how to conceptualize the position of men in
the stratification order” (138), there is nothing
to preclude analysis of the educational attain-
ments of females or, for that matter, of the
occupational attainments of those women who
were employed in 1963–64.

Although the book is generally well written,
Hope might have attracted a wider audience
had he not included in the text an excessive
amount of technical material that should have
been put in footnotes. The problem is com-
pounded by his failure to provide summaries
of findings at the end of several of the analysis
chapters, so that the technically unsophisti-
cated reader must wade through paragraphs of
formulas and technical description in order to
determine what has been found.

These shortcomings aside, the book is an
important contribution to comparative re-
search on education and mobility. Hope has
convincingly demonstrated that common
characterizations of Britain (and especially
Scotland) by outsiders are often incorrect. As
Hope (3) describes it, the book is “a work of
history illustrated by statistical analyses,” and
thus its usefulness rests only partly on the
correctness of its measures or models. There
may be some measurement problems and
some problems of noncomparability of data
between countries, but Hope is careful to
point most of these out and to caution the
reader where the results are only suggestive.
While the statistical analyses (especially of
Scottish material) are informative, the
strength of the book lies in its historical
analysis of British and American norms and
how these have affected educational policy.
As Others See Us is a book that deserves a
wide readership by specialists in education,
stratification, and mobility.

Other Literature Cited
Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1963. “The Value Patterns
of Democracy: A Case Study in Comparative
Analysis.” American Sociological Review
Marx, Karl. 1852 (1972). “The Eighteenth
Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.” Pp. 536–625 in
New York: Norton.
——. 1867 (1962). “Preface to the First German
Edition of Capital.” Pp. 448–52 in Marx and Eng-
els, Selected Works, Vol. 1. Moscow: Foreign
Languages Publishing House.
Turner, Ralph H. 1960. “Sponsored and Contest
Mobility and the School System.” American

Moving the Urban Studies Frontier

Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production, by DOREEN
MASSEY. New York: Methuen, 1984. 339 pp. $29.95 cloth. $11.95 paper.

Harvey Molotch
University of California, Santa Barbara

Doreen Massey, a prominent and innovative
British geographer, writes from long-
simmering frustration. She rejects all effort
to derive laws of urban and regional develop-
ment from the characteristics of place, per se—the quest for a spatial geometry that has
been the forte of traditional urban and regional
studies. And although she subscribes to a
Marxian world-view, she does not believe that
urban development inexorably follows from
the mechanics of accumulation, with specific
geographical relations “logically necessary
outcomes of a pure capitalist mode of produc-
tion” (48). She thus has to reformulate the two
major traditions of regional geography as well
as those of urban sociology, economics, and
land-use planning.

Massey makes the effort, with fruitful re-
sults, to move beyond the shortcomings of her
forebears, combining issues of topography,
space, economic relations, social structure,
nethnicity, culture, and gender into a single
frame. She is always at work to show that
“geography matters,” but not in isolation from
social relations generally. The nature of spe-
cific places follows from the way historical
forces, along all these social and spatial di-
mensions, conjoin. Events are sequentially
“layered” upon one another with divergent
outcomes in different locations. Place dif-
fferences can be grasped only through simulta-
nous examination of the constraints imposed
by physical environment, class-based efforts
to manipulate geography, the role of the state,
and the ongoing tensions across the genders
and ethnic groups.

“Geography,” she says, is not merely “a
constraint on a pre-existing non-geographical
social and economic world. It is constitutive
of that world” (53). Or, in a similar formula-
tion, "Spatial differentiation, geographical variation, is not just an outcome: it is integral to the reproduction of society and its dominant social relations" (300).

Building upon her own past empirical analyses of British development, as well as the work of others, Massey provides case illustrations of how this complex, mutually constitutive patterning works itself out. Drawing from Marxian emphasis on the labor process, Massey observes that "one of capital's crucial advantages over labour is its great, and increasing, geographical mobility" (57). This means that much of firms' moving behavior in recent decades has been not so much to maximize access to raw materials or markets but to escape workers whose organization and sense of entitlement lowers profits. There is "mobility which is . . . beyond the spatial boundaries of organisational coherence of the employees" (57) Through capitalist strategies such as this, the nature of both new and old place is determined. "Spatial structure . . . is an active element in accumulation" (74), just as the particulars of the accumulation process define how space can be manipulated and thus given its reality.

Emerging forms of the "geography of production" are cogently analyzed by Massey in these terms. Compared to old patterns of industrial settlement (think of the British coal mining towns), workers no longer live homogenously together among others working in the same facility, with the shared grievances and ease of mobilization that such segregation implies. Instead, modern workers increasingly live some distance from their employment site, among neighbors who have different employers and with rather little access to, or even understanding of, the managerial structure that controls them (it's a bit like confronting ghosts, Massey says).

A critical factor in these changes has been the growing presence of women in the labor force, not in similar roles to men but rather as a newly discovered reserve army that willingly works for low wages at routine clerical and assembly jobs. Especially given a lack of efficient mass transportation, women will work at low-paid tasks so long as employment is near enough to their homes to combine with household and child-rearing duties. This fact gives rise to "housewives in the workforce" and also to the locational patterning of certain types of industry in the suburban hinterlands and outer-ring neighborhoods. Both class relations and the spatial division of labor are changed as part of the same historic process. Here, as in other instances pointed out by Massey, there is "interaction between geographical forms and patriarchal structures" (225) that invites application to a multitude of settings.

In so comprehensive a work, however, I was disappointed to find no treatment of an urban middle tier of actors actively shaping the development process. Who are the owners of property and what role do they, and other members of local business groups, play in urban structuring? Granted that the role of such actors in Britain, compared to the United States at least, may be quite constrained by government authority, it at least plausibly exists and needs to be accounted for in the larger scheme of things. Similarly (or alternatively), the significance of the British planning bureaucrats needs to be integrated into the Massey picture.

There are flaws of presentation: much of the writing takes the form of discursive essay, obscuring key points and the direction of exposition. Symptomatic of the problem are uninformative subtitles like "Reflections" and "Some Issues" or asterisks in lieu of subtitles altogether. Non-British readers will have some trouble with local terms and acronyms (like NUM and NALGO) that are never defined in text or footnote. Sociologists not at ease with either Marxian formulations or the argot of regional studies may similarly encounter some rough going.

These problems aside, there are new insights scattered throughout this work that will reward the diligent reader. Massey's book takes us all in new directions and represents a landmark on the road to a more sophisticated version of urban studies. Along with a rich vein of similar work by scholars from a number of disciplines on both sides of the Atlantic, this book challenges the arid economistic tradition dominating both urban ecology and regional analysis. All urban sociologists should read Massey's work to see the potentials in this exciting development.