

The question of female career mobility
Fertile women in the suburbs of Antwerp
during 1846-1906

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THE QUESTION OF FEMALE CAREER MOBILITY

Fertile women in the suburbs of Antwerp during 1846-1906*

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Introduction

Recently, there has been a renewed interest in the history of the career (Mitch, Brown & van Leeuwen, 2004). Although the social and economic history of careers has been examined in various geographical settings and during different time periods, little research has drawn attention to the aspect of gender (Brown, van Leeuwen & Mitch, 2004; Kay, 2004; Thane, 2004). By investigating the female career in historical perspective, a contribution to this will be made.

This article explores the career mobility of fertile women living in the suburbs of Antwerp (Belgium) during the years 1846-1906. By confining the analyses to the fertile life course of women (period between 15-49 years), the influence of motherhood on the female careers during the 19th century will be investigated. The key question 'How did female careers evolve during the fertile period of women?' is raised. The following research questions will be examined in the analyses: 'What happened to the careers of women when they became mother?', 'Did the mother's career change by the birth of other children?' and 'Did parity influence the female career mobility during the second half of the 19th century?'

The first section of this article contains the theoretical context. In this part, the woman's place in the 19th century society, the historical under-registration of female occupations and the descriptions 'housewife' and 'no occupation' are discussed. Secondly, the context, data and method of this research are described. In the third section, the construction of the social class scheme usable for investigating the female career mobility is presented and finally, the new social class scheme is applied to fertile women who lived in the suburbs of Antwerp during 1846-1906.

1. Theoretical context

By analogy with the term 'career' defined by Brown et al. (Brown et al., 2004, 8), female career is in this research defined as 'any series of work a woman experiences over her life course'. This means that every woman who once participated in the workforce during her life, can be described as a woman with a female career. The definition includes both the formal and informal career of a woman. The formal career refers to the careers which 'take place within a well-defined structure of training or education and advancement. Their structure rests with an organization that can be a firm, a government bureaucracy, or a quasi-independent organization such as a professional organization' (Brown et al., 2004, 8). The informal career relates to the formal career 'but the structure can only be reconstructed from information on the actual career pathways of individuals' (Brown et al., 2004, 8).

1.1. Woman's place in the 19th century society

During the 19th century and especially in the second half of this period, woman's place in society was influenced by economic, cultural and legal trends. As a

consequence, the careers of women were strongly affected by these circumstances (Brown et al., 2004, 36; Simonton, 2006).

In Europe, the 19th century economic transformations caused a disjunction between living and working. Some economic activities which were traditionally carried out by women disappeared and at the end of this century, the male-breadwinner norm emerged. This notion implies that the earnings of the husband are sufficient to support his family, so his wife and children have not to work for pay. Due to the consolidation of this norm, new ideas about the female domesticity and privacy emerged at the end of the 19th century (Janssens, 1993; Janssens, 1998b). By discharging the women out the factories and the stimulation of homework and domestic service, women were promoted to live and work inside the home. Moreover, because the family wage became attached to men's work, the women's housework became more hidden and became less recognized as work (Seccombe, 1993, 111-124; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; Simonton, 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145; Van Molle, 2001, 25). Although the male-breadwinner ideal was strongly incorporated in the Western Europe society, in reality, women and children often had no other choice than working outside the home, because the family could not afford it. This was especially so for the lower social classes (Janssens, 1998b).

The 19th century was also marked by cultural developments such as romanticization, emotionalization and familiarization. Romanticism and emotions became more important in the three main intrafamilial systems: the relation between the partners (the partner system), between parents and children (the parental system) and between siblings (the sibling system). At the end of the century, these new views influenced the marriage and family culture strongly (Caine & Sluga, 2000; Dentith, 1998; Hareven, 1978; Matthijs, 2003; Matthijs, 2006; Perrot, 1990; Shorter, 1975; Van de Putte & Matthijs, 2001). During this period, the female career was also clearly influenced by marriage, also prescribed as the career of women (Kay, 2004, 191). In Kay's study, an anonymous quote from the 1859 *Saturday Review* (reprinted in Kenyon, 1995, 99) visibly expresses this historical opinion of marriage as 'a woman's profession'. The idea that women were supposed to marry and become mother was well incorporated in 19th century society (Seccombe, 1993, 32-35; Simonton, 1998, 165-170; Simonton, 2006, 134-135).

Women's social position was not only affected by economic and cultural transformations in society, legal trends were also crucial for the woman's place in the 19th century society. In Belgium, the Civil Code, which returned to the *Code Napoléon* of 1804, confirmed the cultural inequality between husband and wife. Through marriage, the husband got the marital power and the wife became legally incompetent. This dissimilar marriage relation lasted until 1958 (Braun, 1992; Nandrin, 2001, 42-44; Van Molle, 2001, 18). The hierarchical relationship between husband and wife was also confirmed by the Church. In the promises of marriage, the man was acknowledged to be 'legal husband' and the woman to be 'legal

housewife' whereby the woman was again subordinated to her husband (De Mayer, 2000, 37-40).

Near the end of the 19th century, due to the rising incomes, shifts in work location and the centralized and specialized manufacture, the need for women's work in the factories reduced¹ (Alter, 1988, 93; Simonton, 1998, 87-91; Simonton, 2006, 148-149). As a consequence, most women worked in the retail trade, in hotels, restaurants and the catering industry or they did domestic service (Alter, 1988, 105-106; Heyrman, 2001, 60-65; Piette, 2001; Seccombe, 1993, 111-124; Simonton, 1998, 87-91; Simonton, 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145). Rather than having a full-time occupation, most women worked part-time, irregularly or temporarily during their life (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Hill, 1993, 83-84; Seccombe, 1993, 32-35). Although the great majority of women left their paid work before or soon after marriage, this didn't mean that they stopped working after the marriage and before and after having children. Instead, women devised work strategies which allowed combining child care and work. By being active in house-bounding sectors, women could take care of the children and also could do other domestic activities in the household (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Seccombe, 1993, 32-49; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; Simonton, 2006, 148-149; Tilly & Scott, 1978, 123-145). Homework as cooking meals, doing the laundry, cleaning kitchens, scrubbing floors, cultivating food crops in their cottage, etc. was carried out by many women (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Hill, 1993, 83; Simonton, 2006, 167). Moreover, most of them also earned income by baking bread for sale, by taking in a boarder, by doing needlework for a merchant, by hawking and peddling with goods or by combining market work (Seccombe, 1993, 34; Hill, 1993, 83). The productivity of housewives was essential for the family economy. Although these women were married and raised one or more children, they made a great contribution to the family (Alter, 1988, 111; Folbré, 1991, 465-466; Hill, 1993, 82-83).

1.2. The historical under-registration of female occupations

During the 19th century, the women's work and more specific the housework became less visible and the meaning of female work changed (Heyrman, 2001, 60; Simonton, 1998, 87-96; Simonton, 2006, 148-149). Due to the value that was placed on the women's work, a shift in the conception on the housework developed at the end of the 19th century: the 'work at home' became 'not work' (Simonton, 2006, 134). Housewives were then considered as 'not working' because their work didn't provide earnings (Hill, 1993, 82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49).

This 19th century opinion that women were not 'supposed' to work and that their occupation was mostly not a 'gainful employment' (Hill, 1993, 81-82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49) had important consequences for the registration of female occupations. The recording was done by 'men [...] who had certain assumptions about the position of

¹ In Belgium for example, the female working population decreased remarkably between 1880 and 1890 (Heyrman, 2001, 60).

women in society' (Hill, 1993, 82) so the official registration was not value-free. Due to this cultural context, the registration of the female occupations was inaccurate which led to the official under-registration of female work during the 19th century (Bracke, 1996, 166-168; Higgs, 1987, 60 & 84; Hill, 1993, 80-83; Kloek, 1996; van Poppel, 1992, 164). Furthermore, some women preferred to withdraw their occupations from the attention of the officials (Matthijs, 2006, 141) and others reported no longer an occupation when they were married (Alter, 1988, 95-102).

Female occupations were not only consistently under-recorded in the censuses (Bracke, 1996, 166-168; De Brabander, 1984; Higgs, 1987; Hill, 1993; Pott-Buter, 1993; Rose, 1992, 79-82), other sources like the population registers (based on the censuses) and the vital registration records (birth, marriage and death certificates) are also confronted with this under-registration problem (Matthijs, 2001, 68-60; Van Bavel, 2002, 280-282; Van de Putte, 2005, 110-111; van Poppel, van Dalen & Walhout, 2006, 11-13). These problems are by no means unique for Belgium, many of the same problems are found in The Netherlands, England, Wales and the USA (Higgs, 1987, 84; Hill, 1993, 80; Janssens, 1998a, 260; Pott-Buter, 1993; Rose, 1992, 79-82; van Poppel, van Dalen & Walhout, 2006).

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

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

The term 'housewife' refers to women who were active in the house-bounding sectors. As mentioned above, their activities were not only limited to child rearing and other domestic activities in the household, these women often did remunerative work (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Hill, 1993, 83; Seccombe, 1993, 32-49; Simonton, 1998, 91-96; Simonton, 2006, 148-149). Moreover, women working in the retail trade or the tertiary industry were sometimes too recorded as 'housewife' because they worked part-time, irregular or temporary (Hill, 1993, 81-84). The term 'housewife' comprises thus a diversity on activities exercised by 19th century women.

The description 'no occupation' may refer to a high or a low social stratum. Rich people who hadn't or didn't want to work sometimes preferred to be registered as 'having no occupation'. Unemployed women looking for work and older non-job-seeking housewives² were also recorded as 'without occupation'. Moreover, homeworkers who didn't state their job as an occupation (due to the cultural context

² The female occupations in the COR* database demonstrate that the percentage of women with 'no occupation' increased strongly when women reached the age of 50. Especially at the end of their lives (> 70 years), many women were registered without occupation (see figure 1A in the appendix).

of the 19th century) were also registered under this description (Janssens, 1998a, 260-262; Matthijs, 2006, 141).

2. Context, data and method

2.1. Context

During the 19th century, Belgium underwent major socio-economic and demographic transformations (Lesthaeghe, 1977; Matthijs, 2001; Vandenbroeke, 1981; Van den Eeckhout & Scholliers, 1997; Vanhaute, 2003; Van Isacker, 1978). Also during this period, the city of Antwerp experienced two major changes. Firstly, the economic context changed dramatically in the first half of the 19th century. Due to a shortage of investments, the textile production which was one of Antwerps main industries, imploded. By 1850, the employment in this sector was completely lost, whereas the port exploded (Jeuninckx, 1964; Lis, 1986; Winter, 2007). This shift in employment during the 19th century had important consequences for the labour market and the attraction of migrants (mainly men) in Antwerp (Lis, 1986; Winter, 2007). Secondly, the demographic context changed dramatically in the city of Antwerp, especially during the period 1846 – 1900 (Kruithof, 1964; Vrielinck, 2000, 1668-1669; Winter, 2007). The port town then surpassed the front runner Brussels and developed into the biggest city of Belgium³, with about 273 thousand inhabitants at the end of the 19th century (Vrielinck, 2000, 1668-1669).

This demographic evolution was not only restricted to the city of Antwerp, suburb municipalities like Berchem, Borgerhout, Deurne, Hoboken and Merksem also underwent a strong population growth during the second half of the 19th century. The continuous immigration to the port city and the suburbs (because of the lodging facilities) influenced this demographic expansion. However, industrialization developed slowly in these suburb areas until about 1870. After that, they grew out to become industrial centres, with Hoboken as main trade centre (mainly because of the establishment of the Cockerill shipbuilding yard in 1873). The population of the suburbs Wilrijk and Ekeren also increased but both areas remained rural communities during the 19th century. The remaining suburb municipalities Berendrecht, Oosterweel, Oorderen, Wilmarsdonk, Zandvliet and Lillo were small rural villages. The demographic and economic context of these areas hardly evolved in the 19th century (Dierickx, 1954; Hannes & Soetewey-Campers, 1969; Hasquin & Van Uytven & Duvosquel, 1980; Stockmans, 1886; Stockmans, 1900; Suykens et al., 1986, 274-418; Vrielinck, 2000).

³ Between 1866 and 1880, the population of Antwerp grew from 117.269 to 169.112 and surpassed the size of Brussels (162.498 inhabitants in 1880) (Vrielinck, 2000, 1668-1669 & 1680-1681).

2.2. *Data*

Since 2003, the Leuven Research Group of the Family and Population has been building a database which contains longitudinal and intergenerational data at the individual level. After ample evaluation of the pros and cons of different data gathering strategies, a letter sample has been chosen. In this database, all persons whose family name starts with the letter combination COR* are selected in the historical sources⁴. The data collection begins in the population registers and is supplemented with information from the vital registration records (birth, marriage and death certificates)⁵. Because the purpose of the database is to move beyond local studies and to widen the geographic scope, information has been collected for the entire district of Antwerp. The database spans nearly six decades of time (1846 to 1920) and covers information of three generations.

Selecting a source which contains precise registrations of female occupations is crucial when analysing the evolution in female careers. Because the occupational registrations in the COR* database are recorded during the period of one population register (10 or more years), neither exact information on the duration of the occupation nor the moment of change from one to another occupation is known. For these reasons, instead of using the COR* database, the vital registration records of COR* persons will only be used in this research. The collection of vital registration records is currently only finished for the suburbs of Antwerp, which comprise Berchem, Berendrecht, Borgerhout, Deurne, Ekeren, Hoboken, Lillo, Merksem, Wilrijk, Zandvliet and the (in 1929) disappeared polder villages Oorderen, Oosterweel and Wilmarsdonk. The female career mobility will be investigated in this area during the period 1846-1906⁶.

2.3. *Method*

To answer the research questions, it is necessary to link the marriage certificates with the birth acts. Moreover, to take stillbirths into account, the death certificates of these children also have to be linked to the marriage certificates. In the marriage acts of the suburbs of Antwerp, the brides occupations were recorded in 98,5% of the cases during the research period. The registration of female occupations in the marriage certificates is thus reliable. This is also confirmed by van Poppel, van Dalen & Walhout (2006, 11). The marriage certificates of the suburbs never mention 'housewife' as occupation of the bride and 25% of the brides had 'no occupation' when they married. These results are comparable with Leuven in the 19th century (Matthijs, 2001, 71).

⁴ The sample size is 0,38% of the total Flemish population.

⁵ Specific information on the construction of the database can be found in Van Baelen (2007).

⁶ With the exception of Wilrijk (1905), Berchem (1904) and Merksem (1903) for the marriage certificates, Wilrijk (1902), Berchem (1905) and Borgerhout (1905) for the birth certificates and Wilrijk(1905) and Berchem (1904) for the death certificates.

In the birth certificates of the suburbs of Antwerp, 26% of the mothers⁷ had an occupational registration. Twenty percent of these women gave birth to an illegitimate child (N=78), which indicates that the occupational registration in the birth acts was not only limited to unwed mothers. In the death certificates, the registration of female occupations is also infrequent. When a stillbirth died, the occupation of the mother is registered in 13% of the cases⁸. By linking the marriage certificates to the birth acts and to the death certificates of stillbirths, the analyses will be limited in cases, because the occupational registration of mothers is restricted in the linked sources. This problem is solved by imputing the missing occupational registrations in the birth certificates⁹. As a consequence, more women can be examined during the analyses¹⁰.

In this research, the *Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (HISCO) (van Leeuwen, Maas & Miles, 2002) is applied for the coding of the occupations. This coding scheme classifies all male and female occupations with respect to the data's historical context (time and place) and is compatible with the ISCO68 scheme of the International Labour Organisation.

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

A classification scheme will be used for the investigation of the female career mobility. Recently, the choice can be made between the social class scheme HISCLASS, designed by Maas and van Leeuwen (Maas & van Leeuwen, 2005) and the social classification scheme SOCPO, proposed by Van de Putte and Miles (Van de Putte, 2005, 121-151; Van de Putte & Miles, 2005). However, the classification of 'housewife' and 'no occupation' with these social class schemes gives rise to a methodological problem. The descriptions 'housewife' and 'no occupation' are coded in HISCO as '-1' and '51' (hisco relation) for 'housewife' and '-2' for 'no occupation'. When classifying 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in HISCLASS or SOCPO, both groups were considered as 'missing value' and were not incorporated in one of these class schemes (Van de Putte, personal communication; Maas & van Leeuwen, 2005). Analysing the female career mobility, however, asks for a classification system which

⁷ From the 1,491 birth certificates, 389 of them had an occupational registration of the mother.

⁸ From the 46 death certificates of stillbirths, 6 of them had an occupational registration of the mother.

⁹ In the birth certificates, information about the woman's occupation was structured differently in various municipalities: in some villages, the female occupation 'housewife' was written after the name of the wife where the occupation was normally registered '[...] and Joanna Maria Cornet, housewife, [...]' but other registrars wrote the term 'housewife' before the wife's name '[...] and his housewife, Joanna Maria Cornet, [...]'. In the data-entry phase, 'housewife' was only recorded as occupation when it was written at the occupational position in the source (first option). In the analysis, however, both options are considered as providing occupational information about the mother. For this reason, the term 'housewife' is imputed in the missing values of the birth certificates.

¹⁰ In this research, 590 missing values were imputed.

incorporates 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in a valid structure. In the following section, a new classification system which comprises all female occupations will be proposed.

3. The construction of a social class scheme usable for investigating female career mobility

3.1. Social stratification and gender

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

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

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

3.2. Main principles

As mentioned above, it is important to pay attention to the relation between social stratification and gender. Because this research aims to integrate all female occupations in a valid social class scheme, two aspects are crucial. First, the integration of 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in this class scheme and second, the effect of the husband on the wife's social class.

First, investigating female occupations in historical perspective is complicated. Due to the cultural context of the 19th century, women were often registered as 'housewife' or as having 'no occupation' but many of these women had in fact an occupation (Alter, 1988, 95-102; Hill, 1993, 81-82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49). Moreover, because the female occupational registrations often don't provide information on the exact activity of the 'housewife' or the woman with 'no occupation', it is difficult to make a distinction between the activities of these women. In spite of this, it is nevertheless crucial to adopt 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in a valid social class scheme when examining female occupations in historical perspective. Previous research also integrated both groups in a classification system (Alter, 1988, 98-102; Matthijs, 2001, 68-80; Van Bavel, 2002).

Second, the social class of a woman was also influenced by the husband's social position during the 19th century. For example a doctor's woman who was 'housewife' or wife with 'no occupation' belonged to a different social class than a 'housewife' or women with 'no occupation' of a baker or a factory-worker. Moreover, the spouse's occupation did not only had an indirect effect for the 'housewives' and women with 'no occupation', but all 19th century women were influenced by this effect. Because of the great departure of women of the paid labour force around the time of marriage, the future class position and living standard of women were strongly determined by the husband's employment during the 19th century (Seccombe, 1993, 32-35).

3.3. Defining 'social class' in this research

Before constructing a new social class scheme, it is important to define the meaning of 'social class'. The definition of class as constructed by Van de Putte and Miles (Van de Putte & Miles, 2005) will be followed in this research because their class scheme is theoretical well-founded. In their view, class refers to "social power" which is defined as 'the potential to influence one's destiny – or 'life chances' – through control of (scarce) resources" (Van de Putte & Miles, 2005, 63). The social status of a person (decided by HISCO-codes) is thus determined by the social power (SOCPO) level of this individual. To obtain social power, two main types of resources must be identified: the material and immaterial. Material sources are considered with economic power and the immaterial with cultural power. Possession, schooling and authority are part of the economic power, and the distinction between manual and non-manual labour and pure status are part of the cultural power. The combination of different levels of cultural and economic power leads to a social power scheme

with five levels. The lowest level (SP-level 1) contains the unskilled, the highest level (SP-level 5) consists of high commanders, macro-scale self-employed, nonmanual superskilled and nobility (Van de Putte, 2005, 121-151; Van de Putte & Miles, 2005).

3.4. The construction of a new social class scheme

As already mentioned, various theoretical approaches locate women in different class models. In practice, however, a social class scheme which classifies female occupations in historical perspective does not exist (Szelényi, 2001, 686-687; Van de Putte, 2005, 111). In this article, a way to subdivide female occupations into a social class scheme usable for analysing the female career mobility will be proposed. This new social class scheme may be considered as a family-based approach because the class position of women in this classification system is not only influenced by the individual effect but is also determined by the effects between the occupations of both spouses.

Although the theoretical foundations of SOCPO are followed in this research, it is not sufficient to subjoin 'housewife' and 'no occupation' as two 'new' levels in the social power scheme (for example 'housewife' = SP-level 6 and 'no occupation' = SP-level 7). Firstly, because this research examines the evolution in female career mobility, it is important to identify the change in mobility (upward, downward or lateral). The question 'How does the woman's career evolve (upward, downward or lateral) when for example an ironer becomes a 'housewife' or woman with 'no occupation'? needs to be answered. Unfortunately, this question can not be solved by applying the new SOCPO levels because an evolution from e.g. SP-level 2 to SP-level 6 or SP-level 7 will not provide information on the kind of mobility but only tells that the female career modified (for example that there was a transformation from ironer to 'housewife' or 'no occupation'). Secondly, the effect of the husband's social power on the wife's social class also needs to be incorporated in this research (supra). However, the social power scheme does not pay attention to this aspect. It is thus necessary to construct a new social class scheme which takes both problems into account. This social class scheme will be called GENCLASS¹¹.

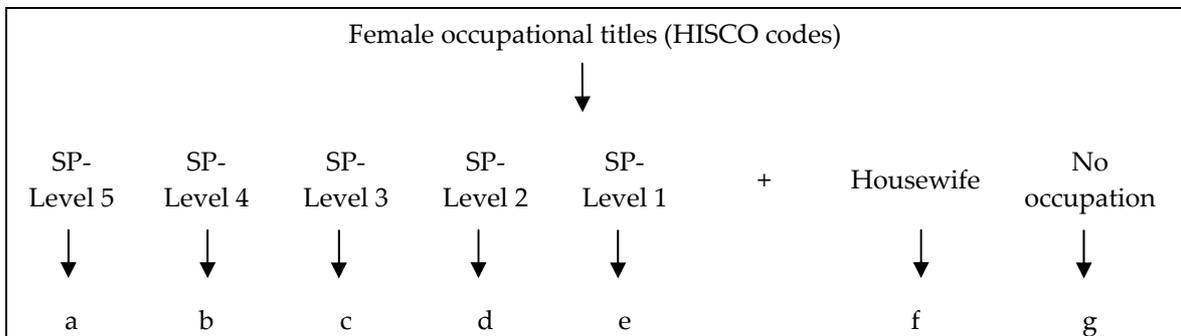
The principal idea of SOCPO, namely that the social status of a person is determined by the social power level of this individual (Van de Putte, 2005, 121-151; Van de Putte & Miles, 2005), is the theoretical foundation of GENCLASS. A woman's social power is thus (as well as a man's social power) determined by her economic and cultural power. Due to the 19th century cultural context, identifying the social power of 19th century women supposes also attention for the social power of the husbands. Moreover, the interaction between the social power of the spouses needs to be integrated too (supra). Speaking about the social power of 19th century women thus implicates speaking about the entire social power of wife and husband.

¹¹ GENCLASS refers to the aspect of gender in the classification system.

3.5. Operationalization of GENCLASS

By starting from the female occupational titles in HISCO, the SOCPO classification is first applied to the data. The remaining occupational titles with no SP-level are the housewives and the women with no occupation. By making use of an alphabetical system, these seven groups are then translated or re-coded into GENCLASS. The reason for this re-coding to an alphabetical system is further explained. Figure 1 provides information on the assignment of (alphabetical) social power scores to the female occupational titles. The letters in the figure represent the social power of women. Letters 'a' till 'e' derive directly from the SP-levels and the social power of the housewives and the women with 'no occupation' is indicated by 'f' and 'g'.

Figure 1. Re-coding female occupations in the alphabetical system



By analogy with the construction of the women's social power, the husband's social power will also be derived from the SP-levels. Moreover, these SP-levels will be re-coded too to the alphabetical system. To indicate that the social power of the husband influenced the social power of 19th century women strongly (because of the 19th century cultural context), these letters will be written as capital (in comparison with the small letters of women). Men belonging to SP-level 5 are thus re-coded as A, men with SP-level 4 as B, men with SP-level 3 as C and so on.

After the construction of the husband's social power, both social powers are incorporated to create the social power of 19th century women. Because the social power of 19th century women contains the interaction between the social power of the wife and the husband, it is necessary to join both together. By merging the two alphabetical systems together, 35 GENCLASS levels are created. These GENCLASS levels represent the entire social power of 19th century women. Because women are at the centre of this classification model, the wives alphabetical levels of social power are situated in the first position and are followed by the social power of the husbands (second position in the GENCLASS levels).

Table 1 presents the GENCLASS levels of married women. The GENCLASS levels of women with a high social power are presented at the left top corner (in italics), women with a lower social power are at the right corner (in italics). In reality, the extreme opposite social power combinations of wife and husband (for example a

wife with the highest social power 'a' who married a man with the lowest social power 'E') were uncommon during the 19th century.

Table 1. GENCLASS levels of married women

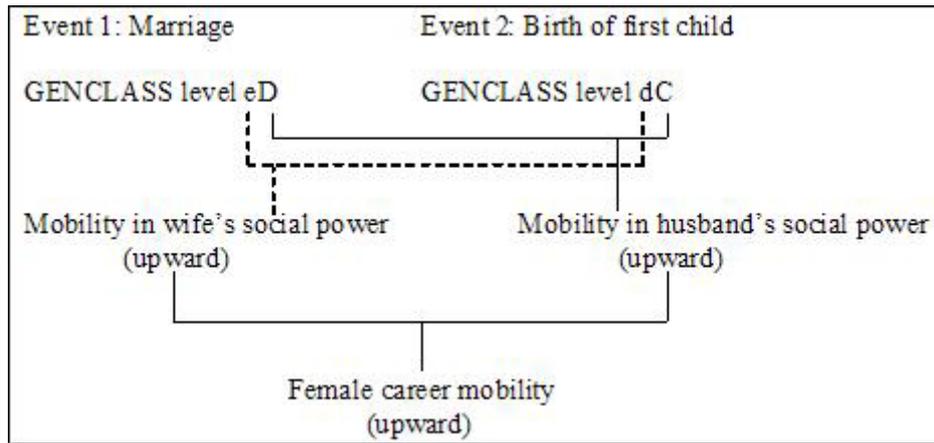
| Wife | Husband | | | | |
|------|---------|----|----|----|----|
| | A | B | C | D | E |
| a | aA | aB | aC | aD | aE |
| b | bA | bB | bC | bD | bE |
| c | cA | cB | cC | cD | cE |
| d | dA | dB | dC | dD | dE |
| e | eA | eB | eC | eD | eE |
| f | fA | fB | fC | fD | fE |
| g | gA | gB | gC | gD |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

In this research, the above aspects are integrated in GENCLASS by an alphabetical classification. Several reasons explain why this option was preferred to a numerical system. First, the advantage of the alphabetical system is that it allows making a distinction between the social power of various persons. By using capital and small letters, the superiority of one social power to another can be identified. Second, the GENCLASS levels of married women can also be extended with the father's and/or mother's social power. Third, by using an alphabetical classification, confusion with regard to pecking order can be avoided. The thought that for example level 4 is twice as important as level 2 or for example that higher level numbers have a higher social power can be misleading. By transposing the GENCLASS levels in a numerical system with $a/A = 1$, $b/B = 2$, etc., 53 (eC) versus 33 (cC) could be considered as the first (53) having more social power than the last, but in fact, this is the opposite. By transposing the GENCLASS levels as $a/A = 5$, $b/B = 4$, etc., 13 (eC) versus 33 (cC) would give the correct impression. This example thus shows the importance of constructing a classification system which avoids this kind of problems.

3.6. From GENCLASS to female career mobility

By making use of GENCLASS, it is possible to investigate the female career mobility. The evolution in a woman's career (upward, downward or lateral) can be determined by comparing the GENCLASS levels at two events. For example a comparison between the GENCLASS level at marriage and at birth of the first child can indicate an upward mobility in the female career (see figure 2). To determine whether an evolution from one GENCLASS level to another can be considered as upward, downward or lateral career mobility, both evolutions in social power (the wife's and the husband's) have to be taken into account. For a better understanding of this, the mobility in the wife's and the husband's social power is first explained separately.

Figure 2. From GENCLASS to female career mobility: an example



To investigate the mobility in the wife's social power, the female alphabetical level of social power of the second event is compared with this of the first event. Nine possibilities may occur (see table 2). In three situations, the mobility in the wife's social power can be identified. However, when 'housewife' and 'no occupation' levels are involved, the identification is unclear because of the indistinct content of these descriptions. For these situations, it is especially important to examine the social power of the husband. The mobility in the husband's social power is presented in table 3. Here, it is always possible to appoint the mobility.

Table 2. Mobility in the wife's social power

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

Table 3. Mobility in the husband's social power

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

Comparison of two GENCLASS levels for investigating the female career mobility implicates the integration of both evolutions in the wife's and the husband's social power. Both evolutions are integrated in absolute terms, so relative differences between the mobility in the spouses' social power are not taken into account¹². However, merging these two evolutions in social power asks for explicit rules. The four situations which may occur by integrating the mobility of the two social powers are now discussed.

1. When a woman is mentioned in one of the events as 'housewife' or wife with 'no occupation', the social power of her husband is crucial because it is impossible to determine from the wife's social power whether an evolution from or to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' can be considered as upward, downward or lateral mobility (indicated by the question-marks in table 2 and 4). For this reason, when the occupational registration mentioned 'housewife' or 'no occupation', the career mobility of the nineteenth century woman will directly be derived from the mobility in the husband's social power (see table 4).

Table 4. Female career mobility (part 1)

| Event 1 (wife) | Event 2 (wife) | Event 1 (husband) | Event 2 (husband) | Mobility Wife's Social Power | Mobility Husband's Social Power | Female Career Mobility |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a - e | f | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| a - e | f | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| a - e | f | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| a - e | g | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| a - e | g | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| a - e | g | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| f | a - e | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| f | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| f | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| f | g | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| f | g | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| f | g | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| g | a - e | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| g | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| g | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |

¹² For example when both social powers evolve 'upward' (see figure 2), an upward female career mobility is constructed, without comparing the 'upward mobility' of both spouses in relative terms.

2. If the female's social power modifies in the same direction as the male's social power during two events, it is easy to integrate the two and to identify the female career mobility (see table 5).

Table 5. Female career mobility (part 2).

| Event 1 (wife) | Event 2 (wife) | Event 1 (husband) | Event 2 (husband) | Mobility Wife's Social Power | Mobility Husband's Social Power | Female Career Mobility |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| a - e | a - e | A - E | A - E | lateral | lateral | lateral |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | B - E | higher (A - D) | upward | upward | upward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | A - D | lower (B - E) | downward | downward | downward |

3. When the social power of one of the spouses does not evolve, i.c. a lateral mobility in social power, then the mobility in social power of the other spouse is decisive for the female career mobility (see table 6).

Table 6. Female career mobility (part 3).

| Event 1 (wife) | Event 2 (wife) | Event 1 (husband) | Event 2 (husband) | Mobility Wife's Social Power | Mobility Husband's Social Power | Female Career Mobility |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| a - e | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | lateral | upward | upward |
| a - e | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | lateral | downward | downward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - E | A - E | upward | lateral | upward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | A - E | A - E | downward | lateral | downward |

4. If the wife's social power modifies in the opposite direction as the husband's social power during two events (i.c. upward versus downward mobility and downward versus upward mobility), identifying the female career is difficult. The unanswered question here is 'Which mobility in social power (the wife's or the husband's) is dominant?' In imitation of the presented literature on the cultural inequality (confirmed by law and church) between husband and wife during the 19th century, the social power of the husband could be considered as most important. However, the distance in mobility is also crucial. For example an evolution in GENCLASS from 'dC' to 'bD' indicates a larger female upward mobility in comparison with the male downward mobility. For this reason, the mobility level in social power will be split up into 'moderate' and 'strong'¹³. When the social power (of wife or husband) moves one GENCLASS level up or down, this is considered as 'moderate' upward or downward mobility in social power. When the GENCLASS level increases or decreases two levels, this is called 'strong' upward or downward mobility. The

¹³ By analogy with the study by Van de Putte, it is also possible to make a subdivision on the basis of SP-Level (1,2 and 3 versus 4 versus 5) (Van de Putte, 2005). However, this (concrete in GENCLASS: c/C, d/D and e/E versus b/B versus a/A) would lead to 18 new options in the female career mobility, so for that reason, this approach is not followed in this article.

mobility in social power which is the strongest (male or female) then dominates the female career mobility. It is, however, impossible to identify the female career mobility when the mobility in social power is both 'moderate' or 'strong'¹⁴. Table 7 presents this fourth situation. The table demonstrates that this subdivision in 'moderate' and 'strong' is only appropriate for the female social power levels 'a' till 'e', because the evolution from or to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' must be interpreted as described in part 1.

Table 7. Female career mobility (part 4).

| Event 1 (wife) | Event 2 (wife) | Event 1 (husband) | Event 2 (husband) | Mobility Wife's Social Power | Mobility Husband's Social Power | Female Career Mobility |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - C | lower (C - E) | moderate upward | strong downward | downward |
| c - e | higher (a - c) | A - D | lower (B - E) | strong upward | moderate downward | upward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - D | lower (B - E) | moderate upward | moderate downward | ? |
| c - e | higher (a - c) | A - C | lower (C - E) | strong upward | strong downward | ? |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | C - E | higher (A - C) | moderate downward | strong upward | upward |
| a - c | lower (c - e) | B - E | higher (A - D) | strong downward | moderate upward | downward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | B - E | higher (A - D) | moderate downward | moderate upward | ? |
| a - c | lower (c - e) | C - E | higher (A - C) | strong downward | strong upward | ? |

At the end of this explanation, it is also important to mention that missing values in the mobility of the wife's or husband's social power are not taking into account when identifying the female career mobility. For an overview of the female career mobility (part 1 till 4), see table 1A in the appendix.

3.7. Extending GENCLASS

The advantage of GENCLASS is that this social classification scheme can be extended. On the one hand, an extension can be made from married women to unmarried or widowed women. Instead of joining the wife's alphabetical levels of social power to the levels of the husband, the alphabetical social power levels of the father (for unmarried women) or those of the deceased partner (for widowed women) can also be incorporated. On the other hand, the GENCLASS levels of

¹⁴ In fact, looking back to the occupational sources would in some cases perhaps give an answer, but this is not the intention when construction a social class scheme.

married women can also be enlarged by the incorporation of the father's and/or mother's social power which may provide more information for detailed research.

Because this article aims to explore the influence of motherhood on the female career, the wife's alphabetical levels of social power are merged with those of the husband and not with the father's social power. Yet, when a bride was registered as having 'no occupation' at the time of marriage, it is possible to integrate the social power of her father in GENCLASS¹⁵. Then, the 'g' in the first position of GENCLASS will be replaced by the SP-level of the father, which will be written as capital and indicates his social power at marriage. For example, the GENCLASS level of a bride with 'no occupation' and a father as potter at the moment of marriage and who married a cooper will change from 'gC' to 'DC'.

4. Female career mobility in the suburbs of Antwerp

The GENCLASS scheme is now applied to the fertile women who lived in the suburbs of Antwerp during 1846-1906. In this way, the GENCLASS scheme is illustrated empirically. The analyses in this article will only be descriptive. By extending the database in the future to the city of Antwerp, the research methods will be extended to multivariate models.

After the linkage of the marriage certificates to the birth acts and to the death certificates of stillbirths, the database consists of 794 individual records. The GENCLASS levels were complete for the two events in 89% (N=707) of the cases. When a bride was registered as having 'no occupation' at the time of marriage, the social power of her father (when his occupation was known) was integrated in GENCLASS. In the database, the father's occupation was completed by 57% of the women with 'no occupation' (N=65).

As introduction of the analyses, the female career mobility is first examined in broad perspective. Table 8 presents the evolution in the female career of all fertile women who were living in the suburbs of Antwerp during 1846-1906. The careers of 63% of the examined women were stable (i.e. lateral mobility) during their fertile period. Twenty-three percent of the remaining women were characterized by an upward career mobility and 14% had a downward career mobility. This table shows that the careers of almost two-third of the fertile women who lived in the suburbs of Antwerp during the years 1846-1906 did not evolve. However, it is interesting to examine whether specific events (such as the birth of the first child or other children) influenced the woman's fertile life course explicitly.

¹⁵ In the work of Matthijs, the status of the bride was also linked with the father's occupation when the bride had 'no occupation' (Matthijs, 2001, 190-192).

Table 8. Female career mobility in the suburbs of Antwerp, 1846-1906

| | First Child | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Upward | 161 | 22,77 | 50 | 20,75 |
| Lateral | 448 | 63,37 | 134 | 55,60 |
| Downward | 98 | 13,86 | 57 | 23,65 |
| N | 707 | | 241 | |
| Frequency missing | 87 | | 27 | |

The answer on the question ‘What happened to the careers of women when they became mother?’ is also presented in table 8 (column 4 and 5). By comparing the GENCLASS levels at birth of the first child with those at marriage, the female career mobility can be identified. The hypothesis that ‘becoming mother’ had a significant influence on the careers of women (Alter, 1988, 91-111; Hill, 1993, 82-84; Seccombe, 1993, 32-35; Simonton, 2006, 148-158) will be examined.

When a woman of the suburbs of Antwerp became mother in the second half of the 19th century, her career was in more than one half of them (56%) characterized by no evolution. By one on five women, the career evolved in the positive direction (upward mobility). The careers of the remaining women (24%) evolved downward. A closer look at the data shows that 96% of the suburb women was registered as ‘housewife’ at the birth of the first child, the other women (N=10) kept their job. From these housewives, 88% of them had a job at their marriage and these women came, with the exception of level ‘a’, from all social levels (see table 9). Although almost all women were characterized as ‘housewife’ when they became mother, this did not automatically mean an evolution to downward mobility. As presented in the above table, the careers of only 24% of them evolved downward. This result indicates that although women were recorded as ‘housewife’, by taking both the wife’s and the husband’s social power into account (GENCLASS), becoming mother influenced the female career hardly (lateral stability) or caused an upward mobility in the female career. Moreover, this analysis also presents that the birth of a child had restricted influence on the husband’s employment and his social power during the 19th century.

Table 9. Social class of housewives

| Social class at marriage | Housewife at the birth of the first child | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------|
| | Frequency | Percent |
| a | 0 | 0,00 |
| b | 42 | 17,79 |
| c | 16 | 6,77 |
| d | 57 | 24,15 |
| e | 92 | 38,98 |
| g | 29 | 12,29 |
| N | 236 | |

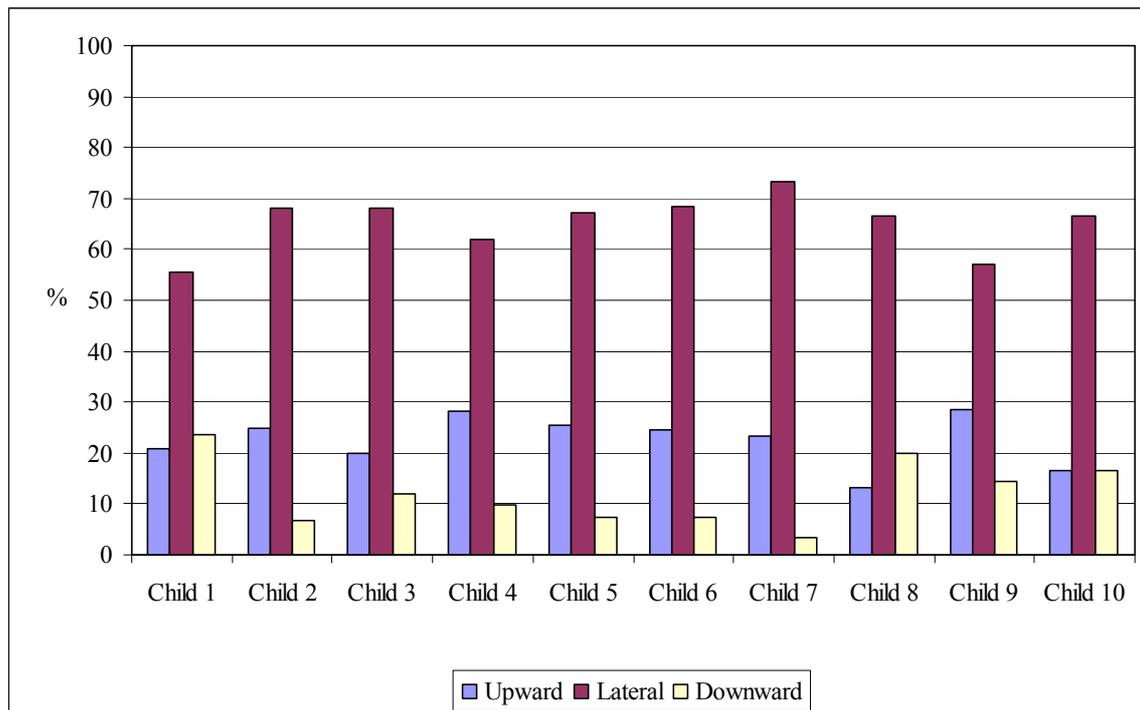
It is not only important to examine the female career mobility at birth of the first child, investigating whether or not the mother's career changed obviously by the birth of other children is also crucial. Because the great majority of women left their paid work before or soon after the marriage and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

Due to the missing values by illegitimate children, the following results will be restricted to legitimate children who were born by Antwerp suburb women during 1846-1906. Figure 3 gives information about the distribution of the female career mobility at the birth of successive children. Because of the limited observations of women with more than ten children, the figure will be restricted at the tenth child.

Figure 3 clearly presents a high percentage of lateral career mobility. This is not only so at birth of the first child (as already mentioned in the previous section), the birth of other children also shows restricted evolution in the career of women. On average two-third of the fertile suburb women had no evolution in their career when giving birth to the following child(ren). This result confirms the hypothesis that the women's career is hardly affected by the birth of a subsequent child. The upward career mobility continued almost at the same level when another child was born during the research period. The female careers evolved positive by one on five suburb women (average of 23%). After the birth of the first child, few women had a downward career mobility (average of 12%).

A detailed view on the data clarifies that about 80% of the women stayed 'housewife' at the birth of the following child. This finding is comparable with literature (see theoretical context). The remaining women were quasi proportional distributed along the options 'stayed working', 'stayed a woman with no occupation', 'from no occupation to working' and 'from working to no occupation'.

Figure 3. Female career mobility at the birth of successive children¹⁶, suburbs of Antwerp, 1846-1906

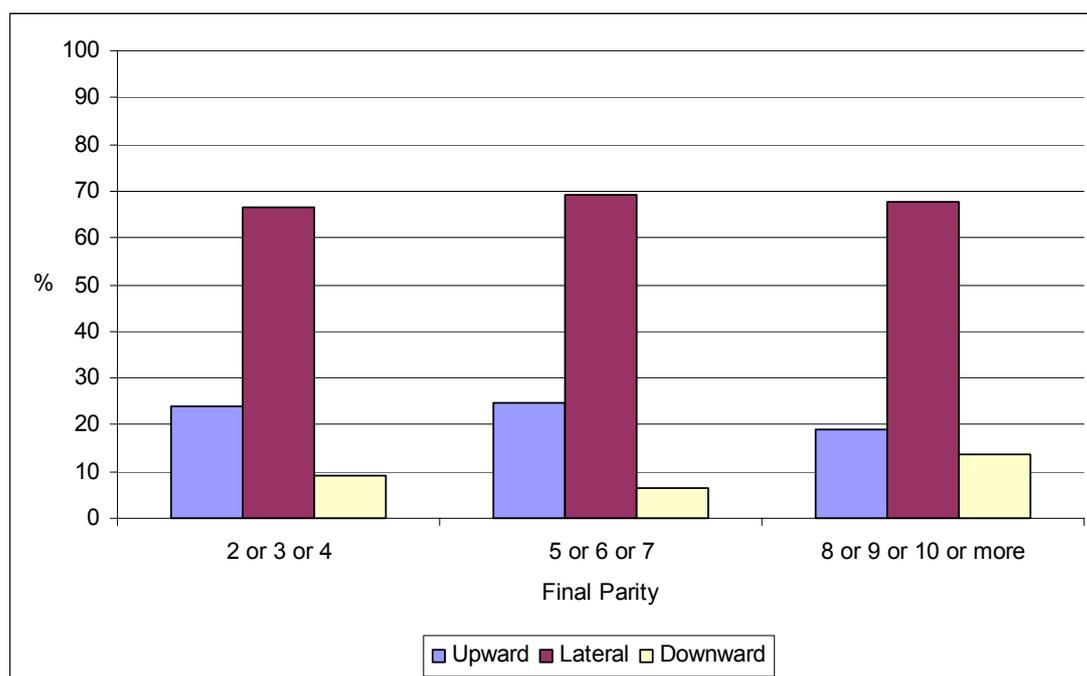


Our last question concerns the influence of parity on the mother's career during the second half of the 19th century. The hypothesis is that, on the one hand, women with a high parity of children were forced into the household, so their career mobility will probably be limited (i.e. lateral). Restricted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

As figure 4 suggests, parity has no significant influence on the careers of women living in the suburbs of Antwerp between 1846 and 1906. Irrespective of final parity, the distribution of the three types of female career mobility does not present significant differences. The percentages of upward, lateral and downward mobility are moreover quite similar to the results of the previous section.

¹⁶ The number of observations in this figure are N=241 for child 1, N=132 for child 2, N=100 for child 3, N=71 for child 4, N=55 for child 5, N=41 for child 6, N=30 for child 7, N=15 for child 8, N=7 for child 9 and N=6 for child 10.

Figure 4. Female career mobility by parity¹⁷, suburbs of Antwerp, 1846-1906



After the description of the results, the importance of applying GENCLASS to the analysis of female career mobility is now underlined. By making use of GENCLASS, the mobility in social power of both the wife and the husband is incorporated in the analysis. This has a significant influence on the analysis of female career mobility, especially when a woman is registered as 'housewife' or having 'no occupation'. If only the social power of the wife would be taken into account, a transformation for example from ironer to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' would be either considered as an indistinct mobility (see the question-marks in table 2 and 4) or as downward mobility (see theoretical context¹⁸). This would mean for example that becoming mother is in accordance with 98% of missing values when considered as an unclear mobility (235 question-marks) or that this accords with a total of 77% downward mobility (see table 10). These results would thus give an inexact impression of the career mobility of 19th century women.

¹⁷ The number of observations in this figure are N=303 for final parity 2,3 or 4; N=126 for final parity 5, 6 or 7 and N=37 for final parity 8, 9, 10 or more.

¹⁸ Because men considered 'work at home' as 'not working' at the end of the 19th century (Hill, 1993, 82; Seccombe, 1993, 45-49; Simonton, 2006, 134) a shift from ironer to 'housewife' or 'no occupation' can be regarded as a downward mobility.

Table 10. Testing the validity of GENCLASS

| | First Child | | | |
|----------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | GENCLASS | | No GENCLASS | |
| | Freq | Percent | Freq | Percent |
| Upward | 50 | 20,75 | 50 | 20,75 |
| Lateral | 134 | 55,60 | 6 | 2,49 |
| Downward | 57 | 23,65 | 185 | 76,76 |
| N | 241 | | 241 | |

Frequency missing = 27

Conclusion

In this article, the careers of women living in the suburbs of Antwerp during the 19th century are explored. During this time, and especially during the second half of the 19th century, the woman's place in society was influenced by the economical, cultural and juridical context. The consolidation of the male-breadwinner norm with the promotion of the female homework, the cultural developments on marriage and family and the inequality between husband and wife confirmed by law and church, affected the female career strongly during the 19th century. Due to the official under-registration of female occupations in this period, many women were recorded as 'housewife' or women 'with no occupation', although they often worked.

Because the aim of this research is to investigate the evolution in the female careers, it is not only sufficient to incorporate the female occupations 'housewife' and 'no occupation' in a classification system, attention for the husband's effect on the wife's social class is also crucial. As a consequence of this, a valid classification system usable for researching the female career mobility is constructed in this article. The GENCLASS scheme proposed in this research merges the mobility in social power of both wife and husband. Comparing the GENCLASS levels of two events then allows investigating the career mobility of women.

The analyses in this research concentrate on the question 'How did the female careers evolve during the fertile period of women?' Fertile women (age 15 till 49) who were living in the suburbs of Antwerp during 1846 and 1906 are investigated. By applying GENCLASS to the data, the results indicate that the careers of two-third of the women hardly changed by the birth of the first or the following children. Moreover, one on five suburb women were characterized by an upward mobility. Finally, investigation also presents that parity did not seem to have an influence on the female career.

The results demonstrate the importance of applying GENCLASS to the analysis of female career mobility. Although 19th century women were often recorded as 'housewife' or having 'no occupation' and were considered by men, law and church as subordinate and 'doing no work', by making use of GENCLASS, it is possibly to

identify the career mobility of all women, the 'registered' as well as the 'under-registered' ones.

The main conclusion of this article is that, although it could be assumed by the historical context that women were characterized by a shift in mobility at the time of marriage or when they becoming mother, by taking both the wife's and the husband's social power into account (GENCLASS), it becomes obvious that the female careers of two-third of the investigated women hardly evolved during their fertile period. However, it is crucial to draw attention to the specific research area and data of this research. The late industrialization in the suburbs and the rural character of the small suburb communities had probably little influence on the female careers of suburb women. By enlarging the research area to the whole Antwerp municipality which comprises the city of Antwerp and its suburbs, the influence of economic transformations may become clearer. Moreover, by supplementing the female occupational registrations with additional occupational information of the COR* database, it will be possible to test the validity of the GENCLASS scheme and to confirm or weaken the above results. If comprehensive research consolidates the stability in the female career during the fertile life course of women, the relation between the women's work situation and fertility may be questioned (did fertility influence the women's work or was it the opposite or reciprocal?). On the other hand, an increase in upward and/or downward female career mobility may point to 19th century values on fertility and their relation with women's social position in society.

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Appendix

Figure 1A. Female occupations by age in the COR* database, 1846-1920

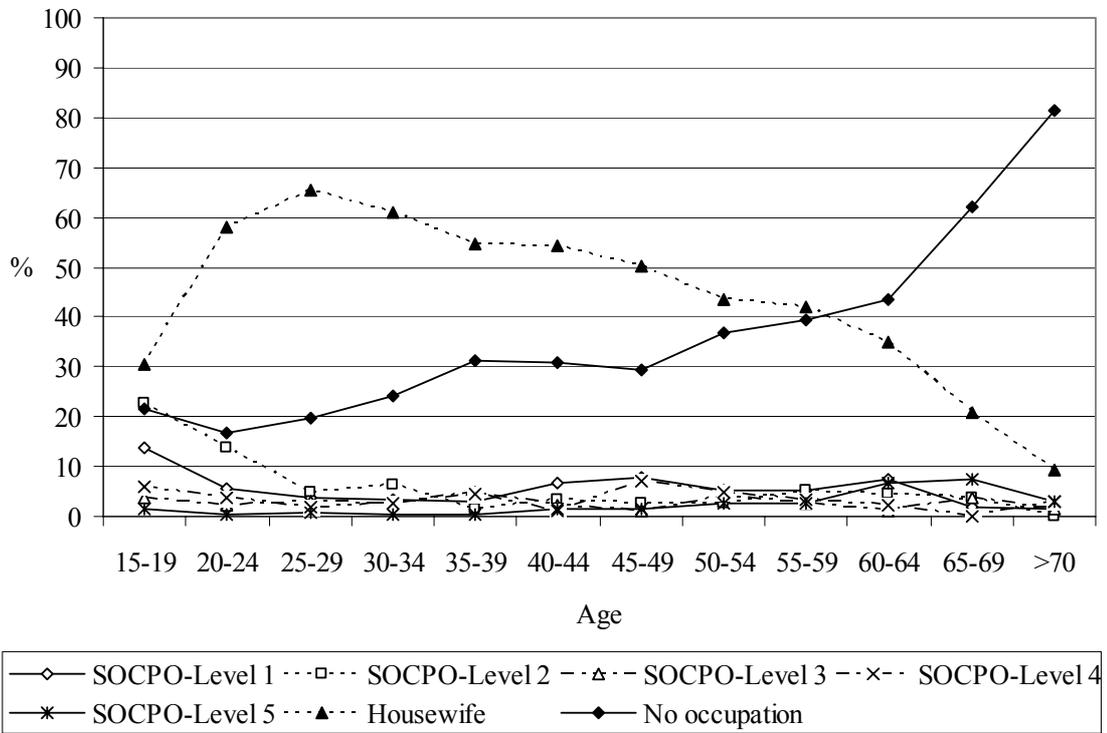


Table 1A. Female career mobility

| Event 1 (wife) | Event 2 (wife) | Event 1 (husband) | Event 2 (husband) | Mobility Wife's Social Power | Mobility Husband's Social Power | Female Career Mobility |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a - e | a - e | A - E | A - E | lateral | lateral | lateral |
| a - e | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | lateral | upward | upward |
| a - e | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | lateral | downward | downward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - E | A - E | upward | lateral | upward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | B - E | higher (A - D) | upward | upward | upward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | A - E | A - E | downward | lateral | downward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | A - D | lower (B - E) | downward | downward | downward |
| a - e | f | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| a - e | f | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| a - e | f | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| a - e | g | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| a - e | g | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| a - e | g | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| f | a - e | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| f | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| f | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| f | g | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| f | g | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| f | g | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| g | a - e | A - E | A - E | ? | lateral | lateral |
| g | a - e | B - E | higher (A - D) | ? | upward | upward |
| g | a - e | A - D | lower (B - E) | ? | downward | downward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - C | lower (C - E) | moderate upward | strong downward | downward |
| c - e | higher (a - c) | A - D | lower (B - E) | strong upward | moderate downward | upward |
| b - e | higher (a - d) | A - D | lower (B - E) | moderate upward | moderate downward | ? |
| c - e | higher (a - c) | A - C | lower (C - E) | strong upward | strong downward | ? |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | C - E | higher (A - C) | moderate downward | strong upward | upward |
| a - c | lower (c - e) | B - E | higher (A - D) | strong downward | moderate upward | downward |
| a - d | lower (b - e) | B - E | higher (A - D) | moderate downward | moderate upward | ? |
| a - c | lower (c - e) | C - E | higher (A - C) | strong downward | strong upward | ? |