

# THE NEW ZEALAND CLASS STRUCTURE

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The Demographics of  
Class Structure

WORKING PAPER ONE

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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1984, the Social Science Research Fund Committee provided \$13,500 to enable a national survey of jobs and attitudes to be achieved. The attached report outlines the findings concentrating on the New Zealand class structure and its demographic correlates.

The survey was conducted on the basis of a multi-stage cluster sample. 1,000 households were interviewed, involving all main income earners and their cohabitantes over eighteen years old. This generated 1,663 eligible respondents. The survey was both urban and rural: within urban areas, main urban, secondary urban and minor urban areas were canvassed. The response rate was 81.1%

The main findings of the report include:

1. Using relational criteria to establish class boundaries and using main income earners and their cohabitantes, it appears that 34.7% of this working population falls within the working class. While our population is not directly comparable to U.S. and Swedish statistics, it does appear that, even accounting for these differences, the % working class is somewhat lower than in these two countries.
2. In contrast, the owning classes represent a somewhat larger percentage of the population than might be expected. Large employers (more than 9 employees) constitute 2.9% of the working population, small employers 8.0%, and the self-employed 9.0%.
3. The self-employed are a particularly sizeable and important group in New Zealand, considerably larger than other countries (e.g. 5% in Sweden). Their suggested role as an important political force in the past is supported in the demographic findings.
4. Contradictory class locations - managers, supervisors, advisor-managers - are almost double the size of such groups elsewhere (39.2% vs. 21.0% in Sweden) and this variation can be further seen in the number of semi-autonomous workers, (those who have some control over their own work), who are a significantly smaller group than elsewhere.
5. Occupational groups, represented as homogenous sets of individuals, can be successfully disaggregated using relational criteria, which may be useful in analysing the underlying social relations of production.

Further analysis outlines the class structure in relation to ethnicity, age groups, gender, type of occupation, sector of the economy, state vs. non-government employment, and region. Further research is planned around the issues of gender and class, political ideology and class positions, class biography, and the relation between ethnicity and class.

Further details can be obtained from:

The New Zealand Class Structure Project,  
Sociology Department  
Massey University,  
Palmerston North.

Papers available in the Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness Working Paper series.

1. "The Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness: an Overview", by Erik Olin Wright, 1982.
2. "The Questionnaire on Class Structure, Class Biography and Class Consciousness", by Erik Olin Wright, 1982.
3. "The American Class Structure", by Erik Olin Wright, Cynthia Costello, David Hachen and Joey Sprague, 1982.
4. "The Swedish Class Structure", by Goran Ahrne, 1981.
5. "Varieties of Marxist Conceptions of Class Structure", by Erik Olin Wright, reprinted from Politics & Society, Vol. 9:3, 1980.
6. "The Status of the Political in the Concept of Class Structure", by Erik Olin Wright, 1981.
7. "Proletarianization in the American Class Structure", by Erik Olin Wright and Joachim Singelmann, 1981.
8. "Positional Power and Propensity to Strike", by Luca Perrone, July, 1980 (edited by Erik Olin Wright, August, 1981).
9. "The Development of Worker Consciousness and Anticapitalist Activity", by Raimo Blom.
10. "Development Features of the Finnish Class and Stratum Structure in the Twentieth Century", by Heikki Kerkela, 1982.
11. "Class Theories and the Class Structure of Finnish Society", by Raimo Blom, 1982.
12. "Class and Career Mobility", by David Hachen, 1983.
13. "Classes in the United States and Sweden: A Comparison", by Goran Ahrne and Erik Olin Wright, 1983.
14. "The State of Research into Social Stratification in Britain", by Howard Newby, 1981.
15. "On the Scope Logic of the Theory of Class", by Raimo Blom, 1983.
16. "A General Framework for the Analysis of Class", by Erik Olin Wright.
17. "What is Neo and What is Marxist in Neo-Marxist Class Analysis?" by Erik Olin Wright, 1983.
18. "Stagflation and British Society: Some Background Issues Examined" by Gordon Marshall and David Rose, 1983.
19. "Class Structure and Class Consciousness in Contemporary Capitalism: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden and the United States", by Erik Olin Wright, 1984.

A R E P O R T   O N   T H E   N E W   Z E A L A N D   C L A S S  
S T R U C T U R E

The Demographics of Class

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INTRODUCTION

The following paper is a report on the results of a national survey which was designed to establish the broad features of the New Zealand Class Structure. This descriptive account of the class structural map establishes the baseline relational features which will enable a program of further research to be undertaken. Planned reports include:

1. The mapping of ideological structures onto class structure.
2. The development of ideological logics in relation to class and gender.
3. Examination of class history, class biography and ideology.
4. Study of the interaction of ethnicity, class and gender in relation to ideology.

This account seeks to show how the class structural map was established and to display the class structure in relation to key variables such as age, sex, ethnicity, geographic location, type of industry, socio-economic grouping and rural-urban variations.

The New Zealand national class survey is a component of a larger ongoing piece of comparative research on the class structures of various industrialised countries. The logical basis for the analysis of the class structure derives from the work of Erik Olin Wright (Wright 1976, 1978). The original questionnaire design developed at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Sociology Department. The questionnaire design allows both the mapping of the "Wright" model of class, as well as alternative models such as those deriving from Dahrendorf's authority model of class, and more traditional socio-economic status models.

The questionnaire used in the New Zealand survey was formulated on the form of the Swedish questionnaire, which provided a well-planned, efficient and easily-administered format for the research. All national survey instruments are based on a core set of comparable questions, but obvious changes to account for cultural variations and specific differences in social institutions have been made. For example, the most obvious variations are in the names of political parties and in ethnic group categories; less obvious variations are in modifying attitudinal questions to reflect dispositions in New Zealand. British modifications developed towards interpretive investigations of attitudes. In a very limited way the New Zealand questionnaire followed this lead, by using probes to examine the logics behind ideology in relation to race, class and gender. The New Zealand sample extended coverage from main income earners to main income earners and their cohabitees to allow the interaction of gender and class to be examined more fully. The sample included adults of 18 years and over, and was conducted between May and August (urban sample) and September and November, 1984 (rural sample)<sup>1</sup>.

In this paper we briefly review trends in contemporary stratification studies, outline the logic of the model, and then present the class structural map of New Zealand. Then comparison is made of the class structure in the private and public sector, between men and women, between age groups and by ethnic category. This leads to analysis of class structure by region and rural/urban variations, type of industry and socio-economic classification. Finally, an account of likely further research is presented.

## CLASS AND STRATIFICATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

In a society which, from its colonial period, stressed the ideology of egalitarianism, it is not surprising that the study of class and of inequality is underdeveloped. Commentators frequently stress the lack of research on poverty, (Baldock and Lally, 1974), historians frequently attest to the limited role that class and class struggle play in shaping the social information, and others have concluded that New Zealand "has no poor and therefore no class struggle", (Jackson and Harre; 1969, cited in Pitt, p. 5). This being the case, there is little surprise about the paucity of work on class in New Zealand, at least until recent times.

David Pitt's edited book, *Social Class in New Zealand* (1977) is thus a move away from such a tradition with the view that 'one thing all the authors here are agreed on is that there is some kind of social differentiation that resembles some form of class' (Pitt, p. 5), yet the assertion of the actuality of class is so cautiously phrased and so weakly supported that the change in direction is limited. Status and prestige studies have always had something of a following in New Zealand, particularly in the work of Congalton and Havighurst, who used occupations and residential prestige ratings in generating levels of stratification.

Such studies frequently followed overseas community studies, in particular the work of Warner in the United States. Pitt's limited attempt to alter class and stratification studies towards new directions, however, was the beginning of genuinely original attempts. Within this text are several up-to-date accounts of stratification in terms of status and income. Yet Bedggood's article on class and class consciousness represents the only real break from Weberian and pluralist accounts.

David Bedggood's interest in class led to a further work, *Rich and Poor in New Zealand* (1980), which is a fully-fledged Marxist account of class in New Zealand. Bedggood begins by asserting a materialist account of class against functionalist and pluralist perspectives, and from this premise, retheorises the colonial history of New Zealand, arguing with Marx, that the power of British capitalism in the 19th century resulted from imperial domination of non-white people, New Zealand offering a clear example of the generalisation. What Bedggood goes on to argue in later chapters is that

the emergence of Welfare State structures generated both a systematic ideology for masking real class differences and an apparatus for handling class struggle. In relation to the present study, his analysis is particularly pertinent because of his analysis of the size of the classes - he argues that 5% of the population are truly members of the bourgeoisie, 5% are petty bourgeoisie, and the remainder, 90%, are working class. Among the working class only 35% are involved in productive labour; 65% in unproductive labour. By suggesting that state and other non-productive sectors are in the direct service of a small number of capitalists, the polarities are readily achieved.

A second attempt at defining class in New Zealand in Marxist terms is the paper by Steven (Steven: 1978). He argues that the ruling class include owners of capital and land, and a second group who are managers and directors of those resources. With little theoretical support but use of census data, Steven goes on to discuss the important fractions of the working class. More to the point however is his discussion of a "middle-class" whose contradictory interests result from the "contradictory position its members occupy in modern capitalism" (Steven, 1978; p. 121). In these contradictory locations are included scientists, architects and various technical and "expert" groups, with the working class again discussed in terms of fractions at various levels. In his categorisation, Steven estimates a bourgeois class of 10.36%, a middle class of 11.56%, a petty bourgeois class of 6.58%, and a working class of 71.57%.

The most recent text by David Pearson and David Thorns, *Eclipse of Equality* (1983) seeks to develop an approach which 'eschews fundamentalism of either a Marxian or Weberian character, but rather attempts to build an analysis out of the critiques which have developed...' (Pearson, Thorns, 1983:3). They develop a model of class established on "market structures of resource allocations" (Ibid: 33), with gender and ethnicity playing an important role, with their last argument of the theoretical chapter accorded to discussion of status. The text has a powerful Weberian flavour with chapters on Class Life Chances, Social Mobility, Race and Ethnicity and Stratification. While they give no clear picture of the class structural map, the middle classes appear to play an important role in the development of New Zealand's social system, rather than the working class.

The present survey of the New Zealand Class Structure, developed on the basis of a clear theorisation of class will hopefully shed further light on the question of the boundary between classes and the implications of class position. It ought to be possible to establish a series of criteria for demarcating between classes which are systematic and rigorous, and the important parameters associated with class - consciousness, politics, class biography etc., should be more readily analysed. Finally the relational concept of class should be able to offer an alternative to attributional models of the orthodox literature.

This section sets out the theoretical logic which establishes the basis on which the class structural map is generated. The broad logic establishes three basic class locations, as well as two in contradictory locations within a mode of production, and contradictory locations between modes of production. <sup>2</sup>

In general terms, class relations are characterised by dimensions of appropriation and domination. The bourgeois class is defined as that class which owns the means of production within a system of appropriation. As a consequence of ownership, the bourgeoisie exploits workers and through a system of domination, also controls the activities of workers within production. The petty bourgeoisie are defined as those who own the means of production, control their own labor activities but do not exploit labour. Basic locations within the class structure are thus generated by the polarities established within these dual systems of domination and appropriation. Workers neither own the means of production, nor control their work activities.

Contradictory locations, on the other hand, are not characterised by a simple polarity on such dimensions. An example is afforded by the location of managers, who are both exploited by capital as wage-earners, and yet at the same time, dominate workers through the control of workers' labour. This suggests a partial location in two classes simultaneously.

A second form of contradiction occurs not between polarities within class structures in a given mode of production, but between modes of production. For example, small employers may be said to be simultaneously capitalist and petty bourgeois, capitalist because they employ and exploit labour, petty bourgeois in that they own and use their own means of production.

Another form of contradiction between modes of production is generated by the category termed semi-autonomous employees. These are employees who do not own the means of production but have a generous degree of control over their work (further details of operational procedures are given in Appendix 2).

As indicated below, 34.7% of the New Zealand work force falls into the working class, which arises from their unambiguous location as employees who have no control over their own or anyone else's work nor do they own or control the means of production.

Those who are self-employed (or employ only one person) are regarded as petty bourgeoisie, and account for 9.0% of the population. Those who are owners or part-owners of companies employing ten or more people comprise the real bourgeoisie. They comprise 2.9% of the total paid working population.

The outline of the procedures for creating these figures is as follows:

CLASS LOCATION	OPERATIONALIZATION
Bourgeoisie	owner or part-owner of business with at least 10 employees
Small employers	owner or part-owner of business with 2-9 employees
Petty bourgeois	self-employed or owner or part-owner of business with only one employee
Manager	participates directly in making at least one type of decision and is at least task supervisor for more than one employee and/or places him/herself as manager or supervisor in the formal hierarchy.
Advisor-manager	provides advice to the decisionmakers in at least one type of decision and is at least task supervisor for more than one employee and/or places him/herself as manager or supervisor in the formal hierarchy.
Supervisor	is at least task supervisor for more than one employee
Semi-autonomous-employee	moderate or high autonomy in their work, no real supervisory function.
Worker	no real supervisory function and low or no autonomy (possibly gives advice in decisions).

Figure 1

The Basic Class Structure of Capitalist Society

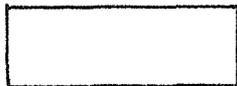
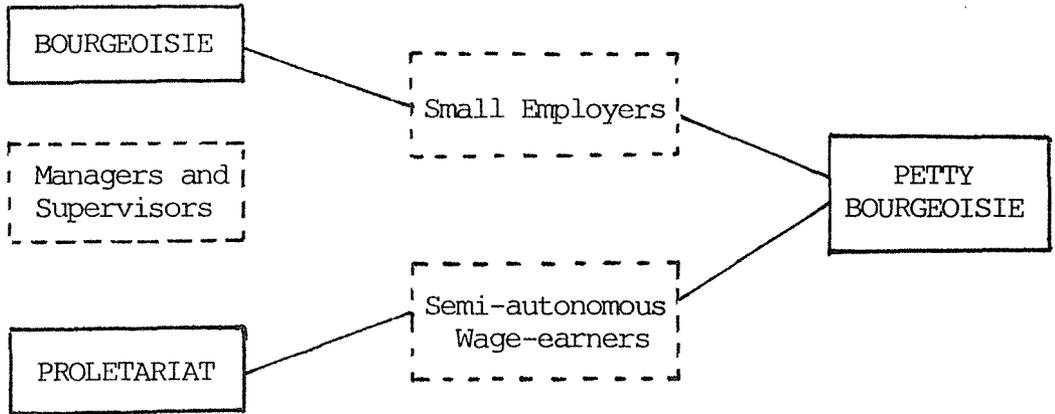
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CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

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SIMPLE COMMODITY PRODUCTION

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Classes



Contradictory Locations within Class Relations.

In addition to the three main classes, 45.4%<sup>3</sup> of the population occupy contradictory class locations, and 39.2% are located between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Managers comprise 17.6%, advisor-managers 8.5%, and supervisors make up 13.1%. Managers are those people who participate in major budget or other decisions in relation to the production process, are involved in the supervision of others and consider themselves part of the management group. Advisor-managers offer advice on (but do not make) decisions and have some supervisory authority, while supervisors control the labor of other employees, but have no control or influence in relation to production and capital.

Another crucial group are those in contradictory locations between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, who, in this typology, are categorised as semi-autonomous. Their particular characteristic is that they have some control over their own work, but cannot be said to take part in the decision-making process, and don't supervise the work of others. In relation to their autonomy, they plan their own work procedures and are not regularly told what to do.

People in this category comprise 6.2% of the population, with small employers 8.0%.

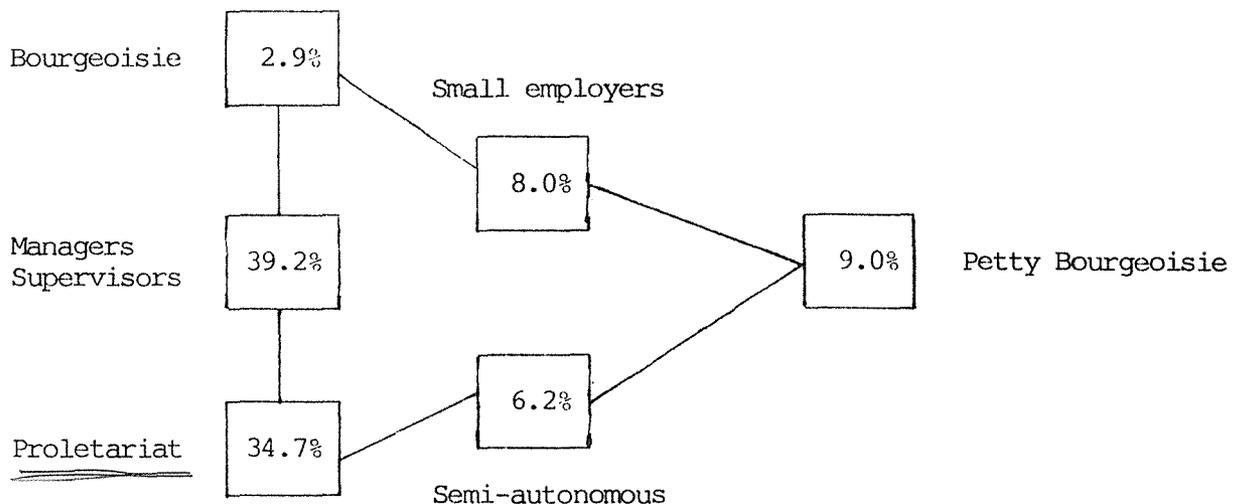


Figure Two: The New Zealand Class Structure

When we compare occupational groupings with class structures, an obvious and dramatic difference is evident. Relational theories of class are able to distinguish variations within occupational groupings which are not evident in socio-economic groupings based solely on occupational, educational and income criteria. The most glaring example is evidenced in the case of teachers, but is true in most if not all work situations. Allocation of teachers based on attributional criteria allocates them to stratified groups based on income, education or occupation.

Since teachers, in concert with many state<sup>4</sup> servants experience salary increases with age without any necessary change in position, occupational status may increase without any qualitative elevation in their class position. The category of teacher, while sensitive to gross, quantitative changes in attributional features when presented as a socio-economic status, fails to account for the qualitative discrete activities embedded in this category, which may readily include managers, semi-autonomous employees and workers. In table one, the most interesting results are in this process of decomposition through class of occupational groups to bring out the underlying qualitative process at work in production.

The table reflects a series of qualitative differences among teachers and nurses which are quite striking, from a teacher who owns a private school, through several who are self-employed and work at home, to senior teachers who control but do not own schools, to teachers who have supervisory roles or semi-autonomy, and finally a group who are simply workers. All these could potentially be embraced within a single SES category.

The general case for a relational theory of class rather than an attributional theory is thus very powerful. Class theories which depend merely on levels of social attribute, whether that attribute is income, education or occupational prestige suffer from two very glaring faults. The first is that such theories can make no direct connection between members at different levels of the class structure. In Weberian theory for example, it is suggested that people are rewarded as a consequence of their market power. 'Class as market' theories therefore say little about the fundamental question which lies behind this form of classification, which has to do with the ownership and control of the market. Thus members in a class structure take on the appearance of isolated individuals with apparently no relation one to another.

Workers	8	7	15	14	8	73	28	4	142	23	39	0	353
		2.0	4.2	4.0	2.3	20.7	7.9	1.1	40.2	6.5	11.0	0.0	34.7
		10.1	40.5	15.7	8.2	56.2	31.1	12.5	51.6	28.8	70.9	0.0	
		0.7	1.5	1.4	0.8	7.2	2.8	0.4	14.0	2.3	3.8	0.0	
COLUMN	69	37	89	97	130	90	32	275	80	55	63	1017	
TOTAL	6.8	3.6	8.8	9.5	12.8	8.8	3.1	27.0	7.9	5.4	6.2	100.0	

- a. Primary and Secondary School Teachers. University teachers are included in professionals.
- b. Includes postal clerks and mailpersons.
- c. Includes occupations like barbers, airline cabin attendants, chefs, nurses' assistants.
- d. Includes nurses in childrens' daycare centres, nurses in home service, janitors.
- e. Does not include farm labourers.

(N.B. Rounding errors apply throughout tabulations).

Table 1. OCCUPATIONAL GROUP BY CLASS

Class	COUNT ROW % COL % TOTAL %	Professional	Technicians	Teachers, Nurses	Managers	Clerks	Salespeople	Foremen Forewomen	Transportation, Craftsmen, Labourers	Skilled Services	Semi-skilled Services	Farmers	ROW TOTAL
Bourgeois	1	6	1	1	5	3	1	0	7	2	0	4	30
		20.0	3.3	3.3	16.7	10.0	3.3	0.0	23.3	6.7	0.0	13.3	2.9
		8.7	2.7	1.1	5.2	2.3	1.1	0.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	6.3	
		0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.4	
Small Employer	2	8	1	0	14	2	5	0	18	1	2	30	81
		9.9	1.2	0.0	17.3	2.5	6.2	0.0	22.2	1.2	2.5	37.0	8.0
		11.6	2.7	0.0	14.4	1.5	5.6	0.0	6.5	1.3	3.6	47.6	
		0.8	0.1	0.0	1.4	0.2	0.5	0.0	1.8	0.1	0.2	2.9	
Petty Bourgeois	3	3	1	3	7	1	9	1	31	6	7	23	92
		3.3	1.1	3.3	7.6	1.1	9.8	1.1	33.7	6.5	7.6	25.0	9.0
		4.3	2.7	3.4	7.2	0.8	10.0	3.1	11.3	7.5	12.7	36.5	
		0.3	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.9	0.1	3.0	0.6	0.7	2.3	
Managers	4	30	4	26	44	9	17	10	18	15	1	5	179
		16.8	2.2	14.5	24.6	5.0	9.5	5.6	10.1	8.4	0.6	2.8	17.6
		43.5	10.8	29.2	45.4	6.9	18.9	31.3	6.5	18.8	1.8	7.9	
		2.9	0.4	2.6	4.3	0.9	1.7	1.0	1.8	1.5	0.1	0.5	
Advisor-Managers	5	6	5	7	7	16	13	8	10	11	2	1	86
		7.0	5.8	8.1	8.1	18.6	15.1	9.3	11.6	12.8	2.3	1.2	8.5
		8.7	13.5	7.9	7.2	12.3	14.4	25.0	3.6	13.8	3.6	1.6	
		0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.2	0.1	
Supervisors	6	8	9	21	10	20	10	8	34	12	1	0	133
		6.0	6.8	15.8	7.5	15.0	7.5	6.0	25.6	9.0	0.8	0.0	13.1
		11.6	24.3	23.6	10.3	15.4	11.1	25.0	12.4	15.0	1.8	0.0	
		0.8	0.9	2.1	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.8	3.3	1.2	0.1	0.0	
Semi-Autonomous	7	1	1	17	2	6	7	1	15	10	3	0	63
		1.6	1.6	27.0	3.2	9.5	11.1	1.6	23.8	15.9	4.8	0.0	6.2
		1.4	2.7	19.1	2.1	4.6	7.8	3.1	5.5	12.5	5.5	0.0	
		0.1	0.1	1.7	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.1	1.5	1.0	0.3	0.0	

Secondly, the collapsing of all teachers, as in the example above, into the same SES category completely obscures major characteristics. In the case of teachers, it is reasonable to suggest that a teacher who owns a school (and employs other teachers) may indeed take a different attitude towards strike action which his/her teachers contemplate. In a fundamental sense, their material interests are opposed, and it is therefore of the greatest interest to examine the variant ideologies, class behaviours and actions of people who together constitute such a system of class relations, within a larger class structure. This complex of questions is of considerable interest to sociologists, and the field of discourse is opened by relational approaches. By placing all teachers at the same level of the stratification system, attributional approaches offer no opportunity for what are crucial investigations. Further, analysis of such class correlates as voting behaviour and class identification is greatly aided by relational analysis.

#### **CLASS, THE STATE AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR**

In recent years, the elaboration of theories of the state has enabled the relation between class structure and state activity to be more precisely established. The basic question to be examined is how control of the state is managed by the dominant class, whether through instrumental or relative autonomist mechanisms (Miliband, 1969, Poulantzas, 1973) Accordingly, it is important to know precisely what forms of class structure can be compared to that which exists in the private sector. (see Table Two)

In New Zealand, as in other industrialised societies, a significant proportion of the working population are state employees. New Zealand bureaucracy, following the British model in part, has a national or federal state organisation, with subsidiary offices in provinces and centres away from the capital. Provincial organisation is limited, though local authorities such as borough, county and city councils comprise a significant group of state employees. Central state employees represent 22.5% of the paid working population.<sup>5</sup> This means in comparison to other industrial societies, the proportion of people working in the state is quite low. For example, Sweden estimates 47%, and even the United States is only marginally lower at 18.5%.

TABLE TWO  
STATE BY CLASS

COUNT COL PCT ROW PCT TOT PCT	Bourgeois 1	Small Employer 2	Petty Bourgeoisie 3	Managers 4	Advisor- Managers 5	Supervisors 6	Semi- Autonomous 7	Workers 8	Row Total
Local	0	0	0	10	2	9	4	12	37
State	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	2.3	6.8	6.3	3.4	3.6
	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.0	5.4	24.3	10.8	32.4	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.2	0.9	0.4	1.2	
Central	0	0	0	57	26	48	28	70	229
State	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.8	30.2	36.1	44.4	19.8	22.5
	0.0	0.0	0.0	24.9	11.4	21.0	12.2	30.6	
	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	2.6	4.7	2.8	6.9	
Non Government	30	81	92	112	58	76	31	271	751
	100.0	100.0	100.0	62.6	67.4	57.1	49.2	76.8	73.8
	4.0	10.8	12.3	14.9	7.7	10.1	4.1	36.1	
	2.9	8.0	9.0	11.0	5.7	7.5	3.0	26.6	
COLUMN Total	30	81	92	179	86	133	63	353	1017
	2.9	8.0	9.0	17.6	8.5	13.1	6.2	34.7	100.0

It would be expected that those in contradictory positions, such as advisor-managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous workers would be well-represented in the state sector, but that managers, and workers might be under-represented. The figures above suggest that the proportion of workers is somewhat lower in the central state (30.6% cs 36.1%) and overall lower in the state sector than in the private sector. Among other class categories, comparisons are interesting. As far as supervisors are concerned, the number who work in each sector is quite different, with there being twice as many Supervisors (21% vs. 10.1%) in the State as in non-government. Semi-autonomous workers are well-represented in the State (though numbers are low), but even so appear three times more frequently in the State.

One of the most interesting set of political questions concentrates on the role of contradictory class locations within the state structure. In materialist terms, concentrations of contradictory class locations provide sites of resistance within the state structure. Furthermore, the relatively autonomous role of the state in the reproduction of capital lends a further dimension to the separation of class location from the central process of private production. Economic processes of exploitation may therefore be partially displaced, even if still fundamental, while political processes of domination may come to play a larger part. Such general propositions lead to the prospect of analysis directed at ideological structures in the comparison between public and private class structures. Public state structures frequently house both considerable proportions of routinised office workers, as well as sites for the location of some highly educated semi-autonomous workers. For those reasons, it seems important to take the comparison between public and private sections seriously, in particular as it is reflected in ideological structures associated with these two components of the class structure, and in political activity within these two domains.

#### CLASS AND GENDER

Table three presents figures for those employed by gender and class. As might be anticipated class structural positions are highly differentiated by gender. Women are concentrated in the working class, as might be

expected (46.4% vs 27.5% for men) and are under-represented in the bourgeois class (1.8% vs 3.7%) and these are coupled with other figures which reflects their anticipated concentrations in those locations which have no authority over other workers. Compared to men, women are under-represented by a factor of two at upper levels.

The New Zealand survey specifically extended the survey to all men and women in cohabiting relationships in all sampled households. Thus, in addition to establishing a theoretical logic for asking relational questions about the class structure, theoretical concerns also directed us away from a 'main income earner' approach towards a sampling mechanism which could directly address issues of class and gender in the household. This seemed to us an essential step to ensure adequate representation of "womens work" which is under-represented by merely involving main income earners (e.g. 56% male, 44% women in the Swedish sample). This enables gender and class to be analysed in a variety of ways and only a preliminary alternative is presented here. Traditional socialist theories allocate women into the class structure through the class location of the main income earners, when they are domestic labourers; more recent work has argued that domestic labour generates its own position as servant work and allocates women to the working class, or in some theorisations, to the lumpenproletariat. An early paper, now being completed (Working Paper 2, 1985) addresses these issues more fully in relation to the "Lockwood debate", discussed more fully below.

Within the paid work force, however, some further comparisons can be made; the gender difference extends to the small employers class (5.2% vs 9.7%) and even to the petty bourgeoisie. While the figure is not surprising among small employers, it is somewhat less likely among the petty bourgeoisie, since many in this category are to be found among farming families where men and women jointly own. However, while remaining out of balance, the balance does move from an imbalance of 2 to 1 to an imbalance of 4 to 3 (10.0 vs 7.5%), as we might expect. The remaining imbalance is most likely a result of the predominance of males in trades such as carpentry and plumbing, defined as self employed.

Among managers and supervisors, similar imbalances are reflected in the class structure. Men are more than twice as likely to be managers (22.7% vs 9.3%), but at the lower levels of this group, the gender balance evens out, there being equal proportions among advisor-managers (8.7% vs 8.0%),

TABLE THREE  
CLASS BY GENDER

	COUNT									
	COL	PCT								
	ROW	PCT								
	TOT	PCT								
CLASS										
	<sup>1</sup> BOURGEOIS	<sup>2</sup> SMALL EMPLOYERS	<sup>3</sup> PETTY BOURGEOIS	<sup>4</sup> MANAGERS	<sup>5</sup> ADVISOR-MANAGERS	<sup>6</sup> SUPERVISORS	<sup>7</sup> SEMI-AUTONOMOUS	<sup>8</sup> WORKERS	ROW	TOTAL
MALE	23	61	63	143	55	83	28	173		
	76.7	75.3	68.5	79.9	64.0	62.4	44.4	49.0		
	3.7	9.7	10.0	22.7	8.7	13.2	4.5	27.5	629	
	2.3	6.0	6.2	14.1	5.4	8.2	2.8	17.0	61.8	
FEMALE	7	20	29	36	31	50	35	180		
	23.3	24.7	31.5	20.1	36.0	37.6	55.6	51.0		
	1.8	5.2	7.5	9.3	8.0	12.9	9.0	46.4	388	
	0.7	2.0	2.9	3.5	3.0	4.9	3.4	17.7	38.2	
N	30	81	92	179	86	133	63	353	1017	
%	2.9	8.0	9.0	17.6	8.5	13.1	6.2	34.7	100.0	

20

and almost the same proportion among supervisors (13.2% vs 12.9%); one of the most interesting categories - the semi-autonomous workers shows twice as many women as men (9.6% vs 4.5%), and, as we have said above, a vastly over-represented number of women in the working class. Hence only lower levels of management with little authority or control over production appear to be available to women; those class locations which control and direct production remain a predominantly male terrain. The anomaly among the semi-autonomous workers reflects high proportions of women in teaching and nursing professions which predominate in this category. (see Table Three)

### CLASS STRUCTURE AND AGE

Wide variations exist among age categories in relation to positions in the class structure. Several obvious explanations are evident; younger workers are still being educated and thus enter the class structure at the bottom; older workers tend to reside in somewhat different class locations. But other explanations are also important; women typically follow variant career patterns in patriarchal societies and these patterns have changed over time. Class structures have altered over the long period covered by the experience of people in this sample; for example the development of semi-autonomous occupations is both associated with high levels of education and with new forms of technological and service production. Computer software, electronics and communications companies are associated with this class location. For example most of such companies are of recent origin; most are staffed by those in younger groups.

A simple age hierarchy is evident with, for example, no members of the bourgeoisie among the first cohort, and a disproportionately small number of small employers and petty bourgeoisie. Accordingly workers are over-represented here (48.3% vs 34.7%), overall, with managers under-represented (12.8% vs 17.6%). Bourgeoisie predominate in the mid-year cohorts, especially in the 38-47 years (5.2% vs 2.9%) whereas managers reach a peak in the same 38-47 cohort (19.9%); among supervisors, a more even distribution is noted, peaked at 15.5% in the 48-57 age group. Workers, as we have said, concentrate in the youngest age groups. (Of course, the 58-67 cohort is affected by retirement).

TABLE FOUR

## CLASS BY AGE GROUP

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	CLASS	AGE (IN TEN YEARS COHORTS)						ROW TOTAL
		18 - 27	28 - 37	38 - 47	48 - 57	58 - 67	68+	
1	BOURGEOIS	0	10	14	5	1	0	30
		0. 0	0. 0	46. 7	16. 7	3. 3	0. 0	2. 9
		0. 0	3. 0	5. 2	2. 9	1. 9	0. 0	
		0. 0	1. 0	1. 4	0. 5	0. 1	0. 0	
2	SMALL EMPLOYERS	7	27	22	17	6	2	81
		8. 6	33. 3	27. 2	21. 0	7. 4	2. 5	8. 0
		4. 1	8. 0	8. 1	9. 8	11. 5	16. 7	
		0. 7	2. 7	2. 2	1. 7	0. 6	0. 2	
3	PETTY BOURGEOIS	9	34	33	12	2	2	92
		9. 8	37. 0	35. 9	13. 0	2. 2	2. 2	9. 0
		5. 2	10. 1	12. 2	6. 9	3. 8	16. 7	
		0. 9	3. 3	3. 2	1. 2	0. 2	0. 2	
4	MANAGERS	22	62	54	31	9	1	179
		12. 3	34. 6	30. 2	17. 3	5. 0	0. 6	17. 6
		12. 8	18. 5	19. 9	17. 8	17. 3	8. 3	
		2. 2	6. 1	5. 3	3. 0	0. 9	0. 1	
5	ADVISOR-MANAGERS	21	29	16	16	4	0	86
		24. 4	33. 7	18. 6	18. 6	4. 7	0. 0	8. 5
		12. 2	8. 6	5. 9	9. 2	7. 7	0. 0	
		2. 1	2. 9	1. 6	1. 6	0. 4	0. 0	
6	SUPERVISORS	18	44	36	27	8	0	133
		13. 5	33. 1	27. 1	20. 3	6. 0	0. 0	13. 1
		10. 5	13. 1	13. 3	15. 5	15. 4	0. 0	
		1. 8	4. 3	3. 5	2. 7	0. 8	0. 0	
7	SEMI-AUTONOMOUS	12	26	11	11	3	0	63
		19. 0	41. 3	17. 5	17. 5	4. 8	0. 0	6. 2
		7. 0	7. 7	4. 1	6. 3	5. 8	0. 0	
		1. 2	2. 6	1. 1	1. 1	0. 3	0. 0	
8	WORKERS	83	104	85	55	19	7	353
		23. 5	29. 5	24. 1	15. 6	5. 4	2. 0	34. 7
		48. 3	31. 0	31. 4	31. 6	36. 5	58. 3	
		8. 2	10. 2	8. 4	5. 4	1. 9	0. 7	
COLUMN TOTAL		172	336	271	174	52	12	1017
		16. 9	33. 0	26. 6	17. 1	5. 1	1. 2	100. 0

## CLASS DIFFERENCES AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The survey was established on the basis of a population - grounded sampling frame, with equal sampling fractions in major urban, 2° urban, minor urban and rural areas. It is therefore instructive to compare class structural positions in relation to these categories. In New Zealand with a total population of 3.2m (1981 census figure), major urban areas are defined as centres of population with 30,000 or more people, secondary urban areas as those with between 10,000 and 30,000 people, minor urban as those centres of between 1,000 and 10,000 people, the remainder being classified as rural dwellers.

Several characteristics of these divisions are well worth noting. Since major urban areas are relatively small in comparison to many comparative urban conurbations there are examples to be found which do not include major employers of the monopoly capital form; some such cities can be based on relatively small-scale regional manufacturing or tourism, which has obvious and direct consequences for the class structure. Urban classification reaches down to very small settlements of only 1,000 people and is therefore deeply penetrated by rural production and its social relations. Conversely in at least two sampling areas, "rural" dwellers technically outside the formal census definitional location of towns were correctly classified as "rural" dwellers, yet were suburban dwellers embedded in the social relations of the town they lived near. Hence the permeability of class relations between rural and urban is probably more marked in New Zealand than in most countries.

Interestingly enough, taken together (Bourgeois, small employers, petty bourgeoisie) the owning class tends to predominate in main and rural areas - approximately 90% of all petty bourgeoisie (89.2%) live in these two sectors, far in excess of the numbers expected by population, and 90.1% of small employers are similarly located.

The table reflects, in spite of this interpenetration of town and rural areas, two sites of concentration of the owning classes. The 'real' bourgeoisie are those who employ more than nine people. Several groups are embedded in the grouping - farmers and horticulturalists who employ more than nine employees, some of whom are seasonal workers, owners of

TABLE FIVE  
REGION BY CLASS

COUNT						
ROW PCT		Main	Secondary	Minor	Rural	Row
TOT PCT		Urban	Urban	Urban		Total
<u>Class:</u>						
Bourgeois	1	13 43.3 1.3	4 13.3 0.4	5 16.7 0.5	8 26.7 0.8	30 2.9
Small Employers	2	26 32.1 2.6	4 4.9 0.4	4 4.9 0.4	47 58.0 4.6	81 8.0
Petty Bourgeois	3	41 44.6 4.0	7 7.6 0.7	3 3.3 0.3	41 44.6 4.0	92 9.0
Managers	4	138 77.1 13.6	12 6.7 1.2	17 9.5 1.7	12 6.7 1.2	179 17.6
Advisor-Managers	5	67 77.9 6.6	6 7.0 0.6	8 9.3 0.8	5 5.8 0.5	86 8.5
Supervisors	6	101 75.9 9.9	9 6.8 0.9	10 7.5 1.0	13 9.8 1.3	133 13.1
Semi-Autonomous	7	45 71.4 4.4	7 11.1 0.7	3 4.8 0.3	8 12.7 0.8	63 6.2
Workers	8	252 71.4 24.8	23 6.5 2.3	29 8.2 2.9	49 13.9 4.8	353 34.7
Column N		683	72	79	183	1017
Total %		67.2	7.1	7.8	18.0	100.0

large professional practices, such as accountants, lawyers etc., who again own the business and employ considerable numbers of people, and finally "traditional" owners who own various forms of company and employ considerable numbers of staff. The small employers and self-employed are equally spread among certain clusters. In New Zealand in particular, small farmers involved in dairying and sharemilkers represent a considerable concentration of small owners, and in the city, as may well be true elsewhere, self-employed trades people - carpenters, plumbers etc. and shopkeepers make up the largest number.

The working class appear somewhat over-represented in the urban sector, under-represented in the rural sector. Managerial and Supervisory locations are over-represented in the urban sector, while the owning classes are under-represented here, and as we have said above, grossly over-represented in the rural sector. Semi-autonomous employees, few in number, appear to concentrate in urban areas.

#### CLASS AND ETHNICITY

Table Six represents results of ethnic self-identification by class. Respondents were asked with which ethnic group they identified, and a list of options - Pakeha, Maori, Samoan, Tokelau Islander, Cook Islander, and an 'Agnostic' category were presented. Several interesting results are worthy of note. A sizeable group of white New Zealanders refused to be categorised by ethnic identity, and this appears to have little relation to class. (Numbers are too small in most instances to make clear inferences.) It is no surprise that Maori and Pacific Islanders have only nominal representation in the owning classes (3 out of 203), and predominate in the working class. Those who identify as Pakeha New Zealanders clearly form a class structural map which is a mirror image, overwhelming all owning classes, and being less dominant as the degree of ownership and control lessens. While numbers are not adequate in each category for individual comparison, the pattern of interaction between class and ethnicity is clear.

TABLE SIX  
CLASS BY ETHNICITY

	Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	No Data	Pakeha	Maori	Pac. Is. Groups	No Ethnic I.D.	Other	Row Total
<u>Class:</u>								
Bourgeois	1	0	27	1	0	1	1	30
		0.0	90.0	3.3	0.0	3.3	3.3	2.9
		0.0	3.4	1.5	0.0	1.5	1.4	
		0.0	2.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	
Small Employers	2	0	72	1	0	3	5	81
		0.0	88.9	1.2	0.0	3.7	6.2	8.0
		0.0	9.1	1.5	0.0	4.4	7.0	
		0.0	7.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.5	
Petty Bourgeois	3	0	76	1	0	8	7	92
		0.0	82.6	1.1	0.0	8.7	7.6	9.0
		0.0	9.7	1.5	0.0	11.8	9.9	
		0.0	7.5	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.7	
Managers	4	0	143	7	2	17	10	179
		0.0	79.9	3.9	1.1	9.5	5.6	17.6
		0.0	18.2	10.8	8.0	25.0	14.1	
		0.0	14.1	0.7	0.2	1.7	1.0	
Advisor-Managers	5	0	65	4	1	7	9	86
		0.0	75.6	4.7	1.2	8.1	10.5	8.5
		0.0	8.3	6.2	4.0	10.3	12.7	
		0.0	6.4	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.9	
Supervisors	6	1	101	12	5	8	6	133
		0.8	75.9	9.0	3.8	6.0	4.5	13.1
		100.0	12.8	18.5	20.0	11.8	8.5	
		0.1	9.9	1.2	0.5	0.8	0.6	
Semi-Autonomous	7	0	49	4	1	4	5	63
		0.0	77.8	6.3	1.6	6.3	7.9	6.2
		0.0	6.2	6.2	4.0	5.9	7.0	
		0.0	4.8	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.5	
Workers	8	0	254	35	16	20	28	353
		0.0	72.0	9.9	4.5	5.7	7.9	34.7
		0.0	32.3	53.8	64.0	29.4	39.4	
		0.0	25.0	3.4	1.6	2.0	2.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		1 0.1	787 77.4	65 6.4	25 2.5	68 6.7	71 7.0	1017 100.0

Table 7 CLASS BY SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	Agriculture	Mining Manufacturing Industry	Construction Industry	Commerce	Transport	Public Service <sup>1</sup>	Personal Service, Entertainment	ROW TOTAL	
<u>Class</u>									
Bourgeois	1	10	4	2	12	0	0	2	30
		33.3	13.3	6.7	40.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.9
		10.3	2.1	5.8	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.1	
		1.0	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	
Small Employers	2	23	24	2	25	2	0	5	81
		28.4	29.6	2.5	30.9	2.5	0.0	6.2	8.0
		23.7	12.7	5.8	7.6	8.3	0.0	7.8	
		2.3	2.4	0.2	2.5	0.2	0.0	0.5	
Petty Bourgeois	3	22	24	11	17	2	0	16	92
		23.9	26.1	12.0	18.5	2.2	0.0	17.4	9.0
		22.7	12.7	32.4	5.1	8.3	0.0	25.0	
		2.2	2.4	1.1	1.7	0.2	0.0	1.6	
Managers	4	12	26	3	60	2	68	8	179
		6.7	14.5	1.7	33.5	1.1	38.0	4.5	17.6
		12.4	13.8	8.8	18.1	8.3	24.5	12.5	
		1.2	2.6	0.3	5.9	0.2	6.7	0.8	
Advisor Managers	5	3	17	2	31	4	26	3	86
		3.5	19.8	2.3	36.0	4.7	30.2	3.5	8.5
		3.1	9.0	5.8	9.4	16.7	9.4	4.7	
		0.3	1.7	0.2	3.0	0.4	2.6	0.3	
Supervisors	6	7	22	3	39	1	57	4	133
		5.3	16.5	2.3	29.3	0.8	42.9	3.0	13.1
		7.2	11.6	8.8	11.8	4.2	20.5	6.3	
		0.7	2.2	0.3	3.8	0.1	5.6	0.4	
Semi-Autonomous	7	1	4	2	14	1	36	5	63
		1.6	6.3	3.2	22.2	1.6	57.1	7.9	6.2
		1.0	2.1	5.8	4.2	4.2	12.9	7.8	
		0.1	0.4	0.2	1.4	0.1	3.5	0.5	
Workers	8	19	68	9	133	12	91	21	353
		5.4	19.3	2.5	37.7	3.4	25.8	5.9	34.7
		19.6	36.0	26.5	40.2	50.0	32.7	32.8	
		1.9	6.7	0.9	13.1	1.2	8.9	2.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		97	189	34	331	24	278	64	1017
		9.5	18.6	3.3	32.6	2.4	27.3	6.3	100.0

Footnote 1: Includes central and local state employees, and employees of state run corporations.

## CLASS AND BUSINESS GROUP

Finally, table seven indicates the class composition of various industries. A predominance of owning classes in agriculture (between almost a quarter to a third depending on category) is not surprising, nor the sizeable proportion of semi-autonomous employees in the state. 36.0% of people working in mining and manufacturing are working class, close to the overall figure of 34.7%, but in commerce the figures reaches 40.2% and it is as low as 19.6% in agriculture (though again numbers are small here). Among managers, advisor-managers and supervisors, specific concentrations are to be found in commerce and the state, lower proportions elsewhere. The structural relations of class within different sectors of the economy is thus quite marked, and, as is indicated in the coming sections, is of considerable interest.

## CLASS IN NEW ZEALAND

In comparison to Sweden and the United States, the New Zealand working class is somewhat smaller as a percentage of the total working population.<sup>6</sup> The American researchers estimate their working class to be between 35.2% and 56.7% depending on the rigour of criteria to be applied. Our present best estimate is 34.7%.

The difference in the overall class picture presents some provocative implications. It has long been argued that the New Zealand State has encouraged the small entrepreneur and landholder through a battery of policies from the earliest days of colonial settlement. Policies designed to "get people onto the land", usually white male settlers, has led to high levels of small landownership, and hence, through the habit of employing casual and permanent labour, into the owning class. The percentage of "real" bourgeoisie is thus inflated by two factors:

1. Concentrations of the bourgeoisie in relatively small farms with seasonal clusters of workers being employed; and

2. Ownership and control of land by couples which, by talking to income earners and cohabitees, gives a 'double count' for each farm.

The number of small employers is comparable to those figures in the United States (6.0%, U.S., vs 8.0%, N.Z.), but again the petty bourgeois category is a significantly larger group in New Zealand (9.0%) compared to the United States (6.8%). Again the owner farmer appears to account for this figure. We took considerable trouble, by case-by-case analysis, to distinguish the self-employed family farm, in which husband and wife are the sole workers, from the small farm on which labour is regularly employed, to the larger concerns where labour in good numbers is employed. Thus we are relatively confident of these distinctions. However, again because both husbands and wives were interviewed, the number residing here may be in part a result of the sampling procedure. It will be a result in part only, because the same upward biases will be true for each class, and can only explain the upward bias in the owning class if it occurs at higher rates within this category. Indeed, it is our assertion that the sampling procedures used in other surveys are very considerably disadvantaged in comparison to the present study. Surveys which concentrate on the individual as the unit of analysis make the obviously implicit assumption that the individual acts directly on the economy as an agent separate from household structure. To be able to investigate family gender and class issues together, it is necessary to conceptualise the household unit in sampling, and investigate the characteristics of those who support and help to support the economic viability of the family structure. This entails interviews with both main income earner and cohabitee, in order to establish the contours of the household social structure, as well as its relation to the class structure. This was a very costly procedure: in 66 households we were able to obtain data from only one respondent. Reluctantly, according to our own criteria, we discarded this material.

Turning to the contradictory class positions, managers, advisor-managers and supervisors account for nearly 40% of the paid working population. The managerial group is significantly larger than the same group in the United States (17.6% vs 12.3%), perhaps reflecting the differential structure of business between the two countries. Advisor-managers are also more common in New Zealand (8.5% vs 4.5%), while proportions of supervisors are comparable. Overall these positions located between the polarities constitute a larger fraction of the total work force than elsewhere.

Semi-autonomous workers are somewhat less common in New Zealand (6.2% vs 9.5%), while the residual working class is considerably fewer in number than the U.S. (34.7% vs 46.3%). This means that about a third of people working have no control over their work, nor little contribution to planning tasks and don't supervise others. It also means that fewer workers are left to their own devices in their work than elsewhere. However, the sizeable contradictory group between owners and workers also suggests a larger number of people who do exert influence and control at work.

**CONCLUSION:** Future directions for research.

This report has reviewed a systematic materialist logic for establishing a class structural map of the New Zealand work force, and reported on the results of a national survey to generate the information for this theoretical logic. As we have reported above, the results suggest some interesting characteristics of the New Zealand Class Structure. The implications for further research can be summarised under several headings.

#### 1. THE SPECIAL SHAPE OF THE NEW ZEALAND CLASS STRUCTURE.

Do the variations in class locations between the United States and New Zealand reflect qualitative differences in the systems of domination and appropriation in the two countries resulting from widely variant forms of productive and state organisations? Further work to establish the relations in the workplace within organisations would be helpful. Even with present information on the size of business and the detailed material we have on decision-making, authority and hierarchy, we will be able to make detailed comparisons between countries which should illuminate this issue.

## 2. GENDER AND CLASS ISSUES

The particular form of sampling used enabled a gender-balanced set of responses to be generated. However, a series of issues relating gender to class need to be addressed. Gender imbalances within classes were expected and evident in the results. There still remains the issue of variant theorisations of gender and class and their manifestation in the class structural map. One way to adjudicate between alternative theorising will be to establish the logics of ideology which respondents gave to the attitudinal section of the questionnaire, and then to map these back onto the class structure to illuminate various conceptualisations of gender and class. One very obvious implication of our preliminary analysis of the attitudinal data is that men and women living in the same house generate ideological logics which cannot be neatly read off main income earners class position, nor yet (as far as we can see) from the class position of both parties (in those cases where both are in paid employment). The key question then, and a recurring one in sociology, is to ask how much structural properties of capitalism generate ideology, how gender and class interact to form such an ideology and which other forces, ethnic, historical or biographical are at work in the dialectical process.

A debate of particular importance has recently occurred in the United Kingdom in the Journal 'Sociology' (1983, 1984). John Goldthorpe, supporting the conventionalist view, has argued for a class analysis of families through main income earner alone. The debate is to be engaged by researchers in New Zealand and elsewhere in a book to be published in 1986, yet to be titled, which will offer data to oppose this view.

## 3. CLASS BIOGRAPHY AND CLASS STRUCTURE

One immediate cluster of factors which come to mind in explaining ideological structures, both from the orthodox socialisation literature and the radical literature on the reproduction of labour power, is the role of biography and class background. The survey generated information on the class position of fathers and mothers in order to establish base data for such an analysis. Clearly, then, class position of parents may intervene

to create ideological frameworks, and this is an obvious area for investigation. In addition, data on community position, close friendship, and network structure is also available which bear on these central questions and other areas for further work.

#### 4. POLITICAL ACTION AND CLASS POSITION

One of the classical proposals established by Marx relates subjective and objective elements of class to the propensity for political action within capitalism. The present survey allows us to establish degree of political involvement, level of involvement with trade unions, attitudes to political issues and position in the class structure. Of particular interest in New Zealand is the role of the petty bourgeoisie, who are alleged to have played a pivotal role in the rise of the Liberal government in the 1890's as well as the ascendance of the first Labour government in 1935. Their particular dispositions in politics are therefore of paramount importance. The division among the working class along these dimensions offers perhaps the most critical area of investigation; what are the factors that cause the working class to be divided and are these political and ideological divisions explicable in terms of intermediate factors. Among the middle contradictory group, it is essential to know what political and ideological groupings emerge. If, as Poulantzas says, the state is the condensation of class conflict, where are the subjective lines of division, and how do they relate to levels in managerial hierarchy? In particular, can it be said that a new petty bourgeoisie is to be found in these contradictory locations, who may have some political and ideological sympathies with the traditional petty bourgeoisie? Again, broad areas of research lie open.

#### 5. SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF CLASS POSITION

By following a systematic materialist logic, we did not include a series of catch-all questions in relation to access to resources. However certain specific implications of class position are nonetheless evident; return, per hour of work in dollar terms, seems closely connected to class position

in interesting ways. Return to wage-earners in dollar terms by level of educational achievement also appears powerfully influenced by class, a topic investigated by Wright in earlier work. It might be fruitful to examine basic demographic features such as family size, number of child dependents and level of parental dependence by class.

## 6. ETHNICITY AND CLASS

While the paucity of cases relating to ethnic minorities allows little unambiguous generalisation to be made, certain preliminary observations can be noted. We used a self-identification question to ask whether people identified with one ethnic group or another. The largest group who resisted ethnic identification were New Zealand caucasians who refused to be labelled with the term "pakeha" preferring white New Zealander instead. Within that group identified as Maori, a polarity of ideological logics towards ethnicity emerges, one group allowing agency arguments to account for Maori unemployment, another vigorously critical of the structure of white capitalism. Whether these views represent differences in age structure or gender, as well as class position remains to be examined.

These comments are directed towards generating interest in further work on the class structure of New Zealand. This first report will be available from the Sociology Department at Massey University by request. We gladly offer any help and guidance which potential researchers may need, and we look forward to their help, advice and comments. The broad areas of future research will be followed by the authors and other researchers at Massey, and we hope to initiate a program of publication on the New Zealand Class Structure. Later this year the New Zealand data will be merged with data on the class structure of several other countries; at present the United States, Sweden and Finland. A large group of countries including Britain, France and Australia are presently collecting data and this will be added later. This offers the further prospect of most interesting comparative work.

In the immediate future, we hope to establish a systematic programme of research and publication on the issue of social class in New Zealand. This year, we intend publishing WORKING PAPER II, on class and gender, and in

the new year Peter Chrisp will complete a major work on class and class consciousness. A fourth working paper, providing a detailed review of class analysis in New Zealand, is expected in 1986.

## FOOTNOTES

1. 1,000 households were sampled in a multi-stage cluster sample. 125 startpoints were distributed on the basis of populations in the 13 statistical areas of New Zealand, then according to population in major urban areas, secondary urban areas, minor urban area and rural areas, using 1981 census figures and definitions. This generated 1,663 eligible adults, with a response rate of 81.1%. It should be made very clear as well that this survey methodology has very little in common with traditional positivist accounts found in earlier surveys of class. Instead, it depends on what the literature terms post-structuralist epistemology, of which the primary features include the assertions that "facts are never innocent" but the product of human activity. The implications of this assertion for the analysis in question are clearly evident in the theoretical basis for the question structure each question being theoretically grounded in a broadly-relational theory of class. It also asserts that certain structural properties of capitalist process are broadly (and only broadly) established in all capitalist social formations, yet each society generates its own peculiar forms of class structure and class consciousness, and that a material world exists (and is causal) independent of individual consciousness, though by no means independent of class action. Post-structuralism seeks to overcome the so-called excesses of Althusser's structuralism in which, as one writer puts it, actors in the social work are viewed as "dupes or puppets" and recovers the role of class struggle in class structural accounts. This is particularly evident in work which concentrates on the relation of politics to class structure (see, for example Wright, 1978, Bhaskar, 1975, Benton, 1984, Sayer 1984 for discussion of epistemological matters, and working papers eight and nine for the latter topic).
2. See G. Ahrne, working paper number 4, pages 3ff.
3. This excludes small employers.
4. See G. Ahrne, op cit. p. 10.
5. This compares to the 1984 yearbook figures of 20.9% (1981 census, New Zealand Official Yearbook, p. 947) based on full-time equivalents for some categories. Our estimate is marginally higher because we include all paid workers with more than eight hours a week as full-time state workers.
6. These preliminary results must be treated with caution, however, as these figures are not directly comparable, owing to variations in sampling techniques. However, sample weightings of the N.Z. population which compare directly with U.S. and Swedish figures appear to support the general picture of a small working class in New Zealand.

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APPENDIX ONE

THE NEW ZEALAND  
QUESTIONNAIRE

## INTERNATIONAL PROJECT ON JOBS AND ATTITUDES

## THE NEW ZEALAND RURAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer ID .....

Address (be precise) .....

.....

.....

Interviewee ID .....

INTRODUCTION

- Working in paid employment (i.e. more than 8 hours per week)  
How many hours ..... - Start at Q.1
- Retired/semi-retired - Start at Q.36(c)
- Employed at home (domestic labour/housewife) - Start at Q.36(d)
- Unemployed - How long? .....
- \* more than one year - Start at Q.36(e)
- \* less than one year - Start at Q.1
- (answer employment questions in respect to last job)
- Part owner of farm but unpaid - Start at Q.1 - Q.14 then go to Q.36(f).
- Others - Start at Q.36(f).

Most questions should be answered by putting a cross in the square next to the answer alternative which is most suitable. Some questions should be answered in writing, but in brief.

The questions which are not "ringed in" should be answered by everyone.

For the "ringed in" questions - follow the directions by the first question.

1. First we would like to know your general views towards work. Please say which of the following two jobs you would rather have:

- a moderately interesting and enjoyable job with very high pay; or
- an extremely interesting and enjoyable job with only average pay.

2. What kind of work do you do at present? Describe as clearly as possible.

-----  
 -----  
 -----

3. What are your main duties?

-----  
 -----

4. What kind of business or organisation is that in? That is, what do they make or do? (Probe for type of farm.)

-----  
 -----

5. Are you employed by someone else, are you self-employed?

- employed by someone
- self-employed

6. If they are employed in a private firm or on a farm. Are you owner or part-owner of this firm/farm?

- Yes
  - No
- GO TO Q. 15

7. If they are an owner or part-owner in a business or a farm.

Which term best describes the ownership of your business or farm:

- sole owner
- other non-family owners
- family owned
- tenant
- other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

8. If there is more than one owner Approximately how much do you own?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ percent

9. Do you just own stock in this business or are you an actual partner, e.g., do you make decisions about the leadership and execution of the business/farm?

- Actual partner
- Just own shares

If they just own shares, move on to Question 15.

10. About how many people are employed in this business/farm on a permanent basis?

\_\_\_\_\_ number employed

11. About how many people are employed on a casual or seasonal basis?

\_\_\_\_\_ number employed. For how long? \_\_\_\_\_

12. For how long have you or your family been an owner of this business/farm?

\_\_\_\_\_ years or \_\_\_\_\_ months.

13. Can you run this business through some form of lease, franchise or similar?

- No
- Yes, franchise
- Yes, lease
- Yes, contracted to processor
- Yes.
- Other - How? \_\_\_\_\_

14. If you were to sell this business/farm about what would you expect to get from it?

\_\_\_\_\_ dollars.

14(a) If a farm owner

Do you receive subsidies from government

- No
- Yes - About what % of your income? \_\_\_\_\_ %

15. To those who are employed.  
What is the official name of the business, firm or organisation for whom you are working?

-----  
IF GOVERNMENT, SPECIFY LOCAL OR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT  
-----

16. Is this part of a bigger concern or organisation with a different name?

No  
 Yes, What is it's name? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Does the company, the firm or the organisation for which you work have more than one location (that is, other divisions, branches, offices, shops or similar)?

No  
 Yes

18. About how many people are employed in the entire business, firm or organisation for which you work?

Fewer than 10  
 10 - 50  
 51 - 100  
 101 - 500  
 501 - 1,000  
 1,000 - 10,000  
 More than 10,000

QUESTION 19 DOES NOT APPEAR IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

20. As far as you know, does your company, or organisation for which you work, regularly receive any funding from or do business with central or local government. (If you are employed by central or local government, you can ignore this question.)

Yes, receives funds  
 Yes, does business with  
 Yes, receives funds and does business with  
 No, neither  Don't Know

If "yes". About what percentage of the total business or funding would that be?

----- percent

If you cannot give figures, can you say if it is more or less half?

More than half  
 Less than half

21. Do you have a second job over and above your ordinary work?

Yes  
 No

TO THOSE WHO HAVE A SECOND JOB

22. About how many hours do you usually work per week including overtime?

----- hours

23. What sort of job is it? Describe as clearly as possible.

-----  
-----

24. What kind of business or industry is that in? That is, what do they make or do?

-----  
-----

25. In your second job, are you employed by someone or self-employed?

Employed  
 Self-employed

26. About how many hours per week do you work in your second job?

----- hours

27. Questions to be asked of all employed (those who do not have their own business or farm.

These questions deal with the main tasks in your main job. First, is yours a job where you are required to design important aspects of your own work and put your own ideas into practice. Or is yours a job in which you are not required to design important aspects of work or to put your ideas into practice, except in minor detail.

No, designing of work is not required  
 Yes, designing of work is required

If you answered "yes". Can you give an example on how you plan your duties and execute your ideas.

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

28. Here are a number of work activities. For each one, please tell if you can do this on your job. Can you:

	YES	NO
Decide when to come to work and when to leave work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Take a day off from work without losing pay or having to claim vacation time, sick leave or make up time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Considerably slow down your pace of work when you want to? (Can you do this?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decide on your own to introduce a new task or work assignment that you will do on your job? (Can you do this?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Which of the following best describes the position which you hold within your business or organisation? Would it be managerial position, a supervisory position or a non-management position.

- Non-management position
- Supervisory
- Managerial

If you belong to the management. Would you characterise your position as:

- Top manager
- Upper manager
- Middle manager
- Lower manager

30. As an official part of your main job, do you supervise the work of other employees or tell other employees what to do?

- Yes
- No

If no. Have you ever had such a job?

- Yes
- No

31. To those who have some form of supervisory job. How many people do you directly supervise?

----- number of people

If there is only one person. What are this person's main activities?

-----

Does this person have subordinates?

- Yes
- No

32. As part of your job are you directly responsible for any or some of the following:

	YES	NO
Deciding which tasks or work assignments should be performed by your subordinate.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decide what procedures, tools or materials your subordinate should use.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decide how fast they should work, how long they should work or how much they have to get done?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. As part of your job, can you influence pay, promotion or discipline of the people you supervise? If you have such influence is it you or someone else who has the greatest influence?

	No, I have no influence	Yes, I have influence, but someone else has the greatest influence	Yes, I have the greatest influence myself
Granting a pay rise or promotion to a subordinate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Preventing a subordinate from getting a pay rise or promotion because of poor work or misbehaviour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dismissing or suspending a subordinate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Issuing a formal warning to a subordinate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. In an organisation, decisions have to be made about such things as products or services delivered, number of people employed, budgets etc. Do you participate in making these kinds of decisions, or even provide advice about them.

- No
- Yes

35. To you who participate in decisions about the running of your work place as a whole.

This question deals with decisions which can influence conditions at your specific place of work.

Below are some forms of decisions.

Firstly, are you in any way involved? If that is the case, do you personally make the decision, are you a voting member in a group, do you make the decision subject to approval or do you provide advice to the person who actually makes the decision?

("Ring" to be continued next page)

35. (continued)

	Do not take part in decision	Make decision yourself	Make decision as voting member of group	Make decision subject to approval	Provide advice
a) Decisions to increase or decrease number of people employed in the place where you work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Policy decisions to significantly change the products or services delivered by your place of work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Decision to change the pace of work or amount of work which should be performed in your work place as a whole or as a major part of it.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Policy decisions to significantly change the basic methods or procedures of work used in a major part of your work place.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Decisions concerning the budget at the place of your work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Decision about the size of the budget.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) General policy decision about the distribution of funds to different posts at your place of work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Do you take part in any other decision which you think is important at your work?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) If that is the case, what?					

36. A

**TO THOSE WHO ARE SELF-EMPLOYED** (own business or farm)

Did you have another job before this one? Yes  No

What was that job? \_\_\_\_\_

Were you self-employed?

Did you work for someone else?

---

**IF SELF EMPLOYED**

Did you have any employees? \_\_\_\_\_

How many? \_\_\_\_\_

---

**IF EMPLOYED**

Did you occupy a management or supervisory position? No  Yes

(IF YES) Did you have any influence over pay, promotion or disciplining? \_\_\_\_\_

What were some of your main duties? (Probe for 'own ideas into practice'.)

-----

Did you have a job before this last one? Yes  No

Employed  or self employed?

Have you ever been unemployed? Yes  No

How many times? \_\_\_\_\_ For how long? \_\_\_\_\_  
(estimate) (total)

36. B

**TO THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED**

Did you have a job before this one? Yes  No

What was that occupation(Probe) \_\_\_\_\_

Were you working for yourself or someone else? \_\_\_\_\_

---

**IF SELF-EMPLOYED**

Did you have any employees? Yes  No  How Many \_\_\_\_\_

---

**IF EMPLOYED**

Did you occupy a management or supervisory position?  
No  Yes

Did you have any influence over pay, promotion or disciplining?  
Yes  No

What were some of your main duties?(Probe for 'putting ideas into practice!')

-----

Did you have a job before this last one? No  Yes

Employed?  Self Employed?

Have you ever been unemployed? Yes  No

How many times? \_\_\_\_\_ For how long? \_\_\_\_\_  
(estimate) (total.)

36. C

TO THOSE RETIRED OR SEMI-RETIRED

Can you think of your lifetimes' main job? What was that job?-----

Were you self employed?  Did you work for someone else?

FOR THOSE WHO WERE SELF-EMPLOYED

Did you have any employees?

No  Yes  How Many?-----

FOR THOSE WHO WERE EMPLOYED BY SOMEONE ELSE

Did you occupy a managerial or supervisory position  
Yes  No

IF YES  
Did you have influence over pay, promotion or disciplining?

Yes  No

What were some of your main duties?(Probe for own ideas into practice.)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

36. D

TO THOSE EMPLOYED AT HOME (Domestic Labour/Housewife)

How long is it since you were in paid employment?  
\_\_\_\_\_ years Never

What was that job? \_\_\_\_\_

Were you self-employed?   
Did you work for someone else?

IF SELF-EMPLOYED

Did you have any employees? Yes  No

IF YES , How Many ? \_\_\_\_\_

FOR THOSE EMPLOYED BY SOMEONE ELSE

Did you occupy a supervisory or management position?  
No  Yes

IF YES  
Did you have any influence over pay, promotion or disciplining?

Yes  No

What were some of your main duties?(Probe for 'own ideas into practice) ,  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

36. E

FOR THOSE WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED MORE THAN ONE YEAR

Have you ever had a job? Yes  No

What was that job? \_\_\_\_\_

Were you self-employed?   
or Did you work for someone else?

FOR THOSE WHO WERE SELF EMPLOYED

Did you have employees?  Yes. How Many? \_\_\_\_\_  
No

FOR THOSE WHO WERE EMPLOYED BY SOMEONE ELSE

Did you occupy a supervisory or management position?

No   
Yes

IF YES  
Did you have any influence over pay, promotion or disciplining?  
Yes   
No

What were some of your main duties? (Probe for 'own ideas into practice.)  
-----  
-----

Did you have a job before this last one ?

No  Yes  Employed  Self-Employed

36. F

OTHERS (Voluntary workers etc.)

Have you ever had a paid job? Yes  No

What was this? \_\_\_\_\_

Were you self-employed?   
or Did you work for someone else?

FOR THOSE WHO WERE SELF-EMPLOYED

Did you have any employees?  Yes How many? \_\_\_\_\_  
No

FOR THOSE WHO WERE EMPLOYED BY SOMEONE ELSE

Did you occupy a supervisory or managerial position?

No   
Yes

IF YES  
Did you have any influence over pay, promotion or disciplining?

Yes   
No

What were some of your main duties?(Probe for 'own ideas into practice.')

37. Here are a few statements about the economy, society and family. For each of the following statements can you say if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Companies benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) In any industrial society it will always be necessary to have a division between those experts who make decisions and people who carry out those decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) During a strike, management should be prohibited by law from hiring workers to take the place of strikers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) It is possible for a modern society to run effectively without the profit motive. Why do you say that? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) If given the chance, the non-management employees at the place where you work could run things effectively without bosses.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Striking workers are generally justified in preventing strike breakers from entering the place of work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Big companies have far too much power in the New Zealand society today.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) To minimise crime the courts of law ought to condemn the criminals to harder penalties.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) To minimise crime, more education and better facilities for work should be provided.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) If parents were to bring up their children more strictly, there would be less crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) The unemployment problem cannot be solved until the government has control over the economy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Many people in New Zealand receive much less income than they deserve.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Even if there are abuses by some politicians, the New Zealand government serves the interests of most New Zealanders.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) It is better for the family if the husband is the principal breadwinner and the wife has primary responsibility for home and children. Why do you say that? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) If both husband and wife work, they should share equally in the housework and childcare.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p) There are not enough women in responsible positions in government positions and private business.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q) Ideally there should be as many women as men in important positions in government and business.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. (continued)

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
r) On average Maoris and Pacific Islanders have worse jobs, education and housing than white people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s) Per head of population, there are more Maoris and Pacific Islanders in prison than there should be. This is because of discrimination. Why do you say that? _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t) Maoris and Pacific Islanders should be given a more important place in New Zealand society in the future.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u) In New Zealand society, the people who are prepared to make the effort can succeed. This success is regardless of their social background.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions 39 - 45 do not appear in this questionnaire.

46. If you are a union member.  
Here is a list of four different areas of union activities. For each can you tell if your union branch pays a great deal of attention to this issue, some attention or almost no attention.

	A great deal	Some	Almost none
a) Improve working and safety conditions at the place where you work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Prevent lay-offs and plant closings.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Increase employee participation in work place conditions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Oppose racial or sexual discrimination in the work place.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. Have you at present or previously been a union official?

No

Yes

48. Have you at any time taken part in an organised strike, work-conflict or "lock-out"? Please state below.

- a) A strike organised by a union.
- b) Lock-out.

Taken part	Not taken part
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54. If you made the effort, could you get a significant promotion?

YES  NO

55. Would you like a significant promotion?

YES  NO

For those who are working/have worked.

49. In the neighbourhood where you live, are there any who work at the same place as you do? Would that be many, just a few or none at all?

Many  
 Just a few  
 None at all

50. How much time outside of work do you spend with your workmates?

A lot of time  
 Some time  
 Almost none at all

51. Which of the following statements agree best with how you know your workmates?

I have close friends at work.  
 I have friends at work but I would not consider them close friends.  
 I only have acquaintances at work.

N.B. THESE QUESTIONS (56-59) ARE FOR FIRST CONTACTED RESPONDENT ONLY.

56. What is your social status? Are you

Never married  
 Married or co-habiting?  
 Widow/widower?  
 Divorced?  
 Other. Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

For those who are cohabiting

57. Think of the total amount of time you and your spouse/partner spend with household chores and looking after children. How much do you do and how much does your spouse/partner do?

	How much do you do yourself?	How much does your spouse/partner do?
a) Cooking meals	-----%	-----%
b) Washing-up	-----%	-----%
c) Laundry	-----%	-----%
d) Weekly cleaning	-----%	-----%
e) Shopping for groceries	-----%	-----%
f) Care of children	-----%	-----%

52. For those who are working

About what percent of the family income for the March year 1984 came from your job?

Less than 25%       No family  
 About 25%  
 About 50%  
 About 75%  
 More than 75%

53. At your place of work, do more than half the people in positions like yours get significant promotions; that is, a change in job title that brings a significant increase in pay and responsibilities.

YES  NO

If NO would this be SOME A FEW NONE AT ALL who gets such promotions?

58. Questions about important decisions that families make. Can you for each say who has the greatest influence about these decisions or if you have equal influence.

	Who has the most say?		
	Respondent	Spouse/partner	Both equal
Decision about where to live.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decisions about economical questions, e.g., take out a loan or buy a car.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decision about the family budget, how much should go to the running of the house, recreation, new clothes, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

59. Do you have any children?

No  
 Yes

If "yes". Do any children live at home? In that case how many?

No  
 Yes. Number -----  
 How old are they? -----

60. Who provided most of the financial support in your family when you were growing up? Was it your father, your mother or someone else?

Father  
 Mother  
 Someone else? Who? -----

61. What was his/her main occupation? What kind of work did he/she do?

-----  
 -----

62. What kind of business or industry was that in? That is, what did they make or do?

-----  
 -----

63. When you were growing up was he/she (see Q.61) employed by someone or was he/she self-employed?

Employed all the time

Did your person (in Q.61) occupy a management or supervisor position while you were growing up?

Yes  
 No

Had own business or farm the whole time

Did he/she usually have employees?

Yes  
 No

Both employed and had own business/farm  
 Which of the following did he/she have for the longest period of time?

Employed  
 Own business/farm

64. If your father was the main supporter. Did your mother ever work for pay or in a family business from the time you were born until you were 16 years old?

No  
 Yes

For approx. how many years did she work?

----- years.

What sort of job did she have?

-----

65. Here are some questions about your closest friends and relatives but not your parents nor your husband/wife or co-habitant.\*

The first person you think of, is it a friend or a relative?

Friend  Relative

Is this person a man or a woman?

Man  Woman

What kind of work does he/she do? What is his/her occupation?

-----

Is he/she self-employed or does he/she work for someone else?

Self-employed  Employed

Does he/she occupy a management or supervisor position at the place where he/she works?

Yes  No

Own business/farm

Does he/she have any employees?

Yes  No

\* We want to know the occupation of two of your closest friends or relatives.

66. The second person you think of, is it a friend or a relative?

Friend  Relative

Is this person a man or a woman?

Man  Woman

What kind of work does he/she do? What is his/her occupation?

-----

Is he/she self-employed or does he/she work for someone else?

Self-employed  Employed

66. (continued)

Does he/she occupy a management or supervisor position at the place where he/she works?

Yes  No

Own business/farm

Does he/she have any employees?

Yes  No

67. Question 67 does not appear in this questionnaire.

71. What do you think of the political parties in New Zealand today? Can you tell how you feel about the four main parties and if you sympathise with their programmes to a large extent, to a certain extent or not at all.

	Large extent	Certain extent	Not at all
National Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social Credit Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Zealand Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socialist Unity Party or Communist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Values Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

72. A great deal has been discussed about government spending, that is on education, welfare, health, etc. How do you feel that the resources should be allocated?

	Increase a great deal	Increase somewhat	Same	Somewhat less	Great deal less
Allocation to education	<input type="checkbox"/>				
welfare	<input type="checkbox"/>				
health	<input type="checkbox"/>				

73. Imagine that workers in a major industry are out on strike over working conditions and wages. Which of the following outcomes would you like to see occur?

- The workers win their most important demands.
- The workers win some of their demands but make some concessions.
- The workers win only a few of their demands and make major concessions.
- The workers go back to work without winning any of their demands.

68. In the last year or so have you participated in any groups or organisations which are attempting to influence public officials, put forward an opinion in a question or participating in electoral politics?

Yes  
 No

74. Do you think of yourself as belonging to a particular social class?

Yes  
 No

69. If you have participated in such a group or organisation. What is the name of the group or organisation to which you have most belonged?

-----

70. What are the major issues with which this group is concerned?

-----

75. If you have answered "yes". Which class is that?

- Working class
- Middle class
- Upper middle class
- Other class? Specify -----

76. If you have answered "no". Many people say they belong to the working class, the middle class or the upper middle class. If you had to make a choice, which class would you say you would belong to.

Working class

Middle class

Upper middle class

77. What form of education have you had? State only your last qualification.

78. Where did you grow up, that is, in what region did you spend most of your growing up

-----

-----

79. What citizenship do you have?

-----

80. Do you identify yourself as :

White (pakeha New Zealander)

Maori

Samoan

Cook Islander

Tongan

Other ethnic group (specify) .....

No ethnic identification

81. If you are a New Zealand citizen. Have you ever had any other citizenship?

No

Yes

If "yes". In which country? .....

82. Which year were you born?

-----

83. How big was: (a) your income, (b) the family's combined income before tax in 1983? Was it:

	Your own income	The combined family income
Under \$10,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$10,000 & \$20,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$20,000 & \$30,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$30,000 & \$40,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$40,000 & \$60,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$60,000 & \$80,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between \$80,000 & \$100,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

84. How many people, including yourself, are dependent upon this family income for their support?

-----

-----

85. Did you or your family receive social welfare of any kind during 1983?

No

Yes

If "yes". Above what percentage of your total family income was that or how much was it counting in dollars.

----- percent of the family income

OR

----- dollars.

86. Did you or your family receive any income from the rent or sale of property in 1983? (This does not include income received from the selling of the own home in order to purchase another home).

No

Yes

If "yes". About what percentage of your total family income was that or how much was it counting in dollars.

----- percent of family income

OR

----- dollars.

87. Did you or your family receive any income from investments (other than real estate or bank savings) such as from stocks, bonds, dividends, profits from business?

<input type="checkbox"/>	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes

If "yes". About what percentage of your total family income was that?

----- percent of family income  
OR  
----- dollars.

88. Do you own your own home?

<input type="checkbox"/>	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes

Any other comments you'd like to make?

Thankyou very much for answering our questions.

INTERVIEWER TO COMPLETE

RESPONDENT MALE   
FEMALE

WAS THIS FIRST RESPONDENT AT HOUSE  
WAS THIS FIRST AND ONLY RESPONDENT AT HOUSE  
WAS THIS THE SECOND RESPONDENT AT HOUSE

Any other comments you want to add?

(In particular, unusual events during the interview, or consideration which the coders should know about which affect the quality of data.)

APPENDIX TWO

OPERATIONALISING SPECIFIC CLASSES

## APPENDIX 2

Operationalizing Specific Classes<sup>1</sup>

In this appendix we will examine the logic for each of the class locations in the class typology.

1. The Bourgeoisie and Small Employers

Because of the nature of social surveys, by necessity very few proper members of the bourgeoisie are ever actually included in the samples. Because of this, relatively few questions were included in the survey to capture various kinds of variations within this category. The bourgeois class is operationalized in this survey by two principal criteria:

1. self-employed and 2. number of employees. The problem, of course, is to specify the appropriate number of employees to distinguish between small employers - the contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie - and actual capitalists.

In practical terms this is not such a serious issue since there are so few respondents with more than two or three employees. As a result, for many of the statistical analysis it becomes necessary to merge small employers with large employers into a more diffuse "employer" class category.

2. Managers and Supervisors

The most complex part of the typology centres on the contradictory locations between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Three criteria were used to define these locations: Decisionmaking, Authority and Formal Hierarchical position.

a. Decisionmaking participation. Respondents were asked whether or not they participated in policy-making decisions in their work place, and if they responded affirmatively, they were then asked specific questions about forms of participation in eight different types of decisions dealing with budgets and investments, products, and various aspects of operation.

On each of these decisions, respondents could get one of these codes:

1 = directly participates in making the policy-decisions (i.e. they make the decision on their own authority, or they make it subject to approval from above, or they are a voting member of a group which makes the decision),

2 = provides advice to the decisionmakers, but does not directly participate in making the decisions,

3 = neither provides advice nor participates,

The responses to the initial general questions on decisionmaking and these specific questions were then aggregated into a simple three value variable:

DECISIONMAKING: 1 = participates directly in making at least one decision,

2 = does not participate in any decisions, but provides advice on at least one,

3 = nondecisionmaker.

1. Wright, working paper 2, Ahme, working paper 4.

For certain analysis we also make use of the specific kinds of decisions in which the respondent participates, but for the general class typology these distinctions are not included.

b. Authority. It turns out to be not so simple to ask a proper authority question. The typical question used on surveys is something like: "Do you supervise anyone on your job?" or "Do you have any subordinates on your job?" The problem with these types of questions is that they do not distinguish between someone who performs purely nominal supervisory functions, acting more as a transmitter of communications from above than as a wielder of even limited power, and positions which involve real authority. The head of a work team might answer "yes" to these questions without really having any power, over his/her head subordinates. To avoid these problems we ask a number of detailed questions about authority relations to construct an authority variable. The result is a variable with four values with the following interpretations:

AUTHORITY: 1 = sanctioning supervisor: a supervisor who is able to impose positive and/or negative sanctions on subordinates,  
 2 = task supervisor: a supervisor who cannot impose sanctions, but does give orders of various kinds,  
 3 = nominal supervisor: a supervisor who neither gives orders nor imposes sanctions,  
 4 = nonsupervisor: no subordinates of any sort, or supervises a single clerical subordinate (who in turn has no subordinates).

In the construction of class typologies, level 3 was generally combined into a broader nonsupervisor category with level 4.

c. Positions within the formal hierarchy. In addition to the questions about decisionmaking and authority, respondents were asked whether the position they held was classified as a managerial position, a supervisory position or a nonmanagement position. Initially this question was included in the survey as a kind of validation check on the supervisory questions, and indeed as expected there is a relatively close fit between positions which are called managerial or supervisory and actually being able to exercise supervisory powers. But the fit is not perfect, and thus we decided it was appropriate to include the formal hierarchy variable in the operational criteria for these class locations.

Once these different variables had been constructed, the problem was then to combine them into a general managerial-supervisory location variable. Here a number of critical theoretical choices had to be made. If we wanted to be highly restrictive in our definition of managers, we could restrict the managerial category to those positions which were unambiguously managerial on all three of these variables, i.e. positions which made decisions, which had real supervisory capacities and which were in the formal hierarchy. Similarly, the most restrictive definition of supervisors would be nondecisionmakers with real authority in

the formal hierarchy. On the other hand, if we wanted to be unrestricted, a manager would be anyone who made decisions regardless of how much real power was involved in the supervisory activity or whether the position was formally in the hierarchy or not.

In order to leave maximum flexibility, the strategy we adopted was to construct a general managerial location variable which contained all of these possibilities, and then to collapse this variable in different ways in order to examine various problems using broad and narrow definitions of these class locations. The version of that variable which will be used in most of this paper involves the following definitions:

- MANAGERIAL LOCATION: 1 = Manager: decisionmaker who are not managers or supervisors in the formal hierarchy and/or have real authority (values of 1 or 2 on the authority variable);
- 2 = Advisor-managers: advisors to decisionmakers who are in the hierarchy and/or have real authority;
- 3 = Nonmanagerial decisionmakers: decisionmakers who are neither in the hierarchy nor have any authority;
- 4 = Supervisors: nondecisionmakers with sanctioning authority or with both task authority and a supervisor/manager location in the formal hierarchy;
- 5 = nonmanagers, nonsupervisors, nondecisionmakers;

3. Semi-autonomous employees. While the actual construction of the variables to operationalize this class location is fairly simple, there are probably more problems with the validity of the measures employed than in any of the other aspects of the typology. Of the various possible aspects of "self-direction" within the labor process, the one that seemed most salient for defining the petty bourgeois character of certain employees positions was the capacity of the individual to plan and design significant aspects of their work and put their own ideas into practice on the job. The rationale behind this was derived in part from the work of Harry Braverman, who, building on themes present in various works of Marx, argues that the essential logic of Proletarianization is one of an increasing separation of conception and execution within the labor process. We therefore sought a measure of autonomy rooted in the extent to which conception was a self-directed activity within work.

Our final approach was to first pose the following very general questions:

"Now we have some questions about various aspects of your present job. First, is yours a job in which you are required to design important aspects of your work and to put your ideas into practice? Or is yours a job in which you are not required to design important aspects of your own work or put your own ideas into practice, except perhaps in minor details?"

Those respondents who claimed that they were required to design their own work were then

asked to give a typical concrete example of this. The interviewer had instructions to probe for specific details. We then develop a fairly elaborate coding system to code the examples. The essential logic of the coding was to give people a score based on how much self-direction we felt the example indicated and how confident we were in our judgement. The scale had the following values:

- AUTONOMY: 1 = HIGH autonomy: the example indicates an ability to design broad aspects of the job, engage in nonroutine problem solving on a regular basis and to put one's ideas into practice in a regular and pervasive way.
- 2 = Probably HIGH autonomy
- 3 = MODERATE autonomy: ability to design limited aspects of the job, engage in relatively routine forms of problem-solving and, within fairly well defined limits, put one's ideas into practice.
- 4 = probably MODERATE autonomy
- 5 = LOW autonomy: virtually no significant ability to plan aspects of the job, problem solving a marginal part of the job, and only in unusual circumstances can one put one's ideas into practice.
- 6 = NO AUTONOMY: the individual responds negatively to the initial filter questions.

Our overall strategy for operationalizing the semi-autonomous employee class location, then, was to use these examples as a way of correcting for subjective distortions by respondents who overestimate their capacity for self-direction within work. The assumption was that people who could really plan and design their work and put their ideas into practice would overwhelmingly say "yes" to the filter but that some people without such autonomy would claim to be self-directed. The examples were designed to correct for this. Approximately 35% of respondents who claim to have planning autonomy in the filter question were judged, on the basis of the example they provided to have no real autonomy in the work. (It was hard, however, to correct for the other subjective distortion, people who undertake their autonomy in the initial filter question.)

Again in the managerial location variable this autonomy scale enables us to adopt alternative operationalizations by collapsing the scale in different ways. For most of the present analysis we will consider semi-autonomous employees to be people outside of the managerial structure who have levels 1 - 3 on the scale.

4. Petty Bourgeoisie. The pure petty bourgeoisie is defined as positions which own their own means of production (self-employed) and employ no one. As soon as a single person is employed in at all a regular way, the social relations of production are transformed, for now a relation of domination is introduced into the production system.

Unfortunately in the questionnaire we developed for this study we made a slight wording error in the question about employees. The question was worded in the passive voice in the following manner "How many people are employed in this business?" From the responses it is fairly clear that at least some of the respondents with no employees responded "one", meaning

themselves. Since it is not possible to unambiguously identify these people, we will define the petty bourgeoisie as self-employed individuals with one or no employees. In practical terms it is improbable that this will make any important substantive differences in our analysis.

5. The Working Class. In terms of the formal construction of the typology, the working class is a residual category. That is all wage labourers are in a sense initially defined as workers, and then the various criteria discussed above are applied to take respondents out of the various working class and place them in various kinds of contradictory locations. After that procedure is completed, the remaining respondents are identified as workers. Since all of these criteria are interlocking the size of the working class depends upon how restrictive or expansive a set of criteria are used to define the various nonworking class locations.

Taking all these various operationalizations together we get the operational typology for class relations presented in the analysis above, these theoretical categories are the basis for the empirical analysis.

