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Anne Witz is Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Birmingham.

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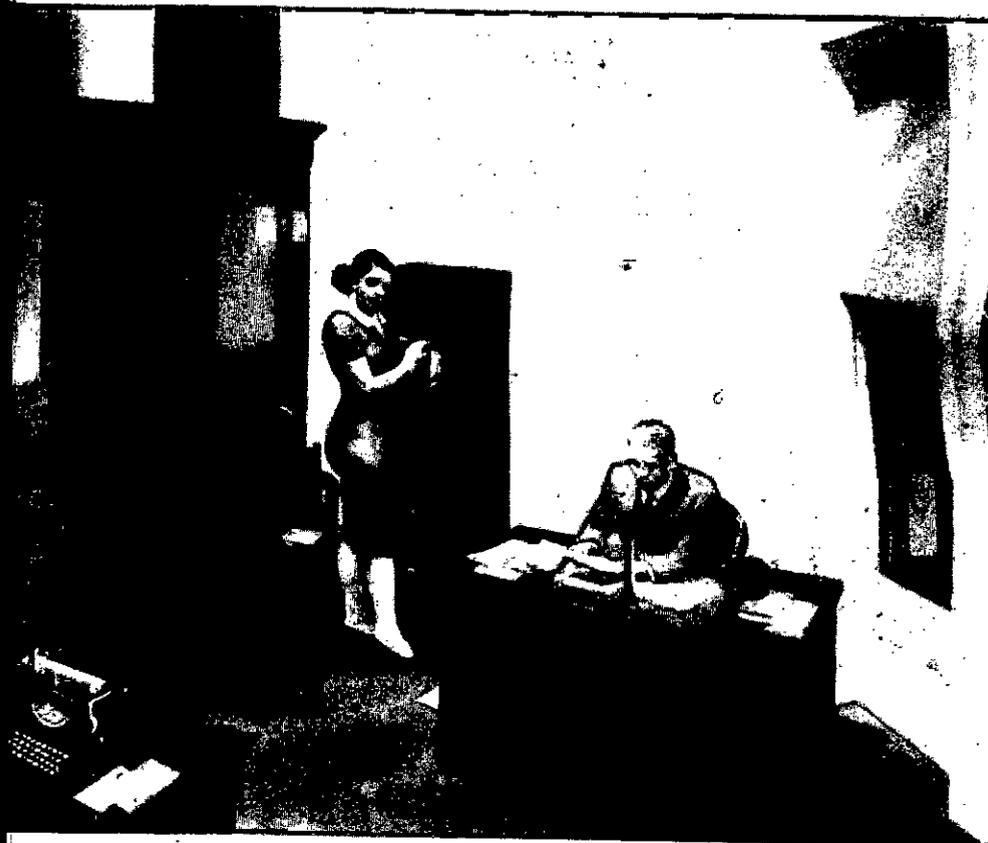
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PROFESSIONS AND PATRIARCHY
ANNE WITZ

**Professions
and
Patriarchy**



Anne Witz

THE INTERNATIONAL



PROFESSIONS AND PATRIARCHY

How have middle-class men tried to restrict women's access to the professions? *Professions and Patriarchy* brings together sociological and feminist concepts to explore the social sources of professional power and to investigate how gender segregation in employment is generated and sustained.

Focusing on the historical roots of the current gender hierarchy in the health care professions, Anne Witz shows that the gender-blindness of prevailing neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist approaches to the study of professions has not been helpful in analysing the relation between gender and professional projects. She argues that the gender of occupational groups embroiled in professional projects and inter-professional rivalries is not fortuitous, but a necessary factor in explaining both the form and the outcome of professionalisation strategies. By examining the strategies of medical men, midwives, nurses and radiographers in the emerging medical division of labour in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dr Witz shows how class and gender have interacted in complex ways to produce hierarchies of power and prestige in professional work.

Challenging and original, *Professions and Patriarchy* develops a new and incisive critical sociology of professions. It will be of great interest to students of the sociology of work, the sociology of health and medicine, and women's studies.

Anne Witz is lecturer in sociology at the University of Birmingham.

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*To my late father
Charles Louis
Witz*

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It has long been recognised that there is an important relation between gender and professionalisation, and indeed this was a focus of analysis in the now displaced functionalist paradigm of profession (cf Etzioni 1969). However, mainstream sociological renderings of this relationship have rarely gone beyond a simple equation between gender and the status, rewards or degree of autonomy enjoyed by practitioners. The overall trend, even in the newer more critical approaches such as those of Freidson (1970a,b, 1986) and Rueschemeyer (1986), has been to rely on explanations which refer to gendered attributes (such as women's association with 'caring' work) in order to read off the subordinate relation of, say, nursing to medicine. There are two problems with these existing approaches. One is that they are static analyses which take the gender of the practitioner as 'already given' and resort to untheorised notions of supposed gender-specific attributes, attitudes and 'problems' which women 'bring to' professional employment. The other problem is that they operate with fairly unreconstructed notions of 'women's role' and have no theory of gender relations beyond a basic, taken-for-granted 'sex role theory'.

When the focus is on women's increasing participation in male-dominated professions, there is a tendency to focus on the problems women have in adjusting to typically male career patterns, problems which are assumed to be largely generated by the difficulties of reconciling a career with a family (Fogarty, Allen and Walters 1981). In short, the 'dual role' problematic, which focuses on conflicts between family and work roles experienced by women and which was the dominant focus in studies of women's employment in the 1960s, lingers on in studies of women in 'top jobs'. And yet this approach has long been subject to considerable critique (cf Beechey 1978) for its voluntarism and neglect of structural factors located within the labour market itself which constrain and limit women's employment. Even Crompton and Sanderson's recent (1989) study of women in pharmacy and accountancy sneaks a voluntaristic, dual role explanation by the back door, although their main focus is on patterns of vertical segregation by sex in occupational labour markets. In short, sociological studies of women's professional work are still prey to what Garnsey (1978) has called 'the fallacy of the wrong level', i.e. reading off women's position in the hierarchy of professional work from their position in the family. More seriously, I think it can be

argued that both traditional and critical approaches to the professions continue to reproduce at the level of sociological knowledge professional men's own construction of their gendered self-image.

A sociological analysis of gender and professions which incorporates a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the ways in which gender is itself both socially constructed and a structuring principle is long overdue. The concept of patriarchy is introduced in this analysis of gender and professionalisation in order to structurally ground the category 'gender' by locating it firmly within power relations of male dominance and female subordination. Of course, 'patriarchy' has been a much debated concept, even within feminist studies, since its reemergence as a key concept of second-wave feminism. It has proved at one and the same time a powerful critical tool and a problematic one, tending as it sometimes does to slide into universalism, ahistoricism and ethnocentrism. The formerly more restricted use of the term to refer to the power of the male head of household (the 'power of the father') describes a particular, historically specific form of male dominance. But the concept of patriarchy is now used by contemporary feminist scholars more broadly to refer to gender relations in which men are dominant and women subordinate. It therefore describes a societal-wide system of social relations of male dominance (cf Millett 1972, Hartmann 1979, 1981), not simply those in the family/household. Indeed, an extremely important element of the development of this broader, gender concept of patriarchy has been to establish that patterns of male dominance in modern society do not rest solely on the unequal distribution of power in the family (cf Walby 1986, 1989, 1990a, and 1990b, Hartmann 1979, 1981). It is this broader, gender concept of patriarchy which I use in this analysis of professions and patriarchy, because I believe that, despite the protestations of its critics (Bradley 1989, Crompton and Sanderson 1989, Barret 1987, Acker 1989, Rowbotham 1981), it is able to capture the highly complex and shifting nature of gender relations, teasing out the synchronic links between gender relations in various sites of social relations (such as the family, labour market and state), as well as the diachronic shifts in the structure of patriarchy, where the common motif is 'from private to public patriarchy' (Hernes 1987, Borchorst and Siim 1987, Walby 1990a, 1990b).

In Part I the concepts of 'patriarchy' and 'professions' are addressed. Chapter 1 discusses 'dual systems' theorists and

relation between gender and medical professionalisation through an analysis of women's struggle to enter the modern medical profession in the 1860s and 1870s. Medical men used gendered exclusionary strategies to maintain a male monopoly of registered medical practice in the years immediately following the passage of the 1858 Medical (Registration) Act. Aspiring women doctors, in their turn, replied with an inclusionary strategy. In Chapter 4 I examine inter-occupational relations between medical men and female midwives during the latter half of the nineteenth century, using the concept of demarcation to unpick medical men's stances in relation to midwives, and dual closure to describe midwives' own strategic responses to their tenuous and unregulated position in the emerging medical division of labour. In this and the following chapter on nurses' campaign for a system of state-sponsored registration, I elaborate on the concept of 'dual closure' and argue that female professional projects typically assumed this form. Finally, in Chapter 6, I examine the mixed-gender occupation of radiography during the 1920s and 1930s, a period when it underwent an inexorable process of feminisation. I look at how male radiographers failed to exclude women from formalised routes of access to radiography and, conversely, how women gained and maintained access to radiography training and practice. The concept of gendered internal demarcation is introduced to highlight how processes of vertical segregation within an occupational labour market emerge. In addition, this chapter on radiography and the chapter on the occupational politics of nurse registration both examine the complex interrelation between gender, professionalisation and employer strategies.

Inevitably, because I have chosen to focus specifically on the relation between gender and the occupational politics of closure that have characterised professional projects, there are various facets of professionalisation which remain unexamined, but not because they are unimportant. For example, there are those which would be of interest to Foucauldian scholars exploring the relation between power, knowledge and gender. Indeed, I think there are some interesting ways in which a focus on 'discursive strategies' can be used to illuminate the gendering process at work, such as in the recent work of Pringle (1989), who explores the shifting discursive construction of the secretary over the course of the twentieth century, and the sexualisation of power relations within bureaucratic hierarchies. The concept of discourse seems to me to

provide a bridge between hitherto different, and conflicting, explanations of gender divisions in the workplace, between those which used the concept of 'ideology' and others which have adopted a more materialist focus on patriarchal practices. At points in my analysis, I do refer to 'discursive strategies', and now think these are more important than I used to.

PATRIARCHY, CAPITALISM AND GENDER RELATIONS AT WORK

There has been considerable debate and disagreement about the concept of patriarchy, both over the precise referent of the concept and whether or not it has any utility in explanations of women's oppression in modern society. Some participants in the debate have exhibited extreme caution regarding the use of the term patriarchy and, at most, seemed prepared to countenance only a historically specific, generational use of the term to refer to the power of the father over women and younger men (cf Barrett 1987). Others advocate the use of a broader gender concept of patriarchy to refer to a social system of gender relations of male dominance and female subordination (cf Hartmann 1979, 1981, Walby 1986, 1989, 1990b, Cockburn 1983, 1985, 1986a, 1988), and one which persists in modern 'patriarchal capitalism' (Hartmann 1979, 1981) or 'capitalist-patriarchy' (Eisenstein 1979).

In this chapter I shall argue that we need to work with a gender concept of patriarchy which refers to a societal-wide system of gender relations of male dominance and female subordination in order to explain gender divisions in paid work. I acknowledge that this concept may appear as problematic as it is useful, but shall argue that it has enormous explanatory potential if used in an historically sensitive way. The gender relations of patriarchy assume historically, culturally and spatially variable forms, which must be studied in their specificity.

To speak of the patriarchal structuring of gender relations is to describe the ways in which male power is institutionalised within different sites of social relations in society. It is incumbent upon those who argue for the explanatory potential of the concept of patriarchy to specify more precisely: how male power is institutionalised in different sites of social relations - that is, the ways and

patriarchy and capitalism not only assumes the malleability of patriarchy to the needs of capital but assumes the malleability of capital to the needs of patriarchy.

(Eisenstein 1979: 22, 27)

It becomes difficult to disentangle the workings of one from the other system, and Eisenstein's formulation of 'capitalist-patriarchy' relies upon a somewhat biologicistic and essentialist notion of 'sex-class' as the unit of patriarchy.

Hartmann (1979, 1981), Cockburn (1983) and Walby (1986, 1989, 1990a), on the other hand, work with a far more robust social constructionist concept of patriarchy.

THE DUAL SYSTEMS FRAMEWORK

Hartmann (1979, 1981) elaborated a dual systems model of separate sets of capitalist and patriarchal relations that interrelate to form a 'partnership' of patriarchal capitalism:

Capitalism grew on top of patriarchy; patriarchal capitalism is stratified society par excellence. . . . Patriarchy, far from being vanquished by capitalism, is still very virile; it shapes the form modern capitalism takes, just as the development of capitalism has transformed patriarchal institutions. The resulting mutual accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle for women.

(Hartmann 1979: 230, 298)

This has been a highly influential formulation, broadly adopted by other writers, although with minor differences in emphasis. Walby (1986), for example, argues that Hartmann overemphasises the mutual accommodation of capitalist and patriarchal interests, and understates the conflict between the two. Hartmann defines patriarchy as:

A set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labor power. That control is maintained by denying women access to necessary economically productive resources and by restricting women's sexuality . . . the material base of patriarchy, then, does not rest solely on

childrearing in the family, but on all the social structures that enable men to control women's labour.

(Hartmann 1981: 14, 12)

Hartmann substantiates her claim that capitalism has been built on top of patriarchy through an analysis of the status of women in the labour market, paying particular attention to job segregation by sex (cf 1979), and through an analysis of the family wage, to which she accords a pivotal role in securing the material basis of male dominance in both the labour market and the family in industrial patriarchal capitalism (cf 1981).

When women participated in the wage-labor market, they did so in a position as clearly limited by patriarchy as it was by capitalism. Men's control over women's labor was altered by the wage-labor system, but it was not eliminated. In the labor market the dominant position of men is maintained by sex-ordered job segregation . . . Women's subordinate position in the labor market reinforced their subordinate position in the family, and that in turn reinforced their labor-market position.

(Hartmann 1979: 217)

Hartmann (1979) argues that historically it has been male workers who have been instrumental in restricting women's activity in the labour market. Capitalists have played only an indirect role in this process, inheriting job segregation by sex and using it to their advantage through, for example, the substitution of cheaper female labour for male labour and by buying off male workers' allegiance to capitalism with patriarchal benefits. Hartmann argues:

Job segregation by sex . . . is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women, because it enforces lower wages for women in the labor market. Low wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands. Men benefit, then, from both higher wages and the domestic division of labour. This domestic division of labour, in turn, acts to weaken women's position in the labor market. Thus, the hierarchical domestic division of labor is perpetuated by the labor market, and vice versa. This process is the present

how these interact, often in conflict with, capitalist relations. Walby identifies two main patriarchal strategies: exclusion and segregation. She provides detailed historical documentation of the patriarchal strategies of organised male workers: in cotton textiles where they were not strong enough to sustain exclusionary strategies and where women maintained access to paid work; in engineering where strongly organised male workers excluded women from skilled work; and in clerical work, where men lost their battle to exclude women but maintained sex segregation. Overall, Walby relies too heavily on the concept of 'exclusion' to capture the form assumed by patriarchal practices in the labour market. As a result, in her eagerness to shift the weight of explanation of women's position in paid employment from the family to the labour market, she underestimates the significance of other forms of patriarchal control in paid employment, particularly those which derive from familial authority relations and yet which do structure women's and men's position in the labour market. I shall return to this point later.

Extending her analysis of the shifting nature of patriarchal relations into the twentieth century, Walby (1990a) goes further than Hartmann, who insisted on the dynamic interrelations between women's oppression in the family and the labour market, to insist that the causal link between family and labour market goes in the reverse direction from that commonly assumed; it goes from the labour market to the family, rather than vice versa. Walby also argues that we have witnessed a shift from 'private' to 'public' patriarchy, where private patriarchy was based on the household as the primary site of women's oppression, and public patriarchy is based principally on public sites such as the labour market and the state. But throughout her work runs a constant emphasis on the significance of patriarchal relations in paid employment, particularly job segregation by sex, in sustaining the web of patriarchal relations in modern society.

Cockburn, in her studies of technological change, gender and class relations in printing (1983), in clothing manufacture, mail order warehouses and medical X-ray work (1985) also provides further grist to the mill for Hartmann's thesis. Whereas Walby (1986) sees exclusion and segregation as distinct outcomes of different patriarchal practices, Cockburn (1985) talks of these in a way which treats the exclusion of women from skilled jobs and their segregation into unskilled and low-paid occupations as

related patriarchal practices, as two sides of the same coin. So, for Cockburn, the patriarchal practice of excluding women from compositing was accompanied by their confinement and segregation into book-binding and other print-finishing operations, as men could not prevent employers from engaging women in printing industries, only in particular grades of job.

Cockburn has tended to display an ambivalence about the concept 'patriarchy' which is never entirely resolved, except to concede in one of her latest publications that the concept has been used by feminists not because it is ideal but for lack of another. Utilising Hartmann's 'dual systems' framework Cockburn nonetheless locates her analysis of male dominance and technological change in printing within 'the class relations of capitalism and the gender relations of patriarchy and their bearing upon each other' (1983: 8). Although hesitant about the lack of historical sensitivity of the concept 'patriarchy', when loosely used to mean 'male supremacy', Cockburn thinks it needs more closely defining rather than rejecting outright. Cockburn is also reluctant to prioritise any one set of social relations as the site of patriarchy:

To say that patriarchal power is exercised only in the family or in directly sexual relations is as blinkered as to suppose that capitalist power is exercised only in the factory. The sex/gender system is to be found in all the same practices and processes in which the mode of production and its class relations are to be found. We don't live two lives, one as a member of a class, the other as a man or a woman. Everything we do takes its meaning from our membership of both systems.

(Cockburn 1983: 195)

Cockburn's study of the struggles around the introduction of new technology into the printing labour process from the late nineteenth century to the present day demonstrates how the strategies of craft organisation and craft control of printing were directed against employers, unskilled workers and women. Had nothing but class interest been at stake, the men would have found women acceptable as apprentices, would have fought wholeheartedly for equal pay for women and for the right of women to keep their jobs at equal pay. As it was, the men and their unions sought to have the women removed from the trade. The arguments used by men against women differed from those used against male rivals. They

the fourteenth century, when silk production was mainly in the hands of women, who were debarred from the same craft status as men, through to the organisation of production in the mechanised silk mill owned by the Courtaulds family. At Courtaulds paternalistic management enabled employers seeking to utilise female labour to resolve tensions between class and patriarchal interests. Paternalism, argues Lown, was one way in which traditional patriarchal authority relations were carried over into the market relationships of industrial capitalism.

Lown's emphasis, then, is on how employer strategies could contain a complex combination of patriarchal and capitalist interests, as employers sought to utilise female wage labour without undermining the patriarchal privileges of male workers in both the workplace and the family. Lown's work is important because it begins to correct the tendency in both Hartmann's and Walby's work to ascribe patriarchal interests to 'men' and capitalist interests to 'employers', and then seeing these discrete sets of interests as either in partnership, as Hartmann (1979) tends to, or assuming more conflictual forms, as Walby (1986) does. Lown shows how the patriarchal structure of the workforce was ensured through vertical gender segregation, as Courtauld's paternalistic practices served to reward male labour more highly than female labour and enable the development of a male labour elite at the expense of female workers. Lown demonstrates all too clearly how in this instance, the case of Courtaulds mill in the nineteenth century, the interests of male workers and their middle-class employer in the simultaneous restructuring and maintenance of patriarchal privileges in both the workplace and the home coincided. Lown insists too that the combination of patriarchal and capitalist interests contained in 'paternalist strategies' should not obscure the fact that in other sectors of the economy, in different geographic locations and over different periods of time, constellations of patriarchal and capitalist interests varied. Like Walby, Lown argues that, despite sectoral and local variations, strategies generally shifted away from exclusion and towards more and more segregation by the end of the nineteenth century.

BEYOND 'PATRIARCHY OR CAPITALISM'?

Although Lown uses the concepts of patriarchy and capitalism to good effect in her study, another recent contribution by Bradley

(1989) suggests that it is time to move beyond the 'capitalism and patriarchy' debate. Bradley's own case studies of the historical development of the sex typing of jobs in primary production (agriculture, fishing, mining), the secondary sector (pottery, hosiery, shoemaking) and in services and professional work show how processes of sexual segmentation and resegmentation have been integral features in shaping the division of labour in each of these sectors. Bradley concludes, however, that capitalism impacted on these sexual divisions of labour, increasing segregation and destroying or marginalising women's traditional skills. The 1880s and the 1890s are identified by Bradley as the key periods in laying down the patterns of segregation and sex-typing on which current patterns of sex segregation in employment are founded.

However, although Bradley's case studies show equally as conclusively as Lown's how familial and workplace gender relations were simultaneously being restructured, her explanatory framework is weaker because she insists on deploying the concept of patriarchy in a far more restrictive sense. She will, for example, only describe workplace relations as patriarchal through 'analogy of the household and authoritarian father to the enterprise or organisation' (1989: 232).

Bradley (1989) seems to want to have her cake but not eat it. Patriarchy seems to her a flawed concept, and one that tends to slide into description. Nonetheless, she concedes that we have to go on talking about patriarchy because there is nothing better. However, we need to abandon the notion of a system of patriarchy or at least operate with a highly modified version of it, and Bradley is critical of Walby's systematising tendencies. Yet at the same time Bradley urges that we keep on trying to develop some form of structural theory and advocates that the way ahead 'is to conceive social structure in terms of many sets of interconnected relationships (class, gender, ethnicity, politics, culture etc.) and to analyse these within the context of their historical development' (1989: 63). But Bradley is reluctant, in the end, to use the term 'patriarchy' to describe a gender system of domination; in fact, as I have already noted, she consistently uses it in the more restricted sense of generational domination. Drawing conclusions from her historical case studies, the pre-industrial family is described as patriarchal, as are control relations in the family division of labour, but when she makes the more general claim that current work arrangements can be described as patriarchal it is with the proviso

Hartmann's substantive thesis about the vital role of organised working class men in limiting and constraining women's position in the labour market is not without its problems, and has been subject to considerable modification and refinement, as well as vindication.

Walby (1986, 1989, 1990b) and Lown (1990) have both argued that Hartmann's notion of a partnership between patriarchy and capitalism has led her to assume a harmonious articulation between the two and consequently to understate the potential for conflict between the interests of employers and male workers over the employment of women. Lown (1990) has also questioned the tendency to conceptualise 'men' and 'capitalists' as separate categories belonging to distinct systems of social relations, when in fact gender and class intersect in the construction of identity. Cockburn (1983) makes a similar point. Lown and Bradley (1989) both suggest how, in fact, patriarchy and capitalism have not operated as two distinct systems with different agencies, where employers pursue 'capitalist' interests and male workers 'patriarchal' interests. Indeed, both Lown and Bradley show how some employers devised strategies of utilising female labour which combined capitalist and patriarchal interests, describing these as 'paternalist' strategies. For example, in the Bournville chocolate factory in Birmingham the rigid segregation of young female workers supervised by a forewoman was part of a paternalist strategy that extended well beyond the factory gates, as in the case of the Courtauld mill in Halstead.

Debates about protective legislation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have also tended to polarise in evoking either 'class' or 'patriarchal' interests in highly general terms, paying insufficient attention to the historical specificity of the Acts. One school of thought attributes protective legislation to the patriarchal zeal of reformers and the common class interests of both working-class men and women (Hutchins and Harrison 1911, Humphries 1977); others argue (as did some feminists of the period) that the motives of male workers were patriarchal (Walby 1986, Hartmann 1979). However, a careful analysis of the 1842 Mines (Regulation) Act signals caution with regard to general imputations of patriarchal or class interests. The 1842 Mines (Regulation) Act is an example of protective legislation on the part of the state to exclude or restrict women from certain types of work, in this case excluding them from underground mining. It

has been cited as an incontrovertibly patriarchal instance of male workers' successful exclusionary strategy (Walby 1986) and it has been cited by Humphries (1977) as evidence to question the assertion that working men's support for protective legislation was patriarchal in both form and effect. In this case, however, the issue was far more complex than either of the above suggest (Mark-Lawson and Witz 1988, 1990). Many coal owners agitating for legislation were much more interested in the economic benefits or competitive advantages they would reap as less modernised competitors would be forced out of business if they could no longer rely on female and child labour; and male colliers in the pits where women worked underground were opposed to the legislation. The structure of local gender relations gave rise to important variations in the stances adopted by both coal owners and male colliers in relation to female labour, and is therefore a highly significant variable, as Savage (1987) in his study of gender and employment relations in Preston at the turn of the century demonstrates convincingly.

A more specific problem with Hartmann's account, and with the 'dual systems' position generally, has to do with the fact that the rate of male trade unionism in the nineteenth century was so low that, if the maintenance of patriarchal relations depended so crucially on the organised pursuit of exclusionary strategies, then 'patriarchal capitalism' could hardly be said to exist before 1900 (Brenner and Ramas 1984, Sen 1980, Mark-Lawson and Witz 1988). This is a particularly important point which suggests that exclusion clearly does not exhaust the repertoire of patriarchal practices on the part of male workers. Indeed, most writers agree in identifying a further strategy, generally referred to in the literature as segregation. This is best seen as a form of inclusionary strategy, as women workers may not just be excluded from certain jobs or grades of job, but also included in other adjacent or related jobs, usually graded lower or less skilled jobs. In a sense, it is a corollary of exclusion. But there is also another form of inclusionary strategy, which exists prior to both exclusion and segregation, and this is where male control over female labour is exercised within the family system of labour within sites of capitalist production (see Mark-Lawson and Witz 1988, 1990, and Bradley 1989 for more detailed discussion of this mode of patriarchal control).

It is clear that male control over female labour did not operate solely by means of exclusionary and segregationist strategies

3 { a segregational mode where male and female occupations or jobs are demarcated by gender, thus creating a hierarchical gendered occupational order. Which mode of control prevails depends upon a number of factors, such as the structure of local gender relations (Mark-Lawson, Savage and Warde 1985, Mark-Lawson and Witz 1988, 1990), rates of technological change (Bradley 1989, Liff 1986), and the nature of industrial and occupational expansion (Glucksman 1985). The inclusionary mode precedes the exclusionary mode in any particular case, because the latter is pursued when women enter the labour market as individual wage labourers rather than as part of a familial group.

The observed shift from exclusionary to segregational modes is partly the result of shifts in the occupational structure, and partly the result of shifts in strategy. Exclusionary modes predominated in manual forms of employment (once inclusionary modes, if they existed, had broken down), and segregational strategies may have accompanied exclusion. However, in these instances, gender segregation was not necessarily the outcome of worker strategies, but can equally be seen as 'unintended outcomes' of these - Kreckel (1980) suggests, for example, that unprotected workers, such as in this case excluded women, are prey to employer exploitation as peripheral and unprotected workers. However, segregational strategies were the predominant response in routine white-collar occupations, where male collective organisation was weak. As yet, however, gender divisions in higher level white-collar work such as professional and managerial positions have not been discussed. This is largely because, I suggest, we may need to develop new concepts to grasp the processes at work here. The concept of exclusion needs to be twinned with a new concept, demarcation, in order to unpick the historical relation between gender and professionalisation, and I shall suggest how we might do this in the following chapter. For the moment, it is sufficient to note the relative neglect of women in non-routine white-collar work.

CLASS AND GENDER IN MIDDLE-CLASS OCCUPATIONS

The studies reviewed above foreground the material underpinnings of working-class women's social position in the formative period of patriarchal capitalism. By comparison, historical sociological research exploring the dynamic intersection between patriarchy and class in shaping middle-class women's lives has

tended to focus more exclusively on the ideological underpinnings at work in the confinement of middle-class women to the domestic sphere as, in Neff's (1929) words, 'idle women'. The focus has been more on Victorian middle-class culture and ideology (cf Davidoff and Hall 1987). Of course it can legitimately be argued that, to a certain extent, this difference in emphasis reflects the very different social positions of working- and middle-class women in patriarchal capitalism for 'In an age when women of the lower ranks were notoriously overworked, not only the aristocracy but both the upper and lower middle classes protected the females of their households from any kind of useful employment' (Neff 1966: 186). Neff somewhat overstates her case, and we should not assume that the reality of middle-class women's lives necessarily was one of idleness (Branca 1976); we should not forget, for example, that middle- and upper-class women engaged in activities that were neither home centred nor employment centred, but philanthropic. Nonetheless, I think it may certainly be argued that patriarchal and class interests coincided in the case of middle-class women who were more thoroughly excluded from gainful employment outside the home and confined within the domestic sphere; whereas the relation between patriarchal and class interests for working-class women was far more contradictory and variable. Indeed, those very same bourgeois men whose wives' and daughters' idleness was an indicator of their own success were also recruiting women workers into their mills and factories, as Lown's study of Courtauld's mill graphically demonstrates. Ironically, too, working women were finding themselves increasingly subject to exclusionary forces, in the form of state protective legislation and the hostile campaigns of unionised male workers, whilst middle-class women were beginning to agitate for the right to gainful employment through, for example, the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women which was formed by the 'Langham Place ladies' in 1859 (Holcombe 1973, Strachey 1935).

In fact it is quite clear that, when we look at the comparatively neglected area of middle-class women's work as 'white-blouse' (Anderson 1988, Crompton and Jones 1984, Davies 1979, Walby 1986, Lowe 1987) and professional (Bradley 1989, Holcombe 1973, Corr 1990, Widdowson 1983) workers, then the concepts of exclusionary and segregational strategies also have a crucial role to play in explanations of middle-class women's work. But women's entry into the more routine areas of non-manual employment,

but did not cause the widening of the avenues of employment for middle-class women.

(Holcombe 1973:198)

Holcombe's 'explanation', if indeed we can call it that, entails reducing women to passive onlookers of the march of economic progress, as they are pulled into the workplace by the mysterious forces of economic change and by the exigencies of industrial capitalist development. The resistance of men to this process only surfaces once women are firmly ensconced in the workplace as teachers, secretaries, clerical workers etc. and centres around issues of equal pay and opportunities. In short, Holcombe's largely narrative account of middle-class women's employment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lacks any clear conceptual framework which could begin to explain the complex ways in which patriarchy as well as capitalism shaped middle-class women's working lives.

By contrast, the work of Zimmeck (1986, 1988) charts the gender antagonisms that accompanied the recruitment of women into the civil service in clerical grades, and establishes that patriarchal exclusionary strategies operated to ensure that women did not enter the administrative grades of the civil service. These were reinforced by dowry payments to women on marriage in lieu of pensions, as well as by marriage bars (Sanderson 1990). Male careers in the civil service hierarchies were forged on the backs of women, as the employment of women in lower grade mechanical work released men into career paths towards intellectual and administrative work, and indeed enabled the very construction of these career paths.

We need to develop a more conceptually rigorous framework for unpicking the complex trajectory of women's employment in white-collar occupations, particularly the professions which are a relatively neglected area of gendered work. We need to enquire whether and in what ways processes of middle-class occupational formation incorporated gendered strategies. Although bourgeois and patriarchal constructions of women as wives and daughters consigned to the 'private sphere' were extremely powerful forces shaping middle-class women's lives in Victorian Britain, this fact alone does not explain their position in paid employment. In a fascinating study of a much neglected sphere, women's entrance into the professions in America between 1890 and 1940, Glazer

and Slater (1987) argue that, whilst the movement towards occupational professionalisation occurred independently of women's interests, nonetheless at the same time women of the new middle class saw the emergence of professions as a historical moment of incomparable opportunity for them. What Glazer and Slater's work shows, as does my work, is that it is vital to locate an analysis of gender relations in professional work within the larger process of professionalisation that was occurring - for the purposes of their study in the later nineteenth century in America, but also slightly earlier in the case of Britain.

I think it is quite possible to show that, just as male power was institutionalised within trade union organisations as the collective work-based organisations of the working class, it was also institutionalised within middle-class occupational organisations. Indeed, the relative ease with which middle-class men had no need to fear female competition for many jobs was precisely because bourgeois men already had exclusive access to many institutional forms in modern society, like the university, professional associations, and of course the state. The battle to secure women's access to education, particularly college education (cf Dyhouse 1981, Strachey 1936), was a necessary corollary of women's entry into middle-class occupations. But, just as middle-class men had many distinctive means of patriarchal domination at their disposal, so too middle-class women when they did seek to gain a foothold or secure a stronger basis in forms of professional work, also had more available means than working-class women. Indeed, one has to seriously question Holcombe's charge that the Victorian women's movement was ineffective in opening up avenues of employment for women. As Vicinus (1985) has demonstrated, at the very least it provided a network of interlinking individuals and support groups which provided campaigning bases. There is clear evidence, presented in my chapter on women's struggle to enter the medical profession, that women's entry into medicine was the outcome of a collective campaign orchestrated by aspiring women doctors, and supported by networks of women sympathisers - Emily Davies and Millicent Garret Fawcett are two names which immediately spring to mind. Vicinus is correct to point to the importance of gender-based solidarities in opening up avenues of gainful employment for women.

action not just in the case of men, but also for women. I shall propose a framework for analysing closure strategies of professionalisation which not only distinguishes between typical male strategies, but also between typical female strategies.

PATRIARCHY AND PROFESSIONS

In this chapter I shall argue that the relationship between gender and professionalisation is a neglected one, and that female professional projects have been ignored in the sociology of professions. One of the reasons for this neglect has to do with the fact that the generic notion of profession is also a gendered notion. This is because it takes what are in fact the successful professional projects of class-privileged male actors at a particular point in history and in particular societies to be the paradigmatic case of profession. I shall argue that it is necessary to speak of 'professional projects', to gender the agents of these projects, and to locate these within the structural and historical parameters of patriarchal capitalism. Professional projects are projects of occupational closure, and I propose a model of occupational closure strategies which captures the historical configuration of the gendered politics of occupational closure.

In this chapter I briefly review the general state of the art of the sociology of the professions before critically elaborating neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist approaches to the study of professions, and the small body of literature that probes the issue of the relation between gender and professions. The neo-Weberian closure model is elaborated critically in order to suggest a model of occupational closure strategies that identifies their gendered dimensions. The neo-Marxist model, with its focus on the structural and historical parameters of professionalisation, provides the springboard for further locating gendered professional projects within the structural and historical parameters of patriarchy as well as capitalism.

mobility, whilst Berlant (1975) has taken the Weberian notion of monopolisation and explored tactics for domination that characterised medical professionalisation. Turner (1987) has defined professionalisation as a strategy of occupational control involving occupational relations of dominance and subordination, and Larkin (1983) has introduced the notion of 'occupational imperialism' to capture processes of dominance and subordination in the medical division of labour.

So far, though, the use of neo-Weberian closure concepts to inform sociological analyses of professionalisation and power has failed to consider the relation between gender, power and professionalisation. The notable exception is Parry and Parry's (1976) analysis of medical professionalisation as a strategy of social closure and collective mobility. They acknowledge both the class and gender dimensions of professional closure in medicine, which became a closed and homogeneous world in both class and sex terms - it was male and upper-middle class. Nonetheless, the gender dimensions of professionalisation are undertheorised compared to its class dimensions. This raises an interesting issue in relation to the deployment of neo-Weberian concepts of social closure and collective mobility which is how implicitly gendered these concepts are. The intellectual sexism of neo-Weberian stratification theory has meant that women do not have a social class (cf Parkin 1971, Giddens 1980), except that derived from their association with a man, as either a father or a husband (cf Acker 1973). But this presents a thorny problem when it comes to the possibility of considering the professionalisation strategies of female occupational groups. After all, if the social class position of women is wholly derived, then how can the professionalisation strategies of female occupational groups be conceptualised as collective mobility projects? How can women move from nowhere to somewhere else in a positional and class structure in which they have no position? It is precisely because of the embedded intellectual sexism and androcentric assumptions of neo-Weberian sociology that Parry and Parry are unable to satisfactorily integrate their analysis of nurse professionalisation into their general thesis about the link between professionalisation, social closure and collective mobility.

It is necessary, then, to build upon the enormous theoretical leaps in our explanation of professionalisation facilitated by the development of neo-Weberian closure concepts through

gendering these concepts, and to locate professional projects within patriarchal as well as the capitalist structures emphasised by more neo-Marxist writers such as Johnson. First, we need a more finely tuned model of the variety of closure strategies which may be employed by occupational groups engaged in professionalisation strategies and one which captures their specifically gendered dimensions. This will open the way towards conceptualising 'female professional projects'. It will also correct the androcentric bias in neo-Weberian discussions of professionalisation as a closure strategy.

OCCUPATIONAL CLOSURE AND GENDER

It is, as I have already indicated, the neo-Weberian tradition which has elaborated the concept of closure (cf Parkin 1974, 1979, Murphy 1983, 1985, 1986, 1988) and which has used closure concepts in the analysis of professionalisation (cf Parkin 1979, Berlant 1975, Parry and Parry 1976, Freidson 1970a, 1970b, 1977, 1983, 1986, Waddington 1984, Larkin 1983, MacDonald 1985). But little attention has been paid to the gendered politics of occupational closure, with the notable exception of Crompton (1987).

Crompton (1987) also argues that, when it comes to looking at the position of women in the professions, then it may be more fruitful to develop neo-Weberian closure concepts than Marxist ones. A particularly important point made by Crompton is that apparently individualist exclusion practices clearly incorporate a substantial collective element. In particular, she suggests that the credentialing process is overlaid by gender exclusion, though not just at an individual but also at a collective level. However, Crompton seeks to develop the concept of 'status' in order to provide a better handle on the interplay between gender and professionalism, whereas I prefer to refine the concept of closure itself in order to explore the gendered nature of professional closure strategies. Further, whereas Crompton only seeks to locate the developments of professions within processes of class formation, I further locate these within gender formation in modern society. There is some overlap though. Crompton, for example, observes that the status of a quality, including gender, has to be actively maintained and reproduced and I demonstrate some of the mechanisms for doing so within professional work. Also, Crompton suggests that sex-typing occurs in the case of the pro-

Parkin (1979) defines exclusionary strategies of closure as involving the downwards exercise of power in a process of subordination as a social group seeks to secure, maintain or enhance privileged access to rewards and opportunities. This is the sense in which it is used here. Exclusionary strategies of occupational closure are essentially mechanisms of internal occupational control, concerned with regulating the supply of an occupational group's own labour and creating a monopoly over skills and knowledge. They serve to create exclusionary shelters and to secure privileged access to resources and opportunities distributed by the mechanism of the labour market. Gendered forms of exclusionary strategy have been used to secure for men privileged access to rewards and opportunities in the occupational labour market. These strategies employ gendered collectivist criteria of exclusion vis-à-vis women and gendered individualist criteria of inclusion vis-à-vis men. They serve to create women as a class of 'ineligibles' through excluding them from routes of access to resources such as skills, knowledge, entry credentials, or technical competence, thus precluding women from entering and practising within an occupation.

Demarcationary strategies, on the other hand, are mechanisms of inter-occupational control, concerned to monitor and regulate the labour of other, related occupations in a division of labour. Demarcationary strategies are concerned with the creation and control of boundaries between occupations. The term demarcation is introduced by Kreckel (1980) in his pioneering application of closure concepts to processes of labour market segmentation. Kreckel distinguishes 'exclusion', involving the 'vertical' or downwards exercise of power and entailing a process of subordination, from 'demarcation', which involves the 'horizontal' or 'sideways' negotiations between occupational groups whereby separate spheres of competence and control are mutually negotiated (1980: 540). Without necessarily accepting the full import of Kreckel's definition – which is that there is an absence of dominative processes in demarcationary strategies – Kreckel's introduction of the term demarcation does suggest the importance of processes of occupational closure which have to do with the creation and control of boundaries between occupations.

The concept of a demarcationary strategy of closure captures those processes which Larkin (1983) calls 'occupational imperialism' in the medical division of labour. Larkin correctly notes the

relative paucity of supplementary concepts referring to inter-occupational domination rather than to intra-occupational domination in the Weberian (and indeed the Marxist) model of professionalisation. The term demarcation used here is similar in its import to Larkin's term 'occupational imperialism':

Occupational imperialism refers to attempts by a number of occupations to mould the division of labour to their own advantage . . . it involves tactics of 'poaching' skills from others or delegating them to secure income, status, and control.

(Larkin 1983: 15)

The term 'occupational imperialism' is not intended to connote an ossified skill distribution, but an arena of tension and conflict between groups which is largely shaped in outcome by the differential access of each to exterior power sources.

(Larkin 1983: 17)

Like Larkin uses the term 'occupational imperialism', I shall use the term 'demarcation' to refer to strategies engaged in by dominant social or occupational groups, who have greater access to power resources than those groups hit by demarcationary strategies. Larkin, however, does not systematically analyse the gendered dimensions of occupational imperialism and how the resources of male power may be utilised in the pursuit of demarcationary strategies.

Strategies of demarcationary closure are absolutely vital in the understanding of how unequal gender relations are created and sustained within an occupational hierarchy in the labour market. Gendered strategies of demarcationary closure describe processes of inter-occupational control concerned with the creation and control of boundaries between gendered occupations in a division of labour. They turn not upon the exclusion, but upon the encirclement of women within a related but distinct sphere of competence in an occupational division of labour and, in addition, their possible (indeed probable) subordination to male-dominated occupations. The concept of a gendered strategy of demarcationary closure directs attention to the possibility that the creation and control of occupational boundaries and inter-occupational relations may be crucially mediated by patriarchal

exercise of power in an upwards direction, that is its usurpatory dimension, and in a downwards direction, which is its exclusionary dimension. This is also the sense in which Parkin uses the concept of dual closure.

How then do these concepts help to construct a model of occupational closure strategies that captures the gendered dimensions of professionalisation? A gendered strategy of inclusionary usurpation describes the ways whereby women, who are hit by gendered strategies of exclusion, do not simply acquiesce in the face of patriarchal closure practices, but challenge a male monopoly over competence. They seek to be included in a structure of positions from which they are excluded on account of their gender. It is usurpatory because it is a countervailing strategy, in tension with an exclusionary strategy. It is an inclusionary strategy of usurpation because it seeks to replace gendered collectivist criteria of exclusion with non-gendered individualist criteria of inclusion.

Gendered strategies of dual closure, on the other hand, describe the manner in which women may contest demarcation. They involve a two-way exercise of power, in an upwards direction as a form of usurpation and in a downwards direction as a form of exclusion. Most importantly, they capture the form assumed by what I shall refer to as 'female professional projects' in the medical division of labour – such as, for example, campaigns for state-sponsored systems of registration by midwives and nurses (cf Donnison 1976, Baly 1980, Abel-Smith 1960, Dingwall, Rafferty and Webster 1988).

Dual closure strategies are complex and varied. Along their usurpatory dimensions, they do not have the same inclusionary aims as usurpatory responses to exclusion. So, for example, unlike aspiring women doctors, whose struggle was an inclusionary one, midwives and nurses did not aspire to become fully qualified medical practitioners. So their struggles were usurpatory in the minimal sense, of resisting the demarcatory strategies of medical men. But it is precisely because these campaigns also contained what can only be described as exclusionary elements, that we may speak of 'female professional projects'. They are not simply strategies of resistance to the demarcatory strategies of dominant occupational groups, but they also seek in turn to consolidate their own position in the hierarchy of closure through employing exclusionary devices.

Gender and strategy

The bare bones of a conceptual model of occupational closure strategies have now been set out. The main purpose of this model is to capture the gendered dimensions of these strategies. It will be substantiated on the terrain of the emerging medical division of labour in Part II, when I look at gender and professionalisation in medicine, nursing, midwifery and radiography. But before moving on to consider further aspects of the relation between gender and professionalisation, it is necessary to clarify a few points about the relation between gender, closure and professional projects.

In what sense are strategies gendered? First, the strategic actors are gendered and, second, gendered criteria of exclusion or inclusion may be inbuilt features of closure strategies. The agents of closure practices are gendered so gender may form the basis of solidarity between men or women. Professional projects are, I have argued, strategies of occupational closure and so any assessment of both the form and the eventual outcome of these strategies should consider whether the agents of these were men or women. However – and here closure concepts help us very little – an analysis of the gendered dynamics of professional projects as strategies of occupational closure must also locate these within those patriarchal structures which, historically, have constituted the facilitating or constraining parameters of such strategies. This raises the issue of the relation between strategic action and structural constraints, an issue which is highlighted as a particularly problematic aspect of the use of the concept of strategy in sociology generally by Crow (1989). The term strategy heavily connotes *process* and, whilst this is one of its strengths, it is also one of its potential weaknesses in so far as structures threaten to dissolve into infinitely malleable processes. It is therefore essential to keep in view the interplay between strategy and structure, between actions and resources for action.

As regards the interplay between strategic actions and resources for action, this is the weakest part of neo-Weberian closure theory, which has a tendency to dissolve the possession into the exercise of power. Power is a built-in attribute of closure, so there is a one-sided emphasis on the exercise of power and a neglect of the mere possession of power. This is particularly acute in Parkin's work, although Murphy (1984, 1988) attempts to rectify this overly 'actionist' conception by specifying the structural relations

criticised (cf Johnson 1977) for considering the social division of labour in abstraction from the specific and determining processes of capitalist social relations. There has been considerable discussion of the relation between professionals and the class structure of contemporary capitalism generally (cf Abercrombie and Urry 1983, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1977, Rueschemeyer 1986, Johnson 1977, Crompton 1990). Professionals have been located in the new middle class (Johnson 1977, Carchedi 1977), in the 'service class' (Abercrombie and Urry 1983) or in the 'professional-managerial class' (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1977). But most attempts to relate professions to the class structure are highly functionalist. Johnson (1977) follows Carchedi in viewing professionals as 'agents of both the collective labourer and global capital'. Professionalism, which Johnson defines as colleague control over work activities, can only arise when these core work activities fulfil the global functions of capital, which are functions of control, surveillance and reproduction of labour power. Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1977) also define the professional-managerial class in terms of its major function in the social division of labour, which is 'the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations'. But the relation between professions and the class structure is surely far more mediated than this (Gramsci 1971: 12).

Abercrombie and Urry (1983) urge that we reject such a functionalist reading of the relationship between professionals and capitalist relations of production. They point out that intellectuals or professionals are located in part at least in civil society, a sphere where relatively free association may take place, and that, as a result, professionals can to some degree generate and regulate their own forms of knowledge, albeit mediated by the state. They oppose a unicausal, functionalist reading and insist instead that professionalisation has had crucial consequences upon existing forms of structured social inequality, particularly upon the relations between labour and capital. They conclude:

On the one hand, Marxists have been right to emphasise the increase in the degree to which professionals function for capital, as constitutive elements of the service class; yet on the other hand, Weberians have been correct to emphasise the distinctive market position of professionals which stems in

part from their ability to regulate their particular knowledge-base.

(Abercrombie and Urry 1983: 147)

But we are no nearer to understanding the relationship between professions and patriarchal structures. As Stacey (1981) observes, the narrow focus on production relations of capitalism elides the gender order and the part played by professionalising occupations in sustaining that order. Nor does it offer any way of conceptualising the relation between gender, professionalisation and patriarchal structures.

It is by using Larson's work (1977, 1979) as a springboard that we can begin to locate gendered professionalisation strategies within their structural parameters, although it must be emphasised that Larson herself only investigates the relation between professional projects and capitalist institutions. Larson is unconcerned with gender, let alone patriarchy.

Larson locates the rise of professionalisation within the historical matrix of competitive capitalism, and explores the relationship between professional projects and capitalist institutions such as the state, the free market for services, the labour market, the bureaucratic organisation and the modern university system of higher education. Larson's core argument is that the rise of professionalisation has been a phase of capitalist rationalisation. It was in the structural context of competitive capitalism during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries that the model of profession was first projected. This first phase of modern professionalisation was therefore an historically specific phase which coincided with the consolidation of the capitalist mode of production: with industrialisation and laissez-faire capitalism. This was followed by a second phase of professionalisation, where the model of profession is superseded by the ideology of professionalism. This ideology functions as part of the dominant ideology of advanced capitalist societies which justifies inequality of status and closure of access in the occupational order. It is an ideology utilised by newly differentiated technical specialities, such as auxiliary specialisms within medicine, and by new occupations located within bureaucratic organisations. The historical transition from a model of profession to an ideology of professionalism describes the strategic shifts of occupational groups as they find themselves in a shifting structural context:

cognitive base and establish cognitive exclusiveness. Its cognitive base must be formalised or codified sufficiently to allow standardisation of the product as well as of the producers. At the same time it must be scientific in Kuhn's sense of a field in which progress is marked, so that its changing nature prevents excessive routinisation at the same time as maintaining relative inaccessibility of expertise. Larson's emphasis on the cognitive conditions of professional monopoly picks up upon Jamous and Peloille's (1970) cognitive definition of a profession as an occupation which maintains a high indetermination/technicality ratio. In this way the production processes particular to 'professional' activities always contain an important margin of indetermination. The I/T ratio expresses the possibility of transmission of mastery of intellectual or material instruments used to achieve a given result. Technicality (T) describes the instrumental means that can be mastered and communicated in the form of rules. Indetermination (I) describes the means that escape rules and, at a specific historical moment, are attributed to the virtualities of producers.

In Larson's thesis the negotiation of cognitive exclusiveness that is essential to the maintenance of professional monopoly is secured in the empirical arena of the modern university, a capitalist institution. Larson specifies the modern means of professionalisation and distinguishes between those that are independent of and those that are dependent upon the professional market. This use of the term 'modern' distinguishes the ancien régime professional, dependent upon aristocratic patronage and élite sponsorship, from professions seeking to devise their own criteria of exclusion-inclusion on the basis of tested competence over a professionally defined body of knowledge. It parallels Elliot's (1972) distinction between 'status' and 'occupational' professions. State backing for the professional project is sought on the grounds of superior competence, rather than association with an élite.

An important distinction between *autonomous* and *heteronomous* means of professionalisation is evolved by Larson. This is a distinction between means which are defined or created to a significant extent by professional groups themselves, which are autonomous means, and those which are chiefly defined or formed through other social groups, which are heteronomous means. This distinction is set out in Table 2.1 and will become a particularly useful one in the analysis of gender and professionalisation.

Larson also identifies the institutional locations through which the means of professionalisation were mobilised. Major institutions were the modern university and professional associations which provide sites for the mobilisation of autonomous means of closure, and the state, which provided the institutional location for the mobilisation of heteronomous means of closure, particularly state sponsorship of legal monopoly.

Table 2.1 Modern means of professionalisation

<i>Autonomous means</i>	<i>Heteronomous means</i>
Systematic training and testing	Registration and licensing
Institutionally located in professional schools and the modern university	Institutionally located in the state

Adapted from Larson 1977: 68

The work of neo-Marxist writers such as Johnson and Larson, who locate an analysis of the professions within an analysis of capitalist social, economic and political relations reminds us that professionalisation is not simply a process of occupational closure, but is locked into broader sets of structural and historical systems. Johnson's later (1982) work on the relationship between the state and professions is also particularly important in this respect. In fact, the autonomy of professional groups has been somewhat overstated, and Johnson's discussion of the state-profession relation suggests how professions have been crucially dependent upon state sponsorship. There is then a symbiotic relation between professions and the state. So, although neo-Weberian closure concepts may usefully be developed in order to capture the variety of strategies which characterise professional projects and used to unpick their gendered dimensions, it is also essential that these gendered projects are located within the structural and historical parameters of patriarchal capitalism. Nonetheless, despite its valuable insights, the neo-Marxist current of writing on the professions has neglected their gendered dimensions.

Full professionalisation comes when the activity is fully dominated by men. . . . Full professionalisation is also signalled by the monopolisation by men of the particular area of emotional life, free from competition from other, probably more female dominated occupations . . . while semi-professionalisation indicates partial patriarchal domination; full professionalisation indicates full patriarchal domination.

(Hearn 1982: 195-6)

Professionalisation is a process whereby men socialise and seek to control activities that relate to emotional experiences, biological reproduction and the reproduction of labour power. It has also been a process whereby men have wrested control over these activities away from women in the private sphere and reconstituted them as exclusively male activities within the public sphere.

Does Hearn point the way towards theorising the relation between professions and patriarchy? Although Hearn opens up the possibility of theorising professionalisation in relation to patriarchal processes, the manner in which he then conflates patriarchal and professional control at a definitional level is problematic. Professional control is defined as patriarchal control, professional power as male power. This raises a number of problems.

First, it precludes by definitional fiat alone the possibility of women engaging in professional projects because these become, by definition, male projects. Second, Hearn substantiates his case with reference to activities associated with the (private) spheres of reproduction and the emotions. But where does that leave male-dominated professions such as accountancy, engineering, law, architecture and company-secretaryship, which do not incorporate such activities but which still claim the status of professions? Third, Hearn retains the notion of a 'semi-profession' located on a continuum of states of relative professionalisation. But such an ideal-typical continuum is problematic (cf Johnson 1972), because it does retain some notion of what a profession *essentially* is. Of course, in Hearn's case, professionalism is essentially patriarchalism, so relative states of professionalisation are conceptualised along a continuum of *degrees* of male control over activities. But professional control is more complex than this as the distinction I have developed between different stratagems of closure suggests. Finally, Hearn locates patriarchal domination within the spheres

of domestic labour and reproduction and argues that 'Those areas of social life that were not directly under capitalist domination, yet which contributed to reproduction and where emotions were especially likely to be unleashed, became clear targets for male domination through professions' (Hearn 1982: 188). Capitalist domination therefore inhabits the separate sphere of socialised labour and the production of goods and commodities, so patriarchy and capitalism become two independent systems of domination inhabiting different spheres of social life. But to divorce professional power so completely from the sphere of capitalist relations strikes me as incautious, particularly in view of the emphasis placed on the structural and historical interrelationship between professionalisation and capitalism by writers such as Larson and Johnson.

Gamarnikow (1978) has also explored the relation between patriarchal and professional modes of control by examining the sexual division of labour in health care, but looks at the relationship between genderisation, rather than simply masculinisation, and professionalisation. The gendering of the nurse-doctor relation served to de-professionalise this relation, as the subordination of nursing to medicine was secured through the construction of an ideological equivalence between two sets of relations, nurse-doctor and female-male relations. Essentially, it was patriarchal family relations which provided the ideological blue-print for this ideological reconstruction of interprofessional relations and their transformation into male-female relations. The doctor-nurse-patient relationship takes on the ideological resonances of power relations between men, women and children within the patriarchal family and the doctor takes on a position equivalent to the father. Gamarnikow's account of the interrelationship between patriarchal and professional modes of control is therefore a rather limited one, because patriarchal relations structure familial relations, but are ideologically 'reconstructed' in other spheres of social life, such as the labour market. This is to minimise the importance of patriarchal practices operating in the labour market itself, as Hartmann (1979), Cockburn (1983) and Walby (1986, 1990a) insist they do, as well as to read off women's subordination in the labour market from their subordination in the family.

In the age of professionalism, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, men who engaged in professional projects were able to mobilise both class-based and gender-based power resources in their struggles to secure market power and occupational closure. Autonomous means of professionalisation were institutionally located within civil society, a sphere that was the sovereign sphere of bourgeois male actors. In medicine, medical corporations and associations provided the institutional means for the mobilisation of tactics of closure and were also sites where male power was organised and institutionalised. The modern university, which was an important location for the negotiation of cognitive exclusiveness in the form of systematic education and examination, was patriarchally structured, governed by and admitting only men, in many cases well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It admitted only bourgeois male actors, who used their powers to exclude women.

Larson stresses the structural linkage between education and occupation as lying at the core of the professional project. In nineteenth-century patriarchal capitalism access to secondary and higher education was the exclusive prerogative of bourgeois and aristocratic men, and indeed some of the early campaigns waged by equal rights liberal feminists were to open up channels of access to secondary and higher education for bourgeois women (Dyhouse 1981, Strachey 1935). Bourgeois men were structurally privileged in attempts to secure this linkage between education and occupation, particularly when this was secured within the institutional arena of the modern university.

Similarly, access to the heteronomous means of registration and licensing was an exclusively male prerogative as these means of professionalisation were institutionally located within the state, which was patriarchally structured until into the twentieth century, when franchise was gradually conceded to women from 1918 onwards. It was within these institutional arenas of civil society and the state that professional closure was secured historically as a patriarchal mode of closure.

Equally, and more importantly from the point of view of the discussion of female professional projects, it is necessary to locate the professional projects of women within the structural matrix of nineteenth-century patriarchal capitalism. The patriarchal nature of the institutions which provided the backdrop for professional projects would have placed severe constraints on women's ability

to engage in such projects. Civil society was the sovereign sphere of bourgeois male actors, and it was extremely difficult for women to act collectively in this sphere by, for example, forming occupational associations. Consequently, if women did form occupational associations and seek state-sponsored registration they were bound to have to mobilise proxy male power in order to represent their collective interest at the institutional level of the state. Historically, the role of the state has been central to strategies of professionalisation (cf Johnson 1982), and this is equally true of female as it is of male professional projects. But in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when female professional projects were being waged, access to state sponsorship was mediated not only by the class relations of capitalism but also by the gender relations of patriarchy.

Furthermore, if women were to pursue credentialist tactics in order to forge a link between education and occupation, their exclusion from the modern university system meant that they had to utilise other institutional locations for education and training programmes, negotiating cognitive exclusiveness in other arenas. Thus, nurse training evolved within the institutional location of the hospital whilst midwifery training was eventually formalised within the institutional umbrella of a professional association of medical men, the Obstetrical Society. In order to receive medical education, women were eventually forced to open up a separate medical school, the London School of Medicine for Women.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of female professional projects needs, then, to ask the following kinds of questions. How were women to mobilise the means of credentialism when the modern university was an exclusive male preserve that admitted only men, was governed by men and used its powers to exclude women? How were women to lobby the state when it was a patriarchal capitalist state to which women had no access, save by proxy male power? What were the implications for female professional projects of the very fact that they had to rely on the support and intervention of organised groups of men in order to advance their own cause?

It is necessary, then, both to gender the agents of professional projects and to recognise and address the fact that collective actors engaged in such projects are positioned not only within class