10

Social Class and Styles of Living

The concept of social class is crucial to the analysis of society and human behaviour and therefore to any explanation of the existence and scale of poverty. Historically, the concept has played a prominent part in political and sociological theory. In cruder senses, it also plays a prominent part in public discussion of political and social events. It is recognized to be a more complex stratifying factor than, say, age or sex, and emphasis is variously given in its definition and exposition to economic position, power, social status or prestige and culture. In the survey reported in this book, we tried to obtain both objective and subjective indicators of class membership in analysing the distribution of resources. This chapter gives some account of these indicators and the results of using 'class' in different senses, as an analytic variable. We developed a number of operational classifications, which are discussed below. They are:

1. Individual unprompted self-assignation.
2. Individual prompted self-assignation.
3. The Registrar General's five-fold occupational classification.
4. A sociological eight-fold classification.
5. The combined occupational class of husband and wife.
6. The combined occupational class of husband, wife, husband's father and wife's father.

The Problem of Measurement

The state's acknowledgement of the existence of 'social class' might be said to date from the Census of 1911, when the Registrar General sought to grade occupations according to 'social position' into eight classes. These were reduced from 1921 to five classes.[1] The criteria were arbitrary, and the classification has been frequently criticized. In particular, manual and non-manual occupations were not distinguished,

[1] T. H. C. Stevenson worked out the classification. His special interest was the influence of wealth and culture on mortality and morbidity. See Stevenson, T. H. C., 'The Vital Statistics of Wealth and Poverty', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* vol. 91,1928.

until recently, within classes II, III and IV of the five-fold scale. But the classification was adopted in numerous official and independent studies and, despite its crudity, was found to correlate significantly with many other measures of the human condition - such as housing tenure and amenities, type of education, mortality and morbidity. After the Second World War, sociologists wanted a classification more firmly based on social perceptions of occupational prestige. The Hall-Jones scale (consisting of seven ranked categories) was adopted in a pioneering study of social mobility,[1] and modified subsequently (identifying eight ranked categories). The eight-fold classification adopted in this report is essentially a further modification, as described in Appendix Six, of the scale used in these studies. Although the eight-fold classification is the one most frequently used in this book, the five-fold classification (with a division between manual and non-manual occupations within class III) has been retained to provide ready means of comparison with other work.

Strictly, both the Registrar General's and the 'sociological' scales are non-objective. They incorporate arbitrary as well as normative elements. First, occupational status is not the same as class. Social classes may be said to be segments of the population sharing broadly similar types and levels of resources, with broadly similar styles of living and some perception of their collective condition. In addition to occupation, other factors play a part in determining class - income, wealth, type of tenure of housing, education, style of consumption, mode of behaviour, social origins and family and local connections. These factors are, of course, interrelated, but none of them, taken singly, is a sufficient indicator of class. Occupation was selected historically, perhaps because it happened to be the most convenient about which to collect information. That selection has therefore exercised disproportionate influence upon both social analysis and the conditioning of social perceptions and attitudes. To put the matter baldly, by restricting investigation of the inequalities of class to the inequalities of occupational prestige (as presumed on the basis of small-scale investigations applied to the whole range of present occupations) research workers, if unconsciously, condition society to interpret, and therefore accept, inequality as one involving differences in the present distribution of occupations. As a 'consequence, certain differences between people which are avoidable come -to be regarded as unavoidable. Similarly, aspirations for social equality are interpreted only as aspirations for upward occupational mobility. As a consequence, certain demands for structural change come to be regarded as demands only for improved opportunity and mobility.

Secondly, the ranking of occupations according to their prestige, while intended to reflect, and indeed in some measure actually reflecting, widely held perceptions, includes a number of arbitrary steps. Indeed, some critics have questioned whether 'prestige' has been treated consistently as the criterion.[2] It is impractical to invite

[1] Glass, D. V. (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

[2] Goldthorpe, J. H., and Hope, K., 'Occupational Grading and Occupational Prestige', in

samples of the population to rank the 20,000 or more occupations of the employed population; the social scientist usually confines himself to asking individuals about a small number of occupations, say thirty, which are believed to be representative, or at least common. Inferences are then made about the ranking of the remaining occupations. The identification of numbers of ranks and the criteria for differentiating between ranks are not very clear. The whole procedure is therefore a mixture of presupposition and the partial representation of social perceptions. In the Oxford studies in social mobility, Goldthorpe and Hope have now shown how the ranking of twenty occupations can be related to the ranking of 860 by asking sub-samples of informants to rank two groups of twenty occupations, one of them being the basic twenty and the other being a variable set of the same number.[1] Some social scientists in the United States have tried to avoid the hazards of a 'status' approach to the ranking of occupations by ranking them according to the combined criteria of median income and median years of schooling.[2] In Britain, Goldthorpe and Hope and their colleagues have sought to persuade pilot samples of the population to rate occupations in four separate dimensions: (a) standard of living, (b) prestige in the community, (c) power and influence over other people, and (d) value to society.[3] However, while each of these approaches achieves more consistent grading of occupations, it does so at the cost first of diverting attention from broader study of inequalities of class, and secondly of distinguishing a large, and inevitably cumbersome, number of grades.[4]

Images of Class

The conceptual and measurement problems can be illustrated by starting with the images held by individuals of social class. Towards the end of our interviews, following many questions about work, income and wealth, chief wage earners or heads of households and housewives were each asked: 'You hear of people talking about social class. If you were asked what social class you belong to what would you say?'

Hope, K. (ed.), *The Analysis of Social Mobility: Methods and Approaches,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972. In a later work, the authors argue at length 'against taking the results of "occupational prestige" studies at face value - i.e. as tapping some underlying structure of social relations of deference, acceptance and derogation - and in favour of an alternative interpretation of these data in terms of the "general desirability" of occupations, understood as a synthetic, emergent judgement from a specific population' - Goldthorpe, J. H., and Hope, K., *The Social Grading of Occupations,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, p. 132.

[1] ibid., pp. 48-50.

[2] Occupations were assigned scores on the basis of their education and income distributions. See Blau, P. M., and Duncan, O. D., *The American Occupational Structure,* John Wiley, New York, 1967, esp. pp. 26-7 and 118-24.

[3] Goldthorpe and Hope, The Social Grading of Occupations, pp. 27-33.

[4] In the alternative grading of occupations, Goldthorpe and Hope produced a scale with 124 categories, though for some users they reduced the scale to 36 categories.

The interviewer was instructed at this stage to avoid putting names of classes into people's minds. When informants asked what the question meant, the interviewer was instructed only to repeat the question or to say, 'It's what *you* think,' or 'It's what *you* say. Everyone has their own view. What would be the name of the class you belong or are nearest to ?'

This approach is not ideal. An alternative would have been to spend long periods of time with informants, noting down illustrations of their own spontaneous use of concepts of class in conversation or behaviour. But participant observation of this kind is difficult to regulate in a way which is consistent with representative measurement of a population. Some people are reticent or unobtrusive compared with others. Some who hold strong conceptions of class consciously or unconsciously avoid the use of direct terms.

The answers to the question were noted down and coded subsequently. They are set out in Table 10.1. Over four fifths of the sample assigned themselves spon-

Table 10.1. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of household and housewives, according to self-rating by class* (*unprompted*).

Class	*Men*	*Women*	*Men and women*
Upper	0.1	0.1	0.1
Upper middle	1.6	1.4	1.5
Middle	32.3	39.4	36.1
Lower middle	5.0	3.8	4.4
Upper working	1.6	1.4	1.5
Working	50.3	42.7	46.2
Poor	1.2	1.2	1.2
Ordinary	1.1	2.3	1.8
Lower, lowest	2.0	1.8	1.9
Classless	3.5	4.2	3.9
No conception of class	1.3	1.6	1.5
Total	100	100	100
Number	1,414	1,665	3,079

taneously either to the 'middle' or 'working class', with rather fewer women than men assigning themselves to the working, and more to the middle class. Most of the replies were similarly worded and could be grouped without difficulty. Different sections of the population have different images of the class structure which are expressed in conventional terms. Strictly, we might have invited people to describe the class system before identifying their own class position. But the remarks made in the context of the interviews showed there was a difference. One section held a three-valued or multi-valued *status* model of the system, seeing the population

arranged in at least three ranks of upper, middle and lower class, or a finer succession of ranks of upper, upper middle, lower middle class and so on. The other section held a two-valued *power* model of the system, of the working class and the employer class, or the rich or prosperous, or a view frequently illustrated by statements of a 'them and us' variety. 'There are only two classes,' as one builder's labourer put it to us, 'the rich and the working class.' These conceptions have been discussed elsewhere in studies of small samples of the population.[1]

Both sets of images tend to be combined crudely into a single scale in public and even scientific discussion, promoting the belief that social perceptions about class are shared more widely than they in fact are. The public conception is a clumsy amalgamation of two logically distinct perceptions - as implied by the inconsistent but accepted terms 'middle' and 'working' class. How might we begin to understand the readiness with which the mass of the population apply one of these two terms to themselves? Broadly speaking, people identifying themselves as 'middle' class imply first of all that the class system consists of at least three grades, with at least one higher and one lower class. This further implies their rejection of society dichotomously divided into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, or some similar division. The acceptance of at least three ranks also fits better with assumptions or beliefs about differences of skill and opportunities for upward mobility. And by placing *themselves* in the middle rank, they are stating, in effect, that they hold a position of superiority or advantage in society over at least one other major section; that they make no claim to the highest superiority or advantage; and that this position of modest superiority is 'central' to the membership of society - perhaps implying they are at the heart or core of society, joining the two extremes, holding an intermediate and perhaps therefore 'fair' and 'reasonable' social and political position. They are not superior and their advantages not excessive.

A similar kind of analysis is needed of the adoption of the term 'working' class. People who hold a position of disadvantage resist acknowledgement of their inferiority and refuse to designate themselves as of 'low' or 'lowest' class.[2] The

[1] Most pertinently in Britain, by Bott, E., *Family Network and Social Class,* Tavistock, London, 1957, Chapter 6; Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F., and Platt, J., *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure,* Cambridge University Press, 1969, esp. pp. 146-56. Goldthorpe and his colleagues found among a group of Luton manual workers that a substantial number adopted a two- or three-valued 'money' model of the class structure. There were signs of this in our survey, for example, among both those identifying themselves as 'poor' and middle' class - and there was a substantial minority declaring that money was the most important determinant of class. This 'money' image cuts across the two principal images, and may to some extent underlie both of them. A recent pilot study in Melbourne, Australia, found income or money to be by far the most important perceived determinant of class. See Hiller, P., 'Variations in Everyday Conceptual Components of Class', *Sociology,* May 1975.

[2] This has been noted in numerous studies. See, for example, Centers, R., *The Psychology of Social Classes,* Princeton University Press, 1949.

term 'working' class is in many ways a euphemism to enable them to escape acknowledgement of inferiority. It carries the imputation that other classes are non-working, and non-productive, and therefore in some deeper sense inferior classes, and also glosses over inner differences and divisions in order to represent mass solidarity and power.

No one who considers the results of this exercise can doubt the subjective distortion of reality by the illogical combination in terminology of the two typologies. On the one hand, we can note how few people unreservedly believe they belong to the upper' class. While the great bulk of the population adopts class imagery which assumes the existence of an upper, or a ruling class, practically no one claims to belong to such a class. In our entire sample, only four people said they were in the upper class. On the other hand, we can note how few people say they are in the 'lower' or 'lowest' class. Some of these described themselves as being 'the bottom dogs', 'the lowest dynasty' and 'the bottom end of the stick'.

There remain two minorities of great interest. Four per cent (representing, it should be remembered, well over a million adults) rejected grading. 'Snobbery, that is.' 'I don't believe in it.' 'We're all the same.' 'I'm not struck on social classes.' Some did acknowledge under further questioning that there were in practice classes in society and that they belonged to a particular class. Yet, initially in the interview, they attempted to oppose the idea, and some even in their ordinary lives to act on the presumption that society was classless.[1]

There were also those who either held a very vague idea of class, symbolized by the rating of themselves as 'ordinary', 'average', 'we pay our way', or they held no idea at all. The latter said, 'I've never thought about it,' That's something for other people,' or even, 'I don't belong to any clubs like that.'

We next asked people to say: 'What decides what class you're in? Is it mainly job, education, the family you're born into, your way of life, money, anything else?'

The replies are set out in Table 10.2. Interviewers were instructed to establish what individuals believed to be the most important factor determining class. Occupation did not play such a prominent part among the replies as it plays in official and scientific assessment. The most favoured factor was way of life, named by 31 per cent of respondents. Eighteen per cent thought that the family into which people were born, compared with 17 per cent specifying occupation, was the most important factor determining class. More women than men referred to way of life or family. More men than women referred to occupation. There was surprisingly small variation by age. Slightly more younger than older adults called attention to money

[1] There are references to such individuals in accounts of working-class, religious and other communities, and in autobiographies. For example, Barbara Wootton wrote of her husband George that many found 'he behaved as if the classless society already existed; and what is more, he did this in a way which caused others to do likewise' - Wootton, B., *In a World I Never Made,* Allen & Unwin, London, 1967, p. 140.

as the determinant of class, and slightly fewer to style of life. Broadly similar proportions of young, middle-aged and elderly specified education, family and occupation.

Among men, more of those with relatively few years of education mentioned money and job, and fewer education and life-style, as the principal determinant of class. More women with relatively little education mentioned money and fewer job. (Table A.25, Appendix Eight, page 1012.) Overall, what seems notable is the *absence* of marked variation in the proportions of people with different amounts of education naming different determinants of class.

The pattern of answers which we secured gives, it is appreciated, only a provisional or summary representation of what people think about the determinants of class. But in view of the stress that is laid in public discussion and scientific papers on current occupation as a dominant indicator, the fact that nearly half the adults asked in the survey selected 'way of life' or family' as the principal factor testifies to public consciousness of what are the underlying and long-term or lifelong determinants. The difference of emphasis leads, of course, to different structures of explanation and different views about whether and how inequalities might be reduced.

Table 10.2. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of household and housewives, according to principal factor believed to determine social class.*

Principal factor believed to determine class	*Men*	*Women*	*Men and women*
Job	22	12	17
Education	10	11	10
Family	15	21	18
Way of life	29	33	31
Money	17	16	17
Other	4	4	4
Don't know	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100
Number	1,486	1,738	3,224

Finally, we showed people a card with names or classes listed and asked them to pick out the class to which they felt they belonged. In drawing up this list, we had tacitly assumed (admittedly after extensive piloting) two of the points already demonstrated by the unprompted self-rating of class: that few people would in practice assign themselves to an 'upper' or a 'lower' class, and that in ranking themselves people were familiar with the fusion of the two perspectives of 'working' and 'non-working' class with 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' classes. But by offering the alternative choices of 'upper middle' 'middle' and 'lower middle',

Table 10.3. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of household and housewives, according to prompted and unprompted class self-rating.*

	Self-rating of class (*unprompted*)				
Self-rating of class (*prompted*)	*Upper middle*	*Upper middle*	*Middle working*	*Lower*	*Upper*
Upper middle	0.1	1.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
Middle	0.1	0.4	20.2	0.2	0.0
Lower middle	0.0	0.0	8.2	3.3	0.1
Upper working	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.6	1.4
Working	0.0	0.1	2.8	0.3	0.0
Poor	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
None	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
All	04	1.5	36.1	4.4	1.5

and those of 'upper working', 'working' and 'poor', we believed that more people would be prepared than by the unprompted approach to specify their own position with respect to the bulk of either the 'middle' or the 'working' class. Table 10.3 shows that there was a close correspondence between the unprompted and prompted self-assignments.

When presented with a list of the titles of social classes, nearly three fifths of the sample did not change the title of the class they had named initially. Most of the rest divided into a large and a small group. More than another fifth accepted the possibility of being more specific within the same class. Thus, some people initially saying they were middle class, now assigned themselves to the 'upper' or 'lower' middle class, and some who said they were working class now assigned themselves to the 'upper working class'. (Following other research, we had offered the term 'poor' rather than 'lower working class'.) We will examine later whether these subjective distinctions, within the two principal classes, corresponded with objective circumstances or different attitudes.

A smaller group in the sample, however, now changed their minds and assigned themselves to an entirely different class. Nearly 6 per cent of the entire sample, having first assigned themselves to the middle class, now assigned themselves to the working class (more than half of them the upper working class). A smaller number, 2 per cent, made the opposite switch from working to middle class. These figures applied equally to each sex.

Those switching from middle to working class tended to have lower incomes than the people who continued to say they were middle class, and they were distributed among broad income groups much as were those continuing to say they were working class. In other respects, they resembled those who had named themselves

Self-rating of class (unprompted) - contd						
Working	*Poor*	*Ordinary*	*Lower, lowest*	*Classless*	*No class*	*Total*
0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6
0.8	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.5	23.3
1.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	13.4
11.9	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.1	18.2
31.2	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.6	38.1
1.0	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	2.5
0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.4	0.1	1.8
46.2	1.2	1.8	1.9	3.9	1.5	100

all along as working class - they included a similar proportion of council tenants, nearly as many belonging to unions and nearly as few with a relatively long period of education.

Those changing from working to middle class, on the other hand, could not be said to resemble so closely other members of the class of their final choice. Fewer owned their homes; more were council tenants; fewer had substantial assets; fewer belonged to professional associations and more to unions; fewer had been educated for a relatively large number of years. They could be differentiated from the working class (to which they had originally said they were affiliated) only by the larger proportion who had experienced eleven or more years of education and who owned their homes.

Self-rated Class and Economic Circumstances

Can we give any explanation of how images of class come to be formed? The difference in the proportions of men and women assigning themselves to the middle and working classes provides a starting-point. Significantly more women than men (43 per cent compared with 35 per cent) said they were middle class, and significantly fewer (52 per cent compared with 61 per cent) said they were working class. This result is substantially, though not wholly, attributable to wives giving the title of a class different from that given by their husbands. In part this is explained by more women having, or having had, non-manual jobs (Table 10.7). But it is also a difference in the emphasis given to matters other than the job. This is suggested if we refer back to Table 10.2. More women than men said that family and way of life, and fewer occupation, determined social class. Women are therefore more likely than men to say they are middle class if they have had non-manual parents or if their style of life is ‘respectable’ in the sense that they own, or are paying for, their own

homes, have a wide range of consumer durables, attend church locally, and live in a more desirable part of town (measured by garden space, children's play space and absence of air pollution),[1] even when their husbands, and they themselves, have manual occupations and relatively low income. Men are more likely than women to say they are working class because more take their class from the nature and amount and type of remuneration of their job, even when they have had non-manual parents. Our evidence showed all these tendencies to be significant. (Table A.26, Appendix Eight, page 1013.)

However, this might be said to be only a contributory explanation. Most husbands and wives assigned themselves to the same class, and the principal question must be the basis on which people assign themselves to the middle instead of the working class.

What differences in objective reality are there between those allocating themselves to different classes? We found a strong correlation between self-rated class and level of income and assets. Far more men and women with relatively high than relative low earnings said they were middle class (Table 10.4). In the top band of earnings

Table 10.4. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or employed heads of households, and wives in employment, saying they were middle or working class,*[a] *according to gross earnings per week.*

	Men		*Women*	
Average gross earnings per week (last year) as % of mean	*Middle*[b]	*Working*[c]	*Middle*[b]	*Working*[c]
Under 60	6	10	10	20
60-79	17	34	15	28
80-99	24	29	19	21
100-19	18	17	15	13
120-99	26	10	28	16
200+	9	1	13	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	363	683	155	195

NOTES: [a]Only 5 per cent of men and 6 per cent of women in the appropriate categories gave other answers (e.g. 'poor' or 'no class').
[b]All assigning themselves to 'upper middle', 'middle' or 'lower middle' class.
[c]All those assigning themselves to the 'upper working' or 'working' class.

[1] See the indices of environment in Chapter 14, pages 532-5.

(twice or more than twice as much as the mean), only 11 per cent said they were working class. In the lowest band (under 60 per cent of the mean), 74 per cent said they were working class. Yet even these figures show there were exceptions. Some people with very high earnings said they were working class. Others with very low earnings said they were middle class.

The level of earnings does not accurately represent the standard of living. For one thing, earners have different numbers of dependants. For another, there may be supplementary sources of income and wealth, either of the earner himself or of others in his income unit or household. It is therefore pertinent to ask whether class consciousness reflects not just level (as well as type) of earnings, but of other or total material resources. Table 10.5 shows that the economic differences between those rating themselves as middle class and those rating themselves as working class become *more* pronounced when resources additional to earnings are taken into the reckoning, and when some attempt is made to weight resources according to type of household. Among those with a combined income and 'potential' income (being the annuity value of net assets) of less than 50 per cent of the mean for their type of household, only 19 per cent said they were middle class, whereas among those with twice or more than twice the mean for their type of household, 82 per cent said they were middle class. There can be no doubt that level of income and of ownership of assets are closely linked to class consciousness.

Table 10.5. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives designating themselves as of middle or working class,*[a] *according to their net income worth as percentage of the mean for household type.*

	Middle class[b]		*Working class*[c]	
Net income worth as (unprompted) of mean for household type	*Prompted*	(*unprompted*)	*Prompted*	
0-49	6.7	(7.2)	16.0	(16.2)
50-89	30.3	(32.3)	52.6	(51.1)
90-109	18.7	(17.4)	16.0	(17.0)
110-99	33.3	(33.1)	13.8	(13.8)
200+	11.0	(10.0)	1.6	(1.9)
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	997	954	1,483	1,188

NOTES: [a]People not assigning themselves to one of these two classes comprised 15 per cent.
[b]All assigning themselves to 'upper middle', 'middle' (the vast majority) or 'lower middle' class.
[c]All those assigning themselves to the 'upper working' or 'working' class.

This is confirmed when we consider manual and non-manual groups separately. (Table A.27, Appendix Eight, page 1014.) Among both groups, the proportion identifying themselves as middle class increases when resources relative to the mean for the type of household are larger. None the less, differences in class identification between manual and non-manual groups remain. Nearly 50 per cent of the non-manual classes with *less than half* the mean income plus 'potential' income of households of their type say they are middle class. Yet only around a third of the relatively 'affluent' manual classes, with incomes and 'potential' incomes substantially above the mean, are prepared to say the same.

While size of incomes and assets, independently of occupational class, therefore *influences* self-rating by class, it is not conclusive. Why is the correlation not stronger? There are minorities in both camps. Our income data represent standards achieved during the last twelve months. For some saying they were middle class and some saying they were working class, those standards were unrepresentative of the standards experienced previously. I mean not just episodes of illness, unemployment, temporary employment or exceptional periods of overtime working, which help to place incomes in categories different from those in which they had been placed previously, but changes which may have dramatically affected living standards - such as children leaving school to take paid employment, or marrying and leaving home altogether, or persons retiring to live on much lower incomes. Our data suggest that, if resources were to be measured over, say, periods of five or ten years, rather than over one year, fewer people saying they were middle class would be found among those with relatively low resources and fewer saying they were working class would be found among those with relatively high resources. Peoples' sense of affiliation or of belonging adjusts slowly to changes in

Table 10.6. *Percentages of people in different occupational classes, saying either that they belonged to the middle class or to the working class, who said their pay varied during the year.*

	Percentage saying their pay varied				
Subjective class (prompted)[a]	*Upper non-manual*	*Lower non-manual*	*Upper manual*	*Lower manual*	*All classes*
Middle	23	30	48	42	35
Working	(35)	41	58	53	52
	Total number				
Middle	120	294	157	85	656
Working	23	222	473	369	1,087

NOTE: [a]See notes to Table 10.5.

economic circumstances, and does not adjust at all if those changes are temporary or cyclical (as when there are seasonal fluctuations in fortune). This argument gains support from Table 10.6, which is restricted to the employed working a full week. In each of the occupational classes, more people declaring they belonged to the working than to the middle class said their pay had varied during the previous twelve months. Expectations of a steady wage or salary, and expectations of other forms of security at work, appear to be associated with middle-class affiliation.

'Objective' Occupational Class

How far do the classes into which people put themselves correspond with the occupational classes to which they are assigned according to some social or research classification? Occupations have been classified by government departments since the early part of the twentieth century. At the time of the survey, the relevant Registrar General's classification aimed to take into account 'the standing within the community of the occupations concerned'.[1] It therefore attempts to prescribe prestige or status, and although a distinction has to be made between occupation and class, such government classifications are effectively 'some sort of amalgam of class situation and status situation'.[2] Apart from dividing occupations into status ranks, the intention was also to identify broadly homogeneous social groups.[3] Five classes were listed. To meet criticisms, and to accord with a growing practice in independent surveys, we made it possible for class III to be divided into non-manual and manual sub-classes, which was tantamount to identifying six classes altogether. Although certain individual occupations are classified differently, a comparable six-fold classification is now being used by government departments.[4]

Because the 'official' classification was not regarded as satisfactory, an alternative had been developed by sociologists.[5] We decided to adopt this alternative and, after

[1] General Register Office, *Classification of Occupations, 1960,* HMSO, London, 1960, p. v. This is now superseded by Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, *Classification of Occupations, 1970,* HMSO, London, 1970.

[2] Bechhofer, F., 'Occupation', in Stacey, M. (ed.), *Comparability in Social Research,* Heinemann, London, 1969, p. 100.

[3] This was made more explicit in the definition of socio-economic groups (of which there were sixteen). Ideally, 'each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar' - *Classification of Occupations, 1960,* p. xi.

[4] The first report of the General Household Survey, for example, collapsed fifteen of the socio-economic groups into six classes. OP CS, Social Survey Division, *The General Household Survey,* Introductory Report, HMSO, London, 1973, pp. 61-2. Earlier surveys had simply divided the Registrar General's class III (or both III and IV) into non-manual and manual groups. See, for example, Harris, A. I., *Labour Mobility in Great Britain, 1953-1963,* Government Social Survey, SS, 333, March 1966, p. 49.

[5] Hall, J., and Jones, D. Caradog, 'Social Grading of Occupations', *British Journal of*

modification (as described in Appendix Six), an eight-fold classification was applied to the results of the survey. Table 10.7 compares the two scales for the employed population only. A feature of the distribution is that proportionately more employed women than men were in non-manual occupations. But among both non-manual and manual workers, more women than men are to be found in jobs of lower-ranking class. Thus 93 per cent of professional persons at the top of the non-manual classes, and 90 per cent of skilled workers at the top of the manual classes, were men.

Table 10.7. *Two occupational classifications.*[a]

Registrar General's classification		*Men*	*Women*	*Sociological classification*	*Men*	*Women*
I	Professional and managerial	4.6	0.6	Professional	5.2	0.7
				Managerial	4.6	2.0
II	Intermediate	15.0	17.7	Supervisory - high	9.3	8.6
				Supervisory - low	14.0	11.8
IIIa	Skilled non-manual	14.7	37.1	Routine non-manual	6.2	33.9
IVb	Skilled manual	35.9	8.1	Skilled manual	34.4	5.9
IV	Partly skilled	21.9	27.1	Partly skilled manual	16.4	24.5
V	Unskilled	7.9	9.4	Unskilled manual	9.9	12.7
Total		100	100		100	100
Number		1,718	1,071		1,734	1,072

[a]See Appendix Six, page 986.

Self-rated Class and Occupational Class

Self-assignment to class was highly, but not uniformly, correlated with occupational class. Eighty-four per cent of professional persons, compared with only 13 per cent of unskilled manual workers, assigned themselves to the middle (or upper or lower middle) class (Table 10.8). For each occupational class of lower rank, and for both men and women, the proportion was smaller. Compared with the next highest class, the sharpest reduction was found among skilled manual workers. Within each occupational class, more women than men said they were middle class. The fact that some manual workers' wives had been, or were, in non-manual occupations may contribute to this phenomenon, but cannot account for its consistency in all classes.

Sociology, March 1950; Moser, C. A., and Hall, J. R., 'The Social Grading of Occupation', in Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain.*

Table 10.8. *Percentages of men and women of different occupational class*[a] *who said they were middle class, or working class.*

	Self-rating (prompted)			
	Middle class[b]		*Working class*[c]	
Occupational class	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Professional	81	86	15	12
Managerial	69	72	29	26
Supervisory - high	62	68	38	30
Supervisory - low	50	55	47	43
Routine non-manual	45	47	54	51
Skilled manual	22	30	76	68
Partly skilled manual	16	23	82	74
Unskilled manual	11	15	86	82

NOTES: [a]Married women classified according to husband's occupation, even when themselves employed.
[b]Including 'upper middle' and 'lower middle'.
[c]Including 'upper working class' and 'poor'.

Occupational class, like net disposable income or net income worth, only contributes, if strongly, to an explanation of class identification. Thirty-one per cent of the men, and 34 per cent of the women, assigning themselves specifically to the 'middle' class, had manual occupations. Twenty-five per cent of the men and 28 per cent of the women, assigning themselves to the working class, had non-manual occupations.

The next table shows some of the factors which play a substantial part, or some part, in shaping images of class membership (Table 10.9). Income and occupation play a substantial part, as we have seen, and are closely related. It is not just size of income or type of occupation. Expectations of a steady income, fringe benefits and security of employment are important concomitants. But self-ratings are also associated with extent of education, type of tenure, membership of organizations and occupational associations, style of life and extent of deprivation. For purposes of illustration, we have chosen groups, wherever possible, at the extremes of different continua. (Table A.26, Appendix Eight, page 1013, reproduces some of the same results, controlling for manual and non-manual occupations.) Our evidence shows quite clearly that, while peoples' sense of affiliation to a class springs from their associations, relationships and extent of education, as would be commonly conceded; it also springs from both their relative command or lack of resources and their relative enjoyment of social customs and activities.

The development and expression of class consciousness is in some ways a process by which excess or denial of resources become embedded in social structure and

Table 10.9. *Percentages of men and of women*[a] *with selected characteristics who said they were middle class or working class.*

	Self-rating				*Total numbers*	
	Men		*Women*			
Selected characteristics	*Middle*[b]	*Working*[c]	*Middle*[b]	*Working*[c]	*Men*[d]	*Women*[d]
All	35	63	43	55	1,549	1,845
8 or fewer years education	23	75	26	74	168	196
15 or more years education	86	12	91	9	59	66
Renting council accommodation	20	78	24	72	438	514
Owner-occupier	48	50	56	42	767	895
Member of trade union	24	74	40	60	565	90
Member of professional association	80	18	(77)	(22)	133	49
Not attending church in last year	30	68	35	63	796	768
Attending church in last month	40	57	51	47	392	470
Highly deprived (deprivation index = 7+)	13	84	21	77	102	170
Not deprived (deprivation index = 0)	67	29	68	29	69	62
Below 50 % of mean net income worth	20	79	26	72	210	334
200 % or more of mean net income worth	80	20	79	21	92	107

NOTES: [a]Chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives only.
[b]Including ‘upper middle’ and ‘lower middle’.
[c]Including ‘upper working class’ and ‘poor’.
[d]Including a few individuals not assigning themselves to any class.

behaviour, and gross inequalities more easily accepted by both rich and poor. Examples of the conceptions of rich and poor will be found in Chapters 9 and 8 respectively. We did not make it our business to explore beliefs and attitudes in any detail, and the reader needs to bear in mind the importance of public attitudes in supporting the unequal distribution of resources. The following statements could be said to illustrate the conceptions of poverty held by some rich people. Poverty is believed to be a regrettable but necessary misfortune of those who do not put aside enough savings, mismanage their incomes or are not prepared to work. However, it is also believed to be a much less harsh condition than it used to be, because of Welfare State measures, and the poor often lead a ‘contented if simple life’. On the other hand, the rich see their own privileges as natural rights or the proper reward of their work. Privileges and disprivileges alike are transmuted indiscriminately by their inheritors into more tolerable artefacts.

Occupational Class and Economic Circumstances

An analogous argument can be applied to the results of assigning people to classes on the basis of their occupations. Just as there is a correlation between peoples’ perceptions of class and their economic circumstances, so there is a correlation between the class into which they can be placed by virtue of their occupation and these circumstances. Whether we consider only earnings, or take a more comprehensive definition of income and consider total income flowing to the income unit, or even income including the ‘potential’ income denoted by wealth, whether for the individual income unit or the household as a whole, there remains a marked and, with one interesting exception, consistent, class gradient. This can be shown in terms both of distributions and averages. Thus, the vast majority of people in upper non-manual occupations received gross earnings above the average for their sex, compared with small minorities of those in manual occupations (Table 10.10). When incomes from all sources are taken into account, when the income of a spouse, if any, is added, and when the net disposable incomes of income units and even the net income worth of income units in the previous year are expressed as percentages of supplementary benefit rates, thereby standardizing for size of income unit and dependency, the picture of marked inequality remains. A single cut-off point is chosen for each type of resource in Table 10.10 but the picture faithfully represents the whole distribution.

The only inconsistency in the ranking of earnings applies to men in routine non-manual and skilled manual occupations. Numerically, the former comprise a small section - only one in eight of all non-manual workers or 5 per cent of all employed and self-employed men. In the employed population as a whole, there are seven times as many men who are skilled manual workers. The four higher grades of non-manual workers tend to have distinctly higher earnings than skilled manual workers,

Table 10.10. *Percentages of people of different occupational class with earnings, incomes and net income worth, above selected levels.*

Occupational class	*Gross earnings last week equal to mean or higher for each sex independently*[a]		*Income last year of income unit 200 % or more of state's standard of poverty*[b]		*Net income worth last year of income unit 300 % or more of state's standard of poverty*[b]	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Professional	90	(100)	78	75	72	70
Managerial	91		66	67	44	47
Supervisory - high	62	82	54	52	36	39
Supervisory - low	34	52	42	37	33	29
Routine non-manual	13	37	48	37	22	16
Skilled manual	29	30	38	30	17	14
Partly skilled manual	18	23	36	26	16	10
Unskilled manual	10	11	27	16	11	3

NOTES: [a]Employed and self-employed working 1,000 hours or more in year.
[b]Occupational class of chief wage-earner in income unit.

as both Tables 10.10 and 10.11 suggest. But routine non-manual workers were found to have a lower mean, and fewer of them had relatively high earnings, than skilled manual workers. However, this is less significant than it may seem on the surface. Similar data have misled certain sociologists and many political commentators in the post-war years, and there has been a vigorous controversy, based partly on the kind of incomplete statistics illustrated in the first column of Table 10.10, about the 'embourgeoisement' of the working class.

The first points which need to be borne in mind affect *rate* and *totality* of remuneration from employment. Routine non-manual employees work many fewer hours in the course of a year than do skilled manual employees, 66 per cent, compared with 29 per cent, working fewer than 2,000 (see Table 12.4, page 451). When converted to an hourly rate, mean earnings are virtually the same. Reweighting for arduousness, danger or discomfort and skill of work would tend to leave the balance of advantage with routine non-manual occupations. And, as Table 10.11 shows, those in the non-manual occupations derive more value (in fact from one and a half to nearly seven times as much value) from employer fringe benefits.

The advantage of people in non-manual occupations becomes more pronounced when the annuity value of their assets is added to their incomes, and their advantage remains pronounced even when the incomes of all members of the household are added together.

Table 10.11. *Mean earnings in preceding week, income and income net worth in previous year, of males of different occupational class.*[a]

	£					
	Gross earnings last week	*Fringe benefits last year*	*Income of income unit last year*	*Income net worth of income unit last year*	*Income of household last year*	*Income net worth of household last year*
Professional	51.05	451	2,916	3,809	3,015	3,888
Managerial	36.14	303	1,656	2,490	1,864	2,337
Higher supervisory	28.29	209	1,395	1,854	1,658	2,160
Lower supervisory	26.40	225	1,093	1,706	1,478	2,296
Routine non-manual	17.64	107	948	1,102	1,423	1,653
Skilled manual	21.44	65	1,037	1,146	1,361	1,494
Partly skilled manual	19-20	56	920	965	1,269	1,352
Unskilled manual	16.54	38	716	719	1,160	1,208
	As a percentage of skilled manual					
Professional	238	694	281	332	222	260
Managerial	169	466	160	217	137	156
Higher supervisory	132	322	135	162	122	145
Lower supervisory	123	346	105	149	109	154
Routine non-manual	82	165	91	96	105	111
Skilled manual	100	100	100	100	100	100
Partly skilled manual	90	86	89	84	93	90
Unskilled manual	77	58	69	63	85	81

NOTE: [a]Working 30 hours or more in previous week.

The boundary between non-manual and manual classes is of special interest, and I have already commented above on the gross earnings and fringe benefits respectively of routine non-manual workers and skilled manual workers. Different measures of resources and of the income and spending unit to which the individual belongs are brought together in Table 10.12. By the measure of the gross earnings of men employed full-time in the week previous to interview, skilled manual workers received 25 per cent more than routine non-manual workers. When males under 21 are excluded, the differential falls to 18 per cent. Even counting employed youths, the mean net disposable income for the previous year of all skilled manual workers was 18 per cent more than routine non-manual workers. If we refer to the non-asset income of the income unit, the figure is a shade lower, and once we refer to different

measures of the resources of the household, even including measures of the value of social services, the differential moves against the skilled manual worker and in favour of the routine non-manual worker. The middle part of the table shows that these results are partly attributable to differences in asset holdings and entitlement to employer fringe benefits.

Table 10.12. *The mean resources of male routine non-manual and skilled manual workers.*[a]

	Type of resource, and period	*Routine non-manual*	*Skilled manual*	*Skilled manual as % of routine non-manual*
I	Gross earnings last week (full-time)	£17.1[b]	£21.3[b]	125
	Gross earnings last week (aged 21 and over)	£19.0	£22.4	118
	Net disposable income of individual last year	£749	£883	118
	Non-asset income of income unit last year	£896	£1,024	114
	Non-asset income of household last year	£1,513	£1,439	95
	Total resources of household last year	£2,028	£1,902	94
II	Annuity value of assets of individual	£119	£98	82
	Annuity value of assets of household	£246	£192	78
	Value of employer's fringe benefits for the individual last year	£107	£65	61
III	Net disposable income last year of household as % of supplementary benefit rate	225	214	95
	Total resources of household last year as % of the mean of the household type	103	88	85
	Total numbers on which means based	56-108	382-596	-

NOTES: [a]Working 30 hours or more in previous week, *and* 1,000 or more hours in previous year.
[b]Note that slight differences between Tables 10.11 and 10.12 are due to seasonal and temporary workers being included in the former.

In the bottom part of the table, I have given the results of two methods of standardizing the resources of the two classes - one in relation to the scale rates of the Supplementary Benefits Commission (which therefore standardizes between households of different size and composition), and one in relation to the mean resources of the type of household to which each worker belongs. In the former case, the skilled manual worker has slightly but significantly, and in the latter markedly, lower resources than the routine non-manual worker.

These statements about men are further complicated when we turn to consider routine non-manual workers who are women, and the economic relationship of both male and female employees to income units and households.

Among employed women, routine non-manual workers comprise 34 per cent, or relatively more than five times as many as among employed men. They were six times the numbers of female skilled manual workers and, among women working full time, more than all the female manual workers combined. Their mean earnings were higher than those of female skilled manual workers, and proportionately more had relatively high earnings. The age distribution of routine non-manual workers is distinctive in the case of both men and women. A disproportionately large number, especially of women, are in their teens or twenties. This has a number of consequences for their economic position. Fewer of them than of skilled manual workers are married or have dependent children. More tend to be in households comprising two or more income units. The final two columns of Table 10.11 illustrate the consequences: if fringe benefits at the place of work and position in income unit and household are taken into account, living standards overall tend to be higher than those of skilled manual workers. If account were also to be taken of greater security of employment, greater expectation of promotion and higher earnings through increments and (partly as a consequence) easier access to loans, the differences in living standards would be greater still.

The Cumulative Command over Resources

Membership of occupational classes therefore denotes greater significance for living standards than is implied by nominal rates of earnings. It denotes different chances of being in receipt of resources like sick pay, occupational pensions, earnings-related sickness and unemployment benefits and employer welfare benefits in kind. It also denotes different chances of being able to accumulate wealth and, indirectly through the family, different chances of passing on and inheriting wealth. Finally, it tends to denote different family building practices, risks of unemployment, sickness and disablement, and therefore different dependency obligations during life. The problem for people in manual families is not just low earnings, or unstable earnings, or lack of entitlement to fringe benefits, or even difficulty of acquiring assets. It is the disproportionately greater chance of having to support dependants - including sick and disabled as well as children. More manual than non-manual workers marry

young and have children earlier. More are exposed to the risks of interruption of earnings because of unemployment or sickness; and this also means they are more likely to have a member of the household or family in that situation to whom help has to be given. More older manual than non-manual workers have had large families in the past and have therefore given up a large part of their lives, and their incomes, to the needs of dependants, and have had less opportunity to save. In descending the occupational scale, earnings are lower; other sources of income are fewer and the amounts of such income smaller; assets are fewer and less valuable; and claims tend to be made on available resources by more people.

Our data demonstrate the *cumulative* command over resources of the higher occupational classes. Although some of the details of our method of cumulation (explained in Chapter 5 and Appendix Six, and also discussed in Chapter 9) can be discussed critically and perhaps, in subsequent studies, modified, there is no doubt that the method helps both to place apparently inconsistent findings of previous studies into perspective and to bring out clearly the economic significance of social stratification.

It becomes possible even to trace the contribution towards social inequality of different types of resources. Thus Table 10.13 shows the mean non-asset income of upper non-manual, lower non-manual and manual classes, and how that mean is affected when different types of resource actually received or enjoyed by these 1 classes are added successively. For example, assets added £892 in annuity value, employer fringe benefits £150, social services in kind £309 and private services in kind £65, to the income of the average upper non-manual household. These amounts corresponded with £98, £23, £178 and £68 respectively for the average manual household. The final figure, it should be noted, includes the estimated value of services of relatives in the home. The fact that the average upper non-manual household derived £131 more in the year than the average manual household from the social services in non-cash benefits is explained in large measure by 1 disproportionate use of free or subsidized educational facilities, particularly after the age of 15. Assets add substantially to inequality, even adopting a relatively conservative method of estimating their value in the form of an annuity and bearing in mind our underestimation of absolute values owned by the richest households in the sample. What is perhaps surprising, as the lower half of Table 10.13 shows, is the relatively inconsequential effect of social service and private non-cash benefits upon the unequal distribution of resources. Lower non-manual households, for example, gained *proportionately* nearly as much as manual households from social service non-cash benefits. For them the value of social services received or used in the year added 14 per cent to the cumulative total of non-asset income, annuitized value of assets and employer welfare benefits, compared with 15 per cent for manual households.

***Table 10.13**. The cumulative effect on the mean value in the previous year of the resources of households in non-manual and manual classes.*

Social class of head of household	*Non-asset net disposable income*	*and annuitized value of assets*	*and employer fringe benefits*	*and value of social services in kind*	*and private income in kind*	*Minimum number*
	£	£	£	£	£	
Upper non-manual	1,889	2,781	2,931	3,240	3,305	140
Lower non-manual	1,214	1,653	1,754	2,002	2,071	434
Manual	1,032	1,130	1,153	1,331	1,397	895
As a percentage of the mean manual value						
Upper non-manual	183	246	254	243	237	140
Lower non-manual	118	146	152	150	148	434
Manual	100	100	100	100	100	895
As a percentage of non-asset income						
Upper non-manual	100	147	155	172	175	140
Lower non-manual	100	136	144	165	171	434
Manual	100	109	112	129	135	895

NOTE: In this table, non-asset income is reduced by the value of tax relief on mortgage interest (which is included in the value of social services in kind), and the imputed rental income of owner-occupied housing (assumed to be 7 per cent per annum of the capital value) and not the annuitized value of such housing has been included in the second and subsequent columns.

Cumulative economic power must also be shown in relation to both age and dependency. Table 10.14 shows what were the inequalities between individuals of different age in non-manual and manual income units, and the accompanying graph (Figure 10.1) illustrates the more striking trends. The estimates refer to income units. This has the advantage that working adults other than married women are classified according to their own occupation, and not that of the head of household. It also has the advantage that the value of social service and other benefits enjoyed exclusively by one income unit in households with two or more income units are not

artificially averaged out for the household as a whole. On the other hand, some costs, like rent, have been allocated arbitrarily, for want of information, to units in such households.

The advantage of non-manual over manual income units is greatest in old age and childhood, and least in the twenties. In relation to the poverty standard, the net disposable incomes of adult cohorts within the non-manual classes tend to rise with age, whereas within the manual classes they actually fall between the twenties and the thirties and do not quite recover in the forties and fifties (when children can be expected to be no longer dependent). This pattern persists when other resources are added. In the non-manual class, a relative peak of affluence is reached in the early sixties, and this becomes pronounced in relation to younger adults of that broad class once employer welfare benefits and the annuitized value of assets are counted as resources. This is true also of the manual class, though to a lesser extent. For both

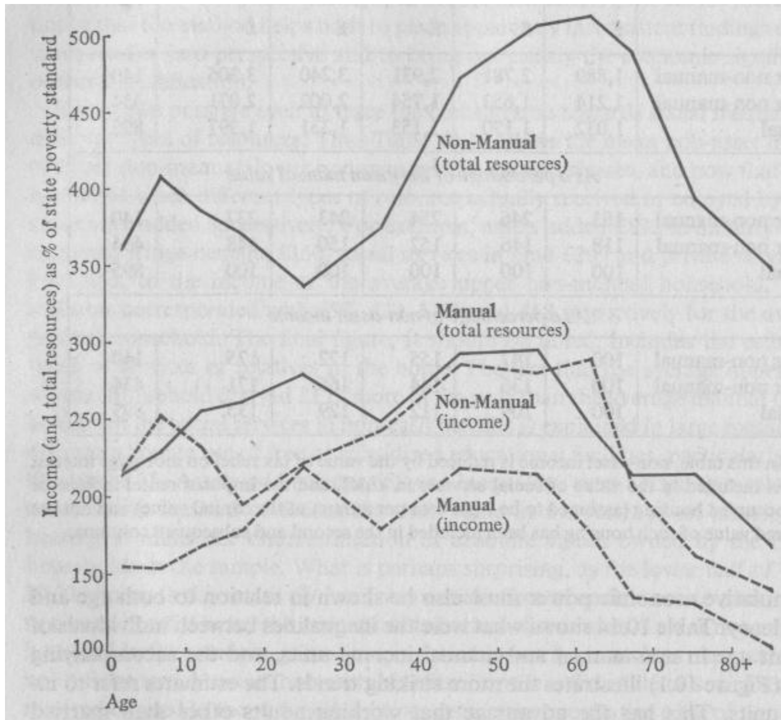

Figure 10.1. *The effect of adding other resources to the net disposable incomes of units of which people of different age were members.*

Table 10.14. *Mean cumulative resources of members of income units according to age, expressed as a percentage of the state's poverty standard for net disposable income.*

Cumulative resources	*Age* 0-4	*5-9*	*10-14*	*15-19*	*20-29*	*30-39*	*40-49*	*50-59*	*60-64*	*65-69*	*70-79*	*80+*	*All ages*
Non-manual													
Net disposable income last year	217	252	233	190	223	244	287	281	290	207	162	139	240
- plus employer welfare benefits	231	266	250	200	234	259	311	327	324	208	162	139	258
Income net worth plus employer welfare benefits	306	347	316	283	266	321	404	446	485	458	380	352	350
plus private services in kind	316	357	326	293	275	330	414	458	502	471	386	343	360
plus social services in kind	351	398	375	355	317	361	446	477	509	486	393	357	394
Manual													
Net disposable income last year	155	154	169	179	221	180	219	216	177	135	130	103	181
plus fringe benefits	158	157	173	185	225	185	223	225	189	136	130	103	186
Income net worth plus employer welfare benefits	168	169	187	188	233	199	245	256	220	185	193	148	207
- plus private services in kind	174	175	195	193	240	206	255	268	229	197	195	150	215
plus social services in kind	211	224	248	252	271	241	286	283	238	210	210	167	247
Non-manual lowest number	143	150	124	153	281	242	239	198	74	68	81	21	1,774
Manual lowest number	262	226	214	180	348	300	328	319	159	150	170	55	2,711

non-manual and manual classes, the effect of including social service benefits is to reduce the age differentials among adults.

But perhaps the most striking conclusion that can be drawn from both Table 10.14 and Figure 10.1 is the marked difference between non-manual and manual groups at all ages, especially once employer welfare benefits and the annuitized value of assets are counted as resources, and even after allowing for social service benefits.

Occupational Class and Poverty

The pervasive and cumulative inequality between non-manual and manual classes is, of course, reflected in the proportions living in poverty. The proportion of people in income units with incomes below or just above the state's standard of poverty rises steadily with falling occupational class, rising from 9 per cent of those in the professional class to 59 per cent in the unskilled manual class (Table 10.15). It should be remembered that the percentages are of people of all ages, including the retired, the unemployed and the disabled. The effect of adding the 'potential' income of assets to net disposable income tends to be smaller, in reducing these proportions, for the manual than for the non-manual groups, as the summary figures in brackets suggest. For example, the proportion of the unskilled manual class in poverty or on its margins diminishes from 59 per cent only to 54 per cent. It can also be seen that the proportions of low supervisory and routine non-manual classes in poverty or on its margins diminish more sharply, and the proportions with an income of three or more times the poverty standard increase more sharply than the equivalent proportions among the manual classes. The steep increase of poverty in relation to descending occupational class is also shown if the alternative measure of the deprivation standard is adopted, as illustrated in the table.

Occupational Class and Style of Living

The differences between occupational classes extend to other structures. The in-equalities in the distribution of resources produced by the system of employment may be said to be causally related to the disposition of different social institutions, and to the behaviour associated with those institutions, and with their sub-divisions. Inequalities in resources are reflected and reinforced by these institutions, though the direction of causal impulses is hard to identify. Thus the educational system tends to be graded in conformity with the occupational hierarchy, and the type and length of education as well as the qualifications obtained are related to occupational class. Table 10.16 provides an example. The educational hierarchy reinforces or legitimates the occupational hierarchy not only by providing qualifications for those entering occupations of high rank but by providing incontestable differentiation

Table 10.15. *Percentages of people of different occupational class according to, the net disposable income in previous year (and net income worth)[a] of their income unit, expressed as a percentage of the state's standard of poverty and of the deprivation standard.*

I *Income last year (and net income worth) as % of supplementary benefit rates plus housing cost*	*Professional*	*Managerial*	*Supervisory*		*Routine non-manual*	*Skilled manual*	*Partly skilled manual*	*Unskilled manual*
			High	*Low*				
Below or just above standard (under 140%)	9 (7)	13 (4)	17 (9)	30 (13)	31 (19)	35 (26)	38 (31)	59 (54)
Above (140-299 %)	45 (24)	62 (52)	64 (54)	58 (58)	60 (63)	56 (59)	55 (55)	36 (38)
Substantially above (300% or more)	46 (69)	25 (43)	18 (37)	12 (29)	9 (18)	9 (15)	7 (13)	4 (8)
Total	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)
Number	299 (244)	259 (184)	518 (441)	664 (553)	414 (363)	1,686 (1,507)	858 (774)	532 (447)
II *Gross disposable income as %of the deprivation standard*								
Below 100	5	6	11	19	27	28	30	54
100-199	22	49	56	60	58	57	59	40
200+	73	45	34	21	14	15	10	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	299	259	518	664	415	1,686	858	532

NOTE: [a]The percentages in brackets are of people in income units with combined values of net disposable incomes and annuitized assets.

Table 10.16. *Percentages of employed and self-employed men and women of different occupational class with selected characteristics.*

Selected characteristics	*Profes-sional*	*Mana-gerial*	*Supervisory High*	*Supervisory Low*	*Routine non-manual*	*Skilled manual*	*Partly skilled manual*	*Un-skilled manual*	*All classes*
11 or more years of education									
men	76	58	52	41	38	15	9	8	27
women	-	-	83	44	36	17	10	7	31
Owner-occupiers									
men	81	64	77	68	45	38	35	25	48
women	-	(67)	62	61	49	46	32	31	46
Attended church in last month									
men	43	35	23	24	19	20	22	23	23
women	-	(57)	50	39	28	32	28	30	33
Membership of trade union									
men	5	17	29	31	34	60	62	40	47
women	-	-	25	6	13	29	40	(16)	21

Numbers									
Education									
men	89	76	159	241	105	593	278	165	1,706
women	6	21	87	126	356	63	258	134	1,051
Tenure									
men	90	79	162	243	108	596	284	171	1,733
women	7	21	92	127	363	63	262	136	1,071
Churchgoing									
men	89	79	161	240	104	592	281	166	1,712
women	7	21	92	127	355	63	258	135	1,058
Membership of trade union[a]									
men	61	53	157	149	97	561	270	153	1,501
women	4	12	77	69	260	45	164	32	659

NOTE: [a]The self-employed and those working less than 30 hours a week are excluded.

among those in employment by virtue of background, preparation and quality of experience. Those low in the occupational hierarchy not only lack particular qualifications but, before employment, have already been familiarized with what it means to be of low rank and have been induced to lower their career expectations. This is ironic in the case of qualifications which have no special relevance to the occupations practised.

And the more that the educational system is itself differentiated, or rather 'stratified' the more will there be a tendency for the occupational class system and other systems to be differentiated or stratified. Each system has influenced the other. Different patterns of cultural interest and even of language evolve and contribute towards social distinctiveness.

Another example is the system of tenure. The type of house in which people live and its situation in relation to others helps to confirm that distinctiveness and what expectations they have of other classes. With the rapid increase in home ownership, tenure in itself is becoming less strongly associated with class. As part of a historical process such ownership is becoming less a symbol of high non-manual class and more a system itself consisting of distinctive strata. For example, in some declining industrial areas, working-class owner-occupiers have taken over terraced homes from landlords, and a combination of inheritance of housing and downward occupational mobility is helping to disperse owner-occupation among the entire range of occupational classes. As we will see in Chapter 13, both the council and owner-occupied sectors of housing are dividing into more distinct strata. To give just one illustration, 67 per cent of the homes owned by professional and managerial persons were worth £5,000 or more in 1968-9; whereas 64 per cent of the homes owned by partly skilled and unskilled persons were worth less than £3,000, most of them less than £2,000. The difference is one of structure, amenities, size and location.

A similar process of structuration may be affecting trade unions. Trade-union membership has been a very marked characteristic of manual occupations and has been associated with distinctive sets of attitudes and behaviour. The characteristics, rewards and obligations of manual work have shaped union culture, which in turn has helped to set the manual classes apart from the non-manual classes. The growth of white-collar unions has begun to diversify the functions of the unions, however. In future, differentiation seems likely to be more internal than external. There is likely to be more of a separation of unions into distinct strata, with stronger and weaker brethren and a less homogeneous style. The growth of internal differences may therefore offset any apparent merging of manual and non-manual interests - in this case of the evolution of the unions, as much as in the cases of owner-occupation or, to take another example, comprehensive schools. The *power* of occupational differentiation, and the power of the differentiation as it has operated within families for generations and is expressed by inequalities in the distribution of resources, is

likely to reproduce itself in other institutions as well as in style of living and behaviour. The hierarchy of occupational prestige cannot be treated as an independent dimension of social stratification.[1]

The prestige of people depends primarily on the material and political privileges they hold by virtue of their occupational class - though account would have to be taken of consistency of membership throughout life. Prestige or status is an important force legitimating existing social inequality.

The social estimation of honour and prestige, normally expressed by style of life, induces respect and acceptance among the poor. It also induces self-righteousness among the privileged. But symbols of prestige, flowing from the material advantages of high occupational rank and wealth, which may be enough to keep the poor at a respectful distance, may not be so convincing to those who possess them and are thoroughly familiar with them. To enjoy their privileges, the rich are induced to believe strongly in both their merits and their distinctiveness. This is a complex historical process of cultural and ideological differentiation, of which many examples might be given. Thus, in the survey, a strong relationship between occupational class and institutionalized religious practice was found, as illustrated in Table 10.16.

Just as means are generally found to justify, and therefore preserve, inequality, so means have to be found to enjoin allegiance to society as a whole. People are not only members of classes with unequal interests; they need to collaborate to defend themselves against external enemies and trade competitors and threats to social order, and to develop services required universally. The more divisive is inequality, the greater must be the bonds of nationalism, or of sanctions or rewards in favour of citizenship. Links between classes, common attitudes and even common activities have to be fostered. Through such mechanisms as occupational mobility, fostered aspirations for material goods and enforced participation in the national culture, social conformity is paradoxically superimposed upon social inequality.

There is a loosely defined set of customs, material goods and social pleasures at any point in a nation's history which can be said to represent general amenities or to which all or most people in that society are agreed to be entitled. Those who have few of these amenities can be said to be deprived. Earlier, to explore the meaning and operation of deprivation in society, we described a selected list of such amenities or customs. Table 10.17 shows that there is a systematic inverse association between occupational class and social and material deprivation.

[1] The direction of this argument is to question the multi-factor theory of stratification associated with the Weberian tradition in sociology. Weber himself writes of the content of status in a way which implies it is reducible in part to class, though in part to political power. Weber, M., *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (edited by Talcott Parsons), Free Press, New York, 1964. This is discussed by Mann, M., 'Economic Determinism and Structural Change', University of Essex, unpublished paper, March 1974.

Table 10.17. *Percentages of males and females of different occupational class having little or no, and having severe deprivation.*

	Little or no deprivation (score 0 or 1)		*Severe deprivation (score 6,7 or 8)*		*Total number*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Professional	42	35	1	1	167	164
Managerial	27	31	4	6	138	137
Supervisory - high	25	25	3	4	251	280
Supervisory - low	28	23	8	12	375	422
Routine non-manual	19	15	12	14	157	303
Skilled manual	15	11	12	21	878	842
Partly skilled manual	8	7	22	24	453	459
Unskilled manual	2	3	43	46	277	259

Social Mobility

In the course of working life, people may not only change jobs but take jobs of different prestige, and remuneration, in the occupational hierarchy. They may or may not hold jobs of the same prestige as those held by their fathers. And they may or may not marry someone holding a job, or whose father may be holding a job, of the same prestige as their own. Without offering more elaborate permutations, these statements suggest why at any point in time two individuals of the same occupational status may have different real prestige in the community, different sets of social relationships and different standards of living.

Such permutations not only help to explain some of the paradoxes in people's class identification, described above, but also outcomes of poverty and deprivation. Resources can be inherited, taken at the age of majority or acquired through marriage. The different amounts of earnings and other forms of income and wealth which we have shown to be associated with occupational class are associated no less with the occupational class of one's parents, spouse and spouse's parents than with the class to which, by virtue of one's own occupation, one is assigned. These structural interrelationships may have a direct association with the likelihood of being poor. For example, if one of two people with identical low earnings comes from a family of high occupational class, inherits a house and other possessions and still receives gifts in cash or kind, or can borrow, from relatives, unlike the other, he or she is that much less likely to be living in poverty than the other.

In the survey, all chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives were invited to tell us the main occupation of their fathers. This was coded on the eight-fold basis in exactly the same way as their own occupations, with the purpose of comparing the results. There proved to have been a considerable amount of

occupational mobility, judged by this rather crude criterion. Of course, the larger the number of occupational categories into which the population is divided, the higher will be any rate of mobility. For example, if we consider all eight occupational classes, then 41 per cent of men were of higher occupational class, 29 per cent lower and 31 per cent of the same occupational class as their fathers. The corresponding percentages of women were 42, 29 and 29 respectively. But if these classes are collapsed into just non-manual and manual classes, then 19 per cent of men were of higher occupational class, 14 per cent lower and 67 per cent of the same class

Table 10.18. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives, according to their own and their fathers' occupational class.*

Occupational class	*Percentage*		*Number*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
1. Upper non-manual, father same	2.3	1.8	35	32
2. Upper non-manual, father lower non-manual	5.7	5.3	86	94
3. Upper non-manual, father manual	3.1	3.5	47	61
4. Lower non-manual, father upper non-manual	1.5	1.4	23	24
5. Lower non-manual, father same	13.1	14.1	200	250
6. Lower non-manual, father manual	15.6	16.8	236	296
7. Upper manual, father non-manual	9.0	8.0	137	142
8. Upper manual, father same	15.6	15.0	238	265
9. Upper manual, father lower manual	8.4	8.4	128	149
10. Lower manual, father non-manual	5.1	5.4	78	96
11. Lower manual, father upper manual	9.7	10.1	147	178
12. Lower manual, father same	11.0	102	167	180
Total	100	100	1,522	1,767

Table 10.19. *Percentages of chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives of different combined occupational class and class of origin, with selected characteristics.*

	Upper non-manual			*Lower non-manual*			*Upper manual*			*Lower manual*		
Selected characteristics	*Father same*	*Father lower non-manual*	*Father manual*	*Father upper non-manual*	*Father same*	*Father manual*	*Father non-manual*	*Father same*	*Father lower manual*	*Father non-manual*	*Father upper manual*	*Father same*
1. With 11 or more years education	91	74	36	(77)	48	24	19	10	6	13	5	4
2. Owner-occupier	73	77	73	(64)	71	61	49	36	36	33	31	25
3. Home valued £5,000 or more[a]	(82)	71	50	(68)	39	31	22	12	13	*5*	8	4
4. Good environment[b]	64	68	46	(40)	44	32	27	20	16	16	14	15
5. Full or fairly full range consumer durables[c]	87	85	76	(54)	56	52	37	33	33	20	22	18
6. Little or no material and social deprivation[d]	66	60	56	(57)	45	41	32	33	27	13	18	15
7. Net disposable household income last year 300% or more of state's poverty standard	40	40	27	(8)	13	12	11	8	7	4	3	4
8. Net income worth 300 or more of state's poverty standard	(72)	61	48	(42)	40	28	23	14	11	11	13	9

Numbers on which percentages are based												
1.	64	180	107	47	438	524	274	497	273	172	319	338
2.	67	181	108	47	451	532	279	503	279	173	324	346
3.	49	137	78	28	316	322	138	182	101	57	99	88
4.	58	159	93	40	376	449	227	418	229	130	273	267
5.	67	170	106	46	435	517	268	486	263	156	300	307
6.	67	181	108	47	451	532	278	501	279	174	325	347
7.	53	159	91	37	371	449	245	452	254	152	287	310
8.	46	129	67	31	316	387	219	404	227	132	261	268

NOTES: [a]Owner-occupiers only.
[b]Scoring 0 on the environment index (see page 535).
[c]With 8 or more of list of 10 durables.
[d]Scoring 0-2 on deprivation index (see page 250).

as their fathers (the corresponding percentages of women being 20, 13 and 66).

The categories shown in Table 10.18 have been selected partly because the numbers in the sample do not permit finer discrimination for purposes of analysis. Our hypothesis will be that within four broad occupational classes obtained by dividing each of the manual and non-manual grades into two sub-categories, resources will tend to vary according to the occupational class of the father.

The hypothesis tends to be borne out over most of the scale, though only fitfully within the lower non-manual group. A range of data have been condensed in Table 10.19. They reveal quite clearly for each of the upper non-manual, lower non-manual and upper manual groups that those whose fathers belonged to the upper non-manual class, or to the non-manual classes as a whole, were more likely to be owner-occupiers, and to have homes worth £5,000 or more if they were; and to have a combined household income and 'potential' income (from the annuity value of their assets) three or more times the state's poverty standard.

The picture is much less clear-cut for income than for wealth, as the table suggests. Not only do those whose origins were in the higher non-manual classes have a better chance of living in a home which they themselves own, but they have other forms of assets or 'wealth' which enhance living standards. Thus, for each of the upper non-manual, lower non-manual and manual classes, those whose fathers belonged to the upper non-manual group, or to the non-manual group as a whole, were more likely to live in a congenial environment (with large gardens, good play facilities for children and an absence of air pollution); to have little or no material and social deprivation, and even to have a relatively full range of consumer durables in the home. For the lower manual class as well, those with non-manual fathers were more likely to have had a lengthy education.

The measures we have presented help to show the cumulative force of occupational class, and therefore of the resources to which people have direct or indirect access by virtue of the class to which they belong, throughout life. The chances of living in a preferred type of area, living in an owner-occupied home with a garden and good play facilities, going to a school which provides high chances of educational advancement, entering a relatively high-paid and prestigious occupation, and having a large variety of possessions, seem to be due not only to one's occupational class, but *also,* whatever one's age (as we shall find in Chapter 24 on 'Old People'), to the occupational class of one's father. Occupational class controls the number of different types as well as levels of resources to which people have access, and controls, too, peoples' sense of belonging and allegiance. Otherwise it would be hard to explain the trends illustrated in Table 10.20. Non-manual workers are less likely to say they are middle class if their fathers are, or were, manual workers, and manual workers are less likely to say they are working class if their fathers are, or were, non-manual workers.

The trends illustrated in the table suggest a principle which could be pursued more

Table 10.20. *Percentages of chief wage-earners and heads of households or housewives of different occupational class and class of origin, who said they were middle class, and mean individual income and annuity value of assets.*

Combined class (occupational class of self and father)	*Percentage saying they were middle class*		*Mean net disposable income last year of individual*	*Mean annuity value of individual assets*	*Number on which percentages based*	
	Men	*Women*	*£*	*£*	*Men*	*Women*
1. Upper non-manual, father same	(93)	(87)	1,286	1,179	30	31
2. Upper non-manual, father lower non-manual	77	87	1,113	603	80	91
3. Upper non-manual, father manual	(62)	61	841	411	45	56
4. Lower non-manual, father upper non-manual	(86)	(90)	(776)	(215)	22	21
5. Lower non-manual, father same	61	66	641	417	180	239
6. Lower non-manual, father manual	45	47	601	174	219	282
7. Upper manual, father non-manual	32	38	552	150	123	134
8. Upper manual, father same	17	30	545	85	230	248
9. Upper manual, father lower manual	21	23	526	77	121	139
10. Lower manual, father non-manual	15	25	457	61	75	88
11. Lower manual, father upper manual	19	25	450	61	139	170
12. Lower manual, father same	8	13	430	46	154	171

deeply. There are other sources of wealth or other barriers to wealth. There is the occupational class of one's wife or husband; one's mother, and one's mother-in-law. And there is the question of career mobility: of how far the occupational class of individuals has been the same throughout their adult lives. We should expect, according to a range of criteria, that someone who achieves professional status only in his late forties is unlikely to have resources equal to those of someone who has held that status since his mid twenties. At the two extremes will be someone whose high (or low) social position is defined by virtue of the high (or low) position held throughout life by himself, his father and mother, and his wife's father and mother.

Occupational class within a household may be said to be 'reinforced' if the spouse's and both fathers' occupational classes are the same as a man's or woman's occupational class. The outcome can even be measured in the resources of the household. Two illustrations will be given. First, Table 10.21 shows the mean

Table 10.21. *Mean income net worth as a percentage of the state's poverty standard, according to the occupational class of both husbands and wives.*

Occupational class of husband and wife	*Income net worth expressed as % of state's poverty standard*	*Number*
Both upper non-manual	(527)	26
Husband upper non-manual, wife lower non-manual	413	266
Husband lower non-manual, wife non-manual	307	567
Husband non-manual, wife manual	311	245
Husband upper manual, wife non-manual	217	428
Husband lower manual, wife non-manual	204	186
Both upper manual	204	105
Both manual, one upper manual	199	566
Both lower manual	187	451

NOTE: Except for the topmost category, some categories have been combined because numbers in cells were small.

income net worth of households in which the occupational classes of husband and wife can be differently combined. As can be seen, there is a tendency for income net worth to be higher the higher the occupational class of each spouse.

Secondly, Table 10.22 shows the mean annuity value of assets for households in

Table 10.22. *Mean annuity value of household assets, according to number of non-manual characteristics of chief wage-earner, head of household or housewife.*

	Mean annuity value of household assets			
Number of non-manual characteristics[a]	*Husband in non-manual occupation* £	*Husband in manual occupation* £	*All households* £	*Total number of informants*
Four	906	-	906	324
Three	1,091	285	988	398
Two	617	312	460	544
One	202	117	132	773
None	-	92	92	718

NOTE: [a]The four occupations were those of husband, wife, husband's father and wife's father.

which the occupational class of husband, wife and their respective fathers could be obtained, totalling four items of information. For all households, and independently for those where the husbands had non-manual and manual occupations, the annuity value of assets tended to be higher the higher the number of non-manual occupations among the four.

Table 10.23 goes on to compare the proportions found to be in poverty according to the different indicators of social class put forward in this chapter. The material basis of the subjective and occupational classifications which have been discussed is further illustrated and the individual's command over resources may be seen to be linked not just to his or her occupational class but to that of husbands and wives and respective families of origin.

Table 10.23*. Percentages in or near poverty according to different indicators of social class* (*chief wage-earners or heads of households and housewives only*).

Indicator of social class	*Percentage in poverty or on margins according to state's standard*	*Percentage in poverty according to deprivation standard*	*Number*
Self-rated class (*unprompted*) No. = 2,864			
Upper middle	(20)	(9)	34
Middle	23	18	1,004
Lower middle	16	9	124
Working	33	26	1,375
'Poor', ordinary' or 'lower'	46	38	140

Table 10.23.- *contd*

Indicator of social class	*Percentage in poverty or on margins according to state's standard*	*Percentage in poverty according to deprivation standard*	*Number*
Self-rated class (*prompted*) No. = 3,068			
Upper middle	13	11	75
Middle	24	19	704
Lower middle	20	13	409
Upper working	22	14	548
Working	38	32	1,188
Poor	78	67	82
Registrar General's classification No. = 4,142			
I Professional and managerial	20	8	188
II Intermediate	18	14	695
III Skilled (non-manual)	17	13	547
III Skilled (manual)	30	23	1,489
IV Partly skilled	42	37	878
V Unskilled	56	49	282
Sociological (*eightfold*) *fold*) No. = 4,095			
Professional	8	5	260
Managerial	9	5	206
Supervisory - high	13	7	416
Supervisory - low	26	17	534
Routine non-manual	31	28	234
Skilled manual	32	27	1,404
Partly skilled manual	36	27	652
Unskilled manual	59	53	389
Occupational class characteristics of family No. = 3,114			
Husband, wife, husband's father and wife's father all non-manual	11	4	400
Three of four non-manual	11	7	441
Two of four non-manual	19	15	618
One of four non-manual	34	27	843
None of four non-manual	35	31	812

NOTE: For self-rated class, husband and wife were classified separately if their answers were different. For the Registrar General's and the sociological scales, husband and wife were both classified according to the chief wage-earner's or head of household's occupation.

The Relationship between Social Class and Poverty

Finally, the implications of these findings need to be discussed. Occupational class is both a reflection of the homogeneity of rewards, privileges and disprivileges and status conferred in the past upon the incumbents of particular occupations, and a potent influence upon developments and adjustments in the allocation of resources in changing conditions. Knowledge of a man's occupational class governs others' behaviour towards him and, most importantly, governs the behaviour of those, such as employers, personnel managers, building society officials, estate agents, bank managers, housing managers and supplementary benefit officials, who have powers to decide who is to be allowed access directly or indirectly to different types of resource. Occupational class has the function of helping to generalize particular inequalities into a structured inequality with social form and consistency. Its association with particular types and levels of reward; particular chances of having inherited, or being likely to acquire, wealth; and particular kinds and degrees of power reinforces its meaning and establishes a pattern so pervasive and compelling that it seems to carry a natural authority. It is easy, therefore, to comprehend how it acts as a kind of social seal upon, and legitimates, the many thousands of diverse acts of generosity and meanness, or privilege and disprivilege, which take place every day in society. In one fundamental sense, it can be seen as a social invention to justify or excuse greed.

But though occupational classes can be demonstrated to exist, by virtue of differences of reward, wealth and behaviour, and can be demonstrated to interrelate, say, with the educational system, other public social services and family origins, they cannot be said to be identical with social classes. The roles of citizen, family member and community member modify occupational roles and therefore occupational class roles. And although occupational class is governed by economic class and is closely connected with other forms of stratification, it does not subsume them.

Poverty, then, is institutionalized and even legitimated by the occupational class structure. Occupational class helps to explain the low pay of the low paid, because low pay is a feature and a consequence of an elaborate hierarchical structure, the principles of which depend on the hierarchy and its acceptability to the population. The senses in which low pay is a feature of an elaborate structure will be discussed in Chapter 17. It can be explained only by reference to that structure, and remedied only by altering that structure in key respects. The poverty to which, as we have shown, half the people in the unskilled manual class are exposed is not just the combined result of low pay and an above-average share of dependants. It is the result, too, of the denial of access to other than intermittent or insecure forms of employment, with few rights or no rights to sick pay, paid holidays and other benefits, lack of assets, greater chances of becoming sick or disabled, and poorer

coverage under the provisions of the national insurance and industrial injuries schemes.

The structure of inequality is not only heavily reinforced and interdependent. It is tolerated more readily by the poor and more self-righteously by the rich or prosperous than the facts would seem to warrant. Our findings begin to suggest how this arises. Those who are relatively prosperous say they belong to the middle class. They recognize superiority over a lower class and want to establish their social distance from them, but implicitly recognize that they themselves have superiors. For some of the wealthy this is convenient, because by claiming middle-class status they assume their wealth and their status to be more modest than it is. And by not setting claims to extreme social distance, they are enabled to deny that there are others in society at the extreme from them, living in conditions of deprivation. For their part, the poor distinguish their condition from that of poverty - perhaps largely because of imputations of blame. They are encouraged to espouse the status of 'the working class'. This image of their class is less revolutionary in its implications.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Sir Frederick Eden wrote *The State of the Poor, or an History of the Labouring Classes in England from the Conquest*. It was only in the course of the nineteenth century that the more euphemistic term 'the working class' gained favour. With that term securely established, the revival of the term 'poor' in the 1960s and 1970s has now come to be associated in the public mind with a largely workless (aged, sick, disabled, unsupported mothers), and supposedly small, minority. Indeed, the image of the class structure adopted by some calling themselves 'working class' presumes there is an inferior workless underclass as well as an opposed or superior employer class.[1] At a time of rapid development in many societies of a huge dependent underclass, traditional working-class consciousness can operate as a legitimating force for the deprivation of that underclass and for the relative privileges enjoyed by the working class. This can be regarded as a source of division and hence of weakness. Instead of uniting against the rich to ensure a fairer distribution of resources, the relatively poor find themselves discriminating against each other for a share of the resources which remain to them.

The larger definition of 'the poor' adopted by Sir Frederick Eden might none the less be as appropriate today as it was in the eighteenth century - even if lesser and greater poor have to be recognized, and discussed, more clearly today. For that definition would facilitate a more realistic description of the class structure and its causes. Eden, for example, could write easily of the necessary connections between

[1] Goldthorpe and his colleagues report that a significant minority of the manual workers they studied saw themselves as belonging to an intermediate class with a residual class below them 'made up of deprived, undeserving or disadvantaged persons'. See Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer. F., and Platt, J., *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure,* Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 149.

industry and poverty. 'What divides the rich from the poorer is not the ownership of land or of money, but rather the command of labour.' Without the most distant idea, then, of disparaging the numberless benefits derived for the country from manufactures and commerce, the result of this investigation seems to lead to this inevitable conclusion that manufactures and commerce are the true parents of our national poor.'[1]

Summary and Conclusion

Social class is strongly and uniformly correlated with poverty. We are able to show this by taking subjective as well as objective indicators of social class, and by pursuing the measurement of resources beyond the conventional limits of net disposable income.

First, subjective indicators. The 'working' and the 'middle' class tend to have different images of the class system, which are combined, uneasily and not very logically, in public usage. Members of the former often adopt a two-valued power model (such as 'the rich and the workers'), and of the latter a three-valued *status* model of three ranks of upper, middle and lower class, or a finer succession of ranks of upper, upper middle, lower middle class and so on. Very few people assign themselves to an 'upper' or even 'upper middle' class, and relatively few consider themselves to be of 'lower', 'lowest' or 'poor' class. The correlation between self-rated class and level of earnings is strong and is stronger when resources additional to earnings are taken into the reckoning. Our data suggested that the correlation would be stronger still if living standards were to be measured in relation to an extensive period of the life-cycle.

Although present occupational class is related to self-rated class, it is by no means uniformly coincident. Some people with manual jobs say they are middle class, for example, and they tend to be people with relatively high assets, above-average years of education, owner-occupiers rather than tenants and say their fathers have been or are in non-manual rather than manual occupations. We found, therefore, that class consciousness is strongly rooted in economic circumstances, as they are and have been experienced, when these are defined broadly and measured over long periods of the life-cycle.

We have also argued that the images of class which are held do play an important

[1] I owe these quotations to Marx, who referred with respect to Eden as 'the only disciple of Adam Smith throughout the eighteenth century who produced anything of importance' and who adopted some of his themes. Marx agreed that in the sixteenth century the propertyless were more inclined to become vagabonds and robbers and beggars than workers, and that in 'the pre-history of capital, state coercion to transform the propertyless into *workers* at conditions advantageous for capital' was extreme. See Marx, K., *Grundrisse* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp. 735-7. The passages from Eden's work are from *The State of the Poor, or an History of the Labouring Classes in England from the Conquest,* vol. I, Book I, pp. 1-2 and 57-61.

part in legitimating the unequal distribution of resources. Those who assign themselves to the middle class accept the existence of a class of lower rank and tend to regard their own position in the world as natural or inevitable if not deserved. Some deny or underestimate their material advantage. It is particularly noteworthy that nearly all those in the topmost 5 per cent of wealth (whether defined in terms of value of assets or net disposable income per head) regard themselves as of 'middle' class.

Secondly, 'objective' indicators. Irrespective of self-rating, people can be assigned to a position on a scale on the basis of their present or last or main occupation in life. We found that according to criteria of earnings, net disposable income of income unit and imputed annual value of household resources, occupations ranked by prestige or general desirability comprise a more consistent, or regular, hierarchical system than has appeared to be the case in some other studies. We found a sharp difference in command over resources between people in non-manual and people in manual occupations, and this applied even to a small borderline group of male routine, non-manual workers, when compared with male skilled manual workers. Inequalities in earnings are widened when hours of work and weeks of work are standardized, and the value of employer welfare benefits and of home ownership and other assets are brought into the picture.

At all ages, but particularly in late middle age, there is a huge difference between non-manual and manual classes in the annual value of their total resources, when measured in relation to the state's poverty standard. Even when the value of social services in kind is added to total resources, relative inequality is only slightly moderated.

In descending the occupational class scale, there is an increase in the proportion living at a level three times or more the poverty standard. Compared with 9 per cent of those of professional class, we found 59 per cent of unskilled manual workers who were in or on the margins of poverty, according to the state's standard, and 5 per cent and 54 per cent respectively were in poverty, according to the deprivation standard. We must conclude, therefore, that the nature and degree of differentiation of occupational class is a predominant determinant of poverty - II especially, as we have seen, when we take into account the class origins and occupational experience of both husband and wife.

Of perhaps most importance in the analysis has been the distinction we have been compelled to make between the occupational class of individuals and the social class of families, income units and households. The latter can be shown to depend in part on the class origins as well as the combined occupational histories of their members. Thereby structures, and hence the prevalence of poverty, can be better explained.

In the remainder of this book I will attempt to show in some detail the nature of the occupational hierarchy and how it relates to the experience of deprivation of different poor minorities.