's membership of the Institute would be likely to be affected both by changes in housing employment and by trends in women's employment generally. This Chapter therefore looks first of all at the remainder of the housing background (1965 to the 1980s) Then trends in women's employment generally are examined and then factors which might particularly have affected housing employment discussed. To provide a useful comparison, trends in certain other professions connected with housing are then described. In this way it is possible to begin to distinguish whether changes in women's employment in housing are the result of general changes or factors specific to housing, and to assess the relative importance of the disappearance of the Society of Housing Managers as one of the factors affecting women's employment in housing.

In general the period being considered is the same as the previous Chapter, i.e. 1965 to 1983, but in certain cases where long term trends are examined the data goes back to 1945 or earlier. In few cases (for example information from other professions) the period considered is governed

by the information available.

The sources of data. The data on women's employment in housing is fragmentary and has to be culled from a number of different sources. Comparative statistics about the number of men and women employed in housing departments and associations are not available on a continuous basis. Data on such employment is only available from survey and for the later part of this period. These surveys are the "Staff Study" carried out by the Education and Training for Housing Work Project at the City University in 1976 and the National Federation of Housing Associations Survey carried out in 1984. Because the bases of these surveys are different there are problems in using them for comparison over a period of time but they do provide a picture of what was happening. Their results are discussed in Sections Four and Five.

The only data which is more continuous over a period of time is information about Chief Officers of housing organisations which can be analysed from the Municipal Year Book and the National Federation of Housing Associations Year Book. While this data does not always cover all the relevant organisations it does cover a large majority. This data has therefore been used in Section Three of this Chapter to provide an opportunity to examine some long term trends. Information about the housing background and general trends in employment has been derived largely from secondary sources. Information on trends in other relevant professions originates from an enquiry to the relevant professional bodies carried

out by the author.

9.2 THE HOUSING BACKGROUND 1965 TO THE 1980s

The Labour Government which took office in 1964 remained in power until 1970. Merrett (1979: 254) considers that they largely continued the policies of their Conservative predecessors. The 1965 Rent Act was an attempt to reintroduce some of the protection for private tenants which the Conservatives had removed in 1957. The 1969 Housing Act gave rehabilitation policy a big boost. Standards of public housing were improved with the adoption of Parker Morris standards as mandatory in 1964 (Balchin, 1981: 112). The attempt was also made through most of the period to maintain a high level of public sector house building but this was limited by two factors. One was the policies of Conservative local authorities which failed to maintain the rate of house building and the second was, once again, economic pressures. Particularly in 1967 economic factors led to considerable cuts in the local authority building programme. Underlying this was the fact that Labour policy was swinging to increasing acknowledgement of owner occupation as a "natural" form of tenure and to a stress on improvement rather than clearance (Merrett, 1979: 255-259).

The Conservative government elected in 1970 claimed in its White Paper Fair deal for Housing (DOE, 1971) that its proposals represented a radical change in housing policy - that housing subsidies were indiscriminate and not concentrated on those which really needed them. This view was implemented in the Housing Finance Act of 1972

which imposed a system of Fair rents on local authority tenants. introduced a national rent rebate and rent allowance scheme administered by local authorities and aimed at phasing out all subsidies except for slum clearance and rising cost subsidies. "Local authorities were thus being made to discharge their housing responsibilities increasingly on a commercial basis." (Balchin. 1981: 118)

In 1974 a Labour Government was returned to power, but the national economy was in a most critical condition (Merrett. 1979: 265). The Housing Rents and Subsidies Act of 1975 attempted to repeal the Housing Finance Act in accordance with election pledges, but the national rent rebate and rent allowance schemes remained. Financial crises once again led to the cutting of housing expenditure (Merrett. 1979: 267). A major review of housing finance was initiated by Crosland in 1977 but failed to provide an adequate analysis or to challenge common assumptions. In particular it assumed the view that home ownership was the "basic and natural desire" for most people (DOE. 1977: 50). This inevitably meant that council housing was increasingly seen to fulfil only a residual function of providing for those who cannot help themselves. Proposals were included to make the lot of the council tenant better through a 'Tenants Charter' which aimed to give council tenants more rights and greater control over their own environment (Merrett. 1979: 273).

Both these themes were taken up and amplified by the

Conservative's Housing Act 1980 which pushed ahead with home ownership by forcing local authorities to sell council housing while at the same time paying lip service to tenants rights by introducing a form of 'Tenants Charter'. By the early 1980s the governments intention to cut public sector expenditure and to promote home ownership were bringing about substantial changes in the housing scene. (See. for example, Cooper, 1985: 65-82).

Housing Administration 1960 to the 1980s

Housing administration in this period was subjected to a number of often conflicting pressures. Slum clearance, as we have seen, was being wound down by the 1970s but a number of critiques of this policy and of housing departments' part in it were published in the 1970s and 80s for example Coates & Silburn (1980), Muchnick (1970). The odium of housing departments' involvement in what was now seen often as an unpopular policy still clung and in some authorities the battle of clearance versus redevelopment was still being fought. Impersonal large scale management of people was one of the issues being attacked in many of these critiques. (For example Lambert, Paris & Blackaby, 1978).

Housing departments were growing much larger. Local government reform in London in 1965 and in the rest of the country in 1974 meant that the size of departments often multiplied by three or four times. Given that the administration had often been under strain on the old departments this increase in size produced severe problems in the delivery of services and the accusation that there were not enough trained staff with adequate

experience to cope with it. Growing size led to increasing pressures for efficiency. (See for example Laffin, 1986: 108.109 for an account of this period. Interviewees often commented unfavourably on the effect of local government reorganisation on the efficiency and service to the public of housing organisations). On the other hand there were growing criticisms of a number of aspects of housing department's work, in particular paternalism. Increased activity in the tenants' movement, consumerism and the higher standards of post-war education all played their part in the demands for more freedom and rights for tenants.

Shelter's publications, for example "Homes fit for heroes" (Griffiths, 1975) criticised council housing management on many grounds - lack of rights, lack of choice in allocations, restrictive tenancy conditions. In addition housing departments were often criticised for discriminatory and judgmental attitudes to the homeless, both before and after the passing of the 1977 Housing Homeless Persons Act (see for example Greve, 1971; Glastonbury, 1971). Efficiency in such services as repairs was also under attack (NCC, 1979). At the same time there was pressure for housing departments to extend their scope with ideas of the comprehensive housing service.

The Seebohm report in 1968 had argued for the development of a comprehensive housing service in which local authorities should take the broadest view of their responsibilities and be concerned with housing in all

sectors and with differing ways of assisting people in housing difficulties. This argument was strengthened as rehabilitation policy meant that housing authorities had to get increasingly involved with rehabilitation the private and owner occupied sectors. The old concentration on the building and management of local authority estates was seen to be no longer the answer. The Cullingworth Committee (MHLG, 1969) endorsed this view which was taken up by central government. London boroughs like Lambeth began to introduce the ideas of housing aid centres and a more comprehensive approach (Laffin, 1986: 91). Although subsequently the idea of the comprehensive housing service has been criticised on the grounds that local authorities are unable to influence many aspects of the housing market (Harloe, Issacharoff & Minns, 1974), it remained into the 1980s the formal pattern to which housing departments were meant to conform.

The final change of the 1960s and 70s was the growth in housing association scope and size. Although housing associations accounted for only just over 2 per cent of the total stock of dwellings they became increasingly important in the 1970s both in an accelerated rate of new build and in rehabilitation work (Balchin, 1981: 139). Because associations were beginning to receive more help from public money the government stepped in to try to improve standards of management. After the 1974 Housing Act associations had to be registered with the Housing Corporation to receive public money; but more generous grants were also available which led to a rapid expansion (Short, 1982: 191, 192). Although there are over 2,000

housing associations in the United Kingdom by 1979 only 20% of those had paid staff full-time. Only 30 owned more than 1,000 dwellings (Balchin, 1981: 140). The period of increased activity for housing associations meant new opportunities for staff (Allen, 1981: 123-181).

9.3 CHIEF OFFICERS

9.3.1 Statistics on Chief Housing Officers

The Municipal Year Book lists Chief Officers each year so this can provide one source of more continuous data. But it did not start listing Housing Managers and Officers until 1955 so it is impossible to get any overall information prior to that date. There are other problems with this source (for example, it is not compulsory for local authorities to be entered though most of them are from year to year). The next problem is that local government was reorganised in 1965 for London and 1974 outside of London. The effects of this reorganisation are relevant to this discussion. But prior to 1974 outside of London housing was the responsibility of a large number of authorities some of them being rural and urban districts with very small housing stock. Although the Municipal Year Book does mention, regarding some of these authorities, that the person listed was the Borough Treasurer Town Clerk or Medical Officer of Health it seems likely that in other cases the person listed might well be someone who did not have housing as their sole responsibility (for example because the address given is an environmental health department and combination of these duties was quite common). Also the number of women employed outside of London was relatively small. Because

of this and the large numbers involved it does not therefore seem worthwhile to analyse figures for men and women chief officers in the smaller districts outside London until after 1974.

In the London area a longitudinal analysis is possible but still has its complications. Prior to 1965 the London authorities listed as such are, the Metropolitan boroughs inside the LCC area and the LCC itself. After 1965, the London authorities are the London boroughs, within the much larger Greater London area, and the GLC itself. The London boroughs after 1965 were much larger, typically swallowing up two or three Metropolitan boroughs or other types of previous authority. The other previous authorities within the new GLC area (in some cases County boroughs, or urban districts) are not included in the pre-1965 analysis. So in the historical comparison the metropolitan boroughs are being compared with the larger London boroughs which cover a more extensive area. Nevertheless, since part of the focus of interest is the difference which size makes to the presence of women managers it is worth studying these statistics, and particular attention will be paid to the London ones.

9.3.2 The Local Authorities in London

Table 9.1 looks at the distribution of men and women Chief Housing Officers in the London region between 1955 to 1984. Because the analysis is time consuming, four separate dates have been chosen. These are 1955 (the earliest date for which the information is available), 1964, immediately before reorganisation, 1966, just after

reorganisation and 1984. the end of the period under consideration in Chapters Eight and Nine. The 1955 data has been used because it is the earliest to hand and helps to illustrate the extent to which a long term trend is being revealed. Table 9.1 shows very clearly that the number of women Chief Housing Officers in London was already dropping prior to 1964. 42% women in 1955 had already dropped to 21% women in 1964. But the drop is even more abrupt between 1964 and 1966. down to 7% in 1964. illustrating the importance of local government reorganisation. The position did not recover and by 1984 there was only one woman chief officer left.

TABLE 9.1

MEN AND WOMEN CHIEF HOUSING OFFICERS IN LONDON*
1955, 1964, 1966 and 1984

Year	Met/London Boroughs listed as having Chief Housing Officer	Men	Women	% Women
1955	27	19	8	42%
1964	28	23	5	21%
1966	28	26	2	7%
1984	34	33	1	3%

*London here means: prior to 1965, the Metropolitan Boroughs and the LCC; after 1965 the London Boroughs, the GLC and the City of London Corporation.

Source: Municipal Year Books for 1955, 1964, 1966 & 1984

This data then illustrates a number of points. It tends to confirm the interviewees' comment that most of the strength of the Society was in London, as it shows quite a respectable share of the higher posts in 1955. Earlier Chapters have illustrated how some of these posts had become occupied by women prior to 1939 while others had become established during the Second World War. All except one of these women managers in 1955 were members of the Society. But 1955 probably represents the culmination of this trend. By 1964, as Table 9.1 shows, the number had already dropped. Moreover all five of the women in post in 1964 had been in post in 1955 - no new appointment of a woman manager had been made.

The London data therefore suggest that the changes going on in housing and local government had already begun to disadvantage women prior to 1964 and local government reorganisation accelerated this trend. What were the relevant changes? The early Sections of Chapter Seven and this Chapter have described the growth of housing departments in the post-war period both in terms of stock of housing managed and later in terms of the scope of their functions with the advent of the idea of the comprehensive housing service. The growth in size was accelerated by the reorganisation into much larger authorities. Taken in conjunction with stereotyped views about what women can and cannot do (outlined in the previous Chapter) this growth could seriously disadvantage women.

9.3.3 Chief Housing Officers outside London

Because of the problems over the listing of smaller authorities prior to 1965 Table 9.2 compares the figures for Housing Managers and Officers of municipal corporations in 1955 with those for all District Councils in 1976 (after reorganisation) and 1984. So conclusions must be limited. Perhaps all that can be said is that it demonstrates a similar pattern of the proportion of women reducing when the size of authorities increased. It is clear that women Chief Officers were always rarer outside London. In 1955 there were 31 women Housing Managers and Officers of municipal corporations out of a total of 306 authorities of this type. But the 1955 figures for these authorities at 10% women chief officers is quite healthy, while post-reorganisation the figure for all district councils is 4% followed by 2.8% in 1984.

TABLE 9.2

MEN AND WOMEN CHIEF HOUSING OFFICERS

Year	Total Listed	Men	Women	% Women
<u>Municipal Corporations</u>				
1955	337	306	31	9.2%
<u>District Councils</u>				
1976	-	-	-	4%
1984	325	316	9	2.8%

Source: 1955 and 1984 data: Municipal Year Books, 1955, 1976 and 1984. (Only those authorities listed where it was possible to identify gender of postholder have been included.)
1976 data Brion & Tinker (1980).

It is worth noting at this point that the statistics for women Chief Officers, particularly those from London, illuminate the figures we have already studied for the Institute Council and Fellows of the Institute. We have already seen that it was Chief Officers who tended to be elected to Institute Council: if the number of Chief Officers was low this tended to reduce the pool available for election. Similarly Fellows tended to be the more senior members of the profession: if the proportion of women senior officers was dropping the fact that the Proportion of Fellows of the Institute who were women has dropped and the number has not recovered correlates with this.

9.3.4 The NFHA Council

It is not possible to get any useable list of Chief Officers of Housing Associations until the advent of registration with the Housing Corporation in 1974. Even then there are problems because of ambiguities of titles and the fact that some housing associations are very small. However, it was felt worthwhile to look at the one record which does go back over a period of time - the membership of the Council of the NFHA. - as a source of evidence about the standing of women in the housing association world. The National Federation of Housing Societies was

"formed in 1935 partly at the request of the (then) Minister of Health, to take over the work previously carried out by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and to co-ordinate and make representations on behalf of the 35 Societies then in existence and affiliated to it ..." (NFHA, 1958)

It remains the officially recognised body representing housing associations. This data is open to some of the

same objections as the Institute of Housing Council data - membership of the Federation was voluntary and the make-up of the council reflects only those who were elected. But it does provide some continuous data which can logically be held to reflect the standing and influence of women in the housing association world, particularly since the Federation always had a good membership from the larger associations.

Table 9.3 shows once again a relative decline in the influence of women in the 1970s. While women were never very heavily represented on the NFHA council they formed usually in the 1930s about a quarter of the membership of council, and at certain times - the 1940s and 1950s - up to a third. As the Table shows the proportion of Council members who were women began to fall in the 1960s with a more marked fall in the early 1970s, reaching its lowest point in 1974, with no women members of council. This has a close correspondence with the movements in the proportion of women on the Institute of Housing Council. Again, there is some revival by the early 1980s up to 17% in 1984, though not yet back to the level of the 1950s.

TABLE 9.3
MEN AND WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NFHA
1936 - 1984

Year	Total	Men	Women	% Women
1936	18	14	4	22
1937	17	12	5	29
1938	20	15	5	25
1939	21	15	6	29
1940	21	15	6	29
1941	21	15	6	29
1942	21	15	6	29
1943	21	15	6	29
1944	21	15	6	29
1945	20	14	6	30
1946	18	13	5	28
1947	20	16	4	20
1948	20	16	4	20
1949	20	16	4	20
1950	20	16	4	20
1951	19	14	5	26
1952	20	14	6	30
1953	20	14	6	30
1954	20	14	6	30
1955	21	14	7	33
1956	21	15	6	29
1957	21	15	6	29
1958	19	13	6	32
1959	19	13	6	32
1960	21	14	7	33
1961	21	16	5	24
1962	23	19	4	17
1963	24	20	4	17
1964	25	21	4	16
1965	25	21	4	16
1966	25	21	4	16
1967	23	18	5	22
1968	23	18	5	21
1969	25	21	4	16
1970	23	20	3	13
1971	21	20	1	4
1972	23	22	1	4
1973	20	19	1	5
1974	21	21	0	0
1975	22	21	1	4
1976	21	19	2	9
1977	21	19	2	9
1978	23	20	3	8
1979	24	22	2	8
1980	26	24	2	8
1981	30	26	4	22
1982	32	27	5	17
1983	37	32	5	14
1984	30	25	5	17

Source: Copies of Council membership in Annual Reports supplied by NFHA. Members and Chairman have been counted but not Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

9.4 THE STAFF STUDY SURVEY

9.4.1 The organisation of the Survey

This survey was part of the Education and Training for Housing Work Project, financed by the Department of the Environment and carried out at The City University 1975-77. The Staff Study (Education and Training for Housing Work Project, 1977) was carried out in 12 organisations, 6 housing departments and 6 housing associations. The organisations were not chosen by random methods. The departments were chosen to represent different types of authority and geographical areas, the associations to represent the larger ones with paid staff, but otherwise to represent different types and geographical areas. In the Staff Study information about the age, grade and sex of all staff was obtained from records and more detailed information obtained from a stratified sample of 795 staff. It is largely this information which is used here. Although the sample is large it is not a random sample which means that its representativeness cannot be estimated. However it is the only source for this range of information at this date.

In order to ensure an adequate representation of each grade within the sample, the sample was disproportionately stratified. But since our main concentration is on the proportions of men and women in each stratum the method of stratification does not create undue difficulties.

The achieved sample contained 449 staff in departments of whom 189 (42 per cent) were women and 346 staff in departments of whom 205 (59 per cent) were women.

9.4.2 Full and part-time employment in the Staff Study Organisations

Of the staff in the sample only 5% were part-time. Nearly four fifths of these part-time staff were in associations. and two thirds in large associations. They formed 10% of association staff in the sample, but only 2% of department staff. The distribution of part-time staff was, as shown in Table 9.4. predominantly on administrative and clerical grades. This survey did not analyse the proportions of men and women in part-time work.

TABLE 9.4
DISTRIBUTION OF PART-TIME STAFF
IN THE STAFF STUDY, BY GRADE

PO	2%
AP 4-5	2%
AP 1-3 and clerical	84%
Other	7%
Volunteers	5%

(For salary equivalents of grades see below).

Source: Education and Training
for Housing Work Project, 1977: 10.

9.4.3 Grades of men and women in the Staff Study organisations.

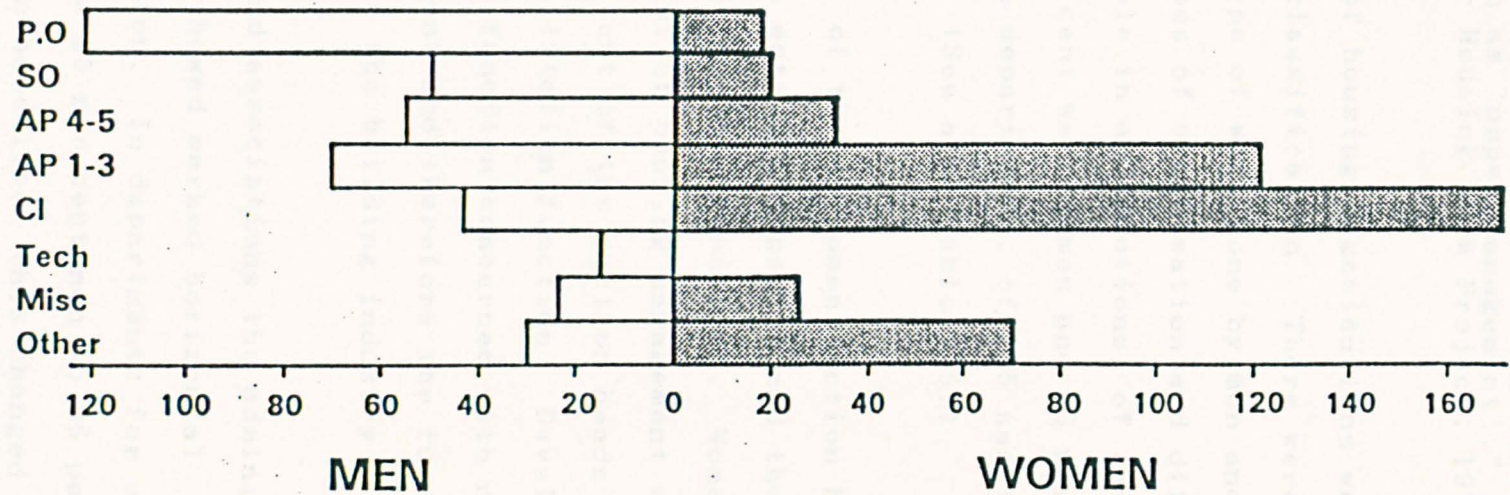
The position of men and women was analysed in terms of local authority grades and housing association employees were amalgamated into appropriate grades by salary. The scale used is shown below.

Clerical	Clerical workers up to £3.500
AP1-3	£3.900 to £5.700
AP 4-5	£5.200 to £6.600
APSO	£6.600 onwards
PO	£7.000 onwards

Where there was overlap on the local authority scales the attempt was made to allocate housing association jobs to the right level since, for example, the difference between AP 1-3 and AP 4-5 was that the latter tended to have supervisory or other extra responsibilities.

Figure 9.1 shows the distribution by grade of men and women in the Staff Study sample. The most important fact is that although there were many women employed in these organisations they were generally at lower grades than men. For example, of the 124 staff in the sample at Principal Officer level and above, 91 per cent were men and only 9 per cent women. On the other hand at clerical level, of the 213 staff 22 per cent were men and 78 per cent were women. The middle level administrative and professional grades were more evenly distributed but with men still predomination on the higher grades. (Staff study data published in Brion and Tinker, 1980: 49)

FIGURE 9.1
DISTRIBUTION BY GRADE OF MEN AND WOMEN
in a sample of 12 housing organisations



Source: Housing Staff Survey
City University 1977

(From original data)
(Housing Work Project 1977)

9.4.4 The types of work done by men and women

The Staff Study looked at both level and the function in which staff were working.

"To distinguish the main different levels of responsibility, we identified staff below section head level as 'basic', section heads as making up the important level of 'middle management' and all staff above them as 'upper management'." (Education and Training for Housing Work Project, 1977: 6)

The major functions of housing organisations were also used as a basis for classification. There were differences in the type of work done by men and women, between different types of organisation and different functions. For example in associations, of the 68 section heads 35 per cent were women and 65 per cent men. On the other hand, in departments, of 105 section heads only 15% were women. (See also Table 9.5.)

In terms of function, of the 40 women section heads, 29 (73 per cent) were in estate management and they were less well represented in other functions. Women constituted 15 per cent of housing management section heads and only 7 per cent of the section heads in the development and rehabilitation function. Development and rehabilitation is the function concerned with new building and improvement and therefore the function most closely concerned with the building industry.

In both departments and associations the administration and finance function showed marked horizontal occupational segregation. In departments for example at basic level there were 15 per cent men to 85 per cent women while at section head level this changed to 87 per

cent men to 13 per cent women (Staff Study data as published in Brion and Tinker, 1980: 51; and Education and Training for Housing Work, 1977: 15). Thus, the work done by men and women in housing organisations showed both a separation in the level of responsibility (which is of course reflected in the differences in grade discussed earlier) and a separation in terms of job function, with some functions, such as development, being more male dominated than others such as housing management.

TABLE 9.5
PERCENTAGES OF STAFF ON DIFFERENT GRADES
IN THE STAFF STUDY

	Departments		Associations	
	All Staff %	Respondents only %	All Staff %	Respondents only %
PO+	7	15	13	16
SO	4	9	6	7
AP	48	29	32	36
Clerical	25	29	22	25
Technical	1	3	0	0
Miscellaneous	8	9	0	0
Others	7	6	27	16
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
No. in Sample	1,106	449	675	346

Source: Education and Training for Housing Work Project, 1977: 10.

9.4.5 Educational qualifications and grade

Another striking finding of the survey was in regard to the relationship between educational qualifications and grade, though the sample numbers were small here. Of the 31 'qualified' men in the sample, 22 had reached grades

of PO and above. But only 8 out of the 18 qualified women had reached these grades, indicating a significantly lower level of achievement in terms of work grade (Education and Training for Housing Work, 1977: 52).

9.4.6 Age of men and women in the sample

Table 9.6 shows the age distribution of men and women in the sample. The major difference is the smaller proportion of women in the 30-39 year old age group. This is not surprising in view of current patterns of child rearing but can have considerable effect on women's careers (see Section Seven of this Chapter).

TABLE 9.6
THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN
IN THE STAFF STUDY SAMPLE AMONG THE AGE GROUPS
IN DEPARTMENTS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Age	Departments		Associations		Total	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Below 20	1	5	0	4	1	5
20 - 24	7	16	11	19	8	17
25 - 29	17	13	24	25	19	19
30 - 34	11	7	13	6	11	6
35 - 39	7	8	8	5	10	6
40 - 44	9	12	11	10	9	11
45 - 49	13	11	15	16	14	13
50 - 54	14	16	5	6	11	11
55 - 59	14	9	7	6	11	8
60 - 64	7	1	2	2	5	2
65 & over	0	0	4	1	1	1
None stated	0	2	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. in Sample	260	189	141	205	401	394

Source: Education and Training for Housing Work Project, 1977: 16

9.5 THE NFHA STUDY

9.5.1 The survey method

The NFHA survey was the first large scale survey of housing employment since the "Staff Study" and it is therefore a very valuable source of data. It was carried out in the first half of 1984 and the author was at that time part of the NFHA working party which helped to plan that survey. A postal questionnaire, concentrating mainly on employment issues, but touching also on the composition of management committees, was sent to all NFHA member associations which employed 5 or more full time staff. Out of 188 associations 137 usable replies were received (73% response rate). This survey is therefore well representative of housing associations. At the same time the NFHA carried out a review of the career patterns of a sample of staff who had attended NFHA seminars and a review of current recruitment practice by following up a selection of advertisements for housing association jobs. A major report with practical recommendations was subsequently published (NFHA, 1985).

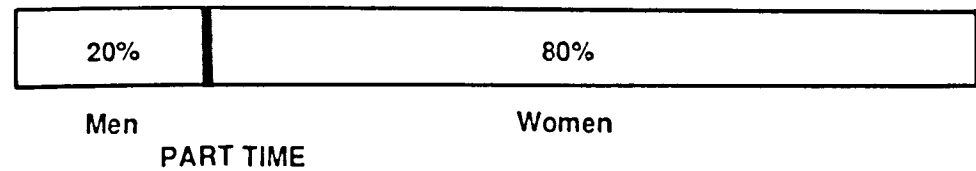
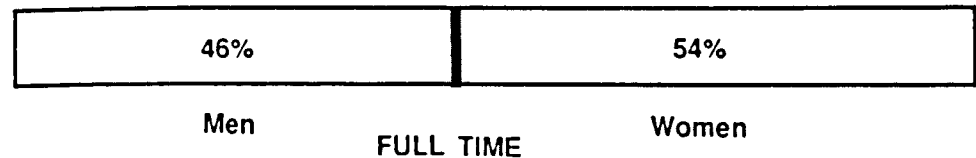
The tables in the following Section have been recalculated from raw data since the information was not usually shown in this form in the NFHA publications. The data sources were checked with NFHA staff responsible and it was established that because associations did not always complete all sections of the questionnaire there are some discrepancies between figures given at different stages. It should therefore be noted that in the tables the figures given for full-time and part-time employees sometimes vary. For the overall figures the ones

regarded as the most accurate by NFHA staff have been taken.

9.5.2 Full and part-time employment in housing associations.

Figure 9.2 shows that there were a total of 7,146 employees of which 4,675 (65%) were full-time and 2,471 (35%) were part-time. Housing associations thus employed a substantial numbers of part-time staff and, as the Figure shows. 80% of these were women.

Figure 9.2 Women and men in full time employment in Housing Associations (1984).



Source - NFHA Survey of Housing Associations (1984).

9.5.3 Salaries of men and women in housing associations

Salaries for full-time and part-time employees were analysed separately (Table 9.7.). This table and the graph given in Figure 9.3 show clearly that women generally have lower salaries than men.

TABLE 9.7
SALARIES OF MEN AND WOMEN EMPLOYED
IN HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS, 1984

Salary Band	Men No.	%	Women No.	%	Total
<u>Full-Time Employees</u>					
Up to £2,500	47	26	133	74	180
£2,501 to £5,000	280	18	1,248	82	1,528
£5,001 to £7,500	837	52	766	48	1,603
£7,501 to £10,000	599	66	305	34	904
£10,001 to £12,500	335	73	113	25	448
£12,501 to £15,000	132	89	17	11	149
Over £15,000	92	89	11	11	103

TOTAL	2,322	47	2,593	53	4,915
<u>Part-Time Employees in Housing Associations</u>					
Up to £2,500	372	18	1,666	82	2,038
£2,501 to £5,000	62	22	216	78	278
£5,001 to £7,500	22	55	18	45	40
£7,501 to £10,000	9		7		16
£10,001 to £12,500	3		2		5
£12,501 to £15,000	2		0		2
Over £15,000	0		0		0

TOTAL	470	20	1,909	80	2,379

Source: NFHA, Survey of Housing Associations 1984

FIGURE 9.3

DISTRIBUTION BY SALARY BAND OF MEN & WOMEN

IN HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS, 1984

(Full-time employees)



Source: NFHA Survey 1984

Though there are slightly more women than men employed in housing associations full time, those on the higher salary bands are predominantly men. For example, of the employees earning 2.501 to 5.000, 82% are women. But in the top salary bands. 12.501 upwards. 89% of employees are men. The NFHA. data, like the staff study, shows clearly the crossover point where a near equality of men and women employed changes to a majority of men. In housing association terms this is shown between the band 5.001 to 7.500 (52% men to 48% women) and 7.501 up to 10.000 (66% men and 34% women).

The information produced by the NFHA survey was even more striking because people working in housing associations had often assumed that women were better off there than in housing departments. Also it showed that the situation had not improved much by 1984. Even those women who had managed to get through to the 15.000 plus level were in a different position from the men - they were more likely to be the sole senior employee in a small association rather than one of a number of employees at that level in a large association.

The information on full-time employees quite clearly demonstrates that women are not just simply on the lower salary bands because they work part-time. The information on part-time employees (Table 9.7) shows how low their salaries are. with the largest group of women (1.666) earning less than 2.500 per year. As Table 9.7 also shows. the differential between men and women was even maintained in part-time employment. Of 2038 in the lowest salary band 82% were women, while in the band earning 5.001 to 7.500 only 45% were women. The two

part-time employees earning 12,801 to 15,000 were, not surprisingly, men. One effect of social roles on women's employment is that more women break their careers and stay at home to look after young children and return to work part-time. This study provides confirmation that in housing, as in other occupations, part time salaries are generally low.

9.5.4 The types of work done by men and women in housing associations

The NFHA has a standard categorisation of job function and job level (shown in Figure 9.4) which it uses in a number of statistical returns and which is therefore familiar to housing associations. This categorisation was used to examine differences in the work done by men and women in the survey. The results are shown in Table 9.8. Figure 9.5 compares selected job levels in major functions. The Table shows very clearly not only the disproportionate distribution of men and women through the different job levels (which correlates with but extends the information on salary bands), but also the clustering of women in certain functions of the organisation. For example women are present in the finance and administration function, but at the administrative level (i.e. clerical and administrative work) 88% are women. At the professional level the numbers of men and women are roughly equal but at the managerial level only 22% are women. In development on the other hand (concerned with new building and conversion) women only constitute 29% overall and are again mainly clustered at the administrative level (being 79% of the staff there). Women are represented at the

professional level in development but only as 19% of the staff and at managerial level 10% of staff. Even so, given the traditional 'male' nature of the building industry, women may be doing better in this function in housing associations than in general employment.

FIGURE 9. 4

NFHA CLASSIFICATION OF JOB FUNCTION AND JOB LEVEL

Definition of Job Level

Manual - Mainly concerned with performing a job that involves physical effort or skill, e.g. maintenance worker, caretaker.

Care - Mainly concerned with providing a human being to assist others when needed. The job may have administrative elements but it is not essentially clerical or requiring any particular previous education or training or work experience, e.g. warden of a sheltered housing scheme for the elderly.

Admin - Mainly an office based job involving skills found in any office environment and not especially related to the provision of housing.

Professional - Mainly a job involving particular expertise, which for the individual to be fully effective will usually involve a combination of formal training and experience on the job. The individuals may well have professional qualifications but this is itself necessary. (Also included in this category are jobs which, while when first appointed the individual might not meet all the requirements she/he is likely to after gaining a degree of experience within the association.) Jobs in this category might include buyer, housing officer or assistant.

Managerial - A job that is achieved mainly through the work of other people employed by the association rather than mainly through her/his own effort. Thus, the head of a development section with two buyers and three development officers plus clerical support would fall into this category, whereas a one-person development officer with perhaps just a single clerical officer reporting to her/him would fit more appropriately in the professional category.

Definition of Job Function

Finance and Administration - Letting, rent collection (but not necessarily ACCOUNTING IF DEALT WITH SEPARATELY), arrears control, maintenance work.

Development - Buyer, design and control of development process (including architects and clerk of works who are employed by associations), special projects officers, major repair works if dealt with separately.

Welfare - People concerned with providing additional caring services to tenants beyond the basic shelter, e.g. wardens, residential hostel staff.

Overall Management - People concerned with overall running of association not included in any of the above categories; for example, the Chief Executive, but also his/her secretary, area managers, etc.

Source: NFMA

TABLE 9.8

MEN AND WOMEN EMPLOYED IN HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS BY FUNCTION AND JOB LEVEL
(Full-time staff only)

		Finance & Admin.		Housing Management		Development		Welfare		Overall Management		Other		Total	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Manual	No	1	2.0	698.0	68	4.0	0.0	10	13	0.0	0	59	10	772	93
	%			91.0	9									89	11
Care	No	0	0.0	22.0	597	0.0	0.0	21	240	0.0	9	10	34	53	880
	%			4.0	96			8	91					6	94
Professional	No	89	86.5	374.3	275	281.3	66.5	4	6	35.3	14	27	4	811	452
	%	51	49.0	58.0	42	81.0	19.0			72.0	28			64	36
Managerial	No	62	17.0	108.0	47	60.0	7.0	2	0	111.0	24	7	5	350	100
	%	76	22.0	70.0	30	90.0	10.0			82.0	18			78	22
Administration	No	54	379.0	105.4	304	18.4	68.0	2	43	1.2	81	0	8	181	883
	%	12	88.0	26.0	74	21.0	79.0							17	83
Other	No	6	14.0	7.0	36	2.0	7.0	2	7	1.0	4	4	10	22	78
TOTAL															
TOTAL	No	212	498.5	1314.7	1327	365.7	148.5	41	309	148.5	132	107	71	2189	2486
	%	30	70.0	50.0	50	71.0	29.0	12	88	53.0	47	60	40	47	53

Source: NFHA. Survey of Housing Associations 1984

The housing management function with an overall 50/50 split between men and women does to some extent reflect the historical presence of women in housing associations described earlier in this thesis. But even at professional level they are slightly outnumbered by men - again somewhat of a surprise in view of current assumptions about housing association employment. There are more women at the 'care' level in housing management. These are probably wardens of sheltered housing and were in fact overwhelmingly employed by certain associations for the aged who use resident management. Of the large number of manual employees 91% are men - probably caretakers, gardeners and maintenance workers. But even in housing management two thirds of the managerial level jobs are held by men.

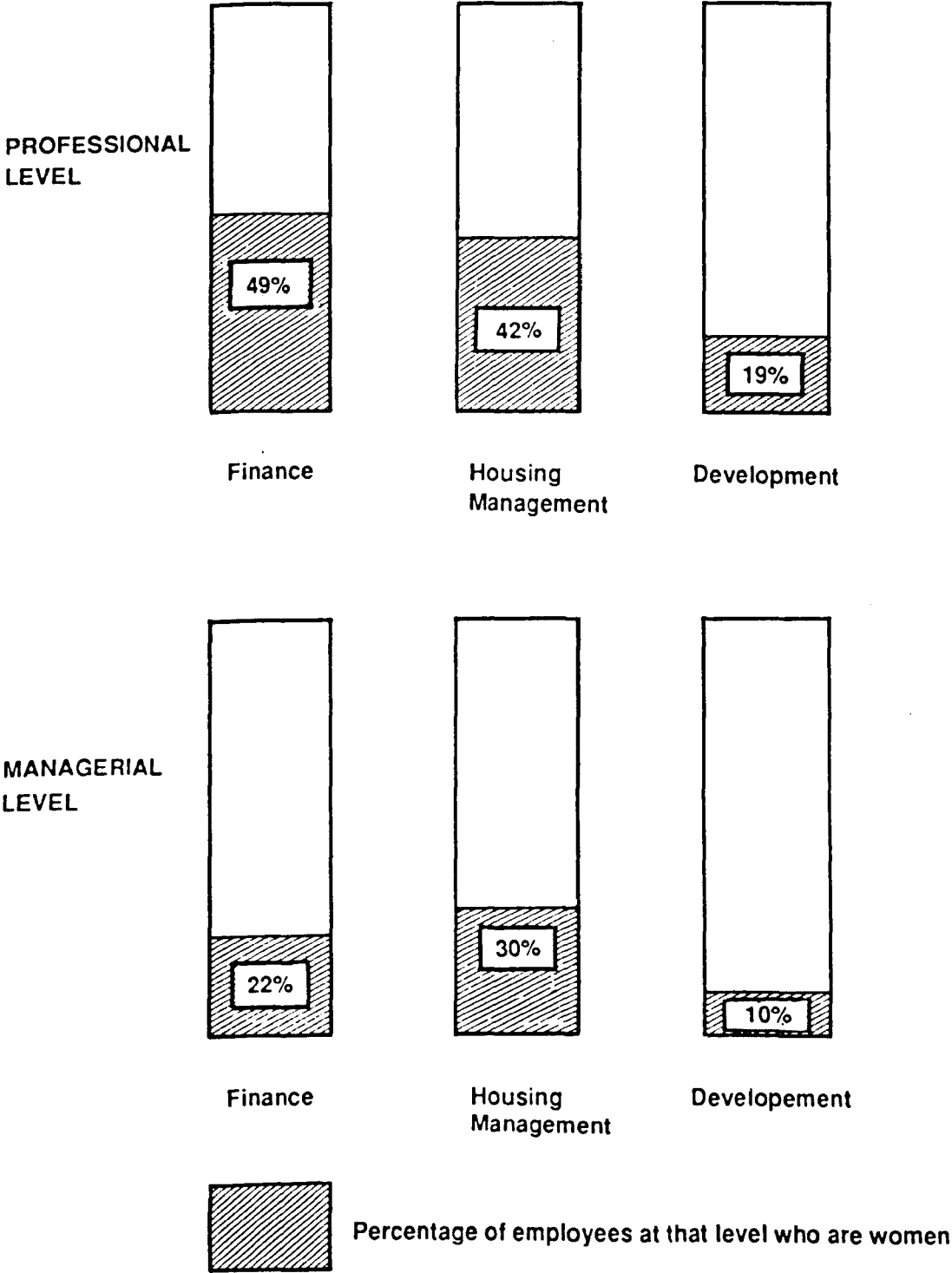
The welfare function reflects the traditional prominence of women in caring jobs - with 88% of the staff women and 91% of the staff at "care" level being women. Given post-war developments in men entering nursing it is perhaps surprising that the proportion is so high - though perhaps less surprising that the two managerial staff are both men.

The function classification 'overall management' reflects the fact that certain jobs are concerned with the overall management of the organisation. In this function 28% of staff at professional level are women but only 18% of staff at managerial level are women. This confirms the picture given by the salary information that the top management of housing associations is largely male.

Figure 9.5 attempts to make more explicit the contrast between different functions of housing associations by taking three functions - finance, development and housing management - and looking at the proportions of male and female staff at professional and managerial level in each of these. At professional level, finance has the highest percentage of women staff, closely followed by housing management with 42%. The percentage of female professional staff in development is much lower (19%). At managerial level the balance between finance and housing management is reversed with women forming 30% of managerial staff. This could be a result of historical trends with women's past predominance in housing management reflected in the higher proportion at managerial level while women's current advances in finance at professional level are not yet reflected at managerial level, but the evidence is not conclusive. But once again development shows the lowest percentage: only 10% of managers in this function are women.

The NFHA data is thus very useful in demonstrating not only the lack of women at managerial level in housing associations but also the fact that women are distributed through job levels and functions in a way that reflects traditionally stereotyped views of the kinds of work done by men and women. It demonstrates that even at professional level in housing associations women were not doing as well as might be assumed from their being employed at that level. In two functions - finance and development - which had been regarded as male preserves in the past, women might be doing better in housing associations than in general employment and this point

Figure 9.5 Comparison of the proportion of women at professional and managerial levels in three functions of Housing Associations.



Source - NFHA Survey of Housing Associations (1984).

will be further discussed in Section Nine.

9.5.5 Comparison of the Staff Study and NFHA data

There are several important factors which could give rise to differences between the two sets of data. The Staff Study was conducted in 1977, the NFHA survey in 1984. The Staff Study was a sample of only twelve departments and associations, the NFHA survey represented the population proportions. These last two factors, for example, probably help to account for the difference in the proportion of part-time staff in the Staff Study housing associations sample (10%) and the NFHA, (35%). The structure of the Staff Study sample would over represent the higher grades, where there are less part-time staff. The sample also did not include one or two large associations which employ very large numbers of part-time staff. One cannot rule out the possibility that there has been an increase in part-time working as this has happened more generally (Martin & Roberts, 1984: 1), but it should not be concluded by comparing the two surveys alone.

It is not therefore useful to investigate the reasons for small differences in the findings of the two surveys and the most important aspect for this study is the consistency between the two surveys in the picture given of women's disadvantage in housing employment.

The surveys confirm that women are generally on lower grades or salaries than men, have less responsibility and opportunity for leadership. In addition there is a

tendency for women to be better represented in functions such as housing management than in development. There was more ambiguity about administration and finance function with the NFHA survey suggesting that women were improving their position in this function. The women in the NFHA survey appeared to be doing slightly better than those in the Staff Study in terms of grade but it is impossible to tell whether this difference is due to sampling differences, the passage of time, or the difference between departments and associations.

9.6 SUMMARY OF THE INFORMATION ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN HOUSING

The information on the broader picture of women's employment in housing is fragmented and not continuous over the period. Nevertheless it does provide some useful background to the Institute statistics discussed in the previous Chapter. The information from the Staff Study and the NFHA survey demonstrate that large numbers of women are employed in housing but predominately at the lower levels and in housing management and welfare rather than the more technical and financial sections. The data on chief officers confirms the low numbers of women in senior positions after 1970 but indicates that there was a higher proportion of women in senior posts prior to 1970 especially in the London area. This data fits very well with the Institute data showing a decline in women's representation on Council and in the number of women Fellows, both of which were connected with the presence of women in more senior positions. It confirms the implication from the Institute data that at least by 1984 the proportion of women in the most senior positions in

housing had not started to increase significantly. It also tends to confirm the hypothesis that sex role stereotyping has an effect on the kind of job functions in which women are most likely to be employed in housing.

Having established some basic evidence about the employment of women in housing over this period of time it is necessary to consider whether or not the existence of the Society of Housing Managers and its amalgamation with the Institute of Housing had any effect on this. The arguments are necessarily complex.

It is logical, first of all, to establish whether the trends in housing employment over this period correspond to general trends in women's employment. This is done in Section Seven. Its first sub-section looks at general trends in women's labour market, participation rates and the second sub-section examines data on occupational segregation. Its third sub-section deals with the general reasons for women's disadvantage in employment (apart from sex role stereotyping which has been considered in the previous Chapter).

Section Eight then attempts to identify whether there were specific changes in housing organisations which would particularly affect women. Changes in the size of housing organisations and changes in the style of operation are discussed and difference between organisations explored.

The previous evidence has established that the sex role stereotyping factors affecting women in housing were

likely to be those connected with technical (predominantly building) matters and those concerned with finance. Section Nine of the Chapter therefore examines a small number of other professions concerned with building or finance to see whether they show the same trends over the period of time that housing does.

The final Section of the Chapter sums up what has been learnt from this evidence and identifies the likely causes for the specific changes observed in housing.

9.7 GENERAL FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT, 1955 TO THE 1980s

9.7.1 Participation in the labour force

Although the major changes which are studied in this Chapter occurred in the 1970s it has already been demonstrated that in some cases they were the continuation of longer term trends. It is appropriate therefore to look briefly at the trends since 1945, though concentrating on the period from 1965.

Because of the demand for labour during the second world war women's participation in paid work increased. This was regarded as a temporary measure and at the end of the war there was pressure for men and women to return to their normal roles. Some writers have stressed the extent to which women's participation was rolled back and an attempt made to re-establish traditional values after the war. There was a great stress on "femininity" especially in the 1950s (Birmingham Feminist History Group. 1979: Riley. 1979).

However an economic crisis in 1947 revived the call for women to return to work. though once again this was seen as a temporary measure. Wilson argues that the stereotype which contemporary feminists have developed of women being driven back into the home after the war is incorrect. "Actually women were drawn into the labour force in growing numbers." (Wilson 1980: 188). Joseph (1983) explored the trends in women's employment up to the 1970s. Working from official sources he demonstrated a long term trend of increase in women's participation rates.

He argued that female participation was rising over the whole of this period apart from the under 24 groups where there was a slight decline. The other major trend was that the contribution of single women who had been the major part of the workforce before the war, declined, being replaced by increased participation of married women in the workforce (Joseph. 1983: 68-77).

Joseph stresses three main factors increasing female participation in the labour force over this period: It may have been easier for women to combine work and a family because of increased availability of part-time work or because of more labour saving devices; more women may have wanted to because of changing aspirations to lead a fuller life. a desire to earn more money to attain a higher standard of living. Joseph argued that a definitive study of the relative importance of these factors had not yet been carried out, but referred to the importance of part-time work. Martin and Roberts more

recent work also gives prominence to Joshi's explanation. "In fact almost all the growth in employment from the 1950s onwards can be attributed to the increase in part-time work." (Martin & Roberts, 1984: 1)

A number of writers (for example Barron & Morris, 1976; CIS, 1976) have given prominence to the "reserve army of labour" theory to explain changes in women's participation rates. This stresses that women provide a reserve pool of labour that can be drawn on when the economy is buoyant and to which women are returned when the demand for labour is less. Although the exact application of this theory is subject to much dispute (for example, Bruegel, 1979) it remains a useful commentary and particularly applicable to the changing conditions of the late 1970s and 80s.

The long trend of increased women's participation in the workforce continued into the 1970s, but with some modification by the end of the decade. At this point there was a decline in the participation rates of older men and women and a decline in the participation rate for married women. "Until 1977, labour force participation rates for married women rose steadily from 42% in 1971 to 50% in 1977 But since 1977, the increase stopped and there is even some evidence of a slight fall back in these rates." (Joseph, 1983: 119).

The reasons which Joseph gives for the lower participation of married women after 1977 are first of all the effect of the recession of the late 1970s and secondly an upturn in the birth rate which occurred

around 1977 (Joseph. 1983: 119).

Other writers have stressed the importance both of unemployment and the way in which this is calculated in reducing married women's participation rates. Official statistics tend to underestimate women's unemployment. This is important because women, especially those working part-time, may be the first to be turned off when the available jobs are shrinking (Joshi. 1984). In addition writers have been stressing the extent to which the advent of new technology may disproportionately reduce women's jobs (Bruegel. 1979).

9.7.2 Occupational segregation

It is now well established that it is necessary to look not only at the extent of women's participation in employment but also at the types of jobs they are in.

Occupational segregation - the extent to which jobs or types of jobs are allocated predominantly to one sex is important. Hakim (1979) distinguishes two kinds of occupational segregation - horizontal and vertical.

"Horizontal occupational segregation exists when men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation. Vertical occupational segregation exists when men are most commonly working in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations or vice versa. The two are logically separate."
(Hakim. 1979: 19)

Most commentators have stressed not only that horizontal segregation exists but also that it is a continuing feature of women's employment (for example, Hakim. 1979: 23). Horizontal occupational segregation both reflects and is reinforced by the kind of sex role stereotyping

discussed in the previous Chapter.

The national data quoted by Hakim confirms the predominance of men in the Building Industry - women formed only 0.3% of those employed there in 1971. They did, however, form 3% of painters and decorators.

The NFHA survey showed that it was the development sections, connected with the building trade, which had the lowest proportion of women. Data on the professions examined in Section Nine also shows similar trends.

The national data also shows women's predominance in jobs in nursing (91% of workforce), service (69% of workforce) and clerical jobs (70% of workforce). These aspects are reflected in the NFHA data on welfare and clerical jobs.

Hakim's data also confirms nationally the difference in levels of employment observed in housing.

"Within each occupational group, women tend to be over-represented in the less skilled, lower-status or lower-paid jobs, while men are over-represented in the highly skilled and managerial jobs." (Hakim, 1979: 31)

This vertical occupational segregation is seen in most occupations where women are employed and seems slow to respond to equal opportunities policies.

In looking at the way in which employment changed over time it is worth noting that, as Hakim points out, changes have often been in the direction of greater segregation rather than integration of sexes in the work sphere. For example, about three quarters of all

clerical workers were women in 1971 compared to only 21 per cent in 1911. The proportion of women in managerial and administrative positions or in lower professional and technical occupations actually declined between 1911 and 1961, though 1971 figures suggested that women were regaining some of this ground. Although some improvements occur, changes have tended to cancel themselves out with the result that

"Overall, there has been no change in the degree of occupational concentration, and no change in the degree of occupational segregation, since the turn of the century." (Hakim, 1979: 29)

Martin and Roberts were critical of applying standard occupational classification schemes to women. They therefore worked out their own scheme and used it to compare socio-economic groups of men and women working over a period of time (Martin & Roberts, 1984: 20-33). Their data also indicates overall stability in occupational segregation 1965 - 1980.

The nationally available figures do not therefore indicate any general decline in women's share of professional jobs between 1965 and 1977 which would explain the decline in women's membership of the Institute over that period. However, occupations are diverse, each with varying factors working on them. The following Section looks at the particular factors which might have caused a difference in housing.

9.7.3 General reasons for women's disadvantage in employment

There is now fairly general agreement among writers in the field that the causes of women's disadvantage in

employment are complex and interrelated.

"Economic, psychological, social and cultural factors interact to produce the manifold patterns of discrimination that we have today." (Silverstone and Ward, 1980: 7)

"Central to much of this [research] has been a concern with the relationship between home and work and the way in which women's position in society in general, and in the labour market in particular, is influenced by and influences their reproductive role and their role in the domestic division of labour." (Martin and Roberts, 1984: 1).

In Chapter Eight sex role stereotyping, which is the basic underlying mechanism at work, was discussed. But it is appropriate to look briefly at this stage at important causes of disadvantage, the influence of reproduction and of the career break.

As Martin and Roberts (1984: 1) note, throughout the sixties and seventies there had been a significant rise in the level of economic activity among women. By 1979, 61 per cent of women of working age had a job, compared with 54 per cent in 1971. Most of this rise was accounted for by increasing numbers of women returning to work after having children and taking a shorter time out of the labour market. This gives rise to a bimodal career pattern which is common both to women in this country and the USA. "This has the effect of polarising the female workforce into two age groups - the young and the returners." (Silverstone and Ward, 1980: 10)

However, this does not mean that women compete on equal terms in the labour market. The impact of domestic labour and of childrearing causes many to choose part-time jobs which channel them into low paid work. Even women who have had professional or managerial jobs and

are often better placed for returning, find they are at a disadvantage. They are faced with conflicts over child care and the way that their role is seen in society (Silverstone and Ward, 1980: 17). They may find it difficult to return to jobs at their original level or need retraining (Povall and Hastings, 1982: 1). If they have been absent from employment in their late twenties and early thirties they find that this is a crucial period for promotion and they have missed the boat (Fogarty, Allen & Walters, 1981: 250).

Career paths are important because the bimodal pattern which most women have do not fit into the expected career paths in large organisations which are still too often based on male career patterns (see, for example, Ashridge, 1980: 134.135; Fogarty, Allen & Walters, 1981: 9.10). They may also be based on systems of patronage and influence which are more readily available to men and this disadvantages single as well as married women (Kanter, 1977: 164-165; Cooper & Davidson, 1982: 108-132). The attitudes of senior executives are obviously crucial to appointment and promotion and large numbers of studies have shown how influenced they are by sex role stereotyping and expectations of the way in which women will behave (for example, Cooper & Davidson, 1982; Ashbridge, 1980). The attitudes and behaviour of women themselves are influenced by sex role stereotyping in all kinds of ways. This may result, for example, in many women being less able to push themselves forwards for senior jobs and having less confidence (Ashridge, 1980: 135.136).

Recognition of the complex relationships has meant that writers have increasingly moved from simplistic solutions to spelling out what is needed to achieve more complex ones. These involve changing the social construction of roles and the balance of domestic labour in the home as well as practical issues like improving career choice, part-time work, job sharing, and retraining for women (for example, Silverstone & Ward, 1980: 207-219; Fogarty, Allen & Walters, 1981: 28,29).

9.8 SPECIFIC FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN HOUSING 1945 TO THE 1980s

9.8.1 Change in the size of housing organisations

Some of the evidence already considered has pointed to the probability that change in the size of housing organisations was an important contributing factor in the decline of women's influence.

The statistics which suggest this most strongly are those which relate to Chief Officers, especially Chief Officers in London, and those which relate to housing associations.

Local government reorganisation in 1965 and 1974 created much larger housing departments with a larger range of functions and more often with a higher ranking Chief Officer (Director) in charge. But, as Sections Two and Three have shown, local authority housing departments had already gone through a period of growth with increased public house building after the war and subsequently with the introduction of idea of the comprehensive housing service and the beginnings of moves to widen their

functions. The fact that the decline in the number of women Chief Officers in London was also taking place over this extended period of time indicates that a relationship is likely to exist.

Similarly, a large expansion in properties being developed by housing associations took place over this period. The establishment of the Housing Corporation in 1964 was originally intended to encourage the growth of cost rent and co-ownership societies (Allen, 1981: 61-62). The involvement of members of the housing related professions was encouraged (Allen, 1981: 180) and inevitably the majority of these would have been men. There was also a revival of the more charitable housing associations stirred by concern expressed by campaigning bodies such as 'Shelter'.

"These 1960s associations were different from the old Victorian trusts or even the inter-war associations in that they were launched with little or no capital assets." (Allen, 1981: 64).

"They therefore tended to be much more development orientated and to seek to project a more dynamic image. They were increasingly handling large sums of public money and dealing with the controls that go with this. (Allen, 1981: 101-218).

Subsequently, as governments changed, support for the housing association movement went through a number of changes. The most important was the swing away from the more commercially based associations with open links with developers or professionals because of the abuses this could lead to. This change was enshrined in the 1974 Housing Act which made registration with the Housing Corporation compulsory for any association seeking to receive public funds. The Housing Corporation was given a variety of powers to attempt to ensure sound

administration and financial probity in associations. However Allen's study found that the personnel of some more commercially based associations had not changed substantially although others had changed (Allen, 1981: 159,160).

Why should these changes in size and style of operation of both departments and associations have acted against the participation of women especially at senior level? The answer lies in the effect of sex role stereotyping. The stereotyped view sees women as being less good at management, particularly of large organisations. This outlook was reflected by some of the interviewees: "Women tended to do better in the smaller offices. I don't think on the whole that many women are very good at an enormous canvas." "How far can women really delegate?" These factors would work against women particularly in a major reorganisation. In existing authorities they had established their competence but in coming up against authorities without that tradition the battles had to be fought over again.

"It was an accepted thing in X that there were women housing managers and there had been since... and we were given the responsibility although we weren't paid properly. But after amalgamation the other two boroughs had been mainly men and I think they thought we were a rather peculiar kind of animal - and you know they just couldn't take it that we knew as much about housing management and building construction as they did - they thought it was most odd and it took them some time to realise it... it wasn't hostility it was just sort of blank surprise in a way." (Interviewee who worked through London local authority reorganisation).

It has been shown in Chapter Eight that stereotypes of women include the view that women are less good at being managers because, for example, they are less confident,

tend not to delegate and concern themselves too much over detail rather than broader issues.

One or two studies in other professions provide material which is very useful for comparison with housing. Walton's (1975) study of women in social work is particularly apposite because it shows how social work had been a largely female profession to begin with but men had been drawn more into the work as the scope widened. In particular higher salaries and larger organisations had attracted more men in the post-war period as organisations grew larger.

The factors which Walton identified as important in this change are parallel to the ones we have identified for housing. The expansion of the large housing departments after reorganisation and the 'new' housing associations had created jobs which had much higher salaries and were therefore more attractive to men. Once more men were there in competition the factors mentioned above would operate to ensure that they got appointed to more of the top posts.

Another professional field in which similar development have been studied is that of education. Byrne (1978) showed that the proportion of principals of College of Education who were women fell from 63% in 1965 to 43% in 1973: deputy principals from 68% to 41%. This coincided with the move to larger, urban and co-educational institutions. Woodall, Showstack, Towers & McNally (1985) discussed the way in which women's promotion opportunities in Universities and Polytechnics were still

blocked. Cooper et al (1985) discuss continuing low status of women's jobs in Adult Education.

There is therefore sufficient evidence to suggest that the move towards larger organisations and higher salaries was a significant factor in depressing the position of women in housing in the 1970s. In addition this would have been reinforced by the changes of emphasis in housing associations towards development which, as the NFHA statistics show, is seen as a "male" function.

Thus Walton, Byrne and other studies have shown that as jobs become more prestigious and more concerned with the management of large organisations, so the proportion of men is likely to increase. The reasons for the difficulties of women in breaking into or maintaining a place in management range from those which generally disadvantage women to more specific ones concerned with management and have been considered in Chapter Eight and Section Seven of this Chapter. But it is apposite here to consider current issues which are of relevance to housing.

Thus, for example, the career break has a particular role here because 'high flying' men are getting their first steps up into management positions just at the age when many women have in the past left employment to have children. Stereotyping also plays an important part - Chapter Eight has described how men are seen by many as 'naturally' having more leadership qualities.

The kind of total dedication to work and sacrifice of all other interests expected from management staff in some occupations is a factor which particularly disadvantages women with children. This is gradually now being queried. There are more questions being raised as to whether this is a logical or healthy way to run an organisation for anybody. For example an article on the BBC comments

"Married women are further disadvantaged by the unwritten assumption that those who wish to get on will be prepared to put the BBC at all times unreservedly first. The workaholic syndrome flourishes: marriages don't. What real evidence is there that the number of hours worked is related to efficiency and productivity and the best decision taking?" (Meade - King 1986)

In the 1980s work in housing organisations has become increasingly stressful. While initially this led to an increase in the 'workaholic' reaction as time went on the usefulness of this response was being increasingly questioned.

9.8.2 Change in the style of operation

It is argued here that there were at least two changes in the style of operation which were likely to disadvantage women. The first has already been mentioned - the switch to an emphasis on the comprehensive approach in housing departments. The second was a tendency, particularly in departments but also in some associations, to less of an emphasis on "welfare" in management work and away from the type of intensive management associated with the Octavia Hill tradition.

Both of these movements went on over a period of time and

their influence would vary from one organisation to another. In addition both were going on at the same time as the shift towards large organisations so it would be impossible totally to distinguish this variable from the large organisations variable. However, this would seem to be an additional factor which reinforced the large organisations one which is worth exploring, though the evidence is necessarily less quantifiable.

As far as comprehensiveness is concerned it does seem to be particularly the Institute and the men who were at the forefront of the pressure for comprehensive departments. This is not surprising considering that we have already established their greater concern with status. The move to a broader field of concern than housing management was definitely status enhancing. There was some indication in the interviews that women were seen as not participating in this shift. The comment of one of the Society members that "we were seen as rather tight little managing bodies." is relevant here. One Institute interviewee put considerable emphasis on this. He felt that the Institute was moving faster to the view of the comprehensive housing service but that Society members did not see this and felt that the job was essentially a job of human relations between the organisation and tenants and had no particular aspirations to become Directors of Housing.

Besides these differences about the scope of housing work there were also perceived to be differences in the way in which housing management was carried out. One Institute interviewee said

"There was this feeling, and I don't think it was altogether groundless. that the Society people were wedded to the idea of the complete housing manager dealing with all aspects of housing management for a particular group of dwellings not exceeding the number that they could reasonably manage, you see. ...two or three hundred or something like that and there was a feeling that if you put say the City of Birmingham in the charge of one of the leading members of the Society what they would do is to break it up in little pieces, you see, with people in complete housing management charge of each estate ...and this would ignore the problem of size where you've got a whole organisation to hold together and would certainly be more expensive of course."

This stereotype of the 'Octavia Hill system' was even in the 1960s. though not completely groundless. a distortion of what had come to be the Society's recommended practice. There had been a tendency to try to stick to a pure "Octavia Hill system" having a trained manager in charge of a small group of dwellings. But after much heart searching and debate in the Society the need to think in terms of larger organisations and to dilute trained staff were accepted. Younger members of the Society, particularly those who had worked in housing departments had decidedly more modern views. In any case even if the management was divided up the Society had always seen the need for organisation and co-ordination and this can be clearly demonstrated in Jean Thompson's account of her work at Rotherham in 1938 and other writings of the 1930s (quoted in Chapter Five). But it is very interesting to have the somewhat rare opportunity in the statement above to see a stereotype, including some degree of misrepresentation, fully expressed. The statement was made in the context of the attitude of Institute members to Society members over reorganisation. But, if the stereotype of the Octavia Hill system existed

among senior staff and people responsible for appointments. it would have worked against the appointment of women to more senior posts.

It should be noted in relation to the later parts of this study that by the 1980s the emphasis was swinging back again. Many commentators forecast that the effect of sales of council housing under the Right to Buy and other Conservative Government policies would be to condemn local authorities to a residual role and emphasise the importance of welfare in management. (For example Murie, 1985; English, 1982; Park, 1984.)

Power has pointed out that a number of changes which occurred over the post-war period in housing management ultimately disadvantaged the whole service. She argued that "both direct management and maintenance subsidies and unitary management organisations could have made the job of public sector housing management a great deal easier" (Power, 1987: 90).

9.8.3 The influence of the organisation and recruitment practices of specific housing organisations

In the preceding Sections it has been argued that specific changes in housing affected the way women's employment was viewed. These effects would be mediated through the employment practices of the organisations particularly as they affected recruitment and promotion. These mechanisms have been studied in other literature about discrimination against women. for example Fogarty Allen and Walters (1981). Kanter (1979). Silverstone &

Ward (1980). It has been assumed that they would hold true of housing. Such studies have also tended to indicate a "reinforcement" effect i.e. that the presence of women, especially in senior positions will tend to encourage other women to apply.

Evidence in both this Chapter and the last has suggested that the Society was particularly strong in London and that the changes in housing organisation particularly affected London, so it seemed worth going back to the original tabulations to analyse some of the London data separately to test these hypotheses. While doing so an interesting contrast appeared between the GLC and the London Boroughs so their statistics are presented separately. The GLC figures are rather smaller, e.g. 8 Fellows (all men) in 1965 and 51 in 1983, but figures for members (58 in 1965 and 133 in 1983) and students (37 in 1965 and 112 in 1983) are larger. The pattern shown is however so consistent as to suggest that the percentages are a reliable guide.

Table 9.9 clearly suggests a differential effect in different organisations. The London Boroughs at every level have significantly higher percentages of women than other local authorities. This is at its most marked in 1965 but still true in 1983. The GLC figures, on the other hand, are worse than the national average in 1965 except as regards students and although better in 1983 it is still only the student figures which meet the national percentage.

TABLE 9.9

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERS
IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES, 1965 & 1983
Percentage of women at different levels by employer type

	1965			1983		
	GLC	LB	National LA	GLC	LB	National LA
Fellow	0	27	13	0	19	6
Member	2	25	14	14	27	19
Student	11	21	11	37	48	37

Differences between the GLC and the London Boroughs are particularly noteworthy because they were operating in the same recruitment market and in similar types of work. Factors such as women's educational choices and the career break would therefore be common to both: the reason for the differences are therefore much more likely to lie in the employment practices and image of these organisations. In 1965 the GLC inherited its staff from the LCC. The LCC had always been strongly Institute of Housing orientated. In Section Three of Chapter Four the resistance to the employment of women housing managers in the LCC in the 1930s was described. The statistics given then indicate that women were in a disadvantaged position and this seems to have continued. The professional membership at the LCC was very much linked with the Institute of Housing and the RICS, not the Society.

The largely male professional membership, and absence of women Fellows shown in 1965 would correspond with this. The London Boroughs, on the other hand, inherited from some boroughs which had been Society offices: the figures seem to justify the argument that the effect of this

could still be seen. Although Society members felt that they had lost out in London reorganisation the effects were not yet apparent. As far as the 1983 figures are concerned the position is more complex. The GLC by that time had become an authority campaigning strongly for women's rights. Even the 1965 figures suggest that the GLC was recruiting some women students and by 1983 the figure had risen to 37%, reflecting national average. However, the other 1983 figures suggest the possibility that this change was not fully effective at professional level and certainly not at Fellow level. It would have been interesting to see how long it took equal opportunities policies to equalise the effect of the historical inheritance but the dissolution of the GLC now prohibits this.

Similarly a number of London Boroughs had by 1983 become prominent in the implementation of equal opportunities policies so it becomes difficult to distinguish between this and the historical effect. In the 1980s a number of the boroughs with the strongest Equal Opportunities policies were giving less emphasis to the recruitment and training of professional staff so this would mitigate the effect of such policies on the Institute of Housing figures. The detailed figures do at least suggest that the early effects of having some women prominent in housing organisations because of the Society of Housing Manager's work did last a considerable time. Self reinforcing mechanisms by which more women applied for jobs in such organisations as well as meeting with a more sympathetic employment policy might well have been important.

9.9 EVIDENCE FROM OTHER PROFESSIONAL BODIES RELATED TO HOUSING

9.9.1 Background to the enquiry and general results

In Autumn of 1984 the author carried out a brief study of women's membership of certain professional organisations using a simple enquiry form (see Appendix Nine). The organisations chosen were ones whose work related to housing quite closely. They were:

The Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI)

The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)

The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS)

The Institute of Chartered Accountants (ICA)

The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and
Accountancy (CIPFA)

The organisations chosen were the major ones concerned with the land and buildings and finance because these are important aspects of work in housing where men have seemed to predominate.

This enquiry was carried out for the Women in Housing working parties of the Institute of Housing and the National Federation of Housing Associations as well as for this study.

Replies were received from all but CIPFA but no follow up was done on this because it was felt that financial work was adequately represented by the very large ICA.

All these organisations kept statistics of the numbers and proportions of women's membership (which is more than the Institute of Housing was doing at the time). The RIBA. and the RTPA had working parties on women's

membership and in both cases there was some literature already available. Research had been done in this issue in the RTPI, RIBA and ICA. None of the respondents knew of any other special groups dealing with the employment of women in their occupation although small voluntary groups of women did exist in some cases.

The 1983 or 1984 statistics for each professional body are shown in Table 9.10. In general, corporate members were distinguished from students and the corporate member figure has been used at this stage.

TABLE 9.10
WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP OF PROFESSIONAL BODIES
RELATED TO HOUSING 1983/1984

	Total Members	Women as a % of Total
Institute of Housing	2,407	20%
Royal Town Planning	1,604	11.5%
Royal Institute of British Architects		7.4%
Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors	51,385	1.5%
Institute of Chartered Accountants	79,367	6.2%

What can be concluded by comparing the current figures for each professional body? It has usually been argued that building has a very male image and the closer an occupation is to building the more likely it is to be male dominated. Thus Wigfall argues

"Architecture, much like law, engineering and business, has always been thought of as a man's field. The architect traces his origins back to the master masons and carpenters of pre-seventeenth century days ... Working as the architect did, alongside the builder, it was inconceivable that a woman should contemplate taking on such a job."
(Wigfall, 1980: 51)

So, one would expect to see the influence of closeness or otherwise to building reflected in the proportion of women in each occupation and to some extent it is. The surveyors are, after all, the group who work most directly with the building trade. But this does not seem totally to explain the difference between the surveyors and the architects, or why the planners come off so much better. But it is perhaps useful first of all to look briefly at some of the information supplied about each occupation, and what, if anything, has been done to increase the participation of women in recent years.

9.9.2 Planning

A Women and Planning working Party was set up in November 1983 and a report was produced in 1985. The Working Party was paying considerable attention to issues concerning planning for women but was also concerned about women in planning employment. The working party in its early stages pointed out the poor representation of women in RTPI governing bodies as well as the

disadvantages suffered by women in employment. For example on the RTPI council in 1982 were 51 men and 1 woman (2%). (North West RTPI Branch: Women and Planning Working Party. 1982: 48). The council data provides an interesting comparison with the Institute of Housing Council data discussed earlier, again demonstrating how a minority (11% membership) comes to be even more under-represented in an elected body.

The experience of members of the North West RTPI Branch Women and Planning Working Party can be compared with that of women members of the Institute of Housing.

"Incomprehension, sexual innuendo and passive resistance from some male members of the Branch Executive." ...

"RTPI not frequented or supported by many women: inflexible career structure deters membership, inhibiting masculine atmosphere and rituals of Branch..." (North West RTPI Branch: Women and Planning Working Party, 1982: 50).

9.9.3 Architecture

The first woman architect qualified in 1898, only 16 years after the first qualifying examinations were instituted (Wigfall, 1980: 51). The proportion of architects who were women rose only slowly 4.3 per cent in 1978. The increase to the current 7.4% is therefore quite encouraging.

Architecture was included in the "Women in Top Jobs" case studies published by Fogarty, Allen and Walters in 1981. In 1973 there was a survey of a sample of 1,015 men and women who had completed a full-time course in

architecture in either 1960 or 1964. The RIBA also collects detailed statistics, for example on earning levels. The various studies have emphasised both the difficulties women which women architects have in common with other working women and those which arise from the 'male image' of architecture. In the early 1970s a number of groups began coming together in the USA to tackle the problems of women architects, but Wigfall commented that such groups had been less successful and less numerous in the U.K. (Wigfall, 1980: 80) However, one such group in the U.K., Matrix, has recently published a book on women experience of architecture (Matrix, 1984).

In December 1979 the position of women within architecture was raised at an RIBA Council meeting by a report from the Special Working Group of Women in Architecture. (This report had itself drawn on a report of the Policy Studies Institute which used statistics from RIBA). Various steps were taken by RIBA following these reports but in May 1982 when the position was reviewed it was clear that progress had been limited and the Women in Architecture Sub Group was set up.

"The Sub-group divided its work into four main areas, although common problems existed in all of them:

- i Language
- ii Careers advice
- iii Architectural education
- iv Practice."

(Women in Architecture Sub Group, 1984: 2).

This exposure to research and pressure is perhaps reflected in the rapid growth in the proportion of women in the late 1970s and in the proportion of women students. For example the Bartlett School of Architecture achieved 50% female entry for the first-time in 1983. It was noted that in 1982/3 academic staff teaching them were 97% male, but positive steps were being taken by the Institute's Education Department to invite women to put themselves forward for inclusion on visiting boards. (Women in Architecture Sub-Group, 1984: 5) However, the slump in architectural employment from the late 70s onwards may not help prospects for working out better employment patterns for women's membership.

9.9.4 Surveying

The RICS had no working party on women's employment in October 1984 and knew of no research studies. However, some work was being done by Clara Greed, a member of staff of Bristol Polytechnic who subsequently undertook research for a thesis on this subject (Greed, 1985). The RICS did not admit to knowing about any voluntary groups but had in fact a ladies dining club called the Lioness Club (which was not mentioned). This was primarily seen as a means of a support for women in a male dominated profession and has not been a pressure group.

The first women surveyors were in fact women housing managers trained by Miss Jeffery at Cumberland Market (see Chapter Five). As we have seen, for many years the RICS provided a separate examination for the Society of Housing Managers. Some women went on to become qualified RICS and men who were RICS, qualified regularly filled

senior posts in the housing service. So the RICS, is of particular significance for this study.

The percentage of women surveyors is still low, 1.5% in 1984. An area of interest is the proportions of women in the different areas of surveying - see Table 9.11. It can be seen that women are clustered in "General Practice". (This is the division which housing qualified women could join.) The RICS has recently stepped up its interest in housing work, so this may be one area where the proportion of women will increase. Building surveying could be expected to have a low proportion of women, but it is of interest to note that land agency and land surveyors go down even lower with Mineral surveyors going down to nil. While this last may be understandable in view of the legislation which kept women out of mining it is perhaps the case in this country that agriculture has even more of a male image than building. Quantity surveyors also have a low proportion while 0.3% for surveyors in planning and development seems a little inconsistent with the higher proportion of women in planning itself. However, students in all these fields, even including minerals, are slowly increasing as Table 9.12 shows.

TABLE 9.11

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF CHARTERED SURVEYORS
FELLOWS AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATES

	1984			1978		
	Total	Women		Total	Women	
Building Surveyors	3,396	30	0.8%	2,259	13	
General Practice	13,079	626	5.0%	19,789	241	
Land Agency and Agriculture	3,812	16	0.4%	3,417	11	
Land Surveyors	769	2	0.3%	703	0	
Minerals	488	0	0.0%	504	0	
Planning and Development	1,145	33	0.3%	951	22	
Quantity Surveyors	18,696	101	0.5%	11,543	31	
Total	51,385	788	1.5%	39,171	318	0.8%

Source: Information provided by RICS

TABLE 9.12

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF CHARTERED SURVEYORS
STUDENTS AND PROPRIETORS

	1984			1978		
	Total	Women		Total	Women	
Building Surveyors	1,994	94		1,196	28	
General Practice	6,401	873		6,939	392	
Land Agency and Agriculture	536	45		569	16	
Land Surveyors	608	22		453	5	
Minerals	280	7		228	3	
Planning and Development	363	41		88	13	
Quantity Surveyors	9,362	424		3,983	76	
Total	20,044	1506	7.0%	13,456	533	4.0%

Source: Information provided by RICS

9.9.5 Accountancy

Initially accountancy had proved a difficult career for women to enter. Mary Harris Smith, a pioneer in the field, spent years trying to get admission to its professional body and was only finally admitted in 1919 (Silverstone, 1980: 19.20). Even then there were a number of reasons deterring women from becoming accountants including the length of the training. It was not until the 1960s that the number of women accountants began to rise substantially and in 1977 research was undertaken by the Personnel Research Unit of the City University Business School which looked at some of the disadvantages women accountants had faced, including discrimination by employers (Silverstone, 1980).

By 1984, although the proportion of qualified accountants who were women was still only 6.2%, the proportion among students was rising rapidly. For example among students who first registered in 1977 and were admitted to membership by the end of 1983 21.1% were women. The Institution stated "According to the Institute's in house recruitment advisory service...no distinction appears to be drawn by clients requiring the services of Chartered Accountants as to whether they appoint men or women" (ICA, 1984).

The position of women in accountancy is of particular interest to this study for two reasons. Firstly, the Staff Study showed that women were heavily predominant in the lower grades in Administration and Finance sections but very few in the higher grades, while the NFHA study

showed women in a rather better position. Secondly, and more generally it has been argued in this thesis that women's perceived weakness in finance was one reason for them being disadvantaged in the management of larger organisations. This indeed was the traditional view.

Silverstone (1980: 24) comments

"There is no need to reiterate here the already familiar reasons for the sex typing of occupations. The financial sector is, however, a prime example of this phenomenon... one respondent remarked 'the name chartered accountant has always conjured up an image of a man in a pin-striped suit with a bowler hat.'"

Possibly this image is now becoming dimmer, but what particular factors had have contributed to the relative success of women in this field and are the gains real and permanent?

Silverstone's study in 1977-9 did document that some women felt that there was still discrimination which hampered their progress, and there was still a concentration of women on lower grades. It is of interest to note that the availability of part-time work was an attraction to women at the recruitment stage and 30% of all women accountants worked part-time (Silverstone, 1980: 34-35). Silverstone identified two major problems which needed to be tackled - the provision of subsidised re-training courses, and for employers to offer promotion to women on the same grounds as men, but in the conclusions optimism was expressed about the position of women in accountancy.

9.9.6 Discussion of the changes in other professions related to housing

All the occupations studied started off from a position of being more male dominated than housing. In all of them women suffered not only from general disadvantages in employment but also from the feeling that this particular field was not women's work. In all of them women are making some progress but the extent is variable. Of particular interest for this study is that fact that the image of the pin striped accountant is possible proving more susceptible to change than that of the builder's navy. Or are there important differences in the way the changes have been brought about? Hakim (1979: 42) comments on the way in which ideas about men's and women's jobs are culturally determined and then goes on to say "There are relatively few accounts of the process of change in the allocation of occupations to one sex or the other." As women in various occupations organise pressure to improve their lot, presumably this information will be more forthcoming.

Without a major comparative study of occupational segregation and ways of tackling it, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions - the material presented here is merely a brief summary of data available from the professional bodies or publications. However it does suggest a number of areas which might be interesting and possibly helpful to women to explore.

The intensity and nature of the male image in certain occupations

We have already posited the question as to whether the builder's navy is a more powerful male image than the

pin striped city gent - especially now that many professional women are recognised as being able to adopt the city gent's uniform quite successfully. It may be that the basic stumbling block in respect to the building related occupations is an aspect of stereotyping which has long been recognised - that girls must keep clean and tidy. Surveyors are associated with being out on building sites and getting muddy (even though the RICS itself has to some extent been fighting the tin hat image). The architect's popular image is of someone sitting at a drawing board and planners are popularly seen as even more remote from mud and toil. Perhaps it is easier for a women to adopt pin stripes and still be seen as feminine than it is to adopt the boiler suit (despite the popularity of feminised versions of the boiler suit in recent years). Women in the Manual trades have certainly found that this kind of image is seen as unfeminine. (See, for example Women and Manual Trades, 1988.) However it may be that the apparent gains of women in accountancy may be more apparent than substantial. Women may still be concentrated in aspects of financial work which call for their traditionally recognised virtues of neatness and attention to detail (like audit?) rather than in situations of exercising financial power. Many writers are beginning to emphasise how power is a key issue. (For example, Stacey and Price, 1980: Eisentein, 1984: 139: Coote & Campbell, 1982: 241-248. Rendell, 1981).

The role of educational qualifications

When considering the smaller number of women entering

technical occupations an important factor is entry requirements for certain O and A level subjects . It has been demonstrated that girls do not do so well at certain school subjects which have a male image and they are also often given poor career advice (for example, EOC, 1982: 15).

This issue does not apply in a simple way to the occupations under discussion. 'O' level Maths is often an entry requirement but girls do relatively well at maths up to 'O' level, though there are some problems beyond that stage. Physics, which girls tend to drop, is not an entry requirement for the careers being considered here.

On the other hand, employers or educational institutions recruiting into surveying, or architecture may look for evidence of skill in technical drawing.

Technical drawing and craft subjects still have a heavy male stereotype in schools and colleges. (EOC and Somerset Council, 1982) . So this aspect of educational practice could be one of the factors which reduces the participation of women in surveying and architecture. Another factor which does apply to these occupations is the way in which women are treated as students or would be students. This has been in need of improvement. (See for example Women in Architecture sub-group, 1984: 4, 5; Silverstone, 1980: 24-28)

Strategies and tactics for change in the occupation or in the image.

Have the women in these different occupational groups adopted different strategies to achieve change, and are some more successful than others? This is an important question but sufficiently detailed information is not available in this study. Clearly any group wanting to create this kind of change must first of all gather together sufficient members to make an impact and then, if the aim is to get change in a professional body, address itself to the problems of getting some kind of official recognition by that body. The women in Planning and Architecture had identifiable groups, such as a working party or sub-committee. The Accountants said they did not but that this issue came within the remit of the Technical and Review Committee. But as early as 1977 research had been commissioned and according to Silverstone it was a sudden influx of women into membership which encouraged the Institute to support an enquiry among their women members (Silverstone, 1980: 24). (This is in contrast to the other professions mentioned where it was the lack of women which was prompting enquiry.) Housing, as we shall see in the next Chapter, comes somewhat between these two positions. In surveying also it was not possible to identify a pressure group per se. While quite specific changes, such as the introduction of retraining schemes, may be relatively simple to explain and campaign on, changing an image is more difficult. Feminists have for a considerable time now recognised the importance of such activity, and considerable attention has been paid, for example to the role of the media and literature used in education. (For

example Fransella and Frost, 1977: 195-205). This is essentially a long term process which requires persistent and concerted effort.

9.10 CONCLUSIONS

9.10.1 The major factors affecting women's employment in housing.

In this Chapter we looked first of all at the broad factors affecting all women's employment over this period and then at specific changes going on in housing. The major trends in women's employment did not explain the trends in housing. This indicated that the explanations were more likely to be found in the factors specific to housing employment. Examination of the factors specific to housing employment indicated that changes in the size of housing departments and associations and in their style of operation was likely to have had adverse effect on women's employment. Increase in the size of housing organisations was important. Evidence from education and social work where the size of organisations had grown or the jobs become more prestigious points to a pattern of women losing the higher grade jobs. So it seems likely that the issue of whether women are seen as being suited to the larger management jobs was an influential one in housing over this period.

Examination of the statistics of the other professions related to housing produces another interesting aspect. It is clear that the closer to the building industry, the fewer women are employed, and that this is only changing very slowly, especially in surveying and building. Financial work, which used to have a very male image,

seems to be changing more rapidly to increased women's participation at professional level. As far as housing is concerned, this stereotyping is reflected within housing employment especially at professional and managerial level. It does not just mean that there is a low proportion of women in development or technical functions, but also that this may hold women back in promotion as top jobs may go to people who are seen as having development or technical expertise. Thus vertical and horizontal occupational segregation in housing can be related. In addition the degree to which housing is seen as a large scale technical operation or as one greatly concerned with welfare may well affect the recruitment of women.

Evidence from other studies and from the comparison of the 1965 and 1983 Institute membership in the London Boroughs, GLC and all local authorities confirms that the recruitment and promotion practices of employing authorities does have an effect on the percentage of women at different levels. It indicated that the effect of the early work of the Society was still very apparent in 1965. By 1983 the position was more complex but there was at least a suggestion that the effect of the historical inheritance was not completely outgrown. It was hypothesised that its effect tended to be self reinforcing as women were attracted to those organisations in which women seem to be succeeding.

Women working in housing therefore suffer from the same basic forms of disadvantage arising from the social construction of gender roles and their expression in the

educational system as other women do. The difficulties of women in reaching management jobs are not occupation specific. The effect of increasing unemployment may also be similar across occupations. But it is moderated for the professional women in housing by the fact that experienced professional staff are still in short supply. But women in housing work are also affected by the male stereotyping of building work in the aspects of housing associated with development and building, and this is likely to affect not only progression to management jobs but also the overall balance of male and female employment especially at professional level. In addition the extent to which housing work is seen as a "welfare" or "large scale management" activity may affect the way in which women are seen as suited to particular jobs at particular times.

9.10.2 The likely effect of these factors on the different classes of membership

The summary of the changes in the Institute membership stressed that there seemed to be a number of factors operating differently on different groups and it is appropriate here to look at the statistics for each class of membership discussed in Chapter Eight and consider how the different forces discussed here were likely to act on each.

Fellows

The number of women Fellows showed a marked decline between 1965 and 1977 and between 1977 and 1983. The actual number of women Fellows in 1983 was almost half what it had been in 1965 while the number of men Fellows

had increased slightly. Because Fellows are by definition, more senior members, these changes are likely to be particularly linked with the influence of large organisations both in housing departments and associations. We have noted that these changes had begun before 1965 and the reduction of the actual number of women Fellows is probably connected with the gradual removing from active membership of women who had risen to senior positions in the 1930 to 1950 period, largely under the influence of the Society. It is thus related to the employment changes but also related to the changes among Members, the class from which Fellows are drawn.

Members

The pattern for members was some decline by 1977 but some recovery of membership by 1984. The decline, which is not as marked as among Fellows, may have had several contributory factors. The earliest may have been some falling off of membership among women members who found themselves unhappy in the new Institute. It is also likely to be associated with the fact that the proportion of women students was falling until 1972. Women members lost through retirement etc. were not being replaced by new women members. So it is important to refer to factors affecting the supply of women students, both for this reduction and for the gradual recovery of membership to 1984.

In addition, the influence of equal opportunities legislation, and by the 1980s the beginnings of pressure to encourage and maintain women's employment in housing

(described in Chapter Ten), should also be considered.

Students

In many ways the statistics regarding students qualifying are the most interesting of all - partly because they provide the most continuous and accurate data. Numbers of students qualifying will be affected by three main facts:

- proportions of women applying for trainee posts or other posts with the opportunity of training.
- Proportions of women actually appointed by housing organisations.
- Proportions of women actually passing the examination.

Although continuous data is not available on the relative success of men and women in examinations the one study available indicated that women were at no disadvantage here. There does not ever seem to have been any suggestions that the examinations hamper one sex or the other. So it is probably safe to omit consideration of this as an important factor and to concentrate on the importance of women applying for and getting appointed to suitable posts. These factors will be considered in relation to two periods. 1965 to 1972 when the proportion of women students was falling and 1972 to 1984 when it was rising.

No records are likely to be available for applications to housing posts in the period. However, there are two factors at least which might have reduced the proportion of women applying in the period 1965 to 1972. One is the disappearance of the Society, which had continued to have

a very active policy of recruiting women. speaking at girls schools. and encouragement to women to apply. At the same time the growth in the size and power of the housing organisations. as we have seen, increased the likelihood of earning a higher salary and would have made the posts more attractive to men. It may be that an increase in the number of men rather than decrease in the number of women is responsible for changing proportions. In addition the changes in the style of work may also have been important over this period and the "development and management" aspects would have favoured the recruitment of men. As far as the policies of employing organisations are concerned one could argue that all other factors being equal these would not have changed abruptly in 1965. At that stage there were some organisations which had no female qualified staff and if they were. for example. framing advertisements in male terms this practice would have continued. The fact that some women chief officers were replaced by men could well have had an effect here.

If these factors explain the diminution in the proportion of women students qualifying 1965 to 1972 what factors explain the steady rise 1972 to 1984? It could be that the Sex Discrimination Act would have its most powerful influence at recruitment level - by doing away with biased advertisements and recruitment practices and this may well have been the case. However. the Sex Discrimination Act was not passed until 1975 and the increase in women students qualifying in 1973 represents an increase in the proportion recruited in 1969 or earlier. Were some organisations equalising their

recruitment policies prior to the actual legislation? There was certainly more awareness of sex discrimination by this period. Some of the newer activities of housing departments such as housing aid were likely to encourage the recruitment of women because of the social image. Many of the charitable housing associations would probably attract women as staff even though their management was dominated by men, because of a stress on social concern. Did the merging of the Society and the Institute have a delayed effect in opening up more local authority posts to women? The study of what happened in London Boroughs and GLC indicates that this may have been the case. Another factor which may have been important was the increased tendency in many housing organisations by the 1970s to recruit graduates to trainee posts. Prior to this gradual change of practice many of the people taking the examination would have started off just working in departments and associations. In departments particularly a high proportion of these would have been men - this was the practice of the Institute.

After the formation of the Joint Examination Board standards of the qualification started to rise and this change was very much speeded up with the introduction of the new Professional Qualification. In response to both to the higher standards of the qualification and to a growing realisation of standard of staff needed for housing work organisations began to recruit more graduates. Housing would be attractive to women graduates especially those who are arts graduates with other jobs are not open to them. The rise in the number

of women students can therefore be explained by reference to a number of factors operating in the period.

9.10.3 The contribution of the Society of Housing Managers and amalgamation

It can be seen therefore that the removal of the support given to by the Society of Housing Managers was far from being the only factor which affected women's employment in housing from 1965 onwards. This background of powerful factors affecting women's employment and the changes in some of them must also be taken into account when considering the changes in women's fortunes inside the Institute. It is appropriate to consider whether in fact the existence of a separate Society for women in housing might have weakened women's position in employment. This might have happened in two ways, both of which were hinted at in the interviews.

Firstly, because women were trained within Society offices, which in some cases were all women or predominantly female, they would miss out on early introduction to the 'old boy' network, which is often quite influential in people's careers. The longer they stayed within Society offices the more accentuated this would become. Some interviewees suggested this particularly disadvantaged women at local government reorganisation when they had to compete with male colleagues for jobs in a different environment. However those women who had trained within the Society but had worked in mixed local government offices were more used to competing in this way. This factor might be compounded by the recruitment processes of individual

housing organisations. The influence of the recruitment practices of London Boroughs was followed up to identify that initially a reinforcement effect may have been present in the ex-Society offices with larger female membership, and the opposite in predominantly male organisations like the GLC. However, by the 1980s the effect of strong equal opportunities policies was becoming more apparent.

Secondly we have looked at the effect of the technical/social split in the way in which housing is viewed. The 'Octavia Hill image' of the society not only reinforced the welfare image but also had tended to tie the Society to a particularly form of management which relied on the intensive use of trained staff and was seen at times to be unduly expensive or not in touch with modern needs. Whether or not particular senior Society members subscribed to this particular pattern of management their promotion chances could still be affected by it. Thus considering the effects of the loss of the Society, within the context of the broader factors affecting women's employment and housing over the period indicates both that the effect of its disappearance might be slightly less than was indicated when looking solely at changes within the Institute. It is necessary to consider whether there were adverse effects from having separate women's organisation. This relates to debates which have been going on within the women's movement almost since it started, both about the degree to which separate women's organisation is needed and about the way in which women relate to male dominated power structures (for example Eisenstien, 1984).

However, the evidence of this study confirms the importance of the Society in introducing and establishing the employment of women in housing, which otherwise would have been likely to be associated with more 'male' occupational stereotypes. It indicates that the influence of "Society offices" and the effect of senior women trained under the Society acting as role models could well have been important for a considerable period after reorganisation. The evidence suggests also that a number of additional positive factors helping women's employment were coming into play by the 1980s. Principal among these were growing graduate employment, the effects of equal opportunities policies and growing awareness of among women of inequality and ways of fighting it. But these positive factors still had to contend with changes in the nature of housing as an occupation, so women in housing in the 1980s still faced an uncertain future.

CHAPTER 9

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CHAPTER 10

10 POSTSCRIPT: WOMEN IN HOUSING BEGIN TO ORGANISE AGAIN

10.1 THE EMERGENCE OF NEW GROUPS

From the time when the Society and the Institute amalgamated in 1965 there were some women who were unhappy about the position of women within the new organisation. but they felt increasingly isolated. By the early 1970s. as we have seen from the representation on Council. there seemed to be no substantial women's presence within the Institute. However. there were a few former members of the Society who were in positions of influence. For example. Mary Smith (who was one of the housing managers who worked for the Ministry of Supply during the war) became Chief Housing Manager for the Crown Estate Commissioners and wrote extensively for "Housing" journal. In 1978 she became one of the Housing Management Advisors at the Department of the Environment. thus reviving an old Society tradition (Smith, 1979).

By the 1970s a few women of a slightly younger generation. who had trained under the Society. were beginning to play a more active part within the Institute (some having returned from career breaks) and making common cause with women who had been trained within the Institute but objected to its male domination. Also. outside the world of housing. feminism was growing stronger and equal opportunities policies becoming more of an issue (Coote & Campbell. 1982). Outside of the Institute membership there were women with feminist views working in. or having an interest in. housing. often

involved in the newer types of work such as housing aid, homelessness. co-operatives and the newer housing associations.

By the 1970s therefore it was possible to begin to form new alliances among these groups and begin to take up issues concerning women in housing employment and women as consumers of housing. The first moves were, not surprisingly, fairly hesitant as women felt themselves to be in quite a weak position. On employment issues the professional body did once again provide both the means and the focus for action.

For example, in November 1973 a letter from Mary Smith, published in "Housing" drew attention to the lack of women on two DOE Advisory Committees and to gains and losses in women's representation in housing. On being contacted by the author she wrote

"I think some statistics on the position of women in housing could be very interesting...I agree that some positive action should be taken about the male domination of the Institute, and of the housing field generally, and steps as suggested above could start the ball rolling." (Smith, 1974)

The lack of women's representation on Council had caused some of the ex Society members to "get excited" both about this and about what seemed like almost a deliberate blotting out of the history of the Society of Housing Managers (Smith, 1987).

Perhaps it was symbolic that this was one of the issues on which the action by older and younger women members began to coalesce. No care had been taken of the

historical records of the Society and, in the early 1970s, senior staff at the Institute were unaware that irreplaceable minute books of the Society were stored haphazardly in the basement of Victoria House where the Institute was located.

In addition, at that time, notice boards erected in the main meeting room commemorated the Presidents of the Institute of Housing from 1931 to 1965, and Presidents of the joint Institute from 1965 to present day, but made no mention of the Society of Housing Managers. Some women members felt that this was invidious in view of the contribution of the Society to housing and to the formation of what was supposed to be a joint organisation. Strong pressure from women members was required before a new notice board was erected bearing the names of presidents of the Society from 1931 to 1965. The whole issue was felt to be symptomatic of the blotting out of the Society after amalgamation and of the concurrent disregard for women's membership. More of those women who had remained within the Institute began to feel not only that some action was needed but also that it might be possible to combine forces and successfully exert pressure.

Outside of the Institute, a Women and Housing Group, which included a much broader range of women interested in housing issues, had been in existence since the late 1970s and held a conference in March 1980 at which issues concerning women as consumers and employment issues were discussed (Women and Housing Group, 1980). It went on to run an evening class in 1980/81 under the auspices of The

London University Extra Mural programme. By the end of that year however it decided that its objectives and membership were too diffuse to obtain adequate support and therefore decided to wind up its existence. Later, other women and housing groups began to emerge (Metters, 1981).

10.2 THE FORMATION AND WORK OF THE WOMEN IN HOUSING GROUP

The next move also occurred in the broader field outside of the Institute. Publication of the book "Women in housing: Access and influence" (Brion and Tinker, 1980) provided the impetus for drawing together women working in housing. A meeting was held in May 1981 which inaugurated the Women in Housing Group. Membership of this group was open to all women working in housing. This was broadly defined and included academics and a wide selection of women in housing related jobs as well as Institute members. The group interested itself in both employment issues and in consumer issues. It gradually formed a national network with a newsletter and some specific local groups, the strongest of which were in London and Sheffield. While active membership remained small, the activities of the groups were important in putting forward ideas and pressure. By 1985, the Sheffield group had held a major conference, largely on consumer issues (Women in Housing group, Sheffield, 1984), while the London group had inaugurated and helped to run an agency for part-time and temporary work in housing (Housing Employment Register & Advice, described in Section 10.5).

By the latter half of the 1980s the work of the Women in Housing group had contributed to the formation of other specific groups, notably the Institute of Housing and the National Federation of Housing Associations' Women in Housing working parties and HERA, and from December 1987 the group decided to keep only a skeleton organisation with four meetings a year to ensure that a network was available when needed (Poole, 1989).

10.3 THE INSTITUTE OF HOUSING WOMEN IN HOUSING WORKING PARTY

In the London Women in Housing Group, representation of Institute of Housing members was fairly strong and it was decided to make the Institute one focus of action as employment issues could provide some specific attainable goals. By 1982 members of the Women in Housing Group were addressing branch meetings of the Institute and put forward a manifesto on " Women and Housing. Action which the Institute of Housing needs to take" (Brion, 1982).

By November 1982 pressure was generated for the setting up of an Institute based Women in Housing working group and this was agreed by the Professional Practice Committee (Smith, 1982). The first meeting was held in February 1983 (Institute of Housing Women in Housing working group 1983a, 1983b). But the status of this working group was not very clear and its membership not very wide or representative.

A breakfast meeting was successfully held at the Institute of Housing 1983 Conference, but the working group continued on an informal basis, largely

concentrating on the return to work issue (see Section 10.5). By the time Conference 1984 arrived it was possible to put forward a much more coherent programme and a request for a much broader based working party (Brion. 1984). An official working party was set up in September 1984, composed of women from different Branches of the Institute and some Council members.

The early days of this working party were occupied by continuation of the efforts to improve the Institute's response to women members and in particular with the issue of members seeking to return to work after a career break. A series of consultations within the Institute led to both some specific schemes put forward by the Institute and the setting up of the MSC sponsored Return to Work Project. (See Section 10.5)

Three publications eventually summarised this work: "Advice to Women Qualifying" (Institute of Housing, 1984a) was directed to younger qualified women and drew attention to measures that would help them; "Women in the Branches" (Institute of Housing, 1984b) aimed to encourage Branch officers and committees to review local provision; and "Retraining for Women" (Institute of Housing, 1984c) was directed to employers, drawing attention to three specific schemes they could use to help women returners. The working party felt however that these measures would not be sufficient in themselves and the a funded project described in Section 10.5 was seen as one way forward.

There was some discussion in the working party of other issues. A code of non sexist language was drawn up and eventually recommended to staff. The Institute's Equal Opportunities policy was discussed. The need for statistics monitoring the numbers and participation of women members was repeatedly discussed but this did not finally get implemented until 1987.

By 1985 an enquiry into women's position in other related professional bodies, described in Chapter Nine, had been carried out and the working party was attempting to strengthen its links with the NFHA working party as well. At the Institute's conference in 1985 a stand allocated to the Women in Housing Working Party indicated the growing acceptance of these issues within the Institute.

By 1985 the need for some updated information on women in housing employment was becoming evident: the NFHA survey, carried out in 1984/85, had naturally only covered housing associations (NFHA, 1985). A major survey of local authorities was begun, the results of which were published by the Institute of Housing as "The key to equality" (Levison and Atkins, 1987). The fact that this survey showed that the position of women in housing employment was little better than in earlier surveys strengthened the Working Party's case for remaining in existence rather than dissolving after a limited period, as was usual with Institute working parties. The new programme of work for 1987 and 1988, besides continuance of the earlier activities, gave more stress to issues affecting women as consumers of housing. Women and homelessness was highlighted for the 1987 conference:

domestic violence and security on estates for the 1988 conference. The working party was concerned with issues of relationship breakdown and housing, and the Institute of Housing co-operated with other organisations on this issue.

Another major item of work in 1987/88 was originated by women members but in fact affected all working in housing: this was a guide, and eventually a survey of local authority practice, on the security of staff (Poole & Porter, 1988).

Following on from the 1985 investigation into Women's position in related professional bodies, described in Chapter Nine, a joint meeting was arranged between the relevant representatives of the RTPI, RIBA and RICS to consider joint issues about women in employment. Funding was sought from the EOC for a joint project, but this was not successful. By 1988, however, there was discussion of reviving these links, particularly in relation to the Return to Work Scheme (Institute of Housing Women in Housing Working Party, 1988).

By 1987/8 the membership of the working party had been broadened to include women from pressure groups. The Group had asked the Institute to consider giving it a more permanent status because of the ongoing need to monitor policy effects on women. It had not been successful in obtaining this. However, it had obtained a higher profile within the Institute's conference; 1988 conference workshops on violence at work, retraining for the new housing world and a women only Tea were planned.

Speakers on other topics had been asked to ensure that the implications for women were properly thought through.

10.4 THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF HOUSING ASSOCIATION'S WOMEN IN HOUSING WORKING PARTY

From its earliest days. The Women in Housing Group contained members in employment with housing associations as well as in departments, and it was clear that it would be beneficial if the NFHA were taking more positive action as well. Links were made with other women working in housing associations, and in particular with the NALGO Housing Association's Branch which had some feminist members. Despite this, progress seemed slow until 1983, after the more formal Institute of Housing working party had been set up. At this stage, a joint letter from the Women in Housing Group and the Housing Association's Branch (Hargreaves, 1983) coincided with other factors favourable to the establishment of a working party. A number of different discussions and initiative were going on in the Federation at the time, including one on fair employment. A member of National Council (June McKerrow) was interested in the issue and pushed for the setting up of a working party (Stanford, 1989). Agreement was reached within the NFHA on the setting up of a Women in Housing Working Party with a two year lifespan. It was decided that the first year of operation would be concerned with women in housing employment, the second year with women as consumers of housing.

The NFHA Women in Housing Working Party was a large one with systematic representation from all parts of the country, fully resourced by NFHA officers. It was

therefore able to carry out the major survey on women in housing employment which is described in Chapter Nine. The results of this survey were issued in a major report (NFHA Women in Housing Working Party, 1985). The NFHA agreed to publish the report but not to make it an official recommendation in order to avoid the delay which might be caused by need for detailed committee approval. This meant that it was ever more vital that the working party should persist in looking at implementation issues, and at the position of women within the NFHA. For example they gained early agreement to setting a standard for 50% female speakers at NFHA conferences; the logical corollary of this was greater training provision within NFHA for women, both on public speaking and on assertion. Encouragement was consistently given to the setting up of local groups which could both support women members and put pressure on employers. Where appropriate, these were encouraged to link with Women in Housing Groups or with local Institute branches which were taking action; though housing association members were sometimes reluctant to associate themselves too closely with the Institute of Housing.

By March 1985 it was decided that, in order to complete the report and carry out some campaigning, it would be necessary to continue an employment sub-group while the main group went on to consider consumer issues.

In its second year the working party went on to consider issues of significance for women as consumers of housing, producing a series of articles for Voluntary Housing and

continued to publicise the work through meetings and the NFHA conferences. A standing group on Women and Housing was eventually established. By 1988 they were able to set in motion the planning of a women only conference to be held in spring 1989 (NFHA Women in Housing Standing Group. 1988).

10.5 THE RETURN TO WORK ISSUE

10.5.1 The retraining Schemes

The return to work issue was a good example of the way in which a broad and vital issue for many women could form the focus for successful action by the groups mentioned here, and suitable alliances with organisations outside of the housing world entirely. It will therefore be explored in slightly more detail as an example of this type of action.

When the first Women in Housing Group meeting was held in 1981 the issue of women qualified and experienced in housing work who were having difficulty in returning to employment after a career break was raised (Women in Housing Group. London 1981a; Dallas, 1984).

This was a good campaigning issue, both because of its grass roots support and because of the economic arguments that it represented a waste of the public money and employers' money spent on training these women. It was an issue that many women campaigning in other organisations or in the general employment field had recognised (see, for example, Cooper, 1982). Thus the possibility of posing arguments which would be successful and of obtaining support was good for this issue.

Because the Institute of Housing was the major examining body for housing, it was also a natural issue for the Institute's Working Party and one which would meet with response for its members. In fact most of the first two years of the Working party were taken up with considering this issue. This resulted in a scheme for encouraging employing organisations to offer facilities to women wishing to return, similar to those being employed in Banking and elsewhere (See, for example, Institute of Housing, Professional Practice and Publication Committee, 1984b). However the Institute could only provide small resources to administer this scheme, so it was only partially successful. It was clear that more resources were needed from elsewhere.

A proposal for running Return to Work courses was put to the Local Government Training Board in 1984. The LGTB was unable to fund this but passed the request on to the MSC (LGTB, 1984). The Director of the Institute took an active part in the negotiations which eventually resulted in an MSC funded Return to Work Project running from May 1985 and employing two paid consultants on a contract basis. The work of the Project centred around the running of two sequences of retraining courses but it also generated much valuable publicity for the whole issue.

Many of the groups mentioned earlier became involved in this issue. The Women in Housing Group was initially very active in drafting papers and the Institute schemes.

and provided much of the input and contacts for the Return to Work Project. The Institute of Housing Working Party played a key role in getting the proposals into existence, funded and running, while the support of the National Federation of Housing Associations Working Party was sought in working out how associations might co-operate and in gaining publicity.

10.5.2 The formation of HERA

Another initiative very much linked with the Return to Work issue, though not solely connected with it, was the formation of an organisation specialising in women's employment issues and concentrating on the Housing field.

As we have seen, in 1981, when the Women in Housing Group formed, an immediate issue for some of the younger members was returning to work or obtaining part-time work. There was no central employment help for housing, such as RICS and RTPI provided for their members, and in any case there was not yet a generally recognised market for part-time work. Some Branch Officers of the Institute had put in a considerable effort in helping members seeking to return to work to find suitable employment, but this help was patchy and onerous on individuals. The Women in Housing Group tried initially to operate a register on a voluntary basis for the London area. Once again, this work proved too onerous on a voluntary basis, also the legal complications of anything which might appear to be an employment agency were quite daunting.

For these reasons it was fortunate that the Women in Housing Group had a link with the Over Forties Housing Association. This Association had been founded in the inter-war period to help women find housing and had extended its activities to aid in finding employment. It proved possible for the two organisations to negotiate the setting up of a new body called HERA (Housing Employment Register and Advice). One particularly beneficial aspect of this new link was that it extended the service to all women working in housing, stressing that wardens, secretaries and caretakers were equally housing staff. In addition, it crossed the boundaries between housing association and housing department work, focusing on women's employment in housing wherever it was. By 1988, HERA was carrying out a wide range of activities including jobs register, career counselling, training, information service on housing education and training, and producing its own publications (HERA, 1988).

Looking at the return to work issue overall, much of interest emerges. It was a good issue for initial action because it so easily made sense to the professional bodies and funding agencies such as MSC. A broad coalition of interests could be united in pursuing it and could each play their part. Finally, it was particularly pleasing that an initiative from the earlier wave of feminism in the inter-war period could be helpful in aiding development in the 1980s.

10.6 THE INSTITUTE OF HOUSING IN THE LATE 1980s

In 1987 the Institute of Housing finally began to produce statistics of membership analysed by gender. This was a change which had been requested by the first meeting of the Women in Housing Working Party in 1983. At that stage the Director of the Institute had queried the necessity for these statistics in relation to the cost of producing them. Working Party members had pointed out that, as the Institute's membership records were computerised, production of the statistics should not be too onerous and they were necessary in order to monitor whether policies were being successful. The fact that the statistics were finally produced in 1987 seems to indicate progress in the Institute's commitment to equal opportunities. The statistics were presented to the Membership Committee and to the Women in Housing Working Party in spring 1987 but there does not seem to have been much discussion of them. This may have been because, although they were presented in full, the percentages were not calculated in the most helpful way and there was no effective summary of the implications.

It seemed appropriate therefore to analyse these statistics for this study. The percentages had to be recalculated to show the proportion of each grade of membership who were women and certain categories selected to make the results comparable with those elsewhere in this study. (The Institute figures included associates, retired members and other categories.)

It can be seen from Tables 10.1 to 10.3 that the 1987 statistics provide comprehensive data on membership and

the changing proportions of women on different grades and in different branches of the Institute. An attempt was made also to use the figures for July 1988 for purposes of comparison but at this stage the method of presentation had changed again so it was only possible to extract the national figures, not the detailed branch ones given in Tables 10.2 and 10.3. Table 10.4 compares 1987 and 1988. summary statistics from 1987 and 1988 are compared with the earlier ones used in this study in Figure 10.1.

These statistics provide an encouraging picture with which to end this study. Women formed 47% of students in 1987 and 49% in 1988. so the rising trend observed earlier was still continuing. In three branches, London, South East and Scotland. they provided more than fifty per cent of the students. This confirms the argument of the previous chapters that there is no reason why women should not be fully represented in housing work. The percentage of members of less than three years who were women is no less encouraging at 44% in 1987 and 46% in 1988. The London and Scottish Branches had in fact exceeded 50% - a phenomenon which received little publicity. The figure for Scotland is particularly encouraging because women's participation there had dropped to a very low ebb and women had felt that they faced a particularly difficult struggle. Some members of Scottish Branch had been particularly active in encouraging women's membership.

TABLE 10.1

INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERS AS AT 15.4.87
Percentage of each grade that were women

GRADE	MALE (number)	FEMALE (Number)	TOTAL (Number)	PERCENTAGE WOMEN
Fellow	317	39	356	11
Member less than 3 yrs	574	445	1019	44
Member more than 3 yrs	1484	403	1887	21
Student	2206	1981	4187	47

} 29%

Source: Institute of Housing Statistics

TABLE 10.2

COMPARISON OF WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP
OF SELECTED BRANCHES OF THE INSTITUTE
Percentages

BRANCH	FELLOW %	MEMBER %	STUDENT %
London	31	35	56
East Anglia	6	24	43
South East	8	26	51
North Western	0	29	44
Scotland	12	35	53

Source: Institute of Housing Statistics

TABLE 10.3

WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP OF SELECTED
BRANCHES OF THE INSTITUTE, APRIL 1987
Members for less than and more than
3 years and students

BRANCH	% students who were women	% members less than 3 yrs who were women	% members more than 3 yrs who were women
London	56	51	26
East Anglia	43	30	21
South East	51	41	17
North Western	44	39	22
Scotland	53	49	24

Source: Institute of Housing Statistics

TABLE 10.4

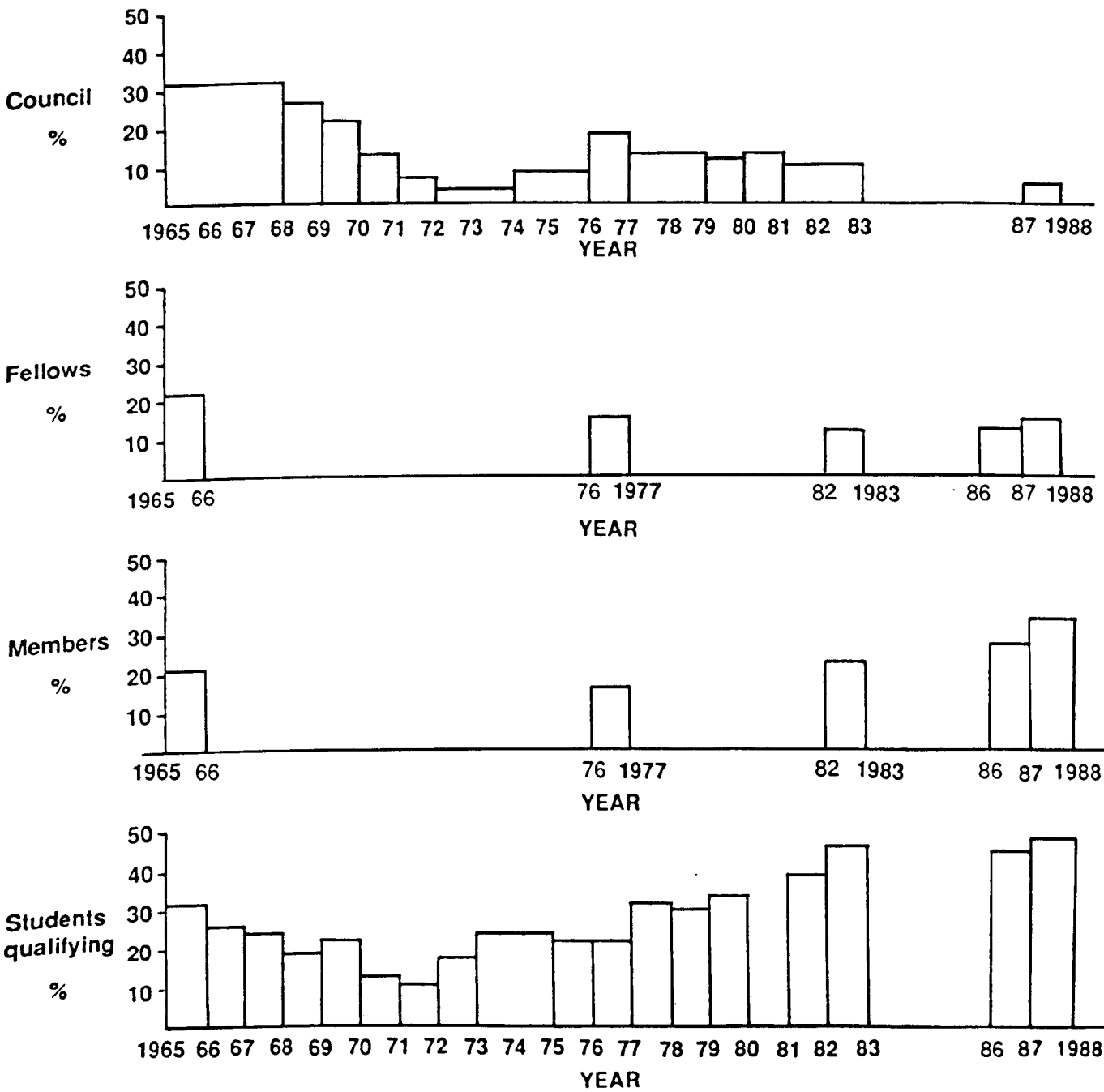
INSTITUTE OF HOUSING MEMBERS
PERCENTAGE OF EACH GRADE WHO WERE WOMEN
1987 and 1988

	1987				1988			
	Male	Female	Total	% Women	Male	Female	Total	% Women
Fellow	317	39	356	11%	*475	75	550	14%
Member less than 3 yrs	574	445	1019	44%	592	512	1104	46%
Member more than 3 yrs	1484	403	1887	21%	1256	397	1653	24%
Student	2206	1981	4187	47%	2258	2161	4419	49%

*Includes Life Fellows

Source: Institute of Housing Statistics

Figure 10.1 Comparison of changes in women's participation at council, fellow, member and student level of the Institute of Housing 1965 - 88 (percentage).



The percentages for members of more than three years (21% in 1987, 24% in 1988) again showed the upward trend but still showed a considerable imbalance. At this stage it is not easy to say how far this imbalance reflects the trends discussed in the previous chapters or the ongoing effect of the career break, or a greater reluctance among women rather than men to remain in Institute membership. The Institute was concerned about drop-out from membership among all the younger qualified staff but, because of the possible effects of career break, it is difficult to clarify the issues here. As the production of statistics continues it should become easier to identify trends, if the bases for comparison are consistent.

In the late 1980s even the figure for women Fellows improved (11% in 1987 and 14% in 1988) though it was still low, reflecting the difficulties for women in getting top jobs described earlier in this thesis. It was particularly encouraging that 31% of Fellows in London were women. It has been demonstrated (Chapter Nine Section Eight) that the early predominance of women in London work had not been reflected in the practice of the LCC but that more positive equal opportunities policies since the 1970s seem to have had a decided effect, and this is once again confirmed.

The poorer record of some branches of the Institute is also confirmed. Thus the Institute membership data confirms the trends mentioned in the previous Chapters and that, after the low point in the early seventies, women's participation both in the Institute of Housing

and in employment seems to be improving considerably. The issue of the career break and of women's participation in the more senior levels still need very careful attention and the effect of current changes in housing and on the general social and political scene may not be helpful.

10.7 THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS PERIOD AND THE STRATEGIES INVOLVED

The period of the 1980s provides an interesting contrast to the rest of the study. The Society of Housing Managers, as an exclusive source of support to women working in housing, had been lost and indeed in the atmosphere of the 1970s and 1980s an all female Society was not seen as an appropriate answer. On the other hand the history of the period from the 1960s gave ample evidence to argue that women needed some special measures if they were to improve their position. Initially some women within the Institute were wary of forming a specific group because of the fact that it might be seen to be reviving the idea of separatism. However, those who wanted action could call upon examples of what had been done in other occupational areas and on a degree of public and legislative backing for equal opportunities. Even so, the extent of what was achieved was limited and subject to the same forces of social change as had helped to generate it. The methods used were sometimes under attack from feminists, who felt they were not far reaching enough, as well as from traditionalists who did not see the reasons for change.

Lynne Segal has described in "Is the future female?" the way internal dissension damaged various groups in the women's movement in the 1970s and early 1980s and the tendency of women to "fail to take in and value our victories or to assess the strength and nature of the forces which determine our defeats" (Segal, 1987: 214). This section attempts to value the victories of the work in housing and to identify some of the strategies used, making use also of the evidence from other related professional bodies. It is also relevant to look at the areas of criticism and this is done in the next Section.

The NCCL's book "Positive action for women: The next step" (Robarts, Coote and Ball, 1981), which is intended to give practical advice on equal opportunities action, starts with the importance of declaring an equal opportunities policy and analysing and monitoring the workforce, recruitment requirements and the role of education. This opening gambit can be criticised on the grounds that policies and monitoring mean nothing unless there is will to act and affirmative action.

However it can be seen from the previous chapters that, in Housing as in Surveying, Architecture and Accountancy, basic facts about women's position had to be established before any case for action could be made. It is here that the professional bodies can play a crucial role because their statistics of membership provide at least some ongoing and continuous basis for monitoring. This can then be used to substantiate the need for a more comprehensive look at women's employment in the occupation as a whole, which requires a survey and is

therefore much more expensive. This pattern was followed in most of the occupations under consideration.

It can also be seen from Chapter Nine that issues of recruitment and promotion and the role of education have then rapidly come to prominence in most of the professions and occupations under study and have to form a focus for action. However change in recruitment and employment policies is usually not be under the control of the professional body itself directly and requires it to influence employers usually via its members. The assistance of external training bodies, such as the Training Agency and favourable social climate have been critical here. One of the main worries in the late 1980s is that these sources of help will no longer exist. It is relevant to note that, despite the criticism of the weakness of Britain's equal opportunities legislation, its existence does seem to have been a substantial help to the initiatives in the various professions.

Other more informal or political aspects of such campaigns have possibly been explored less in the published literature. It can be seen in the descriptions of the moves within the various professional bodies described in Chapter Nine that the first essential for action is usually a nucleus of sufficiently like-minded women who feel willing and able to take some open action on women's issues. Of course, for this nucleus to exist women members must be there in the first place. In surveying, architecture and accountancy, women had to struggle to enter an established male dominated occupation. Housing differed here, since, as we have

seen. Octavia Hill's work plus its continuance by the Society of Women Housing Managers meant that the establishment of the profession was coterminous with the participation of women. (Housing is more similar to social work and teaching in this respect.)

Once a nucleus of women who are interested in action have identified themselves, the question arises as to how best to organise and whether a separate women's group or committee is needed. Because of the history described here this was a particularly sensitive issue in housing and a number of women were reluctant initially to have anything which appeared to be a separate organisation, but the formation of a working party within the professional body overcame these hesitations. It seems likely that the presence of a sympathetic council member is essential in most organisations, as it was in IOH and NFHA, and usually best if this is a woman.

In a number of occupations, the existence of a separate voluntary group (in this case Women in Housing) gave a freer forum for discussion and initiatives while the official working party was essential for implementing changes within the professional body. Initially, in housing, there was resistance to the official working party being all female and the working party had some male membership; however this just disappeared over time. Planning is one of a number of other occupations where this pattern of formal and informal groups seems to appear. The 1985 enquiry into related professional organisations showed that at that stage women in

surveying were the least organised. (Though in 1985 they did have a ladies' dining club, the Lioness Club, which was not mentioned in the official reply.) This relatively late move to organisation can probably be linked with their smaller numbers of women surveyors and the strength of the male image they had to fight. But by 1988 the women surveyors also had begun to campaign.

But a nucleus of women who were clear about their views was not enough to create effective action within professional organisations. The women concerned had to make alliances with and persuade other women within the profession who might be very doubtful of feminism and even fearful of the career effects of too open an identification with women's issues. For example, some of the women attending the first Institute of Housing meeting for Branch women's officers were very dubious about "feminists" or had been sent by branches who openly expressed their doubts about the need for women's officers in the branches. A practical and moderate approach by working party members seemed important in building alliances with such women. The monitoring statistics were important in demonstrating that even if individual women felt their careers had not been unduly impeded, as a whole women were disadvantaged. Nevertheless the Women in Housing Working Party always had to bear in mind that there was a spread of views among the women in the Institute.

In these professional bodies a rational case had to be established to persuade the majority of male members that action was desirable. This was easier in the 1970s and

1980s when the existence of Equal opportunities legislation meant that overt barriers to women's recruitment and employment had to be swept away.

The women's groups in surveying, planning, architecture and housing varied in the extent to which they looked at wider social issues, either in relation to employment or in the effect of their profession on women as consumers. The planning and architecture groups seem to have taken a fairly wide remit from the first. Both the Women in Housing Group and the Institute Working Party concentrated first on practical issues to do with employment where they felt they could have an impact and therefore gain some success. This strategy did appear to be useful in gaining credence for and establishing the groups which then went on to look at wider issues .

As well as the need for some kind of women's organisation within institutions, this study confirmed the need for broader networks to give support, take initiatives and spread information. A factor which may have helped the groups to be effective was their willingness to have some male members. In both the Institute of Housing and the National Federation of Housing Associations the organisation initially opposed the idea of an all female working party and wanted one or two male members. In both cases this offered better links into the official organisation and the working parties took a pragmatic view and agreed to the proposals . In practice this did not limit the freedom of discussion of women's issues.

Thus real gains had been made by 1988. The degree to which the Institute of Housing was taking account of women's issues and these were beginning to be openly debated was in contrast to the situation in 1965 or even in 1980. Women were making substantial gains in membership of the Institute and in employment though there was still some way to go as far as the senior posts were concerned. Issues affecting women as consumers were getting brought forward in the official discussions of the Institute. The NFHA Working Party had put issues concerning the employment of women very firmly on the agenda of its members' associations and was also ensuring that policy issues were raised. In both cases there was a need for more continued pressure, but the institutions were beginning to acknowledge the need for continued existence of such groups.

There were limitations to what had been gained and we will now therefore consider these limitations and the criticisms which were made of the strategies employed.

10.8 LIMITATIONS AND CRITICISMS

Three main criticisms were made of the strategies employed. The first criticism arose from the fact that this was a reformist rather than revolutionary strategy. It relied on working with established bodies, such as the Institute of Housing. During the period under discussion there was strong criticism from some feminists in housing of the strategy of working within the Institute of Housing. The Institute was seen as a reactionary male dominated body; many women in housing associations and

feminists working in other functions of housing were initially unwilling to have anything to do with the Institute and Institute local groups.

A further criticism was that helping a few professional women achieve prominent positions did nothing to alleviate the lot of the mass of women and in particular black and working class women.

The third criticism was that the gains were limited. Many were dependent on the social climate of the time; we have noted the crucial importance of the legislation and of some employers' promotion of positive equal opportunities policies.

10.9 CONCLUSIONS

This study confirms the view that the issue of sex role stereotyping is of crucial importance to women in housing and the related professions. For example, it appears to be the limited perception of women's role which means that their progress in surveying lags behind that in other professions. Similarly, when there is emphasis on development or technical work or even on finance in housing organisations, stereotyped views still may mean that women miss out on promotion. Thus the theoretical understanding of the mechanisms of sex role stereotyping and continued work to build more positive images in the media and in education are of central importance to women's employment in housing. It is true also that much progress still depends on broader changes in society, for example better arrangements for child care and care for the elderly.

In particular occupations the usefulness of the strategy of working through the professional institution and other established bodies seems to be borne out by the evidence. Professional body membership statistics provide a constant and relatively speedy way of monitoring women's progress. In addition the professions can provide some kind of a forum where women interested in these issues can get together and begin to exert effective pressure. This need not be solely concerned with professional employment. For example, members of the Women in Housing Group and of the Institute of Housing Working Party were involved in improving the quality of advice for all women working in housing through HERA, in developing better housing qualifications at sub-professional level and in drafting policy documents drawing attention to the housing needs of women.

It has been demonstrated that, in housing and in other related occupations, both voluntary groups and networks of women as well as official working parties, which might have mixed membership, had an important part to play in achieving change. It seems likely that the need for such groups will continue into the 1990s.

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CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSIONS

- 11.1 THE EARLY STAGES
- 11.2 THE PERIOD 1932 TO 1938
- 11.3 THE WAR YEARS
- 11.4 THE POST-WAR YEARS

CHAPTER 11

11 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to describe the development of the Society of Housing Managers, the type of work done by its members and in particular the role of the Society in encouraging the employment of trained women in housing. It examined the hypothesis that the Society's activities in the period 1930-1950 were reflected in the employment of women in housing management. that lack of this support after 1950 was one factor in weakening the position of women in housing employment. but that other factors must be considered.

It is now possible to review the evidence and consider both the contribution of the Society to women's employment in housing and the effect of the loss of the Society after 1965.

11.1 THE EARLY STAGES

Octavia Hill had demonstrated that women could participate in the management of housing for "the poor" in a very constructive way and had tried to popularise the idea that they were uniquely suited to this kind of work. By insisting on high standards and by ensuring that some training took place she had built up a competent group of managers and, by the time of her death, a number of these had been used to independent operation. But Octavia Hill's work could have been regarded as very much a personal contribution and initially the workers who were left felt bound by Octavia Hill's own words not to form a Society. Gradually small

groups of those working in her tradition formed and a major step was taken in 1932 when the three existing groups joined together to form one Society. Even prior to that date the small groups, such as Association of Women House Property Managers, and outstanding individuals like Miss Jeffery, had taken active steps both to train women and to promote their employment. Chapters Three and Four traced the gradual development of this employment. It showed the continuity from the original group of managers left by Octavia Hill and those they were training, through the employment of women housing managers and at the Ministry of Munitions, into employment with a broader range of housing trusts and with local authorities. Both AWHPM and Miss Jeffery had played an active part in women's employment and in encouraging the younger women to work outside of London.

Personal and group rivalries had to be overcome to form one society but, once this had been done in 1932, the way was open for more systematic development.

From an initial situation where local authorities did not employ women in housing management, posts had been obtained in fourteen authorities by 1932 (though this remained only a tiny percentage of housing authorities).

Octavia Hill had laid great stress on the importance of practical training on the job. This tradition was continued and firmly established by 1932 although still based on the trainees working for no or very low pay. In the early part of the period theoretical instruction was

ad hoc and haphazard but. by 1932. a more suitable examination under the Chartered Surveyors Institute had been established and better provision for study was being made.

11.2 THE PERIOD 1932 TO 1938

The period 1932 to 1938 can perhaps be regarded as the high water mark of Society activity. Unification into one body and eventual incorporation enabled it to set up a successful organisation with paid staff. It continued to provide members with opportunities for participation and meeting other women housing managers. Through its training scheme it not only built up a reputable body of staff but also forged strong links between members. The Quarterly Bulletin and conferences encouraged the spread of information and contacts.

In this period the Society implemented a particularly energetic policy of promoting the employment of women. It carried out general propaganda. seeking opportunity for articles in the press and making contacts with employers. It also carried out an almost trade union like role on behalf of its members. seeking to protect their terms of employment and taking up individual cases with employers.

It actively encouraged its members to take up public speaking engagements to spread information about the Society and women's housing management to potential employers. schools and other voluntary bodies. Contacts with other women's organisations were also regarded as important. The extension of the work was carried to

other countries, which in turn brought new contacts and prestige.

Some of the individual cases and some of the general discussion, such as that in the Municipal Journal, indicate the difficulty of the task the Society had set itself and the obstacles facing women in housing employment. To some extent the Society, by propagating the view that women had a "special aptitude" for housing work, conformed to rather than challenged the accepted stereotypes. However, the actual practice of the work demonstrated that women could handle such aspects as money and repairs, though often the work of the women housing managers was restricted in scope.

The fact that women tended to be brought in to local authority work when the slum clearance programmes of the 1930s emphasised the need to "upgrade" the more difficult tenants would also tend to reinforce stereotyping. In some ways the Society could be criticised as using the accepted ideas about women's role rather than challenging them. It is clear that the usual spur for local authorities to appoint "Octavia Hill workers" was the development of problems in the management of estates, rent arrears and difficult tenants. The women often went in on "welfare" grounds, conforming to women's traditional nurturing role.

The actuality of Octavia Hill work was rather less of a traditional woman's role. Because of the emphasis on integrated management, Octavia Hill managers were

dealing. even if in a limited way. with the repairs side of housing work (where very few women are employed even to the present day) and with rent collecting - hardly a typical female role. This was very different to the role assigned to women welfare workers by the Institute of Housing.

Although the 1930s was a time of greater expansion of Society activity. this period also demonstrates some of the weaknesses of the Society's approach. Their training scheme. very well designed to maintain quality and pass on existing values. meant that expansion in numbers was very slow and limited. Adherence to the "Octavia Hill system" of management meant that those authorities who wanted larger scale management tended to continue to employ men. As local authority housing stocks grew. the men employed there formed their own association. the Institute of Housing. open to men and women. though predominantly male for many years. This meant that the heads of many of the largest housing organisations were not members of the Society. Though the Society was well known and respected for its views on housing management. in terms of formal presentation for example to the Balfour committee. there did not seem to be very profound differences between the Society and Institute views except over matters of organisation. Women interviewees claimed that there was a great deal of difference in the practice and quality of housing management but it is not possible to directly substantiate these claims. The inroads which the Society made in the 1930s into housing employment were therefore a reflection of successful activity but limited in scope. The period 1912 to 1939

had been a crucial one in the history both of the Society and of women's employment in housing. The initial impetus had been strongly maintained. Even so, the women faced considerable opposition in gaining such employment and their contribution was still numerically very small in the light of the expansion of public housing taking place in the inter-war period.

11.3 THE WAR YEARS

The war years allowed considerable extension in scope of the work of the women housing managers. Of particular importance was the work for the Ministry of Supply which brought the women working there in contact with a wider range of tenants and a different type of organisation. Difficulties over the state of the stock and housing management during the war were beginning to make at least some people in central government more aware of the importance of housing management. The fact that the first central government housing adviser appointed was a member of the Society is an indication of its good standing.

The Society managed to maintain its organisation and training through the war, despite the difficulties. But the debate over the admission of men, beginning before the war ended, demonstrated that some members, especially the younger ones, were becoming aware of the restrictions involved in the Society's form of organisation. Women had been employed in difficult and dangerous work during the war and had proved that they could do it, but history had also showed that women could be pushed out of jobs

after the war ended and there was concern within the Society that this should not happen again. In the meantime, the Society played its part in the planning for reconstruction after the war.

11.4 THE POST-WAR YEARS

The post-war years were ones of great change in housing. The massive expansion in state housing after the war and the establishment of the new towns was followed by a swing to slum clearance and alternation of housing policies according to the party in power. The development by the late 1960s and early 1970s of the idea of the comprehensive housing service was of particular importance to housing administration. Both this and the reform of local government tended to lead towards larger organisations in housing with a wider remit.

Initially the Society benefited from the expansion in housing though it had also to protect its members against changes in employment with the return of men from the war. But the nature of the Society and its training scheme meant that it could not expand rapidly to meet the growing employment opportunities. These were largely taken up by men and the Institute of Housing grew much more rapidly. In addition, the Society's training scheme was more difficult to operate once payment of trainees had become an issue.

In the expansive post-war years it seemed to many Society members to be reactionary to have an all female Society. So the first major discussion post-war was about the admission of men. This resulted in a victory for those

who wanted to admit men. On the other hand not many men actually joined the Society because the Institute was by now well established. In admitting men the Society also lost part of its rationale for separate existence - that of promoting the employment of women housing managers.

As time went on, although the Society continued to act as a strong support for its members, the rationale for the existence of two separate bodies was increasingly challenged. The Society as a small organisation began to suffer from financial pressures and there was also pressure from central government to do away with the untidiness of two separate bodies. The social gap between the Society and the Institute, which had been considerable in the 1930s, had begun to reduce as members got to know each other in housing work and conferences but there were still a number of misconceptions on both sides. Successful co-operation over administering the examinations paved the way for unification of the two bodies in 1965.

The unification of the Society and the Institute was followed by a period when participation of women within the Institute and women's fraction of the membership declined in a noticeable way. The decline was however more noticeable among Fellows and in certain types of employment and at Council level than it was among ordinary members. This reached the point in 1972-74 when there was only one woman on the Council of the Institute. Representation increased afterwards but only reached 1:6 by 1984. The number of women Fellows continued to

decline but the number of women Members showed a less marked decline followed by a slight rise in 1983.

Students qualifying showed a marked revival of women's participation - reaching 47% of the whole in 1982. These rising trends are further confirmed by the 1987 and 1988 statistics where even the number of women Fellows had begun to improve.

Reasons for the decline in women's influence in the 1970s

For the purpose of this study, a crucial question is how far was this decline in women's influence a result of losing their own separate organisation? Looking first of all within the Institute it is possible to discern very powerful reasons why the unification disadvantaged women. The two groups initially had rather stereotyped views of each other but these would particularly disadvantage the women in standing for office as they were the minority. Because the new Institute largely reflected the organisation of the old Institute and the Secretary was an officer of the previous Institute, the ex-Society members increasingly felt a disadvantaged minority within the new body. This was likely to have been accentuated by stereotyped views of gender differences which were still held by some Institute members, some of which seem even to have persisted to the present day. Leadership of the new Institute "naturally" went to the males. In addition, the informal organisation of the old Society was destroyed on unification and the "pomp and circumstance" of the new Institute was uncongenial to some of the previous women members.

But it is likely that changes within the Institute also reflected changes in the broader field of employment. The most important of these changes were the growth in the size and scope of housing departments and associations and the fluctuating emphases on the different aspects of housing work. It seems likely that men would more often be chosen to be chief and senior officers of the larger organisations and this was particularly reflected in women's representation on the Council of the Institute. It is also linked with the lower representation of women as Fellows of the Institute because of the gradual removing from active membership of women who reached senior positions in the period 1930 to 1950.

The changes in housing are less immediately reflected by the position of Members of the Institute and it seems likely that many women continued as Members of the Institute but ceased to participate actively over the middle of the period studied. The initial dip in the proportion of students followed by revival is probably the result of complex influences. Equal Opportunities legislation seems likely to have been one significant factor, and greater participation of women in higher education another. Student membership is also likely to be influenced by the shifting perceptions of the suitability of housing as a career for women and this is a key issue in the study.

Analysis of statistics of women's employment in the occupations related to housing amply confirms the hypothesis that the stronger the image of building or the

closer the link with the building industry the lower women's participation is. The building industry in this country has a very male image. Finance traditionally also has a very male image, though it seems that this may have been more weakened over this period than the male image of building. Examination of the distribution of women within housing organisations also confirms the effects of the "physical" and "social" aspects of housing work.

Because of this stereotyping of areas of work, women tend to be concentrated in certain functions within housing organisations, such as housing management and welfare, and more likely to reach senior positions in those. This in turn may limit their acceptability for appointment to the top jobs where experience on the technical side of housing may be sought. More important, possibly, is the kind of halo effect produced by differing perceptions of the role of public authority housing itself. It is argued that, at periods when emphasis is on expansion, large scale vision, large numbers and providing for a broad range of tenants, then the tendency will be to recruit men and to appoint more men to the top jobs. When the emphasis is more on the social, welfare and management side of housing and on coping with "problem" tenants and estates, it is likely that more women will be appointed. Given the multiplicity of variables, it is impossible to prove this point conclusively but it is consistent with the advances which women made in housing employment in the 1930s and are again making in the 1980s.

The 1980s

Chapter Ten has demonstrated that the efforts in the 1980s to reinstate the position of women in housing have been dependent on finding forms of women's organisation which could be acceptable in the new situation. The solution which emerged, of informal all women pressure groups and a formal committee within the professional organisations, is one which is common to a number of occupations. The importance of informal networks to sustain women working in male dominated occupations is confirmed.

The role of the Society of Housing Managers

Bearing in mind these underlying factors it is possible to address again the central question of the contribution made by the Society to the employment of women in housing. Did it help or hinder in the long run?

The argument that the Society helped the employment of women can be sustained particularly if we look at the experience of the 1920s and 1930s. The nature of housing management as a job means that it would not necessarily be seen as a career for women. The evidence put by the Institute of Housing to the Balfour committee confirm that the traditional view would be that if women were assigned a role in housing work at all it would be that of a subsidiary welfare worker. The development of the role of the woman housing manager with substantial overall responsibility for estates in her charge very clearly comes from the Society. It has been demonstrated that, by very careful and detailed publicity, lobbying and negotiation, the Society was able to encourage at

least a proportion of major housing authorities to employ women in that role. Moreover the Society recruited and trained the women and provided them with a social network of support. It was the foundations laid in the pre-war period which enabled women to advance farther into the man's world of housing employment during the Second World War and gave them support in taking on larger housing departments and New Towns after the end of the war.

It was during the Second World War and after that some of the disadvantages to women of having a separate organisation become apparent. Although, by this stage, there were few women in the Institute: the overwhelming majority were in the Society. This meant that they were identified with a particular system of management which was increasingly being seen as inappropriate to the post-war era. It was particularly seen as inappropriate with the development of the comprehensive housing service.

In addition, women Society members were working in Society offices which could reduce their opportunity to make contacts with other influential people in the housing world. This factor was less likely to affect women in local authority employment, particularly those in senior positions, who tended to have working relationships with Institute senior officers in their areas or on national committees etc. It was more likely to affect women employed in smaller housing trust offices who might have little contact with other parts of the housing world. But this rift within housing was likely to be important when people were appointed to senior jobs

and tended to produce two parallel career streams rather than one.

The commitment of the Society to a particular type of housing management which stressed the welfare of individual tenants was likely also to have reinforced the effect of gender stereotyping. Women were seen as concerned with the individual, the small scale and the social side of housing and this labelling seems even to have continued to the present day. Because of the changes happening in housing, Society members could be labelled as "old fashioned". "of limited vision". The fact that progressive management in the 1980s has come back to stressing many of the principles that the Society stressed is seen by some ex-members as justification for their views, but this did not help them in employment at the time.

The final stage of the process also raises its own questions. Given that sustaining a separate women's society was impossible during the 1960s and 1970s, it could be argued that both the positive and negative factors related to the Society set women at a disadvantage in the new Institute. The positive role of the Society in supporting women's participation disappeared and some of the members found it unpleasant or impossible to sustain participation without it. The negative view of Society members as fuddy duddys and welfare orientated tended to stick with them for a considerable length of time and could well have been a handicap.

Given that hindsight is of limited usefulness it is still of interest to speculate on two might- have- beens. Would women have had a significant place in housing work had there been no Society? And could women's participation have been safeguarded any better after unification?

If there had been no Society and if the previous work by Octavia Hill had not been built on. it seems unlikely that there would have been any substantial participation of women in housing work in the 1920s and 1930s. The housing associations and departments which were outside of the Society's influence were staffed, in the case of local authorities. by staff from other departments, often the Treasurers. with contributions from public health, engineers etc. and both departments and non-Society associations seem to have recruited also ex-service personnel as well as business people. Where women were employed it was usually in a clerical or welfare capacity.

Given that there would then have been few. if any, female housing managers. the opportunities offered by the Second World War could not have been taken up so extensively although a few women might have come in during this period of change. The probability then would be that women would not have come in in any numbers until after the Second World War. Here again. it is possible to take women's progress in Institute dominated departments as a measure. A few departments began to recruit and train women actively: by the 1960s. with changing educational and recruitment patterns. this was more widespread. But even by 1968 there were still some all male housing departments and very few Institute trained women in

senior positions.

It could be argued however that the subordinate position of women from 1965 to the late 1970s within the Institute was very much caused by, or at least aggravated by, the existence of the Society. Society recruitment meant that many of the most talented and best educated women who wanted to work in housing became Society members: unless they were remarkably clear about career patterns, and determined, they had no incentive to join the Institute. By the time amalgamation came in 1965 the women members were therefore not well prepared to make their way within the new combined Institute. The study has recorded in detail the effects which this had. It is possible that the position of women within the new Institute would have been better safeguarded if some kind of recognised women's grouping continued. At the time, the senior women involved were committed to making the amalgamation work and felt that such a course of action would be divisive.

However the research shows that by the 1980s the wheel had gone full circle. Women in the Institute and in housing employment generally had become sufficiently aware of their disadvantaged position to begin to organise their own groupings and networks again. The existence of equal opportunities legislation in the 1970s is likely to have assisted this. But the study has demonstrated that, for some of the Institute members at least, awareness of women's previous prominence in housing provided a spur to action. The achievements of the Society of Women Housing Managers and the fact that

women had occupied senior positions in housing employment in the past could be contrasted with the low participation of women in the Insitute and in higher grade employment in the 1970s and early 1980s .

In the 1970s and 1980s the separatist approach which had initially been embodied in the Society of Women Housing Managers was no longer seen as suitable . On the other hand the need for more informal types of women's organisation and networks was quite clearly being reinforced both in housing and in other occupations. New forms of organisation and new types of thinking were building on from the work of those pioneering women who had established themselves in housing employment in the earlier period.

CHAPTER 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1.1

MISS UPCOTT'S PAPERS: AWHPM AND OTHER WOMEN'S HOUSING MANAGER'S GROUPS CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS AND ANNUAL REPORTS TO 1932 In chronological order

Distinctive features of the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia. December 1906.

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSING WORKERS (1916)
Constitution. Council. Committee and list of members:

1916 (3 copies).

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGERS
Constitution. Council. Committee and list of members:

1917 (AWHPM. 1917a)

1918 (AWHPM. 1918)

1919 (AWHPM. 1919a)

Constitution. Council. Committee and list of members. and details of housing scheme:

1920 (AWHPM. 1920)

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGERS
Annual Report for the year:

1916 (First Report) (AWHPM. 1917b)

1917 (AWHPM. 1918B)

1918 (Duplicated sheet) (AWHPM. 1919b)

1920 (Duplicated sheet) (AWHPM. 1921)

1926 (Duplicated sheet) (AWHPM. 1927)

1929 (AWHPM. 1930)

1930 (2 copies) (AWHPM. 1931)

1931 (2 copies) (AWHPM. 1932)

1932 (Last Report) (AWHPM. 1933a)

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGERS
Report of Council Meeting. 7th October 1920
(AWHPM. 1920)

OCTAVIA HILL CLUB QUARTERLY (1928)
Issued from 23a Cumberland Market, NW1.
December 1928.

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGERS
Council. Committee and members list:

1930 (AWHPM. 1930)

1931 (3 copies) (AWHPM. 1931)

AWHPM "TRAINING SCHEME" (AWHPM. 1931)
Dated from address.

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGERS
Overseas Connections.
Duplicate sheet. dated by hand 1932.

UPCOTT. J.M. (1933)
Letter announcing dissolution of AWHPM.

ALFORD. H.A.L. and UPCOTT. J.M. (1933)
Letter: disposal of SWHPM monies.
Statement of accounts.
Resolution to dissolve AWHPM. January 20th 1933.

APPENDIX 1.2

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S HOUSING SOCIETIES, (APART FROM CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, ANNUAL REPORTS AND JOURNALS), UP TO 1932 In chronological order

HILL. OCTAVIA (1884)

Colour. space and music for the people.

Reprinted from the Nineteenth Century. May 1884.

Kegan Paul. Trench & Co.. 1 Paternoster Square. London.

ANON. (1911)

House management. A Manchester experiment.

Reprinted from the Manchester City News, January 21st and 28th. 1911.

Includes letter from Annie Hankinson.

Entitled "Occasional Papers: No. 1".

Printed by Balshaws. Printers. 18 Kingsway. Altrincham.

HANKINSON. ANNIE (1913)

The housing problem. The elimination of the slums.

An article written by request for the Manchester Courier, July 12th and 19th. 1913.

Entitled "Occasional Papers: No. 3".

Printed by Balshaws. Printers. 18 Kingsway, Altrincham.

YORKE. H. & LUMSDEN (undated)

Miss Octavia Hill's method of house management.

Printed pamphlet. undated, published from private address. London.

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HOUSING WORKERS (1916)

Working class houses under ladies' management.

Association of Women Housing Workers. London.

Undated but. from name of association. likely to be 1916.
(2 copies).

JEFFERY. MAUD M. (1916)

House property management on Miss Octavia Hill's lines.

Occasional Paper: No. 12. Fifth series.

A lecture given at Denison House on February 23. 1916.

Printed by Spottiswoode. Ballantyne & Co. Ltd.

HANKINSON. ANNIE (1918)

Cottage property management by trained women.

From The Woman Citizen, the monthly news sheet of the Manchester and Salford Women Citizens Association.

Published by the Association of Women House Property Managers. London. 1918.

UPCOTT. J.M. (1918)
Management and Housing.
With kind permission of The Economist.
Association of Women House Property Managers, London.
Dated by hand. 1918. (3 copies).

A MEMBER OF THE WOMEN HOUSE PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
ASSOCIATION (1919)
House property management. Miss Octavia Hill's system.
Reprinted from The Land Union Journal, June 1919.

AWHPM (1921-26)
House property management by trained women.
Association of Women House Property Managers, London.
Undated. internal evidence indicates post-1920. (2
copies)

GELDARD (1923)
The management of working-class property in a rural
district.
A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Housing
Association on July 20th 1923. by Miss Geldard, Manager
of State-Aided Cottages built by the Amersham Rural
District Council.
Reprinted from The Clerk of Works Journal, September
1923. (7 copies)

CHURTON. A. (1923)
The management of working-class house property.
Substance of a paper read for the Rural Housing
Association at the Congress of the Royal Sanitary
Institute, Hull. July 30th to August 4th, 1923.
Revised 1925.
The Association of Women House Property Managers, London.

GALTON. M. (1926)
Housing of the very poor.
Paper read in section D. 'Personal and Domestic Hygiene'
of the Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute, London.
July 5th to 10th, 1926.
Association of Women House Property Managers, London.
Undated. (3 copies)

UPCOTT. J. (1927b)
Memorandum upon the management of a municipal estate at
Chesterfield on the lines initiated by the late Miss
Octavia Hill.
National Housing and Town Planning Council, 1927.

JEFFERY, MAUD M. (1929)
House property and estate management on Octavia Hill
lines.
Occasional Paper No. 12. Fifth Series.
Charity Organisation Society. March 1929. London.
Printed by Spottiswoods. Ballantyne and Co. Ltd.

THRUPP. B. (1929)
The scope of a house property management department.
Paper read at a sessional meeting of the Royal Sanitary
Institute. at Shrewsbury. October 12th 1929.
The Association of Women House Property Managers. London.
Undated. (2 copies)

TRAINING SCHEME
Association of Women House Property Managers. London.
Undated. Internal evidence suggests 1930-1932 as CSI
examination mentioned.

AWHPM (1930)
Visit to Holland. Duplicated Paper.
London. AWHPM.

AWHPM (1931)
Financial aspect of house property management 1931.
Association of Women House Property Managers. London,
1931. (2 copies)

THOMPSON. J. (1931)
The administration of municipal housing estates.
Paper read before the Institute of Public Administration
at Sheffield. February 1931.
Institute of Public Administration. Undated.

UPCOTT. J.M. (1931)
Management of housing estates on Octavia Hill lines.
Duplicated paper dated by hand 1931.

MORRIS. PARKER (1931)
Memorandum upon property management and slum clearance.
National Housing and Town Planning Council, London. 1931.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS. APPENDIX 18.
H.M. Treasury report on Cumberland Market Housing Scheme.
Paper forwarded by Mr. A. E. Watson on 13th May 1932.

UPCOTT. J.M. (1932)
Women house property managers. 1932.
Reprinted from The Woman's Leader. July 1932.

APPENDIX 2
STANDING JOINT COMMITTEE
DEALING WITH UNIFICATION OF THE SOCIETY AND THE INSTUTUTE

Membership (January 1962 - 1965)

Institute

X
X
I
X
IA
I
IB
I

Society

I
I
I
I
I
I
I
I

X Deceased prior to 1981 or not fit enough to be interviewed.

I Standard interview

IA Interview carried out by telephone as interviewee already well-known to the author.

IB Brief interview on telephone as subject unwilling to have full interview.

12 interviews: 2 telephone interviews.

APPENDIX 3
INTERVIEWS AND DATES CARRIED OUT

27.02.81
21.12.79
04.04.81
25.03.81
17.03.81
05.05.79
20.12.78
1979-1981
06.04.79
25.03.81
06.04.79
22.12.79
11.02.81
18.03.81
19.06.79
12.03.81
24.06.78
24.05.79
02.03.81
23.03.81
12.03.81
14.01.80
20.12.79
12.05.79
29.09.79
10.01.80
17.03.81
14.12.79
15.02.81
18.03.81
17.02.79

APPENDIX 4
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (SOCIETY)

CAREER

When did you first start in housing work?
Why did you choose this career?

At which offices did you train?
What kind of training did you have?
What kind of housing were those offices dealing with?

What was your first appointment?
How did you hear about it?

What kind of responsibilities did the housing
department (organisation) have?
What kind of responsibilities did you have?
What kind of housing and tenants was it dealing with?
Are there any particularly interesting aspects of its
housing management work?

(These questions are repeated for each subsequent job.)

Is there any person or persons who you regard as having
being influential in your career?

Do you think that being a woman affected your career in
any way?

THE SOCIETY OF HOUSING MANAGERS

What was your first contact with the Society? What
impression did it make on you?

Did you take part in its Council. committees. etc.? What
kind of work did you do?

Why did the Society decide upon unification with the
Institute of Housing?

What did you see as having been the gains and losses of
unification?

Did women participate in the new Institute? What factors
affected this?

(If the content of later questions had already been
covered in answers to earlier ones they were not
repeated.)

APPENDIX 5
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (INSTITUTE)

When did you first start in housing?

Why this choice of career?

What was your first appointment ...

... and nature of work

... and subsequent career history?

Is there any particular person or persons who you regard as having been influential in your career?

What was your first contact with the Institute of Housing?

... and subsequently?

What do you regard as the particular contribution of the Institute (if any) to the development of housing administration?

Unification with the Society of Housing Managers

Had you any previous contact with the Society?

Why did the move towards unification take place?

What did Institute members see as gain?

What did they see as potential loss (or other arguments against unification)?

Your experience of the negotiation process?

After Unification

What happened to ex-Society members in the Institute?

Why did their representation on the Council fall?

What were the losses and gains of unification?

APPENDIX 6
INTRODUCTORY LETTER (INSTITUTE)

Dear

re The Institute of Housing

I am writing to ask for your help in a study I am carrying out of the Society of Housing Managers and its unification with the Institute .I am carrying out this work in my own time as I normally work full time on research funded by the Department of the Environment, but this work is being done with their permission.

I have worked largely from published material and records held at the Institute and have aimed to interview all of the committee concerned with unification who can be contacted. The interview would cover your own career history and early experience of housing as well as your views of the Society and the Institute.

I know that you have now retired and might feel that this is old history but it would be very valuable to me to have your views. I hope you will not mind me telephoning you after Christmas to find out what you think about this. I should be most grateful for your help.

Yours Sincerely,

APPENDIX 7
INTRODUCTORY LETTER (SOCIETY)

Dear

Society of Housing Managers

I am writing to ask your help in a study I am carrying out on the above subject. I have been interested in this for some years as I trained with the Society and was a member through the amalgamation with the Institute of Housing and subsequently of the Institute. I have completed one study, based mainly on interviews with all the members of the committee which dealt with unification. I am now, for a thesis, carrying out more detailed work on the history of the Society and the type of work done by members.

I would very much like to interview you about your own career and participation in the Society. This could either be at your own home or at the University if you prefer. If you would like some more information about this study it is easiest to telephone me at my home number (534 5494). Otherwise I should be glad if you would let me know if you are able to see me and suggest a suitable date, if possible with a telephone number for me to contact you. I should be most grateful for your help.

Yours Sincerely,

Marion Brion

APPENDIX 8

LETTER TO "INSIDE HOUSING" ASKING FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Management information?

I am writing to ask the help of your readers in a study concerned with the development of housing management which I am carrying out for my PhD.

I have already received a great deal of help from staff at the Institute and members of the Institute and the Society of Housing Managers but there are certain areas where the information is sparse or missing and I wondered whether readers would have any additional information or material.

The areas are:

- (1) Administrative arrangements for housing during the Second World War and experience of working at a senior level in a local authority over this period;
- (2) Records of the Institute of Housing prior to 1965 ie committee papers, council minutes;

- (3) Annual reports of the Institute of Housing 1937-1945;

- (4) Society of Housing Managers Minutes 1948-1953;

- (5) Society of Women Housing Managers Quarterly Bulletin 1940-1941, 1944-1945, 1945-1946;

- (6) Society of Women Housing Managers Annual Reports 1945-1953.

I should be very grateful if readers having any information on the above would write to me at Tottenham College giving brief details and their address and if possible a telephone number.

M C Brion, MA, MIH
Senior Lecturer Housing
Dept of Business & Admin
Studies
Tottenham College
High Road, London
M5 4RU

Printed in "Inside Housing". 6 April 1984.
Published by the Institute of Housing.

APPENDIX 9
LETTER TO OTHER PROFESSIONAL BODIES

Dear Sir or Madam ,

Re Institute of Housing and National Federation of Housing Associations
Women in Housing Working Parties.

The Institute of Housing set up its Women in Housing working party in 1983. In its first year the working party concentrated on issues concerning the career break and retraining but currently it is looking at other factors which disadvantage women in employment. The working party felt that it would be very useful to have some information about the situation in other relevant professions.

The National Federation of Housing Associations also has a Women In Housing working party and has this year carried out a survey on the employment of women in housing associations. It also wanted comparable material for its report.

I have therefore, as a member of both working parties, undertaken to write to professional bodies concerned with, or whose members are employed in, the housing field. We would be very grateful if you would complete the questions on the enclosed sheet with as much information as you have available and return it to me at my home address (below). As the NFHA report is currently being drafted we would be grateful to receive the information by 8th November.

Yours Sincerely,

M.C. BRION , 59, Osborne Rd, London E7 0PJ