

SOCIAL INDICATORS

The July 1977 issue of our Commentary suggested that "the East End of Glasgow was the most socially deprived area in the most socially deprived region in Europe - Strathclyde". Coupling this with the popular conception of a prosperous East, one is left with the impression of a dual society in Scotland. In the words of the *Economist*, "Scotland is a divided land".

The purpose of this article is to collate and present several tables of indicators of the "quality of life" in Scotland, both comparing its constituent elements and putting the nation in a wider UK context. Further, we shall tentatively suggest which might be considered "key indicators". This seems an opportune point in time to initiate such a study and to prepare the ground for more comprehensive secular and regional comparisons in the future. Not only has attention been focused on Scotland by the reports on the deprived areas of the Central Clydeside Conurbation, but also by political commentators. The need to relate the extent of local deprivation to the rest of Scotland, the UK and Europe is self-evident. In the political arena there are two developments to be considered. The policy areas to be devolved to the proposed Scottish Assembly cover predominantly social rather than economic portfolios; therefore priorities within Scotland are ripe for discussion. Also the strengthening of the EEC's social policy and research programmes will, when eventually controlled by regional members of an elected parliament, require the definition and development of such comparative indicators¹.

The October 1977 Commentary referred to the "rediscovery" of poverty in the 1960s. The development of Poverty Studies, the more recent regard to problems of inner-city areas and urban deprivation, and the growing concern with environmental issues in general, can all be witnessed in the evolution of interest in the broadly defined "quality of life". Any analysis must therefore try to relate, and reconcile, evidence gained from several disciplines: for instance, the "poverty amidst plenty" argument of political economy² contrasts with the phenomenon of a long-run relative growth in the Scottish working class as shown by sociologists³.

As the present recession has continued and deepened, not only may the improved relative status of the poor be placed in jeopardy⁴, but also, mainly through historically high unemployment and a general deterioration in Local Authority services and employment, the threat of permanent retrogressive effects is more severe. Unless

such trends can be reversed, historical perspective may show just how precarious is the position of much of the population and how thin is the State's support for low income groups in particular.

A cursory glance at the unemployment levels of the last year reveals that Wales, Northern Ireland, Scotland and the North of England are still the regions experiencing greatest hardship⁵. As these areas are also predominantly 'working class', one must assess the joint effects of location and social class in any comparison with other regions. Therefore, although the present study is confined to the UK, in the future it would be desirable to include both other European peripheral areas, e.g. Scandinavia, and other heavy industrial areas, e.g. the Ruhr.

This complication is exemplary of the problems facing attempts to use Social Indicators for comparative purposes⁶. Such aggregate concepts as "quality of life", "level of living" or "social welfare" are notoriously difficult to define, and almost impossible to compose and measure. In consequence, it is proposed to leave the system of measurement flexible, with the chosen constituent indicators of each major component of social welfare - Health, Education, Housing, Environment, Income & Expenditure, Social Class and Crime - given separately. With the cultural and political differences between regions and nations being sufficient to accord weightings in their relative indices of social indicators, this flexibility overcomes the objections of bias, although at the cost of formulating a single, over-all measure.

The major deficiency in available Scottish data is the lack of annual information on the "stock" variables of the Census, including such statistics as lack of basic amenities, educational qualifications, and unregistered unemployment. More important from a comparative viewpoint is the supplementary cross-classification of these variables. This prevents us from systematically identifying multiple deprivation, for instance. A result of this is a pin-pointing or 'condemnation' of a few small areas, for example Lilybank⁷ and Ferguslie Park⁸, in occasional or 'one-off' studies, with their relation to the whole or norm being determined in a subjective way.

Given these limitations, the minimum area considered for inclusion in these tables will be the Region or Nation. As to the actual presentation of data, this can be dealt with in three ways according to its characteristics. In those cases where the statistics are usually available on an annual, or more frequent, basis, indicators can be tabulated fairly readily. Alternatively, where

the relationship between years or regions fluctuates narrowly one can often determine good approximations through extrapolation. Finally, where possible, changes in "stock" variables can be estimated by adjusting according to formulae applied to published "flow" statistics⁹.

For the statistics presented and discussed here, the main sources of data are *Social Trends*, *Regional Statistics*, the Department of Employment Gazette and the *Scottish Abstract of Statistics* (all HMSO publications); in turn the content of these publications is usually derived from more detailed primary sources such as the *Census of Population*, the *Family Expenditure Survey*, and so on. These and other sources are listed in the bibliography. As the data base is built up, it is hoped to extend the series to include other sources, including occasional and non-governmental statistics.

The statistics included in this first article are mainly cross-section comparisons of Scotland, the regions of Scotland, and the other "home countries" (England, Wales, Northern Ireland). For reasons of space and time, we have excluded (a) time series data, (b) comparative statistics for English regions (though these have been referred to in preparing the text) and (c) comparative statistics for other countries. However, it is proposed to extend the indicators to include time series and other regions and countries, and they will be contained in the next article in the series.

The following sections cover Vital Statistics, Health, Housing, Education, Crime, Income & Expenditure, Employment and Consumer Durables. The tables identify and summarise those data which in our view are important in any assessment of the level of social conditions. No attempt is made here to derive a weighted combination of these data, as in index number construction; in the concluding section, however, we list a small number of so-called "key indicators" selected from the main tables. It is intended that these should be analogous to "leading indicators" in the analysis of current economic trends, though they are not designed as forecasting variables.

Vital Statistics (Tables I & II)

Of the comparative vital statistics summarised in Tables I and II, the most immediately significant as indicators of social conditions are mortality statistics. In Scotland, death rates per 1000 population are lower than Wales, but higher than England and Northern Ireland (Table I), while within Scotland those regions with the highest death rates appear to be the Borders, the Highlands and the Islands. However standardised death rates, which take into account the different age and sex compositions of the population concerned, provide better measures of comparative mortality conditions. Table II shows in fact that when the age and sex compositions of their populations are taken into account, the Borders and the Islands have the lowest standardised death rates in Scotland, though the Highlands are still above the Scottish average. In comparison with the other home countries, Scotland is shown to have a significantly higher standardised mortality rate for males, and a female mortality rate exceeded only by Northern Ireland.

Both the infant mortality rate (deaths of infants under one year of age per 1000 live births) and the perinatal mortality rate (number of still births plus deaths of infants within seven days of birth per 1000 live and still births) are regarded as important indicators of social conditions. In these respects, Northern Ireland stands out as far worse than the other countries, with Scotland second highest in infant mortality and second lowest in perinatal mortality. The differences between England, Scotland and Wales are however much less striking than the regional differences within Scotland. Infant and perinatal are markedly above average in Central and Strathclyde regions, and perinatal mortality is also above average in Dumfries and Galloway.

A further index of mortality is life expectancy, which shows that on average Scots can expect to live two years less than the average UK resident (Table II). Present life expectancy in Scotland is approximately equal to the UK average of 25 years ago, and life expectancy in Strathclyde is approximately one year less than the rest of Scotland.

For the period concerned, all the home countries except Northern Ireland showed a natural decrease (deaths exceeding births), and in Scotland and England these changes were reinforced by net outwards migration. Within Scotland, the figures suggest a net movement from West to East, a tendency noted previously in this Commentary and elsewhere.

Persons per sq km	21.3	99.9	22.4	257.2	51.8	7.2	27.4	177.3	52.8	11.9	66.1	357.7	133.2	108.9
Males / Females	0.91	0.96	0.95	0.95	0.93	0.98	0.91	0.92	0.92	0.98	0.93	0.95	0.94	-
Percentage pop. <5Yrs	6.1	6.9	6.5	6.9	5.4	7.2	6.5	7.1	6.5	7.1	6.9	6.6	6.7	-
Percentage pop. >75Yrs	6.7	4.0	5.2	4.6	5.4	4.9	4.9	4.2	5.5	6.9	4.6	5.0	5.2	-
Live Births per 1000 pop	10.5	12.4	11.2	13.0	12.8	14.2	11.6	12.7	11.5	14.9	12.5	11.9	12.1	17.1
Deaths per 1000 pop.	14.6	11.7	12.8	11.8	12.1	13.2	12.1	12.7	12.7	15.0	12.5	12.1	13.1	11.1
Natural Increase %	-0.4	+0.1	-0.7	+0.1	+0.1	+0.1	0	+0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-1.1	+6.1
Infant Mortality Rate	6.7	15.6	13.0	12.0	11.9	13.6	13.9	17.1	10.7	9.1	14.8	14.2	13.6	18.3
Perinatal Mortality Rate	13.2	21.6	20.8	14.9	13.9	19.0	17.1	20.4	13.5	14.0	18.3	17.6	19.0	22.3
	Borders	Central	Dumfries & Galloway	Fife	Grampian	Highland	Lothian	Strathclyde	Tayside	Islands	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland

TABLE I

TABLE II

	Borders	Central	Dumfries & Galloway	Fife	Grampian	Highland	Lothian	Strathclyde	Tayside	Islands	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland	United Kingdom
Standardised Birth Ratio	94	99	97	102	98	114	86	104	94	145	100				
Standardised Death Ratio	90	102	94	94	89	103	94	108	91	90	100				
Standardised Death Ratio Males											112	98	106	111	100
Females											108	98	102	112	100
Net Civilian Migration %	-0.4	+0.1	-0.1	+0.1	+1.2	+1.9	+0.3	-0.8	+0.1	-0.8	-0.1	-0.1	+0.2	-	-0.1
Life Expectation Males	70	69	69	70	71	68	70	68	70	69	69	71	-	-	71 *
Females	76	75	76	75	76	75	76	74	76	77	75	77	-	-	77 *

* Figures for Great Britain

Sources for Tables I & II: *Regional Statistics, No13, 1977*

Scottish Abstract of Statistics, 1977

Health (Tables III-VII)

Health statistics present a minefield of interpretative problems. The data in these tables pertain to the provision of health care services, the usage of such services and certain statistics of mortality and morbidity. However, the interpretation of such data is qualified by a number of factors including the uncertain relation between the supply of and demand for such services, particularly in the absence of a price mechanism. Thus Table IV, for example, shows Scotland to have a greater number of hospital beds

per 1000 population, but a higher percentage of beds occupied and average length of stay in hospital. Again, Scotland has a lower average list size for GPs, but a higher average list size for dentists and a significantly higher number of hospital out-patient attendances per 1000 population.

TABLE III

	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Medical - Average List Size	2290	2351	2199	1928	2140
Dental - Persons per Dentist	4093	4016	5009	4337	4362
Number of Prescriptions per Person	6.54	6.42	8.38	6.31	7.9

TABLE IV
NHS Hospitals

Available Beds per 1000 pop	8.3	8.8	11.7	11.2
Percentage of Available Beds Occupied	80.7	78.2	83.4	79.7
Average Length of Stay (days) in Acute Spec- ialties	10.2	10.1	11.5	10.4
Total Outpatient Attendances per 1000 pop	666.5	595.6	734.7	613.5
Cases Treated per available bed, all spec- ialties	12.8	13.2	11.5	12.8
Mental Illness Inpatients per 1000 pop	1.88	1.86	3.38	2.97
New Psychiatric outpatients per 1000 pop	4.1	3.7	5.4	5.0

Evidence concerning the influence of social and environmental factors may be sought in statistics of mental illness, mortality by cause and abortions. With respect to the first, Table IV shows Scotland with a much higher number of in-patients per 1000 population: an analysis of psychiatric admissions for different areas in Scotland is shown in Table V, in which the figure for the Highlands must merit especially serious concern.

TABLE V
Psychiatric Admissions
by Health Board

Ayr & Arran	238
Border	279
Argyll & Clyde	399
Fife	412
Greater Glasgow	534
Highland	1057
Lanark	361
Grampian	563
Tayside	537
Lothian	489
Forth Valley	351
Dumfries & Galloway	943
SCOTLAND	483

Table VI shows deaths by selected causes (in effect, a breakdown of the crude death rate), in which cancer and diseases of the heart are seen to be the major causes of death. Mortality in both these categories has risen sharply in Scotland in the past two decades, and standardised mortality ratios by cause of death show Scotland above the other home countries in most categories of deaths from these causes. However, deaths from bronchitis and pneumonia in Scotland are in general below the rest of the UK.

Rates of abortion (Table VII) in Scotland are slightly below England and Wales, though the differences are hardly significant and in any case are likely to be affected by social attitude and the availability of services.

TABLE VI
Deaths by Selected Causes

	M	F
TB	149	166
Cancer - Stomach	101	110
----- Lung, Bronchus, Trachea	114	106
----- Breast	79	93
----- Cervix Uterus	-	110
----- Leukaemia	94	95
Diabetes	129	133
Influenza	144	157
Pneumonia	71	68
Bronchitis etc	90	96
Peptic Ulcer	108	89
Cirrhosis of Liver	183	130
Nephritis & Nephrosis	117	127
Motor Vehicle Accidents	129	119
Suicide etc	104	126
Congenital Malformations	91	110
Heart Disease - Chronic Rheumatic	88	82
----- Hypertensive	73	89
----- Ischaemic	117	120
----- Coronary	133	126

TABLE VII
Abortions

% Single	49.2	49.5	44.2	48.4
% Aged <20	26.2	26.1	26.1	27.6
Rate per 1000 Women Aged 15-44	10.55	11.26	9.24	8.12

Note: All figures refer to
1976

Sources: *Regional Statistics, 1977*
Scottish Health Statistics,
1977

Housing (Tables VIII-XII)

While the 1971 Census showed that Scotland's housing standards had improved substantially, both absolutely and relative to England and Wales, concentrations of deprivation are to be found throughout the country. Indeed the much publicised problems of Clydeside overshadow the other areas of serious deprivation in the Highlands, Islands and Borders, as well as in other urban centres such as Edinburgh and Dundee. For instance, the parish of Eday in Orkney has the highest proportion of households lacking at least one of the basic amenities.

TABLE VIII
Age of Dwellings

Percentage of Dwellings built:	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Pre 1891	32	18	24	14	13
1891-1918		14	19	17	19
1919-1944	22	23	15	19	16
1945-1970	37	36	33	40	39
Post 1970	9	9	9	10	13

Table VIII shows that 50% of the housing stock in Scotland dates from after the Second World War, a higher percentage than anywhere else except Northern Ireland. Table IX shows that just over one

TABLE IX
Tenure of Dwellings

	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Owner-occupied	53	55	58	34	48
Rented from Local Authority	32	29	29	54	38
Rented from Private Owner	15	16	13	12	14

third of Scotland's housing stock is owner-occupied, compared with 53% for the UK as a whole. While this striking difference in forms

of tenure may reflect significant differences in social attitudes, or in wealth, or both, measures of the extent of owner-occupation tell us nothing of the quality of housing, and are of very limited significance as social indicators. It is interesting to note (Table X) that in conjunction with a lower rate of owner-occupation, average dwelling prices and average income of borrowers are higher in Scotland than in other parts of the UK (though average income of borrowers is slightly higher in Northern Ireland).

TABLE X

Average Dwelling Price,
Mortgage Advances &
Incomes of Borrowers

	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Average Dwelling Price	12704	12754	11129	12974	12860
Average Advances	8288	8299	7401	8687	8401
Average Recorded Income of Borrowers	4644	4676	4286	4869	4962

Despite a comparatively modern stock of dwellings, housing conditions in Scotland are far from satisfactory. The average number of persons per room (Table XI) is significantly higher in Scotland, a statistic which cannot be wholly explained in terms of average family size.

TABLE XI

Occupancy Rates:
Persons per Room

	Great Britain	Greater London	Rest of England & Wales	Scotland
$< \frac{1}{2}$	40	39	41	29
$\frac{1}{2} - \frac{2}{3}$	25	24	25	25
$\frac{2}{3} - 1$	23	24	23	23
1	8	9	7	15
> 1	4	4	3	8

TABLE XII
Comparison of Levels of Deprivation

	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Dundee	Aberdeen	Birmingham	Liverpool	Scotland	Britain
Population Density per hectare	55.7	31.8	36.6	34.4	47.4	54.2	0.66	2.36
% Population in Overcrowded Conditions	26.0	10.7	11.4	6.4	6.4	5.5	10.8	3.2
% Households without Hot Water Supply	23.8	10.5	22.5	15.1	17.5	20.2	12.4	20.2
% Lacking Fixed Bath or Shower	32.7	20.2	32.4	31.3	18.6	25.6	20.0	15.4
% Lacking Exclusive Use of WC	17.8	6.2	17.9	30.8	11.1	7.7	11.2	8.1
% of Tenements, Multi-storey Flats etc	88.7	70.4	66.9	59.4	11.0	13.8	51.7	13.8

Most overcrowding occurs in the larger urban areas, and Table XII records the percentage population living in overcrowded conditions (defined as a density of 1.5 or more persons per room) in selected urban areas in Scotland, with comparable data for Birmingham and Liverpool. On this criterion, in 1971 a quarter of Glasgow's population was living in overcrowded conditions, compared with 11% for Scotland as a whole and just over 3% for Great Britain. With respect to amenities (hot water supply etc), Scotland in general and Glasgow in particular suffer in comparison with other parts of Britain. (However, it should be remarked that data for England as a whole obscure considerable variations within England: in particular, many older industrial areas in the North of England are equally deprived.) Finally, Table XII shows the dominance of tenements and multi-storey dwellings in Scotland; like forms of tenure, the link between type of dwelling, quality of housing and quality or level of living is uncertain, so that this measure is difficult to interpret as a social indicator.

Note all figures refer to 1976, except Table XII which is taken from the 1971 Census.

Sources: *General Household Survey, 1976*
Regional Statistics, 1977
Social Trends, 1977
Census, 1971

Education (Tables XIII-XVI)

Perhaps more than in any other area, it is in education that one might expect to find Scotland above-average in measures of the level and quality of services and of achievement. Certainly in the past, Scottish education has been more universal, more comprehensive in organisation, and has seen a higher proportion of secondary school leavers enter third-level education.

TABLE XIII

Percentage of Pupils in Public Sector Schools Remaining Beyond Statutory Leaving Age

	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
16	25.0	29.0	35.6	16.2
17	18.5	21.0	15.5	12.5
18 & over	6.3	8.3	1.4	4.9

TABLE XIV

Percentage of Leavers with No Graded Results

England	17.4
Wales	27.9
Scotland	34.5
Northern Ireland	40.2

Such a comparative advantage is no longer evident, though pupil/teacher ratios in Scottish schools are on average lower than in the other home countries (Table XVI). The proportion of 17-year olds at school in Scotland is much lower than in England and Wales (though higher than Northern Ireland), and the proportion of school leavers with no graded results is much higher (again excluding Northern Ireland). With respect to third-level education, Scotland is also below average for most age-groups in full-time and part-time education (Tables XIII-XV). Thus whatever qualifications may be attached to individual statistics, it would appear that the level of educational achievement is at best equal to, and most probably somewhat less than the British average, a disturbing finding in view of the traditional emphasis on education in Scotland.

Note: all figures refer to 1976, except Table XV which refers to 1975

Sources: *Regional Statistics, 1977*
Social Trends, 1977
Scottish Abstract of Statistics, 1977

TABLE XV

Students in Public Sector & Assisted Establishments of Further Education as Percentage of Population of that Age Group

	Great Britain	England	Wales	Scotland
Full-time & Sandwich Courses				
16-17 years old	7.97 10.97	8.30 11.23	8.52 12.24	4.97 6.53
18-20	6.74 5.06	7.03 5.16	4.70 4.44	5.37 4.55
21-24	3.28 1.54	3.43 1.58	2.36 1.31	2.37 1.33
25 & over	0.22 0.17	0.23 0.16	0.14 0.19	0.17 0.21
Part-time & Day Courses				
16-17	19.17 6.21	18.64 6.10	17.64 3.75	24.24 8.30
18-20	18.55 3.47	18.43 3.60	17.93 2.12	19.80 3.40
21-24	4.47 1.38	4.57 1.47	4.09 0.98	3.73 0.85
25 & over	0.57 0.85	0.60 0.95	0.40 0.37	0.37 0.22

TABLE XVI

		Highlands	Grampian	Tayside	Fife	Lothian	Central	Borders	Strathclyde	Dumfries & Galloway	Islands	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
Z of 2-5's Receiving Education	(a)	2.0	11.9	9.2	16.3	16.4	6.2	7.5	9.1	2.1	3.5	10.2			
	(b)											24	24	39	26
Pupil/Teacher Ratios	Primary	19.2	20.3	20.1	22.3	21.4	21.4	20.0	24.2	21.6	18.0	22.4	24.0	22.8	26.3
	Secondary	14.2	13.4	14.3	14.4	14.2	14.4	14.2	16.2	14.7	13.0	15.1	17.0	17.1	17.0

Crime (Table XVII)

Although differences in the legal system, and other factors such as the reporting of crime demand that direct comparisons should be interpreted with caution, Scotland compares unfavourably with the rest of Britain with respect to criminal and civil offences. Criminal offences are approximately 20% above the British average, civil offences almost double, and violent deaths 25% higher. Proportionately, Scotland has 25% more men and women imprisoned than England and Wales. Moreover, while police manpower is 10% higher relative to England and Wales, the detection rate is 25% lower. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Scotland is a more violent society than England and Wales, and that whatever its fundamental cause, such deviant social behaviour is an important index of social conditions.

TABLE XVII

	Northern	Grampian	Tayside	Fife	Lothian & Borders	Central	Strathclyde	Dumfries & Galloway	Scotland	England & Wales
Crimes per 1000 pop	26.3	33.3	42.1	28.4	52.4	35.7	63.5	26.9	50.8	43.4
Offences per 1000 pop	73.4	55.6	71.4	50.0	61.4	52.6	68.5	69.6	64.7	33.7
% Crimes 'cleared up'	57.9	41.2	37.0	52.1	36.0	43.4	25.2	45.5	31.5	43.0
Police Force: Ordinary Manpower per 1000 pop	2.25	1.88	2.22	1.81	2.54	1.76	2.59	1.99	2.37	2.15
Violent Deaths per 1000 pop 1977	24	15	7	3	19	19	24	14	19	14
Imprisoned per 100,000 pop >14: Daily average 1976										
Males									259	209
Females									8.1	6.3

Note: Figures are for 1976

Sources: *Social Trends, 1977* and *Home Office*

Incomes & Employment (Tables XVIII-XXVII)

The Diamond Commission has reported that personal wealth in Scotland is more unequally distributed than in the rest of the British Isles. These results support an earlier study by Harrison (*The Distribution of Personal Wealth in Scotland*, Fraser of Allander Institute Research Monograph No 1), and taken together suggest that, unlike the rest of Britain, there is no apparent trend towards a more equal distribution of wealth in Scotland. Though such comparisons have to be carefully qualified - for instance they are affected by the much larger proportion of publicly-owned dwellings in Scotland - there is little doubt (Table XVIII) that the concentration of personal wealth is much greater in Scotland.

TABLE XVIII

Distribution of Wealth in Scotland

	Scotland	Great Britain	
Top 1% of pop >15yrs own	36.6	26.0	% of Wealth
2-5%	28.7	25.1	
6-10%	16.2	16.4	
11-20%	14.0	17.5	
21-100%	4.5	15.0	

Data on incomes, however, (Tables XIX-XX) are more favourable to Scotland, at least in comparison with Wales and Northern Ireland,

TABLE XIX

Average Weekly Household Income (£)

England	73.59
Wales	71.39
Scotland	74.68
Northern Ireland	65.55

TABLE XX

Distribution of Income (£ per week)

	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
<30	19.1	18.1	19.3	29.0
30-80	40.6	40.0	45.9	38.7
80-120	25.7	25.3	23.1	19.2
>120	14.6	16.7	11.7	13.1

though as noted below the conditions under which these incomes are earned tends to be less favourable. It is interesting to note (Table XXI) that Scotland relies much more heavily on wages and salaries as a source of income, and much less on self-employment and other forms of income. These data lead us to consideration of patterns of employment.

TABLE XXI

Source of Income: Percentage derived from:-

	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
Wages & Salaries	78.1	73.7	72.3	70.9
Self-Employment	3.4	5.6	4.7	6.8
Social Security	10.7	9.8	12.8	16.0
Other Income	7.8	10.9	10.2	6.3

TABLE XXII

Occupational Grouping of Head of Household (%)

	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
Professional & Technical	6.7	6.9	4.5	6.7	3.7
Administrative & Managerial	7.0	7.6	4.4	4.2	2.7
Teacher	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.6	1.0
Clerical, Shop Assistant, Armed Forces	8.1	8.4	5.4	7.4	5.7
Manual	40.6	39.7	44.1	47.1	39.1
Self-Employed (Manual & Non-Manual)	6.6	6.8	7.3	4.1	10.1
Retired & Unoccupied	28.5	28.1	32.0	27.9	37.7

Table XXII shows Scotland to have a much higher percentage of manual workers, and very low percentages of administrative, managerial and self-employed. In the words of Payne [1977], "Clearly, Scotland has become more working class and its population is less skilled

vis-a-vis England, than at any time since the First World War." Combined with the fact that Scots work longer hours (Table XXIII) (except in comparison with Northern Ireland), earn a higher percentage of their incomes through overtime and shift working (Table XXIV) and receive lower hourly earnings (Table XXV) (again excepting Northern Ireland), these statistics point to lower-than-average employment conditions in Scotland.

TABLE XXIII
Hours Worked Weekly

	M	F
Scotland	43.5	37.9
England	42.6	37.2
Wales	42.5	37.7
Northern Ireland	43.8	38.7

TABLE XXIV
% of Earnings Derived
from Overtime, Shift
Work etc

	M	F
Scotland	17.7	5.8
England	15.4	4.7
Wales	16.9	4.6
Northern Ireland	16.8	6.3

TABLE XXV
Hourly Earnings
(excluding Overtime etc)

	M	F
Scotland	161.9	115.9
England	167.3	123.5
Wales	162.9	118.4
Northern Ireland	151.7	112.0

The comparatively worse unemployment situation in Scotland is sufficiently well known, and long-standing to require little further comment though the relative position of Scotland has improved significantly in the last few years. Table XXVI also records unemployment rates in the Scottish regions, and while the absolute level of unemployment rates differs through the business cycle, the pattern is characteristic of the experience of different regions. Corresponding to the trends in internal migration, these figures reflect the relative shift in employment opportunities towards the North-East.

Finally, Table XXVII shows that duration of unemployment is substantially higher in Scotland and Wales than in England, attributable to such factors as fewer new employment opportunities, the more severe structural problems found in the older industrial regions, and perhaps to a less adaptable labour force.

TABLE XXVI

Unemployment Rates for Males, Females & Total Population by Region and Nation

	Shetland	Orkney	Highland	Western Isles	Grampian	Tayside	Fife	Central	Lothian	Strathclyde	Borders	Dumfries & Galloway	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
Males	4.0	5.9	9.6	14.5	5.8	9.7	8.8	7.9	8.9	12.2	6.0	9.4	10.3	7.0	9.7	13.5
Females	2.4	4.6	10.7	9.0	3.9	5.9	7.6	7.2	4.9	8.0	2.8	7.3	6.9	3.9	6.5	8.5
Total	3.5	5.5	10.0	12.4	5.0	8.1	8.3	7.6	7.2	10.5	4.7	8.6	8.9	5.8	8.5	11.5

TABLE XXVII

Duration of Unemployment Relativities (Great Britain = 100)

	Scotland	England	Wales
<26 Weeks	140	87	131
26-52 Weeks	135	87	135
>52 Weeks	133	66	140

Note: Table XVIII refers to 1974
 Table XIX " 1975-6
 Table XX-XXV " 1977
 Tables XXVI & XVII 1978 (January)

Sources: *Department of Employment Gazette*
Regional Statistics, 1977
Social Trends, 1977

Consumer Durables (Table XXVIII)

Supporting the evidence of lower earnings, a less qualified labour force and higher unemployment, Scottish households are in general more poorly equipped with consumer durables (Table XXVIII). Exceptions are washing machines (in which Scotland is exceeded only by Wales) and television receivers, in which Scotland ranks highest amongst the four home countries. In car ownership, central heating, and refrigerators Scotland is well behind the UK average, though higher than Northern Ireland with respect to the last two goods. Scotland is also below the UK average with respect to telephones, though above Wales and Northern Ireland.

TABLE XXVIII

Percentage of Households with Certain Durable Goods

Percentage Having	United Kingdom	England	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
One Car only	44.8	45.9	44.7	35.6	46.7
Two Cars only	6.8	7.1	6.5	4.2	4.6
Three or more Cars	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3
Full or Partial Central Heating	34.7	36.3	31.7	27.3	14.6
Washing Machine	64.9	64.7	71.2	67.6	45.7
Refrigerator	71.4	74.0	66.7	57.7	42.1
Television	92.3	92.3	91.8	93.7	86.1
Telephone	39.9	41.3	27.9	36.6	27.5

Note: Figures are for 1976

Source: *Social Trends, 1977*

Summary and Conclusions

The statistics presented in the foregoing sections are inevitably selective, and it may be argued that they are insufficiently comprehensive and/or insufficiently detailed. However, in our view a more elaborate statistical framework would not seriously affect the overall picture. It is clear that comparative social conditions are closely connected with the pattern of urban industrial decline in the older industrial areas, an impression reinforced when the data for England are regionally disaggregated. However, the correlation is far from exact; for example, over several of the indicators discussed, the Highlands bears a closer resemblance to Strathclyde than to the East and North East of Scotland. Moreover, though social conditions in the East and North East are on average better than the West and North West, parts of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and some smaller urban areas are notably below the average for the rest of Britain. Thus it is not simply a matter of West Central Scotland pulling down the Scottish average, though it remains the principal constituent; throughout Scotland generally, above-UK average social conditions (at least in terms of the indicators discussed here) are the exceptions. And while it may not be surprising that social deprivation is closely associated with the economic problems of declining industrial areas, this association (and its corollary) does not apply to all areas, or with regard to all indicators. Nor should a close association between economic circumstances and social indicators necessarily be expected, given that one of the aims of public expenditure is to even out these kinds of regional disparities. However, the data here strongly suggest that economic disadvantage is usually accompanied by poorer housing, poorer health conditions and poorer education facilities and achievement. In turn these create the conditions for higher crime rates.

For reasons given in the introduction to this article, we have not attempted to construct, or even to prepare a single index of social conditions or the quality of life; such a concept is difficult to define, much less to measure. Even if adequately definable, any definition must embrace various qualitative factors which cannot be captured in a quantitative measure; moreover the combination of a number of different factors (expressed in different units) presents virtually insoluble problems of additivity. Nevertheless, any such measures must accord considerable weight to the social and socio-economic parameters discussed above, which may at least be taken as a first approximation to comparative social conditions.

In Table XXIX we have picked out from the earlier tables a number of statistics which can be regarded as "key indicators" - those

which in our view, best encapsulate relative social conditions in each of the categories discussed. Thus for crime, for instance, we select violent deaths per 100,000 to characterise comparative conditions in this area of social behaviour.

TABLE XXIX

	Grampian	Highland	Strathclyde	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
Perinatal Mortality	13.9	19.0	20.4	18.3	17.6	19.0	22.3
Standardised Mortality Ratio	89	103	108	100			
Overcrowded Housing	6.4 *		26.0*	10.8	3.2*		
% School Leavers with no Graded Results				34.5	17.4	8.3	40.2
Relative Number Un-employed >26 weeks				135	87	135	
Violent Deaths per 100,000 pop	15	24†	24	19	14		
% Households with Income <£30 p.w.				19.1	18.1	19.3	29.0

* These figures refer to Aberdeen, Glasgow and Britain respectively, as opposed to Grampian, Strathclyde and England & Wales

† This figure comprises Highland Region plus the Northern and Western Isles

As a final qualification, most of the indicators chosen and discussed here are primarily individual-orientated in that an improvement in any of them would directly affect the quality of life for the individual but only indirectly, if at all, the welfare of society as a whole. This approach has been followed for several reasons; firstly, data is published more readily in this form; secondly, in our society the quality of life is usually defined on a personal or family, rather than community, framework, and thirdly, unlike private goods and services, the use rather than availability of public goods is the critical factor and this is less easy to determine.

Thus, Glasgow, despite being once again highlighted as the nadir might be shown in a different light if more truly "social" indicators were introduced. Although the approach adopted therefore depresses the North and West, and though we cannot "live on scenery", the familiar side of the Highlands - the romantic and the unfamiliar side of Clydeside, the Industrial archaeology, the unparalleled Victorian architecture and the recreation facilities, contribute in each case to raising the quality of life in a way which is not readily susceptible to direct measurement.

Notes

- 1 As the Treaty of Rome aims at "raising the standard of living" throughout the Community and endorses action designed "to promote the development of areas where the standard of living is abnormally low" (*Articles 2 & 92 of the Treaty of Rome*), Knox [1974] thinks that: "An index of level of living incorporating measures of prosperity, welfare, opportunity and environmental quality relevant to the nine member nations could greatly enhance the potential and effectiveness of unified regional planning."
- 2 Friedman [1977] argues that "poverty amidst plenty" or urban deprivation has been explained primarily in a psychological or sociological framework. However, the Coventry Community Development Project (CCDP), of which he was a member, "looked for more explicitly economic explanations for urban deprivation".
- 3 Evidence from the Scottish Mobility Study suggests strongly that: "Scotland has become more working class and its population is now less skilled vis-à-vis England, than at any time since the First World War." [Payne, 1977]
- 4 On both the prices and incomes sides, it has been claimed that the poor have been the hardest hit in the 1970s. The Low Pay Unit in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth claimed that: "the cost of living since the Social Contract started has gone up almost 5% more for the poorest families than it has for the richest". [Glasgow Herald, 18.5.77] The Child Poverty Action Group, amongst others, has drawn attention to the fact that: "the number of non-pensioners living below .. the official poverty line ... had increased by more than 50% between 1972 and 1975" [Financial Times, 13.7.77] in evidence to the same Commission.
- 5 Not only have these regions the highest rates, Wales 8.7%, Northern Ireland 11.7%, Scotland 9.2%, North of England 9.1% in January 1978, but also the "unemployment relative" between these regions and the rest of the UK has started to deteriorate again, rising from 133.6 in January 1977 to 140.2 in January 1978.
- 6 For discussion of these problems and a general review of "Social Indicators" and the "level of living", see Knox [1974].

7 The controversial documentary conducted in this district of the East End of Glasgow by Kaye Carmichael and the BBC in 1977, gave some insight into the "Fourth World".

8 A comprehensive "Paisley Community Development Project" was undertaken by various researchers in and around the Glasgow universities.

9 These will naturally be ad hoc adjustments given the nature of the original statistic and the available updating statistics. For an example of this "procedure", see "Condemned: Housing & Poverty" (extract from a Shelter report [Raynor & Harden, 1973]).