Gabriele Ballarino, Cinzia Meraviglia*, Nazareno Panichella (University of Milan)

Educational inequality in Italy in the second half of the 20th century: Do mothers matter?

The definition and measurement of family background is a well-known problem of research on the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. In the case of research on educational inequality, one of the key issues concerns the choice of which parent has to be considered when measuring family background.

While early research used only father’s occupation and/or education, since the 80s the “dominance” approach acknowledges that also mothers play a role in the educational attainment of their offspring. Notwithstanding this substantial innovation, the dominance approach was also criticized on the ground that not many mothers do hold a higher social position than fathers, hence resulting de facto in an attenuated version of the conventional approach. While the dominance approach could make sense when studying the intergenerational transmission of social position in the past, in periods and countries where most women were not in a formal employment relation, there are at least two reasons why their exclusion can give a limited picture of the current patterns of intergenerational transmission of education, and thus their trend over time, up to the recent cohorts. First, female participation to the labour market has increased, up to the point that it does not make sense anymore to assume that most of the economic resources useful for childrearing are provided by the father. Second, and even more importantly, when the outcome of interest is educational achievement it is clear that the mother, be she employed or not, exerts a crucial impact on those cognitive and non-cognitive skills which foster school achievement, and its omission biases the results, as it has been demonstrated by previous research.

In this paper, we contribute to the growing literature on this topic by focusing on the trend of inequality of educational opportunities (IEO) over cohorts for the Italian case. The latter is particularly interesting, since research results are not completely consistent. While a majority of recent studies finds IEO to have decreased over time, comparative research (limited to men) shows Italy to be one of the European countries where such a decrease has been weaker, and some authors even find IEO to have been stable. We argue that measuring family background in a more detailed and accurate way, also consistent with theoretical claims about the family being the proper unit of analysis of stratification studies, could shed some light on the inconsistency of previous results. We use data from three Multi-purpose (Multiscopo) surveys conducted by the Italian national statistics institute (Istat) in 1998, 2003 and 2009, enabling us to cover cohorts from the 1940s to the early 1980s, counting about 60,000 cases. The relatively large sample allows us to make a difference from (to our knowledge) all previous papers on this topic: we adopt a transition approach, modeling the probability to achieve a lower secondary (compulsory), upper secondary and tertiary degree, conditional on having made the lower transition. Parental background is measured by both parents’ education.

Our hypotheses concern the different roles of parents in childrearing. Since the mother is expected to do most of the carework in the early years of life, especially in the Southern European countries, we expect that her role is more important in the earlier educational transitions. However, with the increase of both female education and participation to the labour market, and the change of gender stereotypes and roles implied by both processes, we expect such a difference to become less important over cohorts. We include gender in our analysis also on the children’s side: we follow gender-role theories in hypothesizing a particular relation between the child and his/her same-gender parent.
**Gabriele Ballarino*, Nazareno Panichella (University of Milan)**

*Geographical mobility and occupational achievement in contemporary Italy*

Stratification research sees societies as hierarchically ordered, such as ladders on whose steps individuals move (Fischer et al. 1997). Empirical research focuses on the transition of individuals in and out of positions hierarchically ordered in the occupational structure of a given territorial unit (typically a country). However, individuals also move along other dimensions, corresponding to other factors of differentiation of social positions. They can also move horizontally, for instance moving geographically, among different social structures (Sorokin 1927). Geographical mobility was indeed a core topic for classical studies on stratification and mobility (Lipset e Bendix 1959; Blau e Duncan 1967), as it related to industrialization and urbanism. In the recent decades, however, researchers and policymakers have focused their attention on international migration, while the internal migration of citizens from one city to another, or from the rural to the urban areas, has not been considered as a topic deserving special attention.

This paper studies the geographical mobility of Italians during the second half of the 20th century and its relation to status attainment. We use IHLS data, including detailed information concerning life-long geographical mobility collected at the more detailed level, the municipality. We created a new and unique dataset by exploiting this information, overlooked by previous research, and supplementing it with geographical and demographical information at the municipality level.

We are interested in the causal net effect of geographical mobility on occupational attainment, defined as 1. the probability to be employed; 2. the probability to enter the service class; 3. the probability to avoid the working class; 4. the probability to avoid a job in the agricultural classes. We run separate analyses for gender, and control for social origin and education. First, we estimate the effect of geographical mobility on occupational achievement with different models (pooled OLS, random-effects and fixed-effects). Second, we interact geographical mobility with social origin and geographical origin, to check whether geographical mobility has a compensation or a boosting effect with respect to both. Third, we estimate a distributed fixed effects model, providing a detailed observation of the process of occupational attainment before and after geographical mobility, thus allowing to discuss the selection process it involves. Fourth, we compare this pattern with the one of those who do not experience geographical mobility, to check whether the latter might alter the hierarchy among social classes.

**Orian Brook*, Dave O’Brien, Mark Taylor, Bozena Wielgoszewska (Univ. Edinburgh (1, 2,4), Univ. Sheffield(3))

*Social inequality in the creative economy*

There is widespread concern that Britain’s cultural and creative industries (CCIs) are increasingly dominated by those from privileged class origins, in contrast to dominant policy narratives of the CCIs as meritocratic and diverse. Recent analysis of the Labour Force Survey (O’Brien et al, 2016) has confirmed an under-representation of people from working class origins in the sector, with substantial variations by occupation. This paper will examine longitudinal trends in the social origins of these occupations through analysis of the NCDS, BCS and LS to identify whether there was a golden age of a classless creative sector, or if those from elite family backgrounds have always dominated. Our approach allows for an empirical test of Banks’ (2017) hypothesis that social mobility in cultural occupations tracks the post-war expansion in other elite professions, and the exploration of important intersections with gender.
Feifei Bu*, Jennifer Ferguson, Paul Lambert (Univ. Stirling)

A preliminary analysis of the growth trajectory of cognition and social support for older people

For older adults in wealthy countries, changes in cognitive function through time are often thought to be responsive to changes in other social circumstances, including informal social support as may be provided by a spouse, children, other family, or friends. Social support itself, however, is also likely to change through time. In this analysis we use repeated contacts data from the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (waves 1-6), which provides information for respondents aged 50 and over (and their spouses) from 2002 to 2012. We discuss ways of measuring and analysing the trajectories of both cognition and social support, and show initial results.

Roxanne Connelly (Univ. Warwick)

Social Stratification, Enjoyment and Learning

Education policy documents frequently refer to the importance of ensuring that children enjoy their education, and policies have been developed which aim to promote a child’s enjoyment of education and learning. This paper seeks to investigate the extent to which primary school children enjoy their education, and the influence which educational enjoyment has on educational attainment. In recent years, enjoyment has become a key principle of education policy and a central concern in the development of the primary school curriculum. Enjoyment of education is the key focus of the "Excellence and Enjoyment" strategy in English Primary schools, the "Foundation Phase" in Wales, and the "Curriculum for Excellence" in Scotland. These policies highlight the importance of educational enjoyment as a significant outcome in its own right, but are also based on the premise that if a child enjoys their education this will lead to improved educational attainment. Evidence linking enjoyment and attainment is currently limited and inconclusive. Enjoyment policies also lack consideration of the differential propensity of some groups of children to enjoy education, particularly children from less advantaged families.

This paper uses longitudinal data from the UK Millennium Cohort Study (MCS) to present a detailed contemporary analysis of children’s enjoyment of education in primary school. Importantly, variation in the levels of enjoyment experienced by different social groups is investigated. Linked administrative education data from the National Pupil Database (NPD) is used to analyse the influence of enjoyment on educational attainment using hybrid models. This research is crucial for evaluating the extent to which policies aimed at improving enjoyment are likely to reduce inequalities in educational attainment.

Harry Ganzeboom* & Tamira Sno (VU University Amsterdam / ADEK University of Suriname)

The first worldwide survey on intergenerational occupational status reproduction - The ISSP 2009

In 1967, Blau & Duncan published The American Occupational Structure, which launched their famous path model of intergenerational occupational status reproduction, more commonly known as the BD status attainment (SAT) model. From this simple but powerful multivariate process model, sociologists learned how to distinguish between and quantitatively estimate indirect, confounding and direct effects in a covariance/correlation structure. Blau & Duncan’s SAT model also defined the substance of the occupational reproduction process, that can be summarized in four conclusions:

- Occupational status reproduction among US men in 1962, relative to their fathers, is moderately strong and stable across the life cycle (i.e. about equally strong in first and current (last) occupations).
- Occupational status reproduction is about as strong, but is hardly confounded by educational...
reproduction.

- About half of the occupational status reproduction in first occupations is mediated by educational attainment, the other half remains direct/unexplained.
- Occupational status reproduction in current jobs is only slightly more mediated by education, and a substantial part still takes place outside education. About a quarter of the reproduction is still direct, which implies that fathers would still influence their sons’ occupational choices beyond the completion of their education and entry into the labor market.

While the Blau-Duncan model was perfectly fit for replication in an comparative perspective, research on social mobility and social reproduction has effectively taken other directions (Ganzeboom, Treiman, & Ultee, 1991). In particular by sacrificing single-parameter multivariate accounts of the occupational status attainment process for multi-parameter discrete data models of the bivariate relationship. However, increasingly, researchers agree that this generational shift has not been a fortunate on all accounts and that a comparative analysis of the status attainment model would still be called for (Treiman & Ganzeboom, 2000).

The ISSP 2009 effectively is the first world-wide survey in which the four variables in the occupational reproduction process (parental occupation, education, first occupation and current occupation) have been measured in a highly harmonized comparative design, now covering more than 40 countries. Given the limited size of the national datasets, a simple and powerful approach, such as the Blau-Duncan SAT model is called for. We calculate its bivariate and multivariate parameters for all available countries and then test the following standard hypotheses from the stratification and mobility literature:

- Status attainment in education is weaker in more recent cohorts and in more modernized countries.
- Status attainment in first occupations is more strongly driven by education and less strongly driven by direct reproduction in more recent cohorts and in more modernized countries.
- Status attainment in current occupations is more strongly driven by first occupations, less by education and hardly by parental occupations in more recent cohorts and in more modernized countries.

Vernon Gayle (Univ. Edinburgh)

Some Newer Rules of the Sociological Method: Reproducible Stratification Research

The universe of social science data suitable for studying social stratification is expanding. At the Cambridge meeting in 2016 I argued that despite the advances in the availability of access to large-scale datasets in reality it is impossible to ‘reproduce’ the results of most of the analyses that are published. Statistician Philip Stark has recently produced a checklist for reproducible research. In this paper I examine the extent to which sociological researchers can follow Stark’s checklist for reproducible research by undertaking a plausible piece of analysis, using genuine large-scale data with realistic levels of messiness. In particular I will focus on the implications that Stark’s rules have for training and research capacity building within the social stratification research community especially in areas such as data enabling, software use and the research workflow.
Amelie Groleau*, Michael R. Smith (McGill Univ.)

The persistence of overqualification among postsecondary graduates in Canada

In Canada, completing higher education is an advantage on the labour market (Frenette, 2014). While most postsecondary graduates are successful in finding a job matching their qualifications, a certain proportion is likely to become overqualified. In some cases, this might be a temporary situation. However, when it persists over time, overqualification has important consequences on wages, skills adequacy (Chen & Fougere, 2014) and career stability (McGuiness & Wooden, 2007), hence, widening the gap between workers who have experienced this situation and the others. This raises the following questions: What are the main academic and sociodemographic determinants of overqualification for postsecondary graduates? Are the same factors contributing to the persistence of this professional outcome over time? In other words, are some categories of graduates clearly disadvantaged as to the duration of job-education mismatch in Canada?

Using Statistic Canada’s National Graduate Survey, we examine these issues using data on the graduate cohort of 2000 who was interviewed two and five years after graduation. This allows us to estimate early rates of overqualification and its determinants. It also allows the analysis of changes in the overqualification status of graduates over time. Conclusions drawn from our results are discussed in terms of social inequality on the Canadian labour market.

Geoff Payne (Univ. Newcastle)

If Class Sneezes, does Social Mobility Catch a Cold: measurement and meaning in mobility analysis

Although the Bourdieusian turn has refreshed class analysis, some of the questions raised echo older debates about why mobility is important, how it works as a process, and the ways people experience mobility. This in turn suggests the possibility of extending the mainstream paradigm of British social mobility research. On the one hand, this might involve further reflection about absolute mobility, class schema, and gender; what are the prospects for increasing mobility rates in the short run; and how far are conventional quantitative approaches pitched at an appropriate level. On the other hand, it might re-open questions around how non-sociologists think about what sociologists call social class; the complexity of mobility routes and processes; and whether what is usually counted as mobility feels the same to all actors, i.e. the potential of qualitative methods to open up mobility analysis to less numerate researchers. Examples of these issues will draw on my recent and forthcoming books, ‘The New Social Mobility’ (2017) and ‘Social Mobility for the 21st Century’ (2018: edited with Steph Lawler).

Roger Penn (Queen’s Univ. Belfast)

The Changing Contours of Occupation & Industry: A Comparison of the 1921 and 2011 Censuses of Population

The proposed paper builds upon my earlier Sage Case Study in Research Methods ['The Sociological Analysis of Historical Census Data Using Graphical Representations: An Illustration from the 1921 Census of England and Wales', 2014]. It will explore how patterns of occupation and industry have changed since 1921. Certain popularly held views by sociologists will be explored, particularly the image of a predominantly male manual working class located in factories in the early twentieth century. The contrast with 2011 will also explore the issue of what might be meant by the notion of a ‘working class’ today. The paper will argue two things simultaneously. Firstly, it will suggest that sociologists have a mythical understanding of the historical nature of the working class. Secondly, it will further suggest that this is compounded by a lack of a clear grasp of what the ‘working class’ consists of nowadays. The lack of effective benchmarks at either end of the period under review makes any effective understanding of continuities and change in the class structure fraught with problems. The paper will suggest possible ways forward from this impasse.
Working Class Kids and School Qualifications: An Investigation of Scottish Education Using Longitudinal and Administrative Social Science Data

There has been a long running negative association between social class and outcomes in school examinations. Pupils from less advantaged social classes have generally had poorer performance. In this paper we investigate contemporary social class effects using data from the Scottish Longitudinal Study and newly available linked administrative data.

The resounding finding is that working class pupils have less favourable outcomes in school qualifications. The effects of social class can be observed net of gender, parental education and household type. Parental education plays an important role in filial (i.e. their child’s) educational outcomes but there is no interaction with parental social class. A more subtle finding is that the outcomes of pupils with parents in lower supervisory and technical occupations share close similarities with children of parents from both semi-routine and routine occupations. This is important because sociologists have previously theorised parents in lower supervisory and technical occupations as a blue collar intermediate class, but in this analysis their children’s educational outcomes are more similar to pupils from the wage-earning working class.

We observe some occupation-level differences within social classes. For example the children of teachers have good outcomes whereas children with parents in catering and hospitality occupations perform worse than counterparts in the same social class. This work is innovative because it analyses administrative records linked to an existing longitudinal dataset. The findings are important as they provide up-to-date evidence that can directly inform policy debates in the areas of education and social mobility.

Inequality in mortality in the United Kingdom at a detailed occupational level

It has been several decades since inequality in mortality in the United Kingdom was examined at a detailed occupational level. Our study provides an updated assessments of mortality by occupation across the United Kingdom. We use Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) codes to compare mortality rates between occupations, and the nations of the UK. This approach identifies very poor, and potentially even worsening, mortality risks for some specific occupational groups. In addition, this highlights the potential for sociologically informed, micro-class based analyses, to help inform public health policy.

Our analyses use representative samples (1% England/Wales, 5.3% Scotland) of working age adults (aged 20-59 years) linked census and death records. Main occupation was self-reported in the 1991 and 2001 censuses and coded into 60+ groups. The outcome variable is standardised all-cause mortality rates.

Results: Among men in England, health professionals had the lowest mortality (224.7, 95%CI 145.3-304.1), with managers and teachers also having particularly low rates. The highest mortality occurred in elementary construction jobs (701.3, 95%CI 593.1-809.4), with very high rates also in housekeeping jobs and factory workers. Among women, teachers and business professionals experienced low mortality, with factory workers and those in the garment trade having high mortality rates. Occupational groups with the higher mortality rates experienced even greater rates in Scotland than England/Wales. In Scotland, mortality rates have generally fallen, but remained stagnant or have increased amongst women in some occupations, e.g. an increase from 336.8 (95%CI 291.6-382.0) to 425.7 (95%CI 371.0-480.5) for cleaners. Simulation models suggest that, if occupational mortality rates in England/Wales applied to Scotland, there would be 631 fewer men (630.9, 95%CI 284.8-979.2) and 273 (272.6, 95%CI 26-512.6) fewer women of working
age dying in Scotland every year.

Conclusion: Research examining the detailed occupational level offers a sociologically grounded avenue for the understanding of health inequalities. This approach has been neglected but provides opportunity to identify occupations that could benefit from targeted public health interventions. Patterns of occupational mortality have changed in different ways in each part of the United Kingdom. The known excess mortality in Scotland is concentrated amongst disadvantaged occupations, some of which display increases in absolute mortality.

Yuji Shimorhiru-Calvo (Univ. Edinburgh)

**Does class still matter? A cross-national comparison of the effects of income inequality on political participation in five European countries**

Does economic inequality jeopardise the egalitarian right of equal political participation? There is no consensus as to whether it promotes or depresses citizen political participation in advanced industrial democracies. Scholars have proposed three contradictory theories: 1) relative power theory: economic inequality decreases political participation, 2) conflict theory: economic inequality increases political participation, and 3) resource theory: economic inequality increases the participation of the wealthier but decreases the participation of the poorer. Drawing on my Ph.D. research, this paper examines five countries, both pre- and post- 2008 financial crisis, and tests these theories' explanatory powers. I do this through a multilevel framework that takes into consideration individual-level data from all seven rounds of the European Social Survey (2002-2014), and macro-economic data from the World Bank's indicators database. Recent studies on political participation and economic inequality reduce social stratification to economistic measures based on income. In contrast, this paper offers a sociological notion of class as a central concept with which to further our understanding of political participation in advanced industrial democracies. More specifically, this paper examines Spain, France, Germany, Sweden, and Great Britain. These countries suit a cross-national comparative analysis: all five countries are advanced industrial democracies that suffered from the 2008 financial crisis. Each also represent distinct political traditions and differing levels of welfare state policies, just as each was differentially affected by the financial crisis. So I examine citizen political participation using three distinct typologies of social class: Wright's neo-Marxist typology, Goldthorpe's neo-Weberian typology, and Grusky's microclass approach or neo-Durkheimian typology. Due to the ongoing nature of this paper a fourth approach will be examined in the months prior to the conference, i.e., a hybrid typology of class that subsumes neo-Durkheimian micro-classes into a "big class" typology in the multilevel framework stated above.

Sarah Stopforth (Univ. Edinburgh)

**An exploration of socio-economic position, educational attitudes and GCSE attainment for synthetic cohorts in the British Household Panel Survey**

There is a long-standing relationship between a pupil's socio-economic background and their educational outcomes. In general, pupils from more advantaged social backgrounds obtain more and higher-level qualifications than their less advantaged peers. Until 2015 with the raising of the participation age, General Certification of Secondary Education qualifications (GCSEs) were the examinations taken at the end of compulsory schooling for all English pupils. GCSEs are sociologically important because they are the first branching point in a young person's educational trajectory. GCSEs are further sociologically important because inequalities at later stages in a pupil's educational career can be explained by inequalities established at earlier stages.

In this paper, I analyse data from the British Household Panel Survey. I construct a series of synthetic cohorts (based on school years) to undertake a detailed analysis of the relationship between socio-economic position and GCSE attainment. Utilising the household panel design, I
explore a series of measures relating to both parents, and to the composition of the household in which the young person grew up. In addition to explanatory variables typically found in previous studies (e.g. gender, ethnicity, household type and parental education), I also investigate a set of variables associated with the young person's attitudes and aspirations towards their education before they sat their GCSEs.

Bozena Wielgoszewsk, Cristina Iannelli, Adriana Dut (Univ. Edinburgh)

Social origin and graduates’ labour market trajectories up to the age of 42

Research on graduates' labour market outcomes in the UK has highlighted persistent social inequalities in graduates’ chance of entering higher managerial and professional jobs and in earnings (e.g. Jacob, Klein and Iannelli, 2015; Macmillan, Tyler and Vignoles, 2015). However, most of this research has analysed outcomes at one or two points in time, thus providing only snapshots of graduates’ occupational outcomes. Our study improves upon the existing research by examining graduates’ labour market trajectories across their life-course (including movements in and out of employment and between occupational classes) and how these trajectories vary by social class of origin. We ask two main research questions: (1) What are the typical labour market pathways followed by graduates? In other words, how graduates’ occupational and employment trajectories unfold before reaching a mature destination; (2) How do these pathways vary by parental social class? We use data from the British Cohort Study (1970) which provides rich employment and occupational histories up to the age of 42 together with other key information such as parental background characteristics and higher education experience. We examine labour market trajectories of both sub-degree and degree level graduates. This distinction is important since little is known about the labour market destinations of sub-degree holders and since students from lower social classes are more likely to obtain a sub-degree level qualification than students from upper social classes. Understanding the potential differences in the labour market outcomes associated with the two types of qualifications will provide a fuller picture of the extent of social inequalities in the labour market experiences of HE graduates. This study uses sequence analysis followed by cluster analysis to identify the typical trajectories followed by tertiary education graduates. It further employs multinomial logistic regression to examine whether and to what extent there are social inequalities in the chance of following more or less advantaged pathways and whether these inequalities are explained by differences in higher education attainment, field of study and prestige of the higher education institution from which they graduated. Preliminary results indicate that, compared to graduates from lower social backgrounds, those from top social backgrounds are more likely to enter higher managerial and professional occupations either early in their life-course, immediately after graduation, or later, in their 30's, after some work experience in lower managerial and professional occupations. In contrast, their peers from lower social backgrounds are less likely to enter these more advantaged trajectories and more likely to enter lower managerial and professional occupations right after their graduation (in the best-case scenario) or intermediate occupations or routine and semi-routine occupations where only a small proportion of them enter higher managerial and professional occupations later in their 30's. Some of these differences are explained by higher education characteristics (particularly, prestige of the university and field of study) but some differences, especially those between the top and the bottom parental social classes, remain even after accounting for these factors. Regarding sub-degree holders, as opposed to graduates, only a small proportion of them enter higher managerial and professional occupations and very rarely directly after the completion of their studies. Preliminary results show that, compared to graduates from lower social backgrounds, sub-degree holders are more likely to enter lower managerial and professional occupations rather early in their life-course. Nevertheless, slightly more than half of the sub-degree holders are following trajectories which are dominated by intermediate and semi-routine occupations or inactivity –these types of trajectories account only for about one quarter of graduates’ types of trajectories. However, apart from the overall differences in the occupational and employment trajectories compared to graduates and the fact that a higher proportion of sub-degree holders come from lower social classes, there is no
evidence of additional significant differences by parental social class among the sub-degree holders. Finally, gender differences appear among both graduates and sub-degree holders.

Richard Zijdeman*, Paul Lambert (Intl. Inst. Social History; Univ. Stirling)

Occupations as elevators? Social change during the 19th century and its relationship to occupations

In times of economic restructuring it is possible that individual occupations change, not just in their technical content and the volume or skill level of their incumbents, but also in their relative position in the wider social structure. In such situations, the incumbents of those occupations which change more than others might experience an unanticipated adjustment to their social circumstances simply by staying in the same occupational field through their lifecourse: occupations might act as large-scale social elevators by imposing positive or negative social mobility upon their incumbents.

This paper hypothesises an ‘elevator effect’ associated with occupational change during late industrialisation, and evaluates the evidence for this effect and for its impact upon individuals. Detailed occupational positions are identified using large-scale microdata from the UK census (1851-1911) and the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (births 1812-1922). Occupations are analysed in terms of detailed taxonomies (ISCO and HISCO units and national specific coding frames). The relative social position of occupations is understood by assessing macro level data on the occupations, and by using the profile of micro-level social interactions between the incumbents of different occupations. Impacts upon individuals are assessed by exploring linked microdata on their own and family outcomes. In this manner, statistical analysis of patterns in the circumstances of occupations can help us to assess wider mechanisms of longitudinal social change that are of interest to historical and contemporary understandings of trends in social inequality. Evidence of an ‘elevator effect’ would also challenge a long established position in sociological research, the expectation that the same occupations do not change substantially in their relative social position through time.
**Participant list** (at 6/9/17)

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