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CLASS OF '84: CLASS STRUCTURE
AND CLASS AWARENESS
IN NEW ZEALAND, 1984

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ABSTRACT

In 1977, an American Sociologist, Eric Olin Wright, launched an international survey project which aimed to "investigate the contours of class structure and class consciousness in the western World." In 1983, the Social Science Research Fund Committee (SSRFC) funded the New Zealand component of the international project; the 'Jobs and Attitudes' survey. The unique aspect of these projects is the way that they integrate contemporary neo-Marxist theory with a survey technique, through a theoretically-designed questionnaire.

Drawing on this theory/data base, this thesis investigates the extent to which class consciousness has developed from the class structure in the specifically New Zealand context, 1984. The predominant finding is that there is a certain tendency for class consciousness to co-vary with class structure. This tendency is stronger for the owning classes - capitalists, small employers, petty capitalists - and weaker for the working class. This, it is argued, lends support to the conception that a class structure offers the potential for the development of consciousness, but does not fully determine class consciousness.

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PREFACE

As I have argued in State Papers (1984) the concept of 'class' has been calculatedly and systematically wiped from any sort of discussion of social events within New Zealand. Amongst the mainstream media, for example, there seems to be an explicit denial of the existence of a class structure. The handbook which sets out the style and format for the New Zealand Herald journalists, rules:

"when terms such as 'upper class', 'middle class' and 'working class' are used by speakers, official reporters, outside contributors and the like ... make sure the readers do not mistake them for the Herald's terms. Class distinctions which stratify New Zealanders must not otherwise be used"(Style Book, 1984; 26)"

This sentiment appears again; this time from Mike Minogue at a National Party conference. He claimed;

"Anyone who is still talking in terms of 'class warfare' and old theories of struggle and so forth, just isn't part of the modern world"(Knox and Taylor, 1979; 13)

Likewise, the history of our industrial relations is taught without the concept 'class', economic summits are run seemingly independent from class and children in our schools do not confront class. In a nutshell, the term class is absent from political interpretation within New Zealand.

This situation has not gone unnoticed. In recent years, and from a particular sector, there has been a burgeoning of class-based interpretations of specifically New Zealand events. Here we see, to name a few, John Martin looking at class in rural areas, Pat Walsh making 'class sense' of the history of industrial relations, Chris Wilkes (ed.) in In the Public Interest looking at health, work and housing all in terms of class; Rob Stevens on class, Bedggood on class, Olssen, Pitt, Maharey/O'Brien; the list continues.

This development must be seen, albeit optimistically, as a profoundly political event; the creation of a well-argued, well-evidenced 'discourse' of the left. A discourse, or body of writings and debate, is essential to aerate left ideas and to bring the consideration of alternative forms of social organisation into political discussions. A discourse is essential to make left ideas available, legitimate and popular.

This thesis must be seen in this light. It is a work which will join the left discourse. With its particular class interpretation of New Zealand it makes a specific contribution to left (and non-left) understandings.

Before getting on with the job, however, there is one thing I would like to note. Unfortunately much of the work of the academic left is plagued with the unaccessible wordage of European and American neo-Marxism. Terms such as 'equilibrium of compromise', 'in the last instance', 'overdetermination', are all vitally important for understanding the world, but only if you understand what they mean. Thus, as Cheyne argues in Sites (no.9; 59), it is an irony that those who are interested in the liberation of the masses tend to be understood by so few. So, the requirement here is for a meaningful discourse. Not a discourse that is elitist and can only be understood by a few select academics, but a discourse that many people can make sense of; activists, unionists, politicians and so forth, as well as academics. As Wright (1985,1) opens his new book (with the quote);

"you must learn to write in such a way that it will be easy as possible for your critics to know why they disagree with you."

The result of all this, therefore, is that this thesis is written with clarity and without the use of undefined specialist words. The use of specialist words is of course necessary - especially in the theory chapter (Chapter 1) - but these will not be introduced without some clarifying discussion. Further, the few sections that are specialist are sign-posted as such and, when necessary, I make technical notes in footnotes and appendices. To do this has not been

easy. In the past I have always found it easier to write with the wordage than without. Also, clarifications involve elaborations, which in turn makes a thesis longer; a dear price to pay. These are issues which I think every social science thesis student should confront.

INTRODUCTION

The most fundamental idea in this thesis is that the term 'class' has two theoretically separate components.

On the one hand there is a class structure, or range of work positions in a society. This simply refers to the large groups of people who are in a similar work situation. In this case, to say a person is in the working class is merely to acknowledge that they are employed, make few significant decisions at work and do not have a say in the hiring or firing of staff.

On the other hand there are the behaviours, activities and attitudes of the people in that class structure. This is the way that someone's work situation influences (or doesn't influence) how they go about their lives, what organisations they join, what they believe etc. There is one aspect of this second component of class which is of special interest to this thesis: class consciousness, the way that people think about their position in the class structure.

The question that this thesis investigates is the relationship between these two components of class, in the New Zealand context. In particular, does a person's membership in a class have any systematic impact on that person's class consciousness? In the New Zealand context, is there any evidence that class members have attitudes and awarenesses that are consistent with their class position?

The use and misuse of the term 'class' in the social sciences does not help us answer this question. As I argue in the Methods Chapter, 'class' has been confused with socio-economic status. Historians have reduced the term to an ambiguous descriptive category and amongst academics generally, there is a marked lack of precision when it comes to the use of the term class (see Calvert, 1982; Chrisp, 1984(b)). Apart from this terminological confusion there are also strong theoretical debates about the meaning of 'class'. In the Theory Chapter, I string these debates between E.P. Thompson and George Lukacs: while Thompson doesn't acknowledge class till he can 'see' it or 'feel' it, Lukacs envisages class as some sort of invisible historical missionary. These issues will become clearer in the

chapters to follow. The relevant aspect here is that an American sociologist, Eric Wright, has emerged from these confusions and debates to shed some light on the question of class and class consciousness.

In his particular quest, Wright has launched an international survey project which aims to 'investigate the contours of class structures and class formations' in various industrialised countries; one of which is New Zealand. Using the theoretically informed project questionnaire (which all countries have used), Chris Wilkes and myself surveyed 1000 New Zealand households late in 1984. This thesis is the first substantive piece of work to come from the data generated from within those households. The investigation into the relationship between class structure and class consciousness is organised in the following way:

In Chapter One I use some basic premises of Marxist theory to generate some propositions about class structure and class consciousness. After establishing the class structure as stemming simply from the way production is organised (from the employee, employer type relationship), we are then in a position to ask: 'what does this class structure mean for the way in which individual class members actually think? Theoretically there are some guidelines which can help us answer this question. It can be argued that a person's class position in a society makes some types of consciousness more likely than others. For example, we are not surprised if an employer has anti-union attitudes. This would reflect the potential threat that unions pose to his/her business. Relatedly, one would expect a worker to have more pro-union than anti-union attitudes. That is, given an individual's class position (their position in the workforce) it is possible to have certain theoretical 'expectations' about their likely consciousness.

However, as it stands, this is certainly a most extreme claim. There are both empirical (actual studies and observations) and theoretical reasons why this theoretical observation needs to be modified. Empirically, for example, we observe many working class people voting for the dominant class party (National). Theoretically we know about the circulation of pro status-quo ideas (Gramsci's hegemony). For

these reasons we must be very careful what we mean when we use this term 'expect'. The final conception that I settle on in this chapter is the idea that the class structure gives the potential for development of class consciousness. With this theory in place we can examine the extent to which the potential has been fulfilled. We can also examine the applicability of the theory in the New Zealand context.

Chapter Two details the New Zealand questionnaire survey. An important point in this chapter is philosophical (epistemological) distance that separates the class survey from those in the 'positivist' tradition of the 1960's. The crucial issue here is the incorporation of theory into the questionnaire design, and the theoretical handling of results. Also in this chapter, I go to some lengths to outline, and give credence to, the alternatives to the survey method; in particular, census-based research, historical research, and ethnography. The bulk of this chapter, though, is tied up sampling techniques, units of analysis, pilot studies, and so forth.

Chapter Three is dedicated to making the theory in Chapter One able to be examined by the method in Chapter Two. To this end, I develop a hypothesis that captures the classical Marxist notion that class consciousness has developed from the class structure. This is, of course, a 'devil's advocate' hypothesis; one that I expect to be refuted. In order to examine the hypothesis I systematically 'construct' the variables class structure and class consciousness, using specially designed questions from the questionnaire. The last section of this chapter is an account of the various statistical techniques used, and the statistical problems encountered.

Chapter Four is the nub of the thesis. The first section crosstabulates the class structure variable with each of the class consciousness variables ('class attitudes', 'party sympathies', 'class identifications'). This part of the analysis concludes that there is a definite tendency for class consciousness to co-vary with class structure. This tendency, however, is stronger amongst the owning classes and weaker amongst the working class. The second section controls for three possible interfering variables; gender,

age, and ethnicity. Within each of these variables the relationship between class structure and and consciousness is found to persist. The third section examines the relationship between class structure and a slightly different class consciousness variable, 'alternatives'.

In the conclusion I return to the theoretical issues of Chapter One. This involves recounting the theory, putting the results in the context of theory, adjudicating on the theory in the light of the results, and suggesting avenues for further research. The main thrust of the conclusion, and hence of this thesis, is that this theory is applicable, useful and legitimate in the New Zealand context.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I take each of the two components of class in turn. I first discuss what constitutes a class structure, then go on to spell out what implications this has for the consciousness of people in that class structure.

The crucial issue I am examining in this chapter is the theoretical relationship between class structure and class consciousness. If someone is in a class position in the class structure, are there any grounds to expect them to be aware of this position? In what way could a class member be aware of how they fit into the class structure?

CLASS STRUCTURE

This section is organised in the following way:

Firstly, I link the class structure to the way a society produces its goods and services. This illustrates that there are three central processes which are fundamental to class relations.

Secondly, in an abstract way, the division of labour gives rise to two basic classes, capitalists and workers, and a relationship between them which is exploitative. When this is analysed in a more detailed and less abstract way, we discover that there are not only two classes but a whole range of classes and a complex system of relationships between them. All classes can be identified by a particular mix of the three central processes of class relations.

Thirdly, there are various complications in theorising class in this way. I therefore spend some time clarifying the conception.

(1) PRODUCTION AND CLASS

This first step in this discussion must be some basic groundwork in what constitutes class.¹

Marx starts his argument with certain assumptions about the nature of people; 'homo faber' ('man' the worker) and so forth. We need not go as far back as that but we must go a certain way. Quite simply I will start with this proposition; humankind must produce in order to live. Production is basic to the provision of goods and services necessary for life. In discussing this, Neilson (1983, 19) defines production as:

¹ This basic groundwork is something sadly lacking in most uses of the word (See my comments on Olssen, Sinclair and Oliver in State Papers, 1984). Classes are not simply rankings of socio-economic status, the working class are not just manual workers, capitalists are not just anyone who happens to be rich. As we shall see, the term means something, qualitatively. Unspecified usage is ambiguous at least, misleading at most.

"directed labour activity in which man and tool effect an alteration to nature in order to create a human product."²

In most societies, historically and cross-culturally, the production process involves some sort of technical division of labour. In order to produce more with apparently less effort, members of a society will undergo some sort of job specialisation and co-operation in the act of production. This may be, for example, to the extent of the Japanese production lines, or in the forest gardening (Swidden) practices of tribes within the Amazon jungle.³

This technical division of labour is the basis from which emerges distinctly social 'relations of production'. Of this social aspect of production, Marx (1974,28) writes in Wage Labour and Capital:

"In production, men not only act upon nature but on one another. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging activities. In order to produce they enter into definite connections with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their actions on nature, their production take place."

That is to say, if someone has a particular job in society, or a particular set of skills, this means something socially. The technical division of labour has social implications. If we confine our discussion to capitalism we find that one of the major areas in which these social implications are felt is in the area of control

² It is with reluctance that I allow the word 'man' to appear in this quote and in other quotes to come. I accept arguments recently put forward which call for a language which reflects both genders, men and women. Hence, in this thesis you will also find words like 'humankind', 'his/her' etc.

³ See Magee, (1982, dialogue 2) for a discussion of these issues in more depth.

over the production processes. There are three dimensions of control.

(1) The control a person has over the physical means of production: whether one can direct the use of machinery, tools etc. Here, for example, a worker would have no control, a middle manager may have some control, and the top corporate executive and traditional capitalist would have full control. The members of the New Zealand 'Round Table', for example, could be seen to have full control over the physical means of production (NZ Times, 16.6.85)

(2) The control a person has over labour power. Here the manual worker probably has no control while the manager has partial control.

(3) The control a person has over investments and resource allocation. Once again the worker has no control and the capitalist has full control.⁴

Wright (1979(a), 73) argues that these three dimensions of control are the three basic components, or processes, of class relations. From the examples above we can see how classes (workers, capitalists etc.) are actually defined by the degree to which the people within them control the production processes. In this respect workers have no control in all three dimensions, managers may have control in some dimensions and capitalists have control in all dimensions.

The relationship between class position and control of production is quite an involved one: obviously each class has some sort of mix of each of the three processes. The next section elaborates on this relationship in some detail.

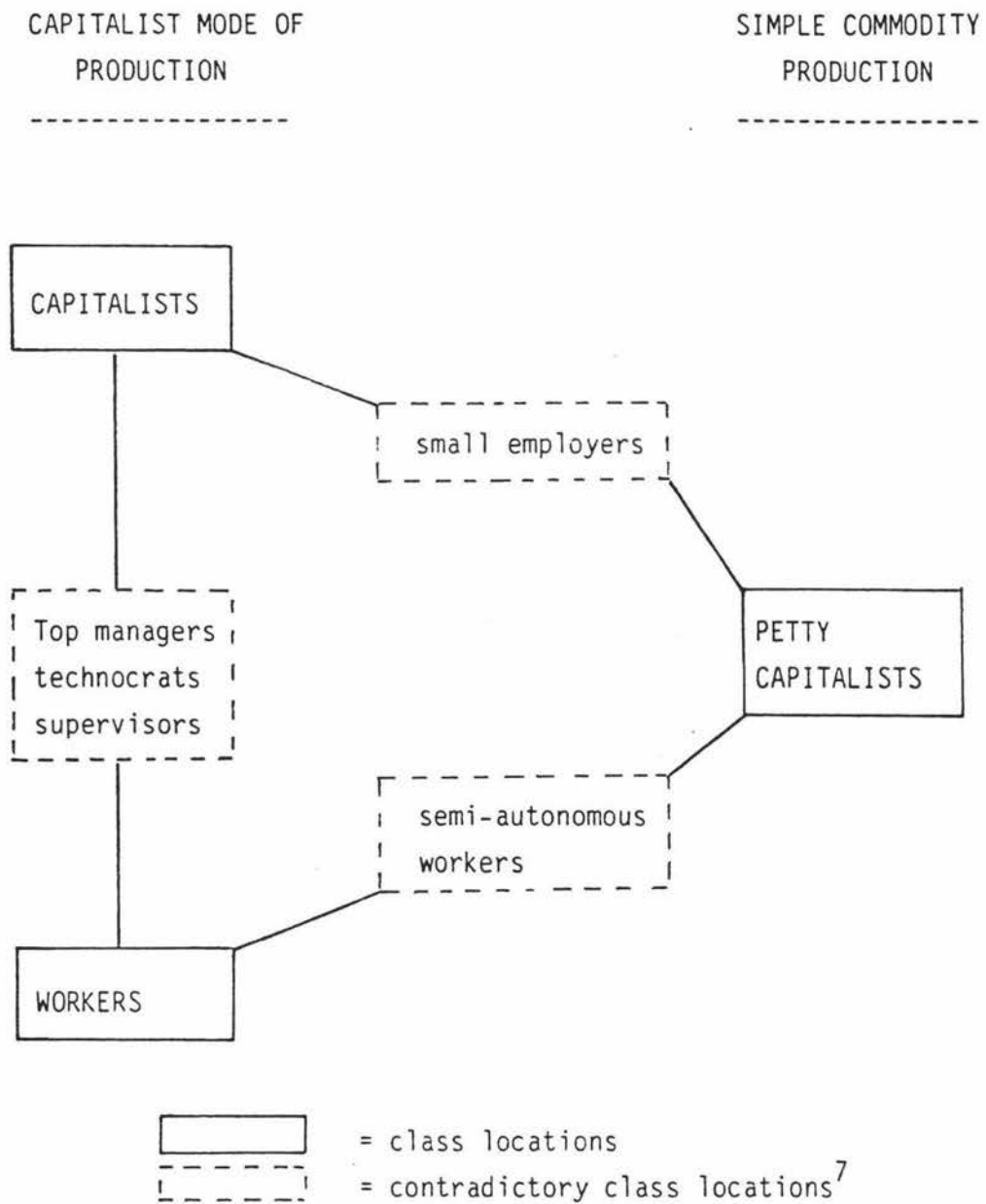
⁴ These processes have been complicated immensely with the growth in capitalist economies. For example, the separation of ownership and control with the establishment of large managerial hierarchies and the dispersal of stock to shareholders has diffused the boundary between the capitalist class and other classes. (See Wright, 1979(b) Chapter 2).

(2) SPECIFYING THE CONCEPT OF CLASS STRUCTURE⁵

At this point I think it is useful to have a premature glance at the overall class map. It is this map that the next ten pages will be directed towards. In that time its various nuances and terms should become clear.

⁵ The details for this specification came from Working Papers 1,3,7 and 1979(a), 73-78). The latter is especially important for the elaboration of contradictory class locations later in this section. Further specification of the concept of class structure can be found in Wright 1979(b), 1980(a), 1980(b), 1985.

Figure 1: The basic class structure of capitalist society.^{6, 7}



⁶ From Wright 1979(a), 63)

⁷ This map of class structure, and the class structure theory to follow, is relevant to the paid labour force only. This position will be elaborated on under 'clarifications'.

The way that we specify the locations within a class structure depends on a distinction between basic class locations and what we term contradictory class locations. To understand this distinction we need to first understand a second type of distinction: that between a mode of production and a social formation.⁸

(A) Mode Of Production.

To look at classes at the level of the mode of production is to look at classes at a high level of abstraction. The term 'mode of production' refers to the type of ownership and control of the production process and the type of relationship between the owners and non-owners, that prevails in a given society. Feudalism, for example, is a mode of production in which lords do not have direct control over the peasants tools and methods of production, but still manage to appropriate a surplus product. State bureaucratic socialism is a mode of production in which the means of production are publicly owned, but where the surplus is appropriated according to hierarchies of management. A mode of production can therefore be more succinctly understood as:

"the relation between the relations of production (ownership and non-ownership) and the forces of production (tools, machines etc.) "(Turner et al 1984, 137).

Now, basic class positions are those which are defined in the pure mode of production. In Feudalism, for example, these would be Lords and Serfs and in State Socialism, managers and non-managers.

In the pure capitalist mode of production there are only two basic classes, and they are defined by a perfect polarisation on each of the three underlying class processes outlined above. Capitalists decide how the means of production are to be used, control the

⁸ For an elaboration and clarification of this second distinction, see Benton (1984, 73) The Rise and Fall of Structural Marxism.

authority within the labour process, and have control over investment and resource allocation. Workers, in contrast, are excluded from the control over the physical means of production, authority, investment and resource allocation. These two classes are unambiguously defined. The capitalists register positively on all dimensions of control while the other registers negatively on all dimensions of control (See Figure One).

As suggested by these descriptions the relationship between the two classes is not one of equality but one of exploitation. The classic argument here is one based on Marx's theory of surplus value.⁹

Without going back to Ricardo's theory of value it will suffice to say that as an input to production, labour has the unique quality of being able to produce more value than is necessary to sustain it and keep it going. Or to put it another way, the wages paid to labour are far less than the amount of value produced by labour. That is, and to use a classic example, Marx reasoned that a working class person works only some of the day in order to earn the amount necessary to sustain him/herself and family (reproduction). The rest of day is spent in surplus labour creating surplus value which goes to (is appropriated by) the capitalist in the form of profit. It is through this appropriation of surplus value that the capitalist becomes a capitalist and it is through the 'contribution' of surplus value that the worker becomes a worker.¹⁰

⁹ For a critique of the conceptions of class that rest on surplus value, see Calvert, P. (1982) The Concept of Class.

¹⁰ A more recent concept of exploitation has been argued by Wright (1985, Chapter 3). Wright bases much of this reconceptualisation on the work of Marxist economist John Roemer; particularly his book A general theory of Exploitation and Class (1982).

So, at the level of the mode of production we find two basic classes - capitalists and workers- which are in an exploiter/ exploited relationship.¹¹

(B) Social Formation.

At this next lower level of abstraction, the level of abstraction that is closer to New Zealand society, 1984, we find that other class positions begin to appear. There are two reasons for this (Working Paper 8, 8-9 and 1979(a), 73-74).

Firstly, the pure capitalist mode of production always co-exists with various kinds of non-capitalist forms or modes of production. We could imagine for example, that the semi-subsistence lifestyles around Coromandel, Northland, the West Coast, etc, constitute - in a minor way - another way of organising production, another mode of production. More significantly though, we also have simple commodity production. This is the mode of production where people produce for the market without the use (exploitation) of wage labour. Small farmers and dairy owners are important here. Within New Zealand capitalism, this gives rise to a class of Petty Capitalists as a distinctive location in the class structure (see Figure One). People of this class own and control their own means of production (are self-employed), but do not exploit the wage labour of others.

The second, and more significant, way in which additional class locations appear at the level of social formation is when the three processes which make up class locations do not perfectly coincide. This non-coincidence of the dimensions of class

¹¹ Unfortunately there is a strong tendency within Marxism to leave the discussion of classes at this basic, most abstract, level. This leads to criticism of Marxist theory as being 'theoreticist'; the state where the development of theory has run ahead of the analysis of particular societies. The next level of analysis, therefore, is vital.

relations define the contradictory locations within class relations.¹²

What I am outlining here are not new classes as such but simply locations that are simultaneously in two classes. As Braverman (1974, 467) notes, the people in these classes have 'one foot in one class and one foot in another'. Given the classes that we have specified already there are two major forms of contradiction within class relations. At the level of the social formation, these are as follows:¹³

(i) Contradictory locations WITHIN the capitalist mode of production; between the capitalist class and the working class. It is here that I account for the bulk of the emergent 'middle class' positions. As a result of what has been called a 'scientific' or 'technological' revolution (Bell, 1973, Dahrendorf, 1959) there has been a vast increase in managerial positions ('managerial revolution') and an increase in white-collar positions generally. It is vital that a theory of class structure incorporate such trends.

Within the capitalist mode of production some positions can be thought of as occupying a contradictory location around the boundary of the working class while others occupy a contradictory location around the boundary of the capitalist class.

¹² For a detailed outline of the theoretical origins and conceptual development of this term "contradictory class locations", see Wright 1985, 65-70. For a critique of this conception see Bedgood 1980, 70-71.

¹³ The reason why we call these positions 'contradictory' is tied up with the arguments concerning class interests. People in contradictory class locations have contradictory class interests. I cover these aspects in detail in a later section.

The contradictory location closest to the working class is that of foremen/forewomen and supervisors (see Figure One). In respect to the underlying class processes, forepeople have little real control over the physical means of production, and their control over labour power is often no more than a simple relaying of authority from above.

At the other end of the contradictory location between capitalists and workers, that which is closest to the capitalist class, we include top managers and some company directors (see Figure One). In Du Fresne's (1980) study of interlocking directorships, for example, those directors who are more employees than employers (their directors' fees are the largest part of their income) would probably be in this contradictory position. Alternatively those directors who earn a vast proportion of their income from profit are more likely to be in the capitalist class proper. In terms of the three class processes, top managers/directors probably only differ from the capitalists in that they only have partial instead of full control over resources and investment.

Between the top managers/directors and forepeople/supervisors are those in the most contradictory locations of all; the middle managers and chief supervisors. These are what Wright (1979(a), 78) loosely calls the technocrats (see Figure One). Unlike supervisors or top managers these technocrats do not have a clear class pole to which they are attached, and hence their contradictory qualities are that much more intense.

(ii) Contradictory class locations BETWEEN the capitalist and simple commodity modes of production: between the Petty Capitalist and other classes. The presence of another mode of production - simple commodity production - not only generates another class - the petty capitalist - but also two major contradictory locations as well.

The logic for the first of these, between the petty capitalist and the capitalist, rests solely on the traditional conception of surplus value as outlined above. Because the petty capitalist does not employ anyone, it can be said that no surplus value is extracted, and hence no exploitation takes place. However, as soon as one person is employed the class relations change for now the exploitation of labour takes place. Still, given that the surplus value appropriated from one employee would probably be very small we could hardly call this employer a capitalist; a more accurate term would be small employer (see Figure One). An owner of a small plumbing business, for example, may be in this category. As Wright (1979(a), 80) argues, this small employer could be said to be a capitalist when, upon employing more labour, the surplus value appropriated from employees becomes more than half the employer's own contribution to profits.¹⁴

The second contradictory location between modes of production is between the petty capitalist and the working class. It is conceptually a lot more complex than the one just outlined. There are certain categories of employees who have managed to retain a degree of control over their immediate conditions of work and over their labour process. We can make sense of this when we acknowledge the broad trend away from such self-directed labour activity.

For a number of reasons, employers have, since last century, sought to increase their control over the labour activities of their employees. One of the first stages in this was the take-over and rationalisation of cottage industries, with the consequent loss of traditional craftsmen and women's autonomy. More recently, with the advent of the mass assembly line, the bulk of the labour force has been (are being) 'deskilled', and

¹⁴ The number of employees needed to earn this label 'capitalist' would vary considerably for different technologies and different periods in history. Apparent arbitrary distinctions of this type will be discussed later this section.

their work routinised. As a result, more and more working class people have found themselves with very little control over their timetables, work pace, work output etc.¹⁵

The group of workers that we are concerned with are those that have managed to escape this subordinating process. They have managed to retain some control over their autonomy, and over the physical means of production; for example, a researcher in a laboratory, a school teacher. These semi-autonomous employees form the contradictory location between the petty capitalist and working class (see Figure One). Although it is difficult to specify what is actually meant by 'autonomy' or 'control' the minimum criterion adopted is that these positions must involve some control over what is produced as well as some control over how it is produced (the specific details will come in Chapter Three). In this way, as in the example above, a laboratory researcher would be semi-autonomous whereas a laboratory technician would not.

This semi-autonomous location was the last location of the class map of Figure One. I could go on to specify other class locations (particularly with the addition of a 'state mode of production' for example) but we will assume that within the conception above we have captured the most important class relations .

To clarify discussion to this point, Table One makes explicit the relation between those three underlying class processes and the class locations specified in Figure One.

¹⁵ Wright points to Braverman (1974) for an elaboration of these trends. I will also note there are counter-trends to the dominant trend described above: for example, (a) the mass assembly line and other technologies have given some workers more control and autonomy, and (b) a strand of current 'labour force management' opinion recognises the very real advantages in increasing 'worker satisfaction' by giving the worker more responsibility and autonomy in the production process.

Table One: The relationship between class locations and class processes.¹⁶

TYPE OF CLASS LOCATION	CLASS	CONTROL OVER INVESTMENT AND RESOURCES	CONTROL OVER PHYSICAL MEANS OF PRODUCTION	CONTROL OVER LABOUR POWER OF OTHERS
Basic class	CAPITALIST	+	+	+
Contradictory locations within capitalist mode of production	TOP MANAGER TECHNOCRATS SUPERVISORS	partial minimal -	partial/minimal -	partial/minimal minimal
Basic class	WORKERS	-	-	-
Contradictory locations between modes of production	SEMI - AUTONOMOUS SMALL - EMPLOYER	minimal +	minimal +	- partial/minimal
Class	PETTY CAPITALIST	+	+	-

+ = full control

- = no control

partial = eg. control over one aspect of production

minimal = eg. control over immediate labour process

(These rather loose terms will be defined very precisely in Chapter Three)

¹⁶ Compiled from Wright 1979(a), Tables 2.7, 2.8, 2.9

We have arrived at this conception after an examination of the relationship between the three processes of control over production and the class structure. There are a number of things about this conception which are not immediately obvious, or which need mentioning. I will therefore spend some time clarifying the conception.

(3) CLARIFYING THE CONCEPTION OF CLASS STRUCTURE.

There are three points here. They are not systematically related.

Firstly, as mentioned previously, the theory of class structure that we have discussed has been for the economically active labour force only. The permanently unemployed, housewives, retired people, students, have all been ignored. The rationale here is really quite pragmatic one; if concise and coherent theory was available on 'class' nature of these positions then I would probably use it. Unfortunately, within the current worldwide development of theory, it is very difficult to theorise in class terms the position of people not directly related to the production process. For example, we are immediately thrown into the theoretical jungle of the relationship between class and gender.

The essential point to add to this however (and I remake this point again in the Methods Chapter), is that the New Zealand survey project has recognised this deficiency and has, therefore, gathered information on those not involved in the immediate production process; the retired, the unemployed and domestic labourers. The intention in doing this is to participate in the development of 'missing' theory and to adjudicate in theoretical debates (see Wilkes, forthcoming).¹⁷

So, in terms of this thesis the theory is for the economically active labour force, but in terms of the whole project it is intended that we aim towards theorising a much broader range of people.

¹⁷ For a discussion of these issues in respect to gender theory, see Crisp (1984,(a)).

Secondly, as with any theory one would be a naive to present it as unproblematic. Given that there will always be some ambiguity on the boundaries of some classes, a degree of arbitrariness can enter into the theory when we try and be precise. In particular; how many employees must an employer have before he/she is no longer a small employer but a capitalist? Also, how much autonomy must a worker have before we can call them semi-autonomous?¹⁸

Thirdly, this is a technical point for those concerned with the theoretical differences between the various types of class analyses. This class map was originally put together with the intention of capturing both appropriation and domination relations within capitalism. An appropriation relation is one in which economic resources are transferred from one group to another, as in the transfer of surplus value to a capitalist class. A domination relation is one in which the activities of ^{the} group are controlled by another, as in the control exercised over people in the production process. The Marxist class conception is one that defines class relations simultaneously by both appropriation relations and domination relations. Domination without appropriation (for example, a prison officer's authority over a prisoner) or appropriation without domination (for example, children appropriate resources from their parents) is not a class relation. Within the class relations specified by the class map, a supervisor, say, would be subordinate within appropriation relations and both subordinate and dominant within domination relations. All class relations can be expressed in these double terms.

These relations can serve to distinguish a Marxist conception of class from other conceptions of class (Working Paper 3, 3-8). The Weberian conception (1968) which revolves around the market as the buying and selling place for labour, is concerned with appropriation relations.¹⁹

¹⁸ This latter problem I have discussed in An Ongoing Debate; semi-autonomous employees, 1983. Wright has also dwelt upon these problems in Classes, 1985, 76-79.

¹⁹ See Pearson and Thorns (1983) for an example of Weberian analysis within New Zealand.

The Dahrendorf (1959) type analysis, which emphasises authority patterns within capitalism, is concerned solely with domination relations.

The 'multiple-oppression' approach is an important new development which can also be seen in the light of this exploitation/domination distinction. (See, for example, Jean Cohen, 1982, Class and Civil Society) Conceptions of this type distinguish between class domination, race domination and gender domination and argue that each works itself out in a particular way within capitalism. Note, however, that the theoretical connections between these types of domination are as yet untraced (Conference Paper 1985, tape 1, side 1). Whatever the case, it is obvious that, as with Dahrendorf, this type of approach is more concerned with domination than appropriation.²⁰

The discussion so far has been aimed at specifying how a society's system of production produces a class structure. We have examined how the three processes of production are related to major class groupings. We found that at the most basic level - the level of the mode production - the class structure is characterised by two major classes. At a more realistic level - the level of the social formation - we found that this relationship between class processes and class structure had in fact produced a whole range of classes. I will now examine significance of class structure for the consciousness of class members.

²⁰ In a revision of his own formulation, Wright has argued that he himself may have leaned too heavily on the domination aspect of class relations. In an effort to counter this, Wright (1985) has recently developed a class map which differs slightly from the one used in this thesis. I elaborate on this more recent formulation in the conclusion.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The class map put forward in the last section is a typology of class structure rather than of organised, conscious class groups. In fact, up to this point I have not considered the activities, behaviours or attitudes of class members at all. All I have done is identify a system of production, capitalism, and argued that a class structure emanates from this. The questions I would like to broach now are crucial for this thesis. What can we say about the thoughts and activities of class members? What does it mean for any one person to be located in the class structure? If someone is in a particular class position, can we expect them to think in a certain way? And most specifically, to what degree do we expect the class member to be conscious of their position in the class structure?

This section is organised in the following way:

Firstly, I would like to make two general comments about the study of class consciousness.

Secondly, and a key aspect of the thesis, I elaborate on the concept of class interests. It is only through this concept that we can understand class consciousness.

Thirdly, after establishing the general concept of consciousness, I go on to specify what class consciousness is. Class consciousness can be said to be present when a class member has some understanding or awareness of their class interests. This link between class interests and class consciousness must be seen in the light of the 'hypothetical' model of consciousness development. I go through two variations of the model here: the 'revised praxis' model and the 'explosion' model.

Fourthly, this preliminary view is then turned around and I spend some considerable effort pointing out the non-inevitability of the development of class consciousness; the argument to this stage does not mean that all class members will, at some time or another, develop class consciousness. Rather, after touching on the theories of George Lukacs and E. P. Thompson, I postulate that the

class structure provides the potential for the development of class consciousness.

Finally, I discuss the role that this theory plays in New Zealand. It is vital to let the theory make sense of the particular situation in New Zealand and, in turn, for the results to revise and expand the theory.

(1) STUDYING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

There are several matters which need clarifying before I can continue.

(A) Class structure: the beginning of analysis.

The concept of class within Marxist theory (and Wright's theory) involves complex interconnections between class structure, class consciousness and class struggle. Even so, Wright has been severely criticised for only being concerned with class structure.²¹

Although I will not be so quick to defend Wright on every occasion I will do so now. I think this criticism is misguided and misdirected. What Wright does do is to concentrate on 'rigorously investigating the objective contours of class structure' (Working Paper 3, 1-2) but only as a prerequisite for understanding how class consciousness develops, how class-based organisations ebb and flow, and so forth.

As a socialist he realises that class struggle is the ultimate concern, not class structure. He does not, however, rush ahead with a only a 'half-baked' knowledge of class structure. What is being put forward, then, is that an analysis of class structure is a beginning in the analysis of class consciousness and struggle. Wright reasons that:

"While decoding class structure may be the appropriate starting point of the analysis, it is impossible to deduce

²¹ See J.Cohen 1982, 9-11 and Clegg et al. 1985, 1-2.

any political lessons simply from the analysis of class position."²²

A simple example will serve to illustrate the point. To study the class struggle of the 1890 Maritime Strike we must first get an idea of what was happening to the class structure in that period. As it happens, Vogel's expansionist policies had resulted in the emergence of a large industrial working class in the 1880s. It was sections of this new working class that were involved in the burgeoning of class consciousness in 1890 (Chrisp 1984(b)). In this case we must first study the changes to the class structure (emergence of a large industrial working class) in order to fully appreciate the changes in class consciousness that came during the strike.

So it is from the beginning of establishing the class structure in in the last section, that we can now move to an examination of class consciousness.²³

²² Notwithstanding this defence of Wright I will note the following reservation. Even though the analyses of class consciousness and class struggle are starting to appear in some of the projects' later works, (Working papers 19, 21, 26, 28 and Wright 1985, Chapter 7) there is still the concentration on class structure. In Wright's most recent book for example, there is only one chapter on consciousness but still four on class structure. For me to continue to defend Wright, there will need to soon be a proliferation of work on class consciousness, struggle etc, based on the findings concerning class structure.

²³ There are some precedents here. In general terms Adam Przeworski has been very useful in linking class struggles to class structures. See Adam Przeworski, Proletariat into a Class (1977) and Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon (1980), especially the former. (For a range of relevant works here see Wright 1985, footnotes 11 and 12, Chapter 1). In the New Zealand context both Pat Walsh (1980,1981) and John Martin (1981, 1981(a), 1984), amongst a few others, have made broad links between class structure and class struggles, or non-struggles. In general, however, New Zealand research in this area is sparse. In respect to working class consciousness there is now a whole tradition of studies, although unfortunately these are based almost entirely in other countries. Mann (1973) and Goldthorpe (1968) et al. have been particularly prominent here. I will be examining some of these studies later on.

(B) Units of Analysis.

Class consciousness can be considered both a macro (group) and micro (individual) level variable.

At the macro level, some Marxists (eg. Lukacs 1971) talk in terms of classes as a whole having a consciousness. Class consciousness is something held by class collectivities and class organisations rather than by individual class members. To say, for example, that there was class consciousness during the Waterfront Strike in 1951, would be to imply that there was some collective idea of class position which was more than simply the sum total of individual seamen's, freezing workers' and watersiders' consciousnesses; the class as a whole was conscious of its position and identity.

The micro-level conception of class consciousness takes this to task. As Wright (1985, 339) argues:

"...classes do not have consciousness in the literal sense since they are not the kind of entities which have minds, which think, weigh alternatives, have preferences etc."

Consciousness in this sense, then, refers to the thought patterns of concrete individual class members. Using the above example, to say there was micro-level class consciousness in 1951 would be a statement about how a union member was thinking at the time; it would be a statement that many class members recognised their class position and realised what it meant to be in that class position.

Because both of these conceptions have widespread application in neo-Marxism, certain confusions have arisen in the the study of class consciousness. As Gordon Marshall (1983, 277) points out, many neo-Marxists commit the 'ecological fallacy' of switching from macro to micro conceptions within the same study. Using Mann's Consciousness and Action amongst the Western Working Class as an example, Marshall argues condemningly that:

"Mann's unit of analysis is the group - he has data about group attributes- but he persistently applies his conclusions....to the individuals that comprise them"²⁴

It is because of this degree of confusion among Marxists that I wish to make the position of the project and this thesis clear.

The conception of class consciousness used by Wright (1985; 283, 235-236, 396-399), the international project and in this thesis is in line with the micro-level approach; class consciousness is a thought process which is the property of an individual class member. The reasons for choosing this conception are twofold:

Firstly, although the project is primarily concerned with macro-type structures (class, state, politics, economy) we are only so concerned because of the effect on micro-individuals. The class structure is comprised of real individuals who are systematically affected because they are in one class and not another. It is therefore necessary at some stage to understand individual class members instead of classes as a whole.²⁵

Secondly, practically it is much more difficult to gather data and analyse classes as a whole, than it is for individual class members. For Wright (1985, 236) to study macro-level consciousness is;

"...a much more arduous empirical enterprise than the micro-centered approach being used here. This is not to say that such a task is unimportant but it is beyond my present research capabilities."

²⁴ Marshall also points to another serious type of ecological fallacy. This is the extension of a study's findings to other times and/or places. If I was to imply that the findings of this thesis are directly pertinent to, say, the 1950s and/or to Australia I would be committing this ecological fallacy.

²⁵ The presence of this individual level conception in a theoretical framework which is primarily concerned with macro type structures, has led Clegg et al (1985, 5) to criticise Wright as being contradictory. The first reason above answers this criticism.

With the unit of analysis sorted out, and the study of class consciousness clarified, the task now is to get into the actual examination of class consciousness itself. The first stage in this must be a discussion of class interests. Class interests, in this thesis, are the key link between class structure and class consciousness; an understanding of class interests is, therefore, a prerequisite for an understanding of class consciousness.

(2) CLASS INTERESTS

The intention of this section is to show how class interests can be logically derived from the analysis of class structure.

In his particular elaboration of the argument Wright (1985, 52) makes the assumption that:

"People always have a general objective interest in their material well-being, where this is defined as the combination of how much they consume and how hard they have to work to get that consumption."

This is not to say that all people are interested in increasing their consumption, but simply that it is reasonable to assume that people will want to toil (work) less for any given level of consumption. Put very simply, people like consuming but don't like working! Further, Wright argues that in any given society at any given time, the amount of toil that is necessary to run that society is fixed. Thus, at a given level of technology and development, if one person toils less others must toil more. Toil then is a zero-sum postulation.²⁶

²⁶ There is no doubt some ambiguity in in the term 'toil'. If, for example, a capitalist slows down the work-rate of a worker so as to increase his/her concentration so as to increase his/her output - what has happened to the toil rate here? Also, as Andrew Boyle (fellow student) has pointed out, toil is only zero-sum if all toil is productive; an assumption which, in some cases, is unfounded. Despite these ambiguities, the general thrust of the argument is still clear.

Given this zero-sum situation, the relationship between toil and exploitation becomes crucial. As I argued previously the relationship between classes - especially the capitalist and working classes - is necessarily exploitative; exploitation is intrinsic and endemic to class relations. In respect to toil then, the presence of exploitation implies that one class toils less (capitalists) while another class (workers) toils more; or what is much the same, one class consumes less at a given level of toil so that another class can consume more.

If our original assumption is correct - that people have a general interest in material well-being - then we can argue that this exploitation situation gives rise to another more specific interest; a class interest. For a working class person, for example, the general interest in material well being results in an 'objective' class interest in not being exploited, as it is the exploitative class relation that causes him/her to consume less (toil more). Because it is the class based exploitation that violates the general interest in material well-being, then it is specifically class interests that arise out of this. For the working class person, then, this objective class interest amounts to not being in an exploitative class relation.

The 'objective' nature of these interests need elaboration. Just as with the class structure and exploitation, class interests can be said to be present whether a class member is aware of them or not. These class interests exist merely because of the fundamental relations of production, rather than because of any awareness or attitude or belief that a class member may have. Thus, whether he or she knows it, a working class person has an objective class interest in increasing the control over his/her labour power. Likewise a capitalist class person has an objective class interest in improving the methods and results of the production process.

In this way we can see how the three basic processes of class relations (outlined in the class structure section) which were seen to give rise to class structure and exploitation, also give rise to class interests. Just to recap, the way production is organised means that there are large groups of people in similar job situations or classes. By the very nature of this situation, with the extraction of surplus

value, the relationship between classes is exploitative. This exploitation gives rise to a parcel of class interests which are attached to each class. All this is independent of the thought of individual class members. It is this last aspect which makes them objective class interests.²⁷

Until now, I have been talking about class interests in quite generalised terms. The concept becomes firmer when we make a distinction between fundamental and immediate class interests (Wright 1979(a) 88-91).

Fundamental class interests are those which revolve around the very organisation of society itself; the mode of production. Because of the exploitative nature of employment, working class people have a fundamental interest in radically dismantling the employment contract, in reorganising the relationship between labour and capital etc. Relatedly, capitalist class members have a fundamental interest in continuing the present system of production and accumulation, in suppressing threatening working class movements etc.

Immediate class interests are those which exist within the organisation of society; within the mode of production. For the working class these may include interests in higher wages, security of job, shorter hours for same pay etc; and for the capitalist, maintaining mobility of labour force, retaining profit margins etc.

To clarify these conceptions of interest, I pinpoint the different types of class interests present in the debate over the proposed goods and services tax (GST).

²⁷ This is not to say that all objective interests of class members are objective class interests. Class members will also have objective interests that stem from their ethnic group, gender etc. Thus a working class Maori woman may have objective interests in Maori 'self-determination', the abolishment of patriarchy, as well as the dismantling of the employment contract.

Sitting outside the whole debate are those who claim to represent fundamental working class interests; the Socialist Action League, the Socialist Unity Party etc. On the odd occasion that they have entered the debate it is to say that there is no way that a GST can ultimately benefit the working class; especially as it flattens out the tax-rate and de-emphasises progressive taxation. For them, progressive taxation (the type of taxation that hits high-income earners the hardest) is a fundamental socialist policy. Moreover, a society wouldn't need GST if workers were able to participate in business decision making, and were receiving an equal share of business profit.

In the main-stream of the debate there are representatives of the two major classes; workers and capitalists. On the one hand, union delegates and other worker representatives have voiced opposition to GST because, amongst other things, it necessitates compensation for low-income earners which in turn entrenches a system of transfer payments. While these payments may be acceptable in the short term, there is no guarantee that future (National) governments will uphold them in the long term. Also, there is some basic skepticism as to whether GST will actually meet its desired objectives, that is, provide disincentive for tax invasion and compensate beneficiaries and the low-paid for their increased expenditure (see Dobb, 1985, 3). Both these concerns shown by the union people are in line with the immediate interests of low income groups within the working class. Their concern is to ensure that low income groups are protected in the face of a within-system tax reform.²⁸

On the other hand, capitalist class representatives (eg. Bob Jones) have agreed to GST in principle because it de-emphasises progressive taxation and, consequently, provides tax relief. This support in principle is in line with the capitalist class's immediate interests. Also, any system reform which diverts crisis (in this case the

²⁸ The reference to short-term and long-term concerns in this paragraph is only incidental; the distinction between immediate and fundamental interests is not a distinction between short and long-term interests. It is the within system/beyond system distinction which is vital.

collapse of the taxation system), and extends the life of the system, is in line with capitalist class fundamental interests as well. In this way GST serves both the immediate and fundamental interests of the capitalist class.²⁹

The differences between the various class interests are clear when we stick to the polarised model of capitalists and workers only (mode of production analysis). However, as we know already, certain complexities arise when we look at the social formation as a whole. Specifically, what are the class interests of people in the contradictory class locations? Quite logically, people in contradictory class locations have contradictory class interests. In fact, this is the very reason why these locations were called contradictory in the first place. A manager, for example, would have a fundamental working class interest in the abolishment of the employer/employee arrangement because as an employee he/she is exploited in class terms. However, because he/she very probably accrues some of the benefit of capitalist exploitation (bonuses, access to investment and resource allocation decisions) we can say that the manager has fundamental capitalist class interests as well.

The postulations about objective class interests have important implications for what we should look for in the consciousness of class members. Before elaborating this key link though, it is essential to get a precise idea of what class consciousness actually is.

(3) SPECIFYING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Before I can elaborate on what class consciousness is, I must first spend some time on consciousness itself.

²⁹ This is a rudimentary presentation of class interests. In actuality we find that many groups who appear to be only concerned with immediate class interests have, in fact, an ultimate concern with fundamental class interests. It is possible to see the F.O.L in this light.

(A) Consciousness

The baseline of this argument is as Marx (1977, 47) suggests:

"Consciousness is, therefore, from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all."

The assertion here is that consciousness is something that is derived solely from the way that people experience the world; a product of people's perceptions derived from their life experience if you like. From this basic sociological position I pick up Wright's particular Marxist elaboration of consciousness.

For Wright (1985, 400) consciousness is only one aspect of the way people think. It is that aspect which is 'accessible to an individuals own awareness'. This is not to say that consciousness is that which is always uppermost in people's minds but rather that which is able to be talked about with a person, prompted from a person in discussion. It is that part of a person's thoughts of which they are aware.

The most important way that this consciousness/awareness works itself out is through the way it influences peoples choices. When people go about their everyday lives they are continually making choices; what to wear, who to visit, what groups to join, what to spend money on. It must be assumed that all these decisions are influenced to some degree by the consciousnesses or awarenesses of the people involved.

To say this is to make the claim that consciousness is important in decisions, rather than fully determining. There are now massive tracts of psychological evidence which point to the unconscious as guiding decisions, guiding choice and guiding behaviour.³⁰ It may well be that in some cases the motivation for choice may be entirely in the unconscious.

³⁰ See, for example, C.G. Jung (1946) The Psychology of the Unconscious; R.Jones (1970) The New Psychology of Dreaming, amongst many others.)

So, to the extent that choices are made in the unconscious we can call them unintentional choices and to the extent that choices are made consciously we can call them intentional choices. In these terms, the concern in this thesis is with consciousness as the process of intentional choice.

(B) 'Class' Consciousness

Class consciousness is a variant, or subset, of consciousness as a whole. From the broad conception of consciousness we can take class consciousness to be those processes of intentional choice which are related to distinctly class issues. The decision about whether to join a union, whether to vote for this or that party, whether to endorse a particular policy, are all decisions that are related explicitly to class issues.

The way that these class issues are related to class consciousness is through class interests (as specified above). What we are talking about when we talk about people's class consciousness is people's understanding, awareness or realisation of their class interests. As a member of the working class, John Smith knows he is in that class, knows how he is being exploited, and realises what his union is for. In this way John Smith is consciousness of his class interests, and can therefore be considered to have quite a high degree of pro-working class consciousness.³¹ The more appropriate description for class consciousness conceived in this way is really 'class-interest-consciousness'.

To make this conception a little more specific I will outline a breakdown of class consciousness put forward by Wright (1985, 400-405). Wright points to three areas in which class consciousness can be formed around class interests. These areas refer to three thought processes within the broad process of making an intentional choice; three thought processes that make up class consciousness.

³¹ It is the adjective before the term class consciousness which indicates its presence or absence. For example, a capitalist class person who acknowledges his/her class interests has a presence of class consciousness; this may be expressed as a pro-capitalist class consciousness and/or anti-working class consciousness.

(I) Perceptions of social alternatives. To have choice implies the presence of alternatives. The aspect of consciousness that is important here is the perception of what social alternatives or possibilities actually exist. For example, is a working class person conscious of the fact that it possible to have a different, more equitable, organisation of his/her workplace, for example, 'worker participation'? Does the worker perceive that the radical alternative of socialism exists. The way in which alternative organisations of society are thought about is a prime indication of the extent of class consciousness.³²

(II) Theories of consequences. Choice not only involves perception or (non-perception) of alternatives but also of the social consequences that flow from these alternatives. As in the example above, if the working class person realises the possibility of other forms of society, what does he/she theorise will be the consequences of that possibility coming to fruition in, say, New Zealand? If someone is thinking in line with their class interests then they will realise that the socialist alternative may have consequences that would benefit them as a working class person. A person's theories of consequences are a good indication of the degree to which they understand class interests, and hence of the extent to which they have developed class consciousness.

(III) Preferences. Understanding alternatives and consequences is still not enough to make an intentional choice. To choose, one must prefer (or not-prefer) a set of consequences that flow from an alternative. In the example above, the working class person that preferred the consequences of the alternative socialism, could be considered to have a deep understanding of his/her class interests.

³² See also Mann (1973, 13) and Williams (1981, 21) for arguments concerning the importance of the perceptions of alternatives to class consciousness.

In summary then, the conception is that class consciousness is in fact 'class-interest-consciousness' and refers to a class member's awareness of class interests. But why should we say this? Why do we consider it is possible that people will come to know their class interests? Why is there a hint of an expectation that class consciousness will develop out of class interests? To answer such questions I must refer to the classical, now somewhat out-moded, theory of hypothesised consciousness development.

Note: most of the discussions in the next few sections are based on the development of working class consciousness. This is in accordance with the general thrust of Marxism, itself rather than something peculiar to this thesis.

(C) The Hypothetical Development of Class Consciousness: the realisation of class interests.

What we are trying to grasp here is how class consciousness could arise out of the way a working class person experiences a society. The general idea is that, because of the indignation, despair and alienation of the work process, a worker 'somehow' becomes aware of his/her class interests. Or, in terms of the above distinction, a worker 'somehow' perceives an alternative of socialism, theorises the consequences of socialism, and in fact prefers socialism.

Unfortunately, as Mann notes (1973, 12):

"Marxists are characteristically somewhat vague about the nature of this dialectical process"

In recognition of this criticism, it is important for us to elaborate how it is envisaged that this consciousness development actually occurs. There are a number of hypothetical models available. I will mention two here. The first is the 'Revised Praxis Model' and the second the 'Explosion of Consciousness' Model.

(i) The Revised Praxis Model. In his Ph.D., David Neilson (1983) recounts the process through which class consciousness

develops gradually and 'organically' out of the conditions and experiences of working class people.³³

Very simply, the hypothetical chain of events is as follows (Neilson; 1983, 137-149):

The worker's initial experience of production is of powerlessness, monotony, and limited control over his/her productive ability; in a word, alienation. Arising out of this the worker begins to feel 'deep-seated' feelings of resentment and antagonism. Further, the very minor rebellions which the worker goes through (taking five minutes extra for lunch) in reaction to this alienation, are systematically squashed by the employer. This results in the worker beginning to realise a division between 'us' (the workers) and 'them' (the capitalists). It is this 'us' feeling which is the seed of solidarity with other workers. At this stage it is an emotional solidarity with other site workers only, which has simply emerged out of common experience, collective purpose and shared opposition to the capitalist.

Note, at this point the actual understanding of class society, and the awareness of class interests, is very limited. Yet the emotional solidarity remains strong and gradually the 'will' emerges to make sense of the conditions that he/she is experiencing. The question is asked 'why are things the way they are?' Gradually, through strikes, further hardships etc., there is a more articulated expression of feeling; the first obvious signs of class consciousness. These understandings really develop when the worker begins to make links with other workers in other factories, other cities, who are in the same type of situation. The sense of common fate broadens to include the

33 The origins of Neilson's model are in Lukacs's imputation of consciousness from basic ideas, Gramsci's notion of the organic development of 'common sense' and Marx's theory of the dynamic of class struggle. Thus as Mann (1973,45) would argue, the resulting conception is more characteristic of the classical theories of consciousness development. Note, Neilson is simply recounting the conception for analytical purposes. It is not necessarily a model that he adheres to.

whole class. It is at this stage that the worker begins to have some understanding of capitalism as a whole. Along with fellow class members, as a collectivity, the worker begins to contrast the capitalist class wealth, dominance and power with the working class poverty, subordination, and frustration. This stimulates a critique of capitalism and the formation of a socialist viewpoint; that is, the emergence of a well formed pro-working class/anti-capitalist class consciousness. Here we now have working people with a sound understanding of their fundamental class interests; they perceive, theorise and prefer socialism. I will stop here. Neilson goes on to develop the model to its hypothetical conclusion; the development of anti-capitalist activities, the serious planning of social alternatives for the future, and the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system.

(ii) The Explosion of Consciousness Model. This model that Mann (1973, 45-49) outlines is probably only different to Neilson's in its emphasis. Whereas the Praxis model portrays the gradual development of consciousness the explosion model emphasises the role of a 'big strike' as stimulating a bursting forth of pro-working class consciousness.

The Explosion theory suggests that:

In the 'normal' working environment the worker may be mildly alienated but cannot be said to feel any solidarity with other workers or to have developed a pro-working class consciousness. It is only in the strike situation that the bonds of solidarity truly form and the understandings of class interests arise. The strike situation (Mann cites the 1968 French strike) is the first time that the worker actually feels the power of his/her class and the power of collective action.³⁴

The continual striking between 1908 and 1913 (in New Zealand) may be seen in this light of this second model. Through the success of the miners' strike at Blackball (1908), miners, freezing

³⁴ Mann accompanies this outline with some quite damaging criticisms. Among other things, he questions the permanence of the leftward shift which happens during the strike situation.

workers, waterfront workers, and others all over the country, began to come to grips with the class situation. They had begun to understand their class positions and the implications that this had for them. They organised, published and agitated right up to the Waterfront Strike in 1913. Over this period, then, with a whole series of 'consciousness explosions', we can observe a massive growth of pro-working class consciousness amongst working class members.³⁵

I am not so much concerned with the pros and cons of each of these models so much as with their common main argument; pro-working class consciousness arises out basic working conditions and develops in line with working class interests.

I cannot leave this discussion without some mention of the 'dialectical' element involved. One of Marx's general theses is that the capitalist system produces the conditions for its own termination and transformation. That is, certain elements within capitalism negate or inhibit the workings of capitalism itself. The development a of pro-working class consciousness must be seen in this light. Capitalism produces the class structure which in turn produces class interests. The emergence of a revolutionary class consciousness which is rooted in these class interests could eventually result in the overthrow of capitalism itself. This is the dialectical aspect: capitalism overthrown by its own creation.

As presented, there is something very wrong with the implications of this 'hypothetical development' argument. In the outlining of the links between class structure, class interests, and class consciousness it now may seem that the development of pro-working class consciousness is somehow an inevitable process. Although there are indeed some Marxists who argue this (see George Lukacs) this is definitely not the argument here in this thesis or within Wright's work. I will now spend some time pointing out the various ways in which class structure/interests do not necessarily result in class consciousness.

³⁵ Incidentally, for an excellent dramatisation of the Blackball Strike see Blackball 08 by Eric Beardsly 1984.

(4) THE NON-INEVITABILITY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRO-WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

(A) The absence of pro-working class consciousness in the West.

There is an increasing amount of evidence which seems to cast doubt on that hypothetical model of consciousness development outlined above. A significant work in this respect is The Affluent Worker Studies of Goldthorpe and Lockwood et al. (1968-69). In a study of Britain in the late 1960s, Goldthorpe found a type of worker who was more concerned with his/her own income than with any broader, class-based issues. Where workers did show an interest in class-based issues and organisations (eg. unions), it was only in terms of the benefit they could accrue for themselves. Among these 'instrumentalist' working class people there was a conspicuous absence of pro-working class consciousness.

Many other observers of the British working class have also found a certain ambiguity or ambivalence in respect to class issues and class interest.³⁶ In one way or another, these researchers have all found a pragmatic acceptance of class position, a degree of confusion over class issues, and a general all-round lack of coherence amongst the class consciousness of working people. In Britain then, the notion of class consciousness developing from class structure does not seem to hold out in any straightforward or meaningful way.

The type of work that has been done in Britain simply has not been carried out in New Zealand. Davis (1982, 134) also notes the lack of work on class consciousness in New Zealand. What has been done he labels as 'piecemeal and regionally specific'. Herein lies the gap in our social knowledge that this thesis aims to fill. In establishing the broad orientations in class consciousness amongst New Zealand class members, this thesis allows us to go beyond mere speculation (I pick up this idea in the Methods Chapter).

³⁶ See Newby (1977), Mann (1973), Pollert (1981), Cousins and Brown (1975), Nichols and Armstrong (1979) amongst others. Both Marshall (1983) and Mann provide excellent reviews here.

The research that we do have, though, does give a rudimentary indication that the state of class consciousness may be similar to the British situation. Bedggood (1977, 122) for example, notes:

"...for there is no denying that even the limited proletarian consciousness of the developmental period (1890-1913) is virtually absent in the modern period."
(Bracketed material added).

Elaborating on this, Bedggood cites the phenomenon of working class conservatism in New Zealand. Working class conservatives are those who are characterised by 'authoritarian beliefs, tend to be intolerant of minorities (especially communists) and are little concerned with upholding civil liberties' (1977, 124). Intuitively one can only agree with Bedggood here. The proliferation of anti-union attitudes, the success of the New Zealand Party amongst the working class, the advent of the right wing Nationalist Workers Party, are all incidents of more or less working class conservatism.

Historian Miles Fairburn (1985) has also recognised working class conservatism in New Zealand, this time in the 1920s. In addressing the question 'Why did the Labour Party fail to win office until 1935', Fairburn argues that the working working class population included large blocks of spatially separated, deferential, 'working class Tories'. Without the electoral support of this part of the working class, the Labour Party did not have enough votes to obtain office.

What is important is to note what this phenomenon means for the processes of consciousness formation. To the extent that there is the presence of working class conservatism there is an absence of coherent and well formed pro-working class consciousness. With such a situation we obviously cannot assert a process of class consciousness development which is historically inevitable. Raimo Blom (Working Paper 9, 25) comes to a similar conclusion. After reviewing the absence of pro-working class consciousness in the West, he notes:

"The conditions and experiences of repression objectively connected to worker experience provide the possibility for anti-capitalist activity, but do not bring about a mechanical necessity."

With this degree of indeterminacy the field is thrown wide open for speculation about the relationship between class structure/class interests and class consciousness. Rather than going right into the debate here it will suffice to point out the two extreme positions, represented by Lukacs and Thompson, and where Wright fits in between these two extremes.

(B) The debate over class consciousness³⁷

GEORGE LUKACS is normally taken to represent those who argue that class interests are somehow inevitably understood by class members. That is, Lukacs ends up by arguing that as history unfolds the working class will necessarily develop pro-working class consciousness. I say 'ends up' because Lukacs begins his analysis by denying this historical necessity. In much the same way as I have, Lukacs (1971, 81) argues;

"It becomes possible to infer the thoughts and feelings men would have in a particular situation if they were able to assess both it and the immediate interests arising from it".

Further, also in parallel with my own argument, Lukacs (1971, 51) notes:

"This analysis establishes right from the beginning the distance that separates (the 'hypothetical') class consciousness from the empirically given and from the psychologically describable and explicable ideas which men form about their situation in life." (Bracketed material added).

³⁷ This discussion could be a little difficult to follow for those who have not encountered the debate before. It is for this reason that I have made it possible for the reader to leave out LUKACS and THOMPSON and start with WRIGHT, without any significant loss to the argument.

However, as Neilson (1983, 56-57) has pointed out, despite these initial intentions Lukacs has made two further arguments which skew his whole discussion to the 'determinist' and 'historicist' side of the debate. Firstly, he argues that an individual's class consciousness is 'inextricably caught up in the wider historical process.' If it happens that an individual's class consciousness does not correspond to that hypothetical 'class-interest-consciousness' at any one moment, it will do at some time in the future; nothing can be surer. The implication here is that for Lukacs, the class structure/ class interests duo is by far the most significant aspect in influencing class consciousness. In fact, the claim is that in the long run the class structure determines class consciousness. All other influences on class consciousness - churches, schools etc. - are therefore brushed aside. Secondly, because of this emphasis Lukacs 'conveniently forgets' that he originally intended to study class consciousness in actual societies. According to Neilson (1983, 57) the result is that in Lukacs writings, 'what the working class actually thinks, does etc. is relegated to secondary importance'.

E.P. THOMPSON. At the other extreme of the debate over the relationship between class structure and class consciousness we find analyses centered around the work of Thompson. Thompson considers the relationship in this way (1963, 9):

"I do not see class as a structure or even as a 'category' but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships."

For Thompson the class structure is only one of many influences upon consciousness; the church, the media, schools etc. all affect consciousness as well. This is so much the case that Thompson is not prepared to even acknowledge class until some sort of class consciousness is present. The postulation that class structure produces class interests which may come to be understood by class members is therefore severely marginalised. The concept of class structure is at best of secondary importance. This is reflected in Thompson's predominant concern with the actual activities of working class people, rather than with any theoretical postulations about class interests that we may wish to make.

WRIGHT. Unlike Thompson, Wright argues that an understanding of the effect of class structure/interests on class consciousness is, at least, useful. Unlike Lukacs, Wright does not argue that class interests are the only, or even the most important, determinants of class consciousness. Within these broad parameters, I will now outline more precisely how Wright actually sees the relationship between class structure/interests and class consciousness.

Wright's broad position can be summarised in this way (1985, 203):

"The class structure itself does not generate a unique pattern of class formation (and class consciousness); rather it determines the underlying probabilities of different kinds of class formations (and class consciousness). Which among these alternatives actually occurs historically will depend upon a range of factors that are structurally contingent to the class structure itself." (Bracketed material added.)

This quote probably contains the nub of Wright's formulation. I will spend the next few paragraphs making sense of it.

The reference to probability here is a claim that a class member has a certain probability of becoming aware of his/her class interests and being class conscious. The further you move away from the working class for example, the less probable it becomes that you will find pro-working class conscious people. Hence, while it is 'tenable' that a working class person be pro-working class conscious, and 'possible' that a supervisor be pro-working class conscious, it is 'improbable' that a capitalist class person be pro-working class conscious. In this way the class structure distributes the potential for pro-working class consciousness, pro-capitalist class consciousness etc.³⁸

³⁸ In his description of these linkages Wright argues that the class structure provides the broad probable limits to class consciousness. See Wright 1985, 38-43. Instead of using this term 'limits' however, for the sake of more concise argument I have opted to use term 'potential'.

In the 1960's, for example, because of an increase in manufacturing industry in this country, there was a significant expansion in particular parts of the working class. There were more carpenters, engineering workers, electricians etc. This provided the potential for changes in class consciousness and for the formation of pro-working class consciousness amongst the new workers. Some of this potential was in fact transformed into class consciousness in the events from 1969-1973. The manufacturing workers joined unions that were traditionally quite passive (craft unions) and agitated for better conditions and for inflation-adjusted wage increases. They went on strike often and were for the first time seen in the fore-front of some of the the working class's most militant situations (except the carpenters who had been militant before). This militancy and trade unionism activism was a sign of a newly-emerging pro-working class consciousness.³⁹

In this case then, the potential offered by the class structure was partially taken up with a limited development in class consciousness.

There is an absolutely crucial rider to this argument. To say that the class structure provides the potential for class consciousness is not say that the class structure is uniquely responsible for or determines class consciousness. There is absolutely no possibility of deducing the nature of class consciousness from a knowledge of class structure alone. As Wright (1985, 40) argues:

"There is no reason to insist that the most important determinant of variation across capitalist countries in the process of class formation and consciousness lies in the variations in their class structures (although this could be the case); it is entirely possible that variations in institutional, racial, ethnic or other kinds of mechanisms may be more significant."

³⁹ The Auckland Engineers, for example, was one of the first unions involved in the Benny Award affair. See Deeks, 1978, 51.

This last point is the important one. Consciousness is derived from many other sources apart from one's position in the class structure. Working class people, for example, often have religious affiliations, ethnic affiliations, political affiliations etc., which mediate (influence) their class consciousness. Their perception of the class situation is altered through participation in these other non-class groups, through having other consciousness apart from class consciousness, and through encountering ideas which are inconsistent with their class interests. The possibilities for this mediation are seemingly unlimited. (I pick up this conception in the conclusion with a discussion of ideology and hegemony).⁴⁰

In a comparison of Sweden and the United States of America we can observe the political mediation which is only one type of mediation of class consciousness. In spite of the vast differences between the two societies, Wright (1985, 322) argues that their class structures are in fact quite similar and hence they have a similar structural potential for class consciousness. Both societies have, for example, a working class of around 40 percent of the working population. As we shall see though, this similarity is in marked contrast to the wide variation in class consciousness (Wright 1985, 436-439).

In Sweden, the Swedish Democratic Party (SDP) and the associated Swedish labour movement have adopted strategies which foster and reinforce the development of pro-working class consciousness. The Swedish media use the word 'class', alternative organisations of societies have been publicly debated (through the 'employee investment funds scheme), and vast white collar unionism has taken place. The result is a perception of social alternatives and a perceived communality of interest amongst working people, that is, a degree of pro-working class consciousness.

⁴⁰ And yet, in an effort to pin down 'economic determinists' (theorists that argue that class structure determines class consciousness) Przeworski (1977, 366) points to Wright as one who ignores such mediations. I have no hesitation in saying that, in this instance, Przeworski is wrong.

In the U.S.A, on the other hand, both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have systematically steered public discussion away from class-based issues, and the labour movement has trouble unionising manual workers, let alone white collar workers. The net result is the fragmentation and disorganisation of class consciousness amongst the whole workforce.

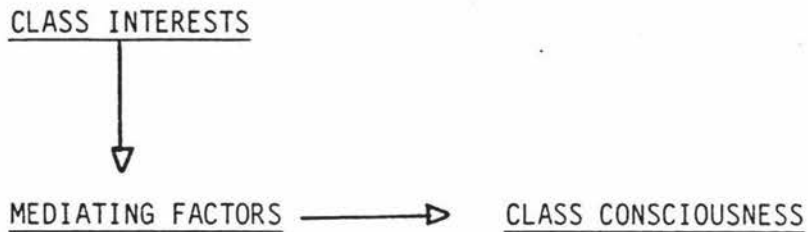
So, what we have here is that despite similar class structures there is a dissimilar development of class consciousness. This reflects the greater realisation of the potential of a class structure in Sweden than in the U.S.A. The important part of the example is that, in this case, it was the various political factors which were crucial in the realisation of these potentials. That is, it was the differences in political structures, not class structures, that was responsible for the variation in class consciousness. In neo-Marxist terms this is the 'mediation' of the effect of the class structure.

In my mind, there is an important implication of the statement that 'class structure does not uniquely determine class consciousness'. That is, pro-working class consciousness is not necessarily confined to the working class. In particular we must note the historical importance of pro-working class consciousness amongst students and academics. Academics are probably in a semi-autonomous location in the class structure (see Figure One), while many students are destined for the contradictory locations between the capitalist and working classes, yet it is quite plausible that they understand working class interests. Likewise, non-working class members of progressive women's and ethnic movements may also have pro-working class consciousness. In all of these cases the unique relationship between class structure and class consciousness is violated.

The two figures below are an attempt to get some coherency into this system of potentialities and mediations.

Quite simply we can state the relationship as:

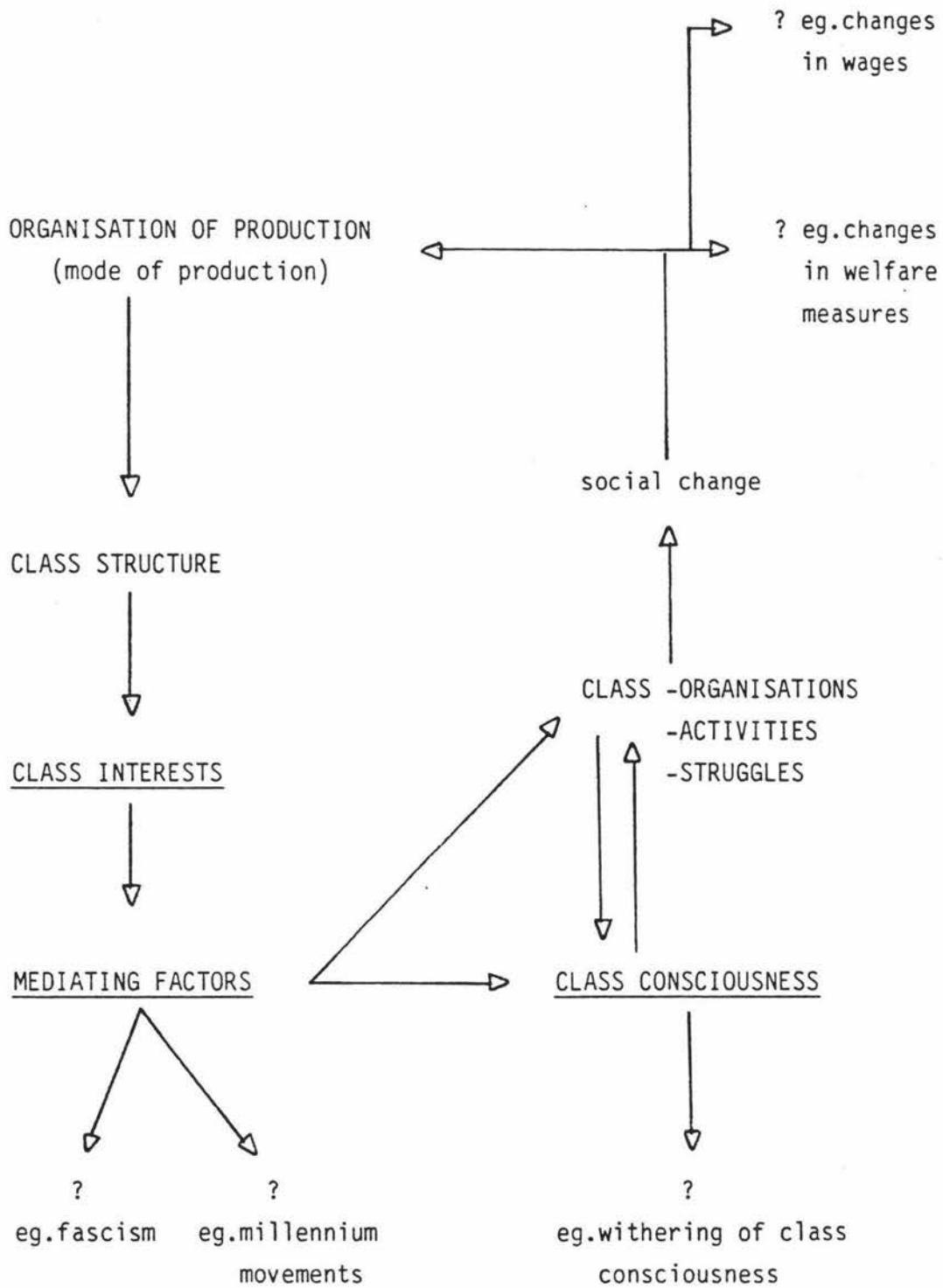
Figure 2: Simple theoretical relationship between class interests and class consciousness



Using the working class as an example, we can put this simple relationship in its broader context:⁴¹

⁴¹ There are two notes about this more complex figure; (a) The question marks are an attempt to illustrate the the indeterminacy of the process of class consciousness formation and the whole range of options open for the development of a society. (b) Although I have not covered the top right hand quadrant of the figure in the discussion, it should be obvious as a logical extension of the argument.

Figure 3: Complex theoretical relationship between class structure and class consciousness



(5) THE THEORY IN NEW ZEALAND

The relationship between theory and data is one of the time honoured debates in the social sciences.⁴²

For this reason I will comment, albeit briefly, on the relationship between theory and data within this thesis. Once again, this discussion has some technical aspects and can be skipped if necessary.

The fundamental argument here is that we must have theory to do research. The point is not so much that we 'need' theory, but that we cannot do without it. The way we think is in theory; to not have theory is to not think. Therefore, whether a researcher acknowledges it or not, it is impossible to do research without theory. This position is most clearly expressed by Poulantzas (1976, 65):

"....facts can only be rigourously...comprehended if they are explicitly analysed with the aid of a theoretical apparatus constantly employed throughout the text. This presupposes, as Durkheim has already pointed out in his time, that one resolutely eschews the demagogy of the 'palpitating fact' of 'common sense' and the 'illusion of the evident'. Failing this, one can pile up as many concrete analyses as one likes; they will prove nothing whatsoever."

This theory does not, however, exist in isolation. At some stage in its development it must be subject to scrutiny. This scrutiny can occur in a number of ways. Let me return to an earlier distinction and elaborate slightly. You will recall that 'mode of production' theorising is more abstract than 'social formation' theorising. To these two can be added a third even less abstract level, 'conjunctural' theorising. A conjunctural analysis is the theoretical examination of a particular society (or part of a society) in a particular historical period.

Theory at the first two, more abstract, levels can be scrutinised for logical consistency and regularity. This is one very powerful way of assessing theory.⁴³ Another form of theory assessment, and the one that I am concerned with in this thesis, is through conjunctural analysis. Here, useful theory must be able to make sense of concrete situations and particular instances. The key question then is 'can the theory help us to make sense of New Zealand society, 1984'? Marx himself was adamant about the need to examine theories in concrete situations. For Marx (1977, 46):

"Empirical observation must in each instance bring out empirically, and without mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with capitalism."

Thus, in the light of such observations and analyses, the theory may be revised accordingly. This is, to coin a phrase, the 'dialectical moment' when the theoretically informed analysis reinforces the theory. In this sense, conjunctural analysis is not only crucial for understanding the conjuncture, it is also crucial for the progress and advancement of the theory itself.⁴⁴

Within this thesis, then, the relationship between theory and data can be subsumed under two headings:

(a) Making sense of New Zealand with theory

Although the theory in this chapter is not definitive, it does contribute two things. Firstly, I have theorised that class consciousness may develop in line with class interests. Secondly, I have reasoned that this is more a potential than inevitable

⁴³ See Benton (1984, 1-2) for an exposition of this position. Also, see Althusser's 'knowledge effect' (1970, 67-68).

⁴⁴ See Chrisp 1984(b) for a discussion of these issues in respect to the New Zealand and international class projects.

development. With this theory in place, I can now examine its applicability to the New Zealand particular situation in New Zealand. What we are looking for is the extent to which a realisation of interests has taken place. To what extent are individuals class conscious, and how does this vary over classes?

In essence, then, I am using the hypothetical model of consciousness development as a yardstick, against which it is possible to compare the New Zealand conjuncture.⁴⁵

(b) Making sense of the theory with New Zealand

In the conclusion, in the light of the conjunctural analysis, I return to the theory in this chapter. This the 'dialectical moment' mentioned earlier. In particular, how has the conception of the class structure giving potential stood up? Was our theory deficient in every respect? What possible extensions of the theory can be made?

The obvious question now is, how does one go about doing conjunctural analysis?. The next chapter will outline the method used in this investigation of class consciousness.

⁴⁵ This usage is consistent with Wright's. He notes (1985, 399);

"The counterfactual use of the term class consciousness to designate the understandings of class interests is employed strictly as a heuristic device to facilitate the assessment of actual consciousnesses of individuals, not as a designation of some supra-individual mechanism operating at the level of classes independent of human activity."

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD

INTRODUCTION

The question about how we go about examining the relationship between class structure and class consciousness is a contentious one. The answer within this chapter, the survey method, is especially contentious. Some would argue that to use such a method is to abandon the very essence of Marxism itself. This is not so. The over-riding theme of this chapter is that it is not the survey itself which is objectionable but the way it has been used in the past. In fact, the use of the survey by the international project illustrates just how well theory and method can be integrated; it illustrates how well theory and method can act upon each other to produce a broad indication of the relationship between class structure and class consciousness.

This chapter is organised in the following way:

Firstly, as the choice of the survey method is not a straightforward one, I point to some options to, and criticisms of, survey research in general. The argument here is that the survey is only one of a range of useful methods. What the survey can do is provide some basic groundwork to the problem we are working on.

Secondly, I recount the various methods and techniques used in the New Zealand class survey. Specifically, I elaborate the theoretical importance of the questionnaire, the sampling method used, the background investigations that led to the face-to-face interview technique, the fieldwork and the processing of data. The rather detailed discussion from 'sampling method' on, is more a record for the New Zealand survey project than a central component of this thesis. For this reason there is a summary at the end of the chapter which outlines essential and relevant survey characteristics.

THE SURVEY AS A METHOD

(1) RESEARCH OPTIONS.

In respect to the examination of class structure and class consciousness, the survey is only one of a number of research options which could be useful. I will mention just four of these options.

(A) Census-based research.

Class research based on the census is inappropriate. The primary reason is that the simple occupational questions in the census (Q.17 and Q.18 in 1981 census) do not give us thorough information about class structure. Class position and occupational position are not the same thing. I will elaborate on this.¹

Question 18 is concerned solely with the title of a person's occupation: lawyer, nurse etc. This question is inadequate because a person's place in the occupational hierarchy does not accurately reflect a person's place in the class structure. Take a carpenter for example; a person who cites their occupation as a carpenter could be a capitalist or small employer (owns carpentry business) a petty capitalist (owns a carpentry business but employs no-one), a supervisor (of carpentry labour) or working class (a carpenter labourer).

Question 17 is a significant advancement on this in that it attempts to distinguish the status of an occupation. The three main categories here are employer, self-employed, wage and salary earner.

¹ Q.17 (personal questionnaire) states, more or less: 'Tick box which applies to your main job' then provides boxes labelled, 'employer of labour in own business or profession', 'working on own account', 'working for wages and salary', 'unpaid relative assisting in business', 'unemployed', 'retired', 'household duties', 'other'. Q.18 asks, more or less; 'what is your job, profession, trade or type of work.'

The question is still inadequate though. The wage and salary earner category, for example, conceals a whole range of class positions, anything from a person in an insecure menial labouring position to a top company manager.

A person's position in the class structure, therefore, is given by their social relationship to production and not simply their occupation. A class cannot simply be viewed as a cluster of occupations. Furthermore, in the American situation Wright (Working Paper 3, 13) compared his findings with the census and found that if he did use occupation to estimate social class he would be wrong in 45% of the cases. In all probability this applies to the New Zealand situation as well (see occupation/class table in New Zealand Working Paper 1, 15).

As for the examination of class consciousness, the census is inappropriate here also. Apart from the religion question, the census does not ask questions about people's attitudes or attempt to probe the way they think.

Despite these problems, Steven (1978) has attempted to use the census for a rudimentary analysis of class structure and class struggle. Although Steven does glean some useful information, it is obvious that he is continually butting his head against an unspecific data base. In order to analyse class structure he is forced into making some 'very rough estimates' (p. 127). Further, he can only discuss struggle by making the assumption that class consciousness and class struggle are directly related to class sizes, an assumption which is completely antithetical to this thesis.²

Yet, in my opinion it is not Steven who commits the gravest sin. The real problems are with those who use the census-based socio-economic-status categories (SES) and, either explicitly or implicitly, call them class categories. If we have a look at the use and abuse of the Elley-Irving index this becomes clear.

² See Pearson and Thorns (1983: eg. Table 3.1) for similar census-based class research. Although this is also useful work it is, for the reasons outlined above, still flawed.

In an analysis of the 1971 census, W.B. Elley and J.C. Irving ranked 451 New Zealand occupations according to their typical correlation with income and education. The outcome was a six level index or scale in which, for example, accountants were in level 1 and grave diggers were in level 6. Originally it was intended that this index be used for a very sound reason. Its main function was:

"to provide social scientists with an objective scale that would enable them to test the representativeness of the samples drawn for research purposes." (Elley-Irving, 1976, 25)

Now, the point I am making here is that these original intentions have sadly gone astray with the SES categories continually being used as a substitute for social class. Barrington and Gray (1981, 3), for example, explicitly and unashamedly aggregate the six levels of the Elley-Irving scale into just three levels; upper 'class', middle 'class', lower 'class'. The term 'class' here is totally misplaced. The implicit reference to class is present in many many uses of the Elley-Irving scale. In these cases, although the term 'class' may be absent, there is nevertheless the implicit assumption that it is class, and the system of class inequalities, which is under investigation.

These tendencies in research have tended to marginalise the concept of class; class, occupation and SES are confused and misused to the extent that the potency of the former is diluted and negated. For this reason, census based research is not only limited in its contribution to class analysis but, when carried out without caution, can also set class analysis back.³

(B) Historical Investigations

A historical examination of the relationship between class structure and consciousness could be very revealing. For example, I

³ Although this discussion has been in respect to census research and census categories, it applies equally well to other SES/class studies. See, for example, Baldock in Pitt (1977, 79-99).

think Walsh's (1980) Origins of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, is a good precedent here. Although Walsh is not specifically concerned with class consciousness he does point to the significance of class structure in the 1890s. In structural terms he identifies a dominant capitalist class fraction (an alliance of finance and agrarian capitalists), a secondary capitalist class fraction (manufacturing capitalists) and a dominant working class fraction (manufacturing workers). By identifying these fractions and the balance of power between them, Walsh is able to explain the emergence of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894).

In this context, historical class analysis is very powerful; it can be explanatory (as opposed to merely descriptive). If applied to the relationship between class structure and class consciousness, it could be equally as powerful.

Unfortunately, because of some basic dilemmas, this potential is somewhat lost in orthodox historical accounts. Three of these basic dilemmas are as follows:

The first relates to the problem that census research also faces. You cannot investigate the history of class simply by investigating the history of occupations. The historian must be continually wary of using the occupational status of a people as the class referent. This constraint is not insurmountable. Fairburn (1985, 7), for example, takes the traditional distinction between manual and white collar labour as his guide to the boundary of the working class. While this distinction has some very real problems in itself (many white collar people should not be excluded from the working class), it can be of use when treated with caution; of more use than occupation at any rate.

The second dilemma is one I have discussed at length in The Class Structure of New Zealand (State Papers 2, 1985). Very simply, the historians I looked at - Oliver, Sinclair and Olssen - all seemed to have great difficulty in acknowledging the presence of a class structure. For them, social class was (is) present only when seen to be present. The problem here, of course, is that class often works at a level which is very difficult to directly observe; it influences the media, it influences the state, it influences the

establishment of the law etc. What we can observe, though, is the presence of class consciousness and class behaviours through rhetorical speeches, class conscious literature etc. What this amounts to is that historians usually only acknowledge class in times of profound and blatant (and therefore observable) class consciousness; 1912-1913 (Waihi and Waterfront strikes), 1951 (Waterfront strike) etc.

The third dilemma relates to the second. By relying on what we can directly observe, historians often neglect the role of theory. As I discussed in Chapter One, it is theory, not strict observation, which initially informs us about class structure. Therefore, because historians have no (explicit) theory, they find it difficult to acknowledge the presence and operation of class structure. When theory is present for the historian, it normally comes after the observation. It helps them make sense of the observation that has happened rather than guiding that observation in the first place. This is parallel to the infamous inductive method of knowledge formation which was characteristic of the 1950's-60's American positivist sociology.⁴

Not all historical analyses are fraught with these dilemmas. The recent 'social history' type investigation seems to be aware of the need for theoretical observation. The Oral History method -the in depth interviewing of people about their past - is making a particularly significant contribution here.⁵

The general point then, is that historical analysis has vast potential to be useful but only if premised on explicit and thorough theoretical grounds.

⁴ Very basically, this earlier positivism committed the sin of first using the survey to gather information, then calling the results knowledge.

⁵ See Piet de Jong's study of rugby and Barbara Shaw's study of marriage, (forthcoming, Massey University Sociology department) for examples of the integration of theory and data through the oral history method. Also, more generally, see Shuker and Wilkes (1985) for an interesting discussion of the relationship between history, sociology, theory and class in the New Zealand context.

(C) Ethnographic Research

In the most general sense, ethnography refers to an intensive form of personal observation. The range of methods here is immense; anything from an in-depth interview (say 3 hours) to three years living with a group of people. Marshall (1983, 288-293) argues that within this range, a whole variety of methods could be useful for the study of class consciousness: group discussion, participant observation, intensive interviewing etc. He arrives at this advocacy of ethnography after a consideration of the nature of class consciousness. For Marshall, a study of class consciousness must:

- (a) understand the relationship between consciousness and action and not treat consciousness in isolation;
- (b) acknowledge that the development of class consciousness is in no way guaranteed or inevitable;
- (c) go a lot further than the simple documentation of attitudes. A method must allow the sociologist or interviewer to distinguish between, for example, whimsical reflections, beliefs founded in ignorance, cynical attempts to impress etc.

The point here is that class consciousness is a notoriously difficult thing to probe and tie, down and in this respect the more intensive method may have a better chance of doing so. On the strength of this one can accept Marshall's proposition that the ethnographic method is in fact very useful (I do, however, take issue with some of Marshall's related propositions. See below.)

(D) Questionnaire Survey

The method used in this thesis is one in which a researcher selects a large 'sample' of respondents (people in society) and, using a questionnaire, asks each one of the respondents the same set of questions. It is a method used to observe large groups of people, as individuals, in one instance in history.

The reason I have sketched out these options is to show that the survey is only one of a number of possible alternatives for the study of structure and consciousness. With these options present

it is useful to examine why the New Zealand project has chosen the survey as 'the' method. I will now spend some time explaining and legitimating this choice.

This New Zealand choice must be seen in the light of the original choice of a survey made by Eric Wright, and others, in the early stages of the international project. Further, this original choice is to be understood as a response to the neo-Marxist's struggle for survival in the American academic environment. There was a twin dilemma in this struggle. On the one hand, in order for the theory of Marxism to be taken seriously by the orthodoxy of American sociology, it needed a recognised and respected method. On the other hand, the method needed to make a definite contribution to the advancement of Marxist theory. What this really amounted was the confronting of American orthodox sociology on its own ground. The outcome of this confrontation was a 'rebirth' of empirical sociology within American Marxism; a rebirth of the survey, a rebirth of quantitative techniques etc. In this context of the rebirth of the empirical sociology then, the survey was chosen as the method for the American based international project.⁶

Because New Zealand is part of this international project we did, to a certain extent, 'buy' the concept of a survey method; it would be fair to say that we were following an international precedent. This does not mean of course, that we were compelled to do so. Both the British and the Australians have significantly departed from the strict survey method and still remain within the project. The British for example, have asked more 'open-ended', longer, questions and demanded less rigid answers.

⁶ As we shall see, however, this is not to be seen as a regression to the problems of the earlier empiricism. That this is not a regression can be observed in the preconditions for analysis that Wright outlines. He argues (1979(a),11), for example, that Marxists must 'have a deep grasp' of Marxist theory in order to link investigations to 'the inner logic of the theory itself'. As we shall see, the construction of the survey questionnaire illustrates that these are not just words, and the link with theory is present.

I think the reasons that we followed the American precedent arise out of the alternatives that exist to the survey method. Because the state of the art is so rudimentary in New Zealand, it was felt that what was needed was a method which could give us a broad indication of the relationship between class structure and class consciousness. This broad indication is only a beginning in the understanding and explanation process. What the alternatives to the survey indicate is that once we have this basic notion then we can carry out directed historical investigations, ethnographic examinations etc.; that is, once we have mapped broad orientations we can begin to understand the complexities of the determination and mediation processes. In this way it is argued that most methods have their place, and the survey method is in its place in respect to the New Zealand project.

(2) CRITICISMS OF THE SURVEY METHOD

This choice has been a contentious one. The use of the survey as a method has been criticised from both within and beyond the project. There are two main types of criticism:

Firstly, it is argued that surveys tend to neglect the importance of history to the explanation of social relations. A survey only investigates a 'slice of history', a moment in time, whereas explanation is essentially about social change, about change over time. Given the importance of history to Marxist explanation, this neglect is especially serious. E.P. Thompson (1963, 9) voices this criticism as it stems from his general conception of class:

"By class I understand a historical phenomenon unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw material of experience and in the consciousness.... Like other relationships it has a fluency which evades us if we stop it dead at any given moment and attempt to anatomise its structure"

Although this is obviously sound criticism, it does not fundamentally undermine the survey as a method. What it does mean is that

survey conclusions are most usefully seen in their historical context. The implication here is that an excellent adjoiner to survey research would be a historical examination of the surveyed relationship.

The second criticism is one that is specifically concerned with the use of the survey to investigate class consciousness. The reasoning here is that ~~the~~ interview situation is, in itself, a social relationship between interviewer and respondent which will, of its own accord, generate a particular set of attitudes. For example, when the respondent perceives the interviewer as 'educated and scientific', the attitude may be deference; or alternatively, if the respondent perceives the interviewer as pompous or 'ivory towerish', then the attitude may be cynicism. Marshall (1983, 272) argues along these lines. He claims that the survey, amongst other methods:

"is probably not appropriate for grasping the complexity of the interplay ... between consciousness, action, and structural context, or for uncovering the meaning to social actors of their friendships, work, voting habits."

Once again, my overall response is to say that although this is sound criticism, it is not fundamentally damaging. There are two counter-claims:

(1) It is unlikely that there are complete and systematic distortions in respondents' answers which are related to their class positions. As Wright (1985, 413) argues;

"There is at least some stability in the cognitive processes of people across the artificial setting of an interview situation...and that as a result, data gathered in social surveys does have social meaning"

(2) The truth that is in Marshall's statement is probably more truism. His criticisms simply amount to the fact that the more intensive (and expensive) a method, the better chance the sociologist has

of uncovering the complexities of a relationship. This is obvious; of course it is better to ask longer more probing questions. It is just that these things take time and money. In this respect, as I have already argued, the simple questionnaire survey is probably more use in understanding broad orientations in structure and consciousness, than complexities and intricacies. This is not to criticise the questionnaire as a methodological instrument though; oral historians, in depth interviewers and many other ethnographers also use questionnaires (or question guides).

The general point to be taken from these criticisms is in line with my previous arguments. In using the survey method I am not offering a complete methodological prescription. What I am offering is a method which is unique in its ability to give us a broad indication of the relationship class structure and class consciousness.

THE NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL SURVEY

As I have mentioned in the introduction and elsewhere, the New Zealand survey project is part of the much larger international 'comparative study of class structure and class consciousness'. This international study was launched by Eric Wright in 1977, and the first household survey (U.S.A.) was in 1980. Since that time a whole range of industrialised countries has launched their own projects (see Appendix 1 for list of projects, their directors and timetables). As you can see from the appendix the intention is to ultimately merge the data from all the national surveys into one massive data set located at Madison, U.S.A.. It is at this later stage that between country comparisons can take place.

The international project is co-ordinated through a project Newsletter, a working book and technical paper series (previously mentioned) and, to date, two major conferences. The central form of co-ordination, though, is the international use of the questionnaire. I will discuss this at length in the next section.

New Zealand officially joined this enterprise in early 1983. During that year we wrote a research proposal, were granted funds by SSRFC (Social Science Research Foundation Council), ran two pilot surveys, picked the sample, read the relevant literature and generally laid the groundwork for the national survey to come. In the first third of 1984 we located, selected and trained interviewers and by May we were 'in the field' (doing the survey, asking the questions). The urban part of the survey was conducted between May and August and the rural part of the survey between September and November. 1985 was spent coding the questionnaire, 'cleaning' the data, doing analyses and writing.

The survey was funded primarily from a SSRFC grant to the tune of \$13500. This basic grant was supplemented immensely by the 'free' labour of three P.E.P. workers and by small grants from within the university.⁷

⁷ If you incorporate the cost of P.E.P. labour the total cost of research would probably even out at around \$40000. See Appendix 1 for comparative funding arrangements.

Consistent with the contract, SSRFC received our preliminary report in January 1985. Since then this report has been published as both New Zealand Working Paper 1 and International Working Paper 30.

I will now go over the particular methodological details of the New Zealand survey. These are grouped under five headings.

(1) QUESTIONNAIRE

The survey questionnaire (see Appendix 2) is the most important aspect of both the international and the New Zealand project; it is around the questionnaire that all other methodological considerations are centered. For this reason I will deal with it first.

The questionnaire that we use here in New Zealand is one translated from the Swedish version of the original American questionnaire (see Working Paper 2 for original). Having a questionnaire which has core questions which are similar and comparable to the American questionnaire is an essential requirement of being in the international project. Because it is an international comparison of class structure and class consciousness there must be some basis upon which comparisons can take place. Therefore, although project countries may not have the same sample populations, sample sizes, sample methods or even the same overall questionnaire, they still must include the core questions of the American questionnaire. This similarity of core questions allows the findings of one country to be compared with another. In this way we see that the questionnaires core questions (detailed later) are fundamental to both the New Zealand project and to the international project as a whole.

The questionnaire is in this central position for very good reasons. If you recall some of the philosophical discussions at the end of last chapter you will remember that I argued that it is impossible to have 'pure' facts or 'pure' answers devoid of all theory. Well, consistent with this position the questionnaire asks questions in a theoretically guided fashion. The whole questionnaire is put together in a way which makes it possible to piece together an idea

of class structure and class consciousness in relation to our theoretical propositions. I will elaborate on this;

(A) Class structure and the questionnaire

The first thing to appreciate here is that, as I have already argued, class and occupation are just not the same thing. For this reason, a questionnaire which wants to establish class structure must ask many questions aside from a simply 'what is your occupation'; it must ask questions about a person's social relationship to production. So, in the first part of the project questionnaire (refer appendix 2) you find a whole range of questions (Q.2-Q.36) concerned with a persons (a) control over labour (b) control over investment and resources and (c) control over the means of production (see theory chapter). These include questions about a person's ownership of the means of production (Q.6-Q.14), a person's autonomy in the workplace (Q.27-Q.28), position in the hierarchy (Q29), authority over other persons (Q.30-Q.33) and access to decision-making (Q.34-Q.35). Then in a particular, pre-established, theoretically guided manner, we piece together the answers to these questions and allocate someone their class position or their social relationship to the production process. I will be going over the details of this piecing together in the chapter on variable constructions.

(B) Class consciousness and the questionnaire

The second part of the questionnaire (Q.36-Q.88) is concerned with the aspects of people's lives that could be related to their class position; this includes questions on class consciousness. That is, class consciousness is only one of the many class-related issues, which are examined in the second part of the questionnaire. There are also questions concerning the ethnic status of class members, their attitudes to women, participation in organisations, their class histories, the class positions of friends and spouses, and so forth.

For each of these class related issues the questions are placed and worded with a particular theoretical purpose. For example, if you refer to Appendix 3, you will note the brief theoretical discussion

that appeared in the original reference questionnaire beside the section on 'friends and relatives'.

For the study of class consciousness we have questions concerning a class member's identification of class position (Q.75,Q.76), a class member's party sympathies (Q83), the class-related attitudes of class members (Q37) etc. All the questions within the range Q.36-Q.88 that are relevant to the study of consciousness in this thesis will be detailed in the chapter on variable constructions.

The theoretical nature of the questionnaire is one of the major devices which sets this survey aside from the more traditional 'empiricist' type surveys. The latter would normally employ a questionnaire which would simply gather information to be used in the construction of theory. This is an inductive approach. Alternatively, the New Zealand survey has a questionnaire which has been written with the theory in mind. Then, in turn, the information gained from the questionnaire can be used to develop or transform the original theory. The relationship between theory and research is therefore a dialectical one.

(C) Changes to the Questionnaire.

The New Zealand survey did not adopt the original American questionnaire wholesale. Because of both financial constraints (it costs money to ask questions) and theoretical differences, we have made many changes to the questionnaire; although in order to stay compatible we could not deviate too far. Most of these changes came after the pre-pilot and the pilot surveys (we will be examining these pilots in the next section). Some of the more significant changes were:

(i) Whereas the American questionnaire was aimed only at those in the paid, full-time labour force, the New Zealand questionnaire is aimed at a much broader spectrum of society. (I will go over this more fully under 'survey population'). Thus Q.36(c)-(f) are new questions aimed at gauging the class position of those people not in the paid labour force.

(ii) Like the British, we were dissatisfied with the Likert scale attitude questions (Q.37 (a)-(u)). The main reservation here was that there was no way of observing the reasons behind peoples' attitudes. Likert questions extract an answer, in the form of an agreement or disagreement with a particular statement, without probing the logic behind this answer. We alleviated this dissatisfaction slightly by asking for elaborations of answers at Q.36 (d),(n) and (s). There are still enormous improvements that can be made to these attitude questions.

(iii) We redrafted the education question (Q.77) to be more sensitive to the enormous range of educational qualifications that people hold.

(iv) The question concerning people's membership in ethnic groups (Q.80) has been drafted in accordance with contemporary thinking on ethnicity. Rather than trying to gauge what 'blood' people have (Maori blood, Chinese blood), or what portion of their body belongs to what ethnic group (one quarter Maori, one eighth Chinese), the ethnic question depends on people's perception of their ethnicity; their recognition of and identification with an ethnic group. This is really a question which asks, 'regardless of blood ties, what ethnic group do you think you are in? The question in this form is essentially a recognition of the cultural rather than the genetic importance of an ethnic group. (This is consistent with the recently drafted census question.)

(v) Other changes to the questionnaire include; leaving out some questions because of cost (eg. religion), rewording many questions to be consistent with the New Zealand situation, and reformatting and re-ordering questionnaire layout.⁸

With this amended questionnaire in place the next question is, who answers it, or, what is our 'sample'? Although this decision was made alongside the decision on contact method, I will present them

⁸ A breakdown of these changes can be found in A. Needs (1983, 28-34).

separately. So, first the sampling method then the contact method.⁹

(2) SAMPLING

One of the fundamental principles of survey research is that a researcher can use a sample of a population to represent the population of people as a whole. If we want to know about class we need not get everyone in New Zealand to fill out the questionnaire. Rather, we choose a few people (a sample) to fill out the questionnaire then from the characteristics of these few people we make careful generalisations about all members of the population. In this way we can select a few who can be taken to represent the many. The key aspect here is representation. In our case, to say our sample is representative is to assert that it displays the same variations in class structure and class consciousness as the overall population.

Unfortunately, attaining a reasonable degree of representation is not a simple matter. Babbie (1979,165) writes:

"a sample will be representative of a population from which it is selected only if all members of the population have an equal chance of being selected."

Much of this section will detail how the New Zealand survey attempted to assure this equal chance of selection and, therefore, the basis upon which we can assure representativeness.

⁹ The following sections in this chapter are more detailed than is normal for reports on research. This is because: (a) this thesis has a secondary function of providing a record of procedures used in the New Zealand class survey and (b) some principles ,eg.sampling, require explanation for those who have not come up against them before. If you do not come into the second category, it is possible to skip the following sections and rely on the summary of essential survey characteristics at the end of the chapter.

(A) Survey population.

A survey population is that group of people from which the sample is selected. Each member of the survey population is eligible for and has an equal chance of selection in the sample. The New Zealand Project survey population had the following characteristics:

Because it was a national sample, a person could reside anywhere in New Zealand including even the remotest rural areas but excluding outlying islands. The person had to be over 18 years of age and could not be a student. Also, the person had to be the 'main' person in the household (usually the main income earner) or the cohabitee (partner, de-facto, husband/wife) of that person. So, it is a nationwide survey of the main single persons or main couples in households, who are over 18 but are not students.¹⁰

This survey population entails a significant departure from the Americans' and from most other countries on the international project. The normal practice is to only sample main income earners who are actively engaged in the full time labour force. This means that, for the other countries, the class positions of retired people, the unemployed and domestic labour are not examined.¹¹

In respect to the latter group this is a significant omission. As I have argued in the Theory Chapter (under 'Clarifications'), the class position of housewives and woman cohabitees of main income earners is vitally important; it is here that we find the relationship between class relations and gender relations. The inclusion of cohabitees and domestic labourers in the New Zealand

¹⁰ The rationale for the exclusion of students here is that they are very much in a temporary class position, just the first step in their trajectory of class development. What makes them so different is that their class position (relationship to production) in a few years will be fundamentally different from their class position now.

¹¹ See Wright 1979(a), 92-93; 1985, 22-29, for an elaboration and explanation of the American position.

sample is deliberately intended to allow the examination of this relationship (see Wilkes, forthcoming).

The thesis population is not the same as the total New Zealand project survey population. In the theory chapter I pointed out that the class structure theory was really only directed at those in the 'economically active (paid) labour force'. For this reason the population for this thesis is only that part of the survey population which our theory can make sense of; that is, people in the paid labour force (note the similarity with the other project countries here). A respondent is defined as being in the paid labour force if he/she works more than eight hours a week. With this hour limit so low we manage to incorporate those people who are in part time work but are nevertheless a very important part of the class structure.

In summary, the full New Zealand survey population includes those in the paid workforce, the retired, the unemployed, and domestic labourers, while the thesis population includes those in the paid workforce only. Furthermore, the thesis population is similar to the total survey population of most other project countries.

(B) Units of Analysis and Units of Observation.

The inclusion of cohabitees as part of the New Zealand survey population has changed these fundamental units of study. Before outlining this change I will first clarify what the terms mean.

Let us say, for example, that we are interested in the reactions of rugby clubs over the recent Rugby Union decision not to tour South Africa. In this case our unit of analysis would be a group; the club. It is the unit that we are wanting to describe in order to understand the position of rugby clubs as a whole. However, in order to know about these clubs - their opinions, reactions etc. - we must talk to the actual individuals that compose them. These individuals then, are our observation units; the units which we observe and therefore which give us the information.

Now, in respect to the class survey, the changes in these units are quite technical but are as follows;

What the other projects do is to question the main income earner in a household, then impute the class position of the whole household from this. In this way their observation unit is the main income earner and their unit of analysis is the household. In the New Zealand survey we have been reluctant to impute the class position of a household from the main income earner. Instead, by questioning both main income earners and their spouses, we have made each member of the couple an observation unit and each member of the couple a unit of analysis. In the New Zealand case then, both the observation unit and the unit of analysis are individuals. The change here is that we have moved from the international unit of analysis as the household, to the New Zealand project unit of analysis as the individual.

What this in fact enables us to do is to examine the other projects' assumption that the main income earner gives the household its class position. If, after analysis, we find this assumption to be correct than we can safely go back to the to the household as the meaningful unit of analysis. Until then, though, we are able to stick with individuals. As I have mentioned before, this change has important implications for the study of class and gender.

(C) Desired Sample Size.

The specification of sample size is an essential ingredient of representation, and one that is tied up with 'probability sampling' theory.¹²

¹² Note the reference to theory here. This methodological chapter is full of the implicit, 'buried', theory of sampling. Thus to make the distinction between 'theory' in Chapter One and 'methods' in Chapter Two, is really to make a distinction between the 'theory of society' and the 'theory of methods'. I remake the point then: We cannot escape theory. Theory is integral to knowledge.

Without going into this theory it will suffice to say that, up to a point, the bigger the sample size the more likely a sample will be representative. Or, to put it more precisely, the bigger the sample size the less the sample error.¹³

The way in which we decide our sample size is to specify the degree of sample error (the degree of unrepresentativeness) that we will accept. This specification determines the sample size. The degree of maximum sampling error which social scientists normally feel comfortable with is around 2.5% at the 95% confidence interval. From Appendix 4 we see that this degree of sampling error is normally associated with samples of 1600 people. This desired sample size was consistent with Phillip Rich's (director of McNair's Research Institute) recommendations and also with the rest of the countries involved with the international project (see Appendix 1). To achieve this desired sample size it was calculated that we would need to get the questionnaire filled out by the eligible respondents in 1000 households. I will look at the actual sample size after outlining the sampling process itself.

(D) Picking the Sample.

After much preliminary investigation (see later section) it was decided that the best sampling method would be a multi-stage cluster sampling. This decision is consistent with both Rich's recommendations and with contemporary thinking concerning sample design (see Babbie, Chapter 7).¹⁴

¹³ See Appendix 4. I will not explain what sampling error actually is or what confidence intervals are. The important point is simply that there is an inverse relationship between error and sample size. Also note the diminishing increase in sample error with an increase in sample size. This means it makes sense for the United States to have a sample size of 1760 to represent a population of 216 million, and for New Zealand to have a sample size of 1600 to represent a population of 3 million.

¹⁴ I will just note here that the contact method we chose was the face-to-face interview where our paid interviewer would go through the questionnaire with the respondent. I will detail this decision in the next section.

This method involved randomly choosing 'clusters' of households which we then approached to interview. A cluster of households is a group of households spread out at regular intervals along a street. The first house in this cluster is known as a startpoint. Because we wanted to interview 1000 households (desired size), and because we decided each cluster would consist of eight households, we knew that we needed 125 startpoints/clusters. (125 times 8 = 1000). The purpose of multi-stage sampling was to distribute these startpoints throughout New Zealand in a way that was consistent with the distribution of the population.¹⁵

There were 6 stages in this distribution of startpoints:

Stage 1: Area Stratification. Using the Department of Statistics classification of statistical areas, the country was stratified into 13 statistical regions; Northland, Central Auckland, South Auckland/Bay of Plenty etc. Each one of these regions was then allocated a number of startpoints as consistent with their total populations. For example, Northland got 4 startpoints (32 households), Central Auckland got 33 startpoints (264 households), South Auckland/Bay of Plenty got 19 startpoints (152 households) etc.

Stage 2: Stratification of Community type. Each region was then further stratified according to community type. This is again in line with census definitions, as follows;

Main urban areas: Urban areas with populations greater than 30000

Secondary urban areas: Areas with populations less than 30000 but greater than 10000.

¹⁵ In choosing cluster size there was obviously a trade-off between representation and the costs of travel/coordination etc. One big cluster (say in Auckland) would be cheap to administer but would not be representative. Five hundred clusters, of two households each, would be representative but very, very expensive. Our position in this trade-off, 125 clusters of 8 households, was once again in line with Rich's recommendations.

Minor urban areas: Populations less than 10000 but greater than 1000.

Rural areas: The rural population is that not defined as urban above, excluding outlying islands.

The total startpoints allocated to a statistical region in stage 1 were distributed throughout that area according to community type. Thus of the 19 startpoints in South Auckland/Bay of Plenty, 8 were allocated to major urban areas (Hamilton 4, Tauranga 2, Rotorua 2), 2 were allocated to secondary urban areas (Taupo 1, Tokoroa 1), 4 to minor urban areas and 5 to rural areas.

Stage 3: Stratifying Major urban areas. This was a sub-stage which enabled us to deal more efficiently with the large populations in the 4 major urban centres: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin. Using the census sub-divisions (NZMS, 92) we divided these cities up into sub-urban areas of equal populations. The equalisation of populations was estimated by standardising the number of road intersections in each census sub-division. Auckland, for example, was divided up into 209 sub-urban areas, each of which had approximately 50 intersections. With these standardised sub-urban areas established, we then randomly chose a number of them in accordance with the allocation of clusters (startpoints) to that city. Thus, with 33 startpoints allocated to Auckland we chose 33 of the 209 standard areas.

Stage 4: Stratifying rural areas. This was also a separate sub-stage. The purpose here is allocate rural startpoints within the rural areas.¹⁵

¹⁶ Both the rural sampling and the rural interviewing were carried out a different period than the urban sampling. I will, however, incorporate it as a logical stage in the sampling process. Also note that because of various mapping difficulties, the sampling process was less straightforward here than elsewhere.

Rural areas are typically divided up into counties or districts. Depending on the allocation to the area, we chose a number counties to receive rural startpoints. Thus with 5 startpoints allocated to rural South Auckland/Bay of Plenty (from stage 2), we chose 5 of the 15 counties in that area to receive them. Because the choice was proportional to population, the bigger a county the more chance it had of receiving a startpoint.

Stage 5: Household selection. From the stages above we were left with a number of areas that contained startpoints; whether they be standardised sub-urban areas (from stage 3), main urban, secondary urban or minor urban areas (from stage 2) or counties/districts (from stage 4).

The task now was to select a startpoint (a house at which to start interviewing the cluster) in each of the chosen areas. There were three phases in this:

- (I) We numbered the road intersections in the area
- (II) we used random number tables to select one of the intersections and
- (III) used random number tables again, to select which corner of the intersection will be the starting-point or starting household.

Once we located this starting-point the practice was to make up the 8 household cluster by selecting every third household, to the right, on the street. This is commonly known as the 'right hand rule'. This stage in sampling involved the project researchers driving around the country actually locating houses. (although in the rural areas it was the rural interviewers who located the households). The procedure was to find the startpoint, select the houses as above, drop the 'cover-letter' (see Appendix 5) in the letter box, and record the addresses on the interview record sheet (see Appendix 6). In actuality we recorded 12 households per cluster, of which the first possible 8 were to be interviewed.

Stage 6: Person selection. The final stage of sampling was left to interviewers. At each contacted household, the interviewer's first questions would be aimed at sorting out the eligible respondents. At households where there was a main couple the interviewer would conduct two interviews. At households where there was only a single main person the interviewer would conduct only one interview. Miscellaneous cases are discussed in Appendix 8.

With the desired sample size and the method of sampling specified I will now turn to the sample itself.

(E) The Final Sample.

(i) response rates. It is inevitable that during the course of a survey not everybody will be willing to answer your questions. In the New Zealand survey we approached 1233 households in order to get the desired 1000. This represents a response rate of 81.1%, or what is the same thing, 18.9% of the households refused to participate. The bulk of the refusals can be accounted for by the following three factors:

- (1) In some situations a husband would come from work and find that his wife had been interviewed during the day. On occasion, an ensuing feeling of betrayal meant that the husband would refuse to be interviewed. As we were not prepared to accept just one member of a couple this unfortunate situation led to two refusals being registered.
- (2) Younger interviewers on the survey (early twenties) registered a higher rate of refusals.
- (3) In the initial stages of being in the field we did not fully appreciate the importance of assuming that respondents would participate. We quickly discovered that if our interviewers gave respondents the choice to participate, then this would result in a higher refusal rate.

Still, despite these factors, the response rate of 81.1% is excellent. Compare it with Babbie's (1979, 335) guide that 50% is adequate, 60% is good and 70% is very good.

(ii) Actual sample size. The 1000 households successfully interviewed generated a total survey sample of 1665 adults. This is very close to the desired sample size of 1600. The maximum possible sampling error in this case is 2.45% (see Appendix 4). This is very acceptable.¹⁷

The size of the thesis sub-sample, those in the paid labour force, is 1016 respondents (61.1% of the total sample). Maximum possible sampling error in this case is 3.13%. This is still perfectly acceptable.

(3) BACKGROUND INVESTIGATIONS

We know now that the survey used a face-to-face interviewing technique and a multi-stage sampling method. In this section I would like to very briefly go over how those decisions were arrived at.

There were three components to these background investigations:¹⁸

(A) Havelock North Exploratory Study

In August of 1982 I completed a very basic, non-representative study of class in Havelock North.¹⁹

From this basic exploration it was obvious that a respondent needed some sort of guide in answering the questionnaire, and some questions could be sensitive if asked out of context.

¹⁷ This is ignoring the complications in computing sampling error for multi-stage cluster sampling. See Babbie 1979, 185.

¹⁸ I can be brief because all three components have been written up elsewhere. See Chrisp (1982) for Havelock North Study, and Needs (1983) for pre-pilot and pilot.)

¹⁹ Although this study used the Wright material - workbooks, questionnaire etc. - it was not part of the New Zealand project as such.

Also, and most importantly, there was a very rudimentary indication that there was possibly some sort of relation between class structure and political attitudes/behaviour. This was enough to suggest that a New Zealand-wide survey might be worthwhile.

(B) Pre-pilot

This was a small study (10 respondents) carried out by A. Needs early in 1983. He used the original Wright questionnaire with a face-to-face interviewing technique. The purpose here was to get a sound idea of the time it would take to go through the questionnaire, and hence of the interviewing costs involved. Pre-pilot investigations resulted in the trimming and changing of questions that I have already covered. After this pre-pilot the final interview time per respondent was trimmed to approximately 40 minutes.

(C) Pilot

This study was essentially an examination of possible contact methods. Although we had been using the face-to-face interviewing technique successfully till this stage, it looked to be expensive to do so for the full survey. The major options to this were the mail-out method (used successfully by the Swedes) and the telephone interview method (used successfully by the Americans). Because of the proven lower response rates of New Zealand mail-out surveys (approximately 63% return; Crothers, 1978, 232) we decided not to pilot this option but rather to concentrate on the telephone method. (A full report of this pilot can be found in appendix 7). I will just say here that after much time and effort, in the final analysis it was the representation problem that ousted the telephone method. Whereas in the United States 95% of households have telephones, this figure is only 85% for New Zealand. This meant that telephone sampling/ interviewing would miss at least 15% of the population and the bulk of this 15% would almost certainly be in lower the socio-economic groups.

The final outcome of these three preliminary investigations was, as we know, multi-stage cluster sampling using the interview technique. As a summary, it it would be fair to say that the sampling method was

chosen because of the absence of a reliable sample frame (a list of people or households, eg. electoral roll). For multi-stage cluster sampling, of course, you don't need this kind of pre-given sampling frame. The interview method was chosen because when it came down to it, it was the only method that we could really rely on; it was the only method that guaranteed good quality, full, data. These decisions were made despite the costs involved; they were not the cheap options.

(4) FIELDWORK

(A) Selecting, Training and Supervising interviewers.

One of the basic criteria for the selection of interviewers was that they had some sort of previous methodological, survey or interviewing experience. The procedure was to locate a potential supply of interviewers, then approach individuals. The most fruitful sources of supply were: lists of practising social and community workers, extramural students associated with Massey sociology courses and a network of McNair-trained researchers in Auckland. By offering reasonably attractive pay rates (\$8 for single person household and \$15 for double person household) and an interesting questionnaire and research problem, the recruiting of interviewers did not prove difficult.

The training of interviewers had two stages:

Firstly, an interviewer would be sent a questionnaire and a comprehensive set of survey instructions. This enabled the interviewer to go through trial runs with family and friends.

Secondly, the interviewer would be visited by a project researcher to go through a quarter/half-day training session. Training sessions had two parts. We would brief the interviewer on survey details (see Appendix 8 for briefing guide) then would instruct the interviewer on the 'art of interviewing'. The experience of the interviewers often meant that this latter instruction was made redundant.

There were several aspects to the supervision of interviewers. As a general form of supervision we launched a project newsletter (see for example, Appendix 9). Here we outlined recurring problems, reminded interviewers of deadlines and basically kept in touch. For the more personal problems we had resident field-supervisors in Auckland and Christchurch, and provision for supervision of Wellington through Palmerston when the need arose. Interviewers throughout the rest of the country were in constant telephone and letter contact.

A response rate of 81.1%, and the low incidence of missing data, confirms the quality of our interviewer handling.

(B) Interviewing.

Interviewers were allocated a minimum of one, and a maximum of four, cluster(s) each. Households in these clusters were located as listed on the interview record sheet (Appendix 6). At first contact with the respondent an interviewer would mention the cover letter, explain procedures and, typically, make an appointment to fill out the questionnaire at a later date. If there was nobody at home the interviewer was required to call back two more times before abandoning the household. This call back frequency is in line with Rich's recommendations. The average interview time per respondent was approximately 40 minutes.

For households where there were couples, we insisted that each member of the couple be interviewed separately. This is to avoid the presence of a another person in the room 'contaminating' a respondent's answers. In the case of some ethnic groups (eg. Samoans) this separation was not considered prudent.

Our basic record of interviewer behaviour is the completed interview record sheets handed in with the completed questionnaires. (See Appendix 6.)

(5) PROCESSING THE DATA

Completed questionnaires were checked as they arrived at the survey office. Where necessary, the questionnaires were sent back for minor amendments. The questionnaires were then coded onto code sheets with exhaustive checking procedures carried out at every stage. This part of the processing was co-ordinated by two full-time Massey Project workers (P.E.P). Codes were entered into our computer files by the professional data entry people at the Massey Computer Centre.

To make sure the codes were in the right places we employed a whole variety of data 'cleaning' procedures. These included; hand checking some of the more important variables against the original questionnaires, checking cross-sections of data to ensure the data set was in line, designing and running computer programmes to cope with particular systematic errors.

After the preliminary analysis of some variables, a final report was prepared for the SSRFC. Coding, cleaning and analysis continues.

SUMMARY

(essential survey characteristics)

The class data for New Zealand was gathered in a national questionnaire-interview survey conducted in the second half of 1984. 1000 households were sampled on the basis of a multi-stage cluster sampling method. Here, 125 clusters of 8 households each were selected from around New Zealand in accordance with the distribution of the population. In each household we interviewed the main income earner and, if existing, their cohabitee. People under 18 years of age and students were excluded. This generated a total survey sample of 1665, adults. which means the maximum sampling error at the 95% confidence interval is 2.4%. The response rate was 81.1%.

This thesis is only concerned with part of the total sample. The analysis here is confined to people who are in the paid workforce more than 8 hours a week; that is, the 'economically active' people of all those surveyed. The sample size in this case is 1016 adults.

With the data gathered in accordance with a theoretically-designed questionnaire, we can now piece together the questions in a theoretically-informed way. What this means is that we are now in a position to specify precisely the concepts of class structure and class consciousness. Further, this degree of precision allows us to examine closely the central theoretical premises. Setting up these examinations, and specifying the concepts, are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: SETTING UP THE ANALYSIS.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter takes up where the theory chapter concluded. It is here that the broad theoretical guidelines, reasonings and arguments are specified in such a way that we can examine them closely. The chapter is organised as follows: Firstly, in parallel with the section of Chapter One, I set out the basic theoretical premise in which I am interested. From this premise it is possible to lay out a 'devil's advocate' type hypothesis, that is, a hypothesis that I expect to be refuted, but is stated because it is the nature of its refutation that is revealing. Secondly, I construct the variables that are used in the investigation of the hypothesis. From the questions in the questionnaire on authority, decision-making, supervision, autonomy etc., I put together a typology of class structure. From the questions on attitudes I construct the class consciousness variables. I also specify a number of control variables: age, gender and ethnicity. Thirdly, I briefly outline some of the statistical issues: levels of measurement, appropriate statistical procedures and so forth.

Some of the techniques and variables specified in this chapter are similar to Wright's work. This is as Wright intends. He notes (1985, 491) that his detailed elaboration of analytical technique will:

"...enable others to replicate the results presented in this book, if they so desire."

These similarities will ultimately allow the New Zealand situation to be compared to those of both Sweden and America.

(1) BASIC PREMISE

The primary argument in Chapter One raised the possibility that a person's location in the class structure imputed to that person their class interests, which could come to be realized in the form of class consciousness. The premise, then, is that a person's position in the class structure could be an important mechanism in determining their

consciousness. There are two theoretical assumptions which underly this premise: (a) the interests rooted in the relations of production and in classes are real and (b) people are sufficiently rational to come to know those interests.

This premise suggests that, from the classical Marxist literature, we can 'expect' certain relationships when we study class consciousness. These expectations can be expressed in an hypothesis:¹

Hypothesis. Mediations aside, there will be at least a weak tendency for class members to develop a form of consciousness that is consistent with their class interests. This allows us to make the following definitive empirical expectation; class consciousness will vary systematically with location in the class structure (as presented in the class map; Chapter 1, Figure 1). Thus, pro-working class consciousness will predominate amongst working class respondents and pro-capitalist class consciousness will be predominant amongst capitalist class respondents, and neither a strong pro-working class consciousness nor a strong pro-capitalist class consciousness amongst contradictory class respondents.

¹ A note on the use of the word 'hypothesis' here. The origins of the term hypothesis, and hypothesis testing, are in the experimental natural sciences. The penetration into the social sciences came with the large scale positivist social surveys in America in the 1960s. In this environment hypotheses were used to 'test' theories against 'reality'. The implication was that a number of refuting hypotheses could 'disprove' a theory; a theory could be shown to be 'false'. The use of the term 'hypothesis' in this thesis is fundamentally and qualitatively opposed to this. The main difference is the relationship between the hypothesis and theory. In this case the hypothesis merely puts a 'handle' on the theory. It brings one aspect of the theory to a crucial, readily understandable point, which then guides our observations. Refutation of the hypothesis tells us less about the theory and more about the situation which refutes it. That is, this is not the way that theory is 'tested'.

This strong premise and the hypothesis are obviously out of character with my previous deliberations on class consciousness. The last section of Chapter One was dedicated to showing how class consciousness was not systematically and blatantly related to class structure. This hypothesis, then, is a 'devil's advocate' type hypothesis; one that I expect to be refuted. Nevertheless, it is still very useful. As I stated in the Theory Chapter, positing the classical hypothetical link between class structure/interests and consciousness provides an excellent yardstick against which we can compare the situation in New Zealand. Thus, what I am interested in is not whether the hypothesis is simply supported or refuted, but in the way it is supported or refuted, what groups it holds true for and what groups it doesn't, the types of consciousnesses that are prevalent and the types that are not.

The premise and hypothesis, then, are deliberately simple, the purpose being to capture the most pervasive and systematic tendencies rather than the full range of complexities that may enter into the consciousness formation processes of individual class members.

(2) SPECIFYING CONCEPTS

The first step in the investigation of this hypothesis is to specify the concepts. But even before this, I must make clear some of the methodological language used.

An attribute is a particular characteristic or quality of a respondent; male or 55 years old or employed. A variable is a logical grouping of attributes; gender, age, employment status. The presence of a variable implies the presence of an indicator; that is, in the case of this thesis anyway, a question from the questionnaire which gives us information about the variable. With a variable like age, the simple question "in what year were you born" is a sufficient indicator. But, with a variable like 'class attitudes' it is very difficult to find any one unambiguous and undisputed indicator, and therefore we employ a whole range of indicators. In this latter case, where there are multiple indicators, the variable is a composite one.

A typology is a particular type of composite variable. With a normal composite variable each indicator must, at face value, reflect the variable in question. For example, a respondent's attitude to companies is a face value indicator of class attitudes. An indicator within a typology, on the other hand, only makes sense in the context of its fellow indicators, and at its face value may not reflect the typology. For example, a respondent's autonomy in the work-place is an indicator within the class structure typology, but does not seem to reflect class structure at face value.

Given these definitions, each concept can be accorded a methodological status. The class structure variable is a typology. Class consciousness is a concept which is approximated by a whole range of variables; the class attitudes composite variable, the two party sympathy variables (National and Labour), the two class identification variables (Strength of identification and Actual class identified) and the two alternatives variables (Open and Closed). Other variables include age, gender and ethnicity.

These variables are constructed in the following way.

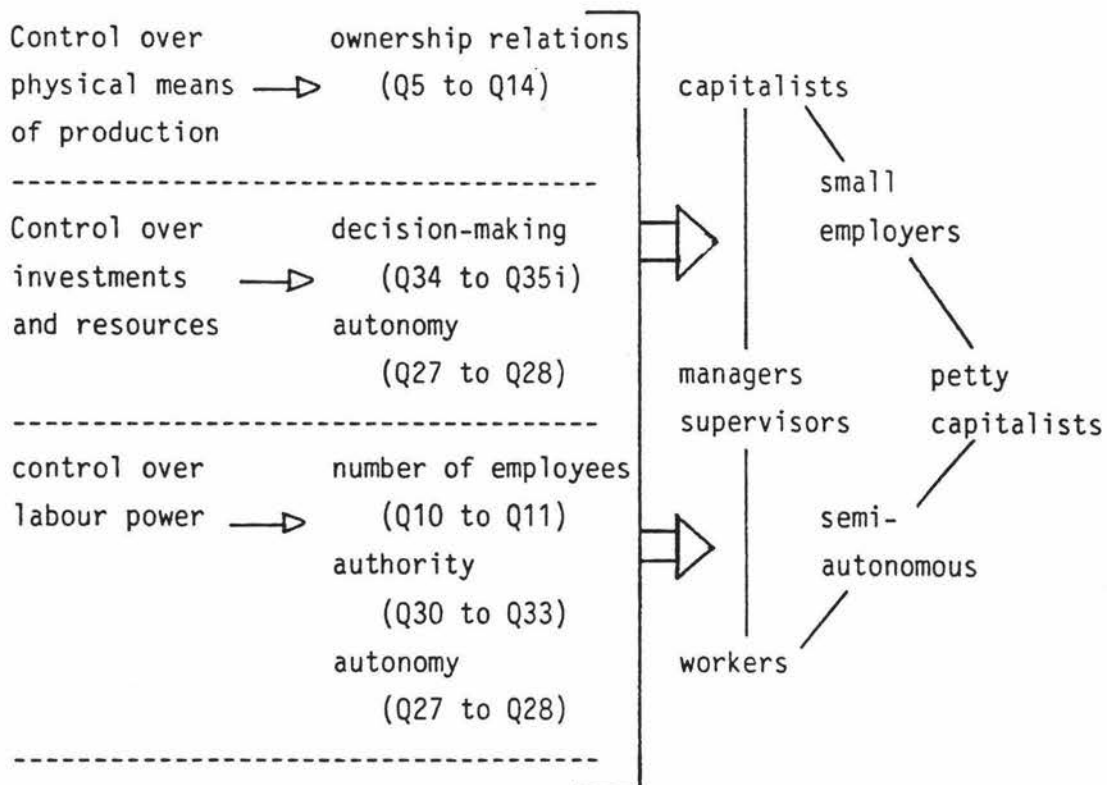
(A) The Typology of Class Structure.

In this analysis, class structure is the predominant independent variable; that is, the variable which is hypothesised to influence class consciousness.

The link with theory. In the Theory Chapter I outlined three dimensions of control which are the substance of class relations; control over the physical means of production, control over labour, control over investment and resource allocation. In essence, the following specifications 'tap' or 'indicate' these dimensions of control in order that we may generate a New Zealand class map. It is only through the questionnaire items that the three dimensions can tell us about class relations in New Zealand. I have captured this relationship in Table Two. At this stage the middle column will not be familiar, but the general idea should be clear.

Table Two: Relationship between the theory, variable construction and the class structure typology
(question numbers refer to Questionnaire, Appendix 2.)

DIMENSIONS OF CONTROL OUTLINED IN THEORY CHAPTER → TAPPING DIMENSIONS OF CONTROL THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRE → RESULTING NEW ZEALAND CLASS MAP



The particular part of this process that I am specifying here is the relationship between the questionnaire items and the derivation of the New Zealand class map. I will do this by taking each class in turn:²

² The specification of class structure that appears here is in line with international precedents. The specification first appeared in Working Paper 3, was then used by the Swedes (working Paper 4) and, among others, has also been used by New Zealand project (New Zealand working paper 1, Appendix 2). Of necessity, I will be following these specifications very closely and, when it comes to actually defining variable values, I have paraphrased Appendix 2 of the New Zealand Working Paper 1.

(i) capitalists, small employers and petty capitalists. In general, these locations are indicated by two principle criteria:

(a) at the most basic level, to be in any one of these locations a respondent must register as 'self-employed' on Question 5. Further, this group must be self-employed in real terms and not just nominally so (Q9), and must include the 'employed' owners (Q6).

(b) having sifted out all the self employed, we distinguish between the locations through the number of people employed (Q10 and Q11). The petty capitalist is defined as employing a single person or no-one.³ Those respondents who employ 10 or more people we define as fully-fledged capitalists, and those who employ between 2 and 9 people we define as small employers.

(ii) Managers and supervisors. The most complex and involved aspect of the class structure typology is in the specification of the contradictory locations between the capitalist class and the working class. Using three criteria - decision-making, authority and formal hierarchy - we first construct a full managerial variable. We then specify the locations of managers, advisor-managers and supervisors as simply positions within the variable. The logic here only applies to respondents who registered as 'employed' in the first place (on Q.5):

(a) Decision-making participation. Employees were asked whether or not they participated in policy type decisions (Q.34). If they responded 'yes' they were then asked specific questions about the form of their participation in eight types of

³ Theoretically a petty capitalist was defined as employing no-one for as soon as a single person is employed in a regular way the extraction of surplus value takes place and the social relations of production are transformed. However, the way we asked the employment question meant that we could not distinguish between those self employed people who employed no-one and those who employed one person. For this reason the petty capitalist has a cutoff point of 1 employee, rather than none.

decisions; output, basic work procedures, budget, distributions of funds, goods or services delivered and the number of employees (Q.35a to Q.35i). On each of these decisions, respondents could get one of three codes:

- 1 = directly participates in making the policy decision (i.e., they make the decision on their own authority, or they make it subject to approval from above, or they are voting member of a group which makes the decision).
- 2 = provides advice to decision-makers, but does not directly participate in making the decision.
- 3 = neither provides advice nor participates

The response to the initial question (Q.34) and the questions on the form of decision-making were then aggregated into a simple three value variable:

- DECISION-MAKING: 1 = participates directly in making at least one decision,
- 2 = does not participate in any decisions, but provides advice on at least one,
- 3 = non-decision-maker

(b) Authority. The problem with this variable is that employees are prone to overstate how much authority they actually have. The head of a work-team, for example, may answer 'yes' when asked if he/she supervises, (Q.30) but in reality may only co-ordinate the team's activities. The authority question, then, had to distinguish between simply nominal supervisors (a person who simply transmits information), and a person who exerts real power over his/her subordinates.

To avoid these problems, we specified a number of task supervision activities (Q.32) and a number of sanction supervision activities (Q.33). 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 (Q33).

2 = task supervisor: a supervisor who cannot impose sanctions, but does give orders of various kinds (Q32).

3 = nominal supervisor: a supervisor who neither give orders nor imposes sanctions (answers 'yes' to Q.30 but does not register on Q.32 or Q.33)

4 = non-supervisor: no subordinates of any sort, or supervises a single clerical subordinate who in turn has no subordinates.

(c) Position within the formal hierarchy. The final variable in the composition of the managerial typology was an employee's position within the formal hierarchy. This involved classifying a respondent's position* as managerial, supervisory or non-management (Q.29).

Wright initially included this question as a validation check on the authority variable. But, as it turned out, the authority questions and the hierarchy questions seemed to be tapping different dimensions of control, so both were included. The variable has three values:

HIERARCHY: 1 = managerial

2 = supervisory

3 = non-management

Once these three variables were constructed, the task was to combine them into the full managerial variable (see appendix 10). One of the advantages of having this detailed variable is that values upon it can be combined in a whole variety of ways and the effects of doing this monitored. In the American study for example, Wright is able to specify 'minimum', 'maximum' and 'best estimate' class sizes by expanding and contracting the managerial variable. He experiments with other parts of the typology as well (see working paper 3, 32). The version of the managerial variable employed in this thesis involves the following definitions:

- MANAGERIAL LOCATION: 1 = managers: decision-makers who are managers or supervisors in the formal hierarchy and/or have real authority (managers are 1 or 2 or 3 on the full managerial variable);⁴
- 2 = advisor-managers: advisors to decision-makers who are in the hierarchy and/or have real authority (values 4,5,6,7 on full managerial variable);
- 3 = non-managerial decision-makers: decision-makers who are neither in the hierarchy nor have any authority (value 8 on full managerial variable);
- 4 = supervisors: non-decision-makers with sanctioning authority or with both task authority and a supervisor/manager location in the formal hierarchy (value 9,10,12 on full managerial variable);
- 5 = non-managers, non-supervisors (values 11,13,14,15 on full managerial variable).

⁴ Real authority is values of 1 or 2 on authority variable.

(iii) Semi-autonomous Employees. Although the construction of this variable is relatively unproblematic, conceptually there are more inadequacies here than anywhere else in the class structure typology.⁵

From the Theory Chapter, it will be remembered that the semi-autonomous employee is one who has managed to retain 'a degree' of control over the immediate conditions of work and over the labour process; or, as we shall call it in this section, within the labour process they have 'self direction'.

Of the many possible indications of self-direction, the one that posed the fewest 'validity' problems was the following:⁶

Firstly, we asked employees if they had the "capacity to design and plan significant aspects of their work, and put their own ideas into practice" (Q.27). Secondly, those who considered that they did have self-direction ('yes' to the above question) were asked to provide a concrete example of this (Q.28). The interviewers had instructions to probe for details here. We then coded these examples according to our own theoretical considerations concerning self-direction. In the final analysis therefore, the decision concerning an employee's autonomy was left to us. This effectively corrected for employees overestimating their sphere of self-direction. The scale that we used to code the examples had the following values:

⁵ I have reviewed the controversies around, and inherent problems within, this variable in 'A Chronological account of the conceptualisation of Semi-Autonomous employees' (1983). It is interesting to note that the ambiguities within this variable were one of the factors that finally gave rise to a whole new class map based on the work of John Roemer. I review this later development in the conclusion.

⁶ The 'validity' of a variable is the extent to which the variables indicators measure or gauge the variable itself; in this case, the extent to which Q27 measures 'autonomy'. See Babbie; 1979, 132. We must be very careful when we talk about measurement though. Like most social science variables, 'autonomy' is only a concept, a construction in our own minds, with no absolute status. To 'measure the variable' then must mean nothing more than 'approximating the concept' the best we can.

- 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 question.

This scale can be put together in a number of ways. For this thesis, we will consider the semi-autonomous employees to be those who are effectively outside the managerial variable (values 3 or 5 on the condensed version), and who have values 1 to 3 on the autonomy scale.

(iv) The Working Class. The working class is the residual category within the class structure typology. Out of the initial 'pool' of employees (from Q.5) some are classified as managers, some as advisor-managers, some as semi-autonomous and so forth. After all these class positions have been constructed the remaining employees are identified as workers. The logic of the typology implies, therefore, that workers have little or no authority, very rarely take part in decision-making, are non-management in the formal hierarchy and have little or no autonomy.

The overall logic for the construction of the class structure typology is presented in appendix 11 (eleven). The table below is essentially a less specific, but more accessible, version of Appendix 11.

Table Three: Construction of class structure typology.
 (from New Zealand working paper 1 ,10)

CLASS LOCATION	VARIABLE CONSTRUCTION
Capitalist	owner or part-owner of business with at least 10 employees
Small employer	owner or part-owner of business with 2 - 9 employees
Petty Capitalist	self employed or owner or part-owner of business with no more than 1 employee
Manager	participates directly in making at least one type of decision and is at least task supervisor for more than 1 employee and/or places him/herself as manager or supervisor in the formal hierarchy
Advisor-manager (Technocrat)	provides advice to decision-makers 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	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)

For most of the empirical analyses the manager and advisor-manager locations have been combined into a single category. The strong similarities between the locations allowed this to be done without significant loss of useful data.

(B) The Class Consciousness Variables

The variables in this section are the dependent ones; that is, the variables whose variation this thesis is trying to explain. Taken together, these variables approximate the concept class consciousness.

The link with theory. In the theory chapter I discussed class consciousness in terms of the class orientation of people's perceptions of social alternatives, theories of consequences and preferences. Then, in the final theoretical statements I, dubbed class consciousness as a person's awareness of class interests; a class-interest-consciousness.

The task in this section, therefore, is to design some instruments which are capable of assessing this degree of awareness in individuals. We do this by tapping the general extent to which individuals have attitudes that are consistent with working class or capitalist class interests.⁷

There is an important note about the treatment of interests here. Theoretically, I distinguished between immediate and fundamental class interests. Immediate interests were those that took the mode of production as given, while fundamental interests called into question the mode of production. Regrettably, this theoretical distinction is not so pronounced in the questionnaire. Most of the consciousness questions are ambiguous in respect to the issue of interests. Take Q.72, for example, which investigates a respondent's attitudes to welfare; it is difficult to see how this question stands in respect to working class interests. The working class person who looks favourably upon increasing welfare may be seen to be acting in line with immediate working class interests (many people consider that

⁷ For a discussion of the usefulness of attitude questions in an examination of class consciousness see the Methods Chapter, section on criticisms.

welfare improves the living conditions of working class people). However, there is also the argument that the welfare state subsidises employers and capitalists by educating and keeping healthy the workers. Thus, a person taking this latter stance, and therefore looks unfavourably on increasing welfare, may be seen to be acting in line with fundamental class interests. The point is that the question itself provides no means of probing the logic behind these decisions.

For this thesis, the way out of this dilemma is to exercise clarity. Each variable has a position in relation to class interests and this position is spelled out precisely. In general terms though, the rule of thumb has been to 'neutralise' the distinction between fundamental and immediate interests. There are questions in the questionnaire which would be answered the same way no matter what class interests people are realising (or not realising). These are questions with direct class implications and unambiguous and blatant class content. As will be detailed, the exceptions to this general rule are the party sympathy variables, and the alternatives variables.

The class consciousness variables are as follows;

(i) Class attitudes index.⁸

This index gives us information on whether the respondent takes a pro-capitalist or pro-worker point of view on a number of crucial class issues.

In a careful and systematic way an index is constructed from a number of variables. In this instance, of the nine variables which could have been included in the index (Q.37a-g, Q.37l and Q.73) only five qualified. There were a number of considerations that went into the choosing of these five variables; missing values, variance, question wording and so forth. But most important was that the variables have a similar relation to class interests. Very briefly, it was reasoned that a respondent would answer similarly to each statement, regardless of whether it was fundamental or immediate interests that

⁸ Guidance in the compilation of this index comes from Working Papers 15 and 19, and Classes, Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

they were realising. This index, then, gives us a non-interest-specific insight into class consciousness.

The five variables chosen are all 'Likert items'. These are questions where the respondents are read a statement (and given a copy of the statement) and are asked whether they strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. These statements appear in the Questionnaire as follows:

Question 37 (a) Companies benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers

(c) During a strike, management should be prohibited by law from hiring workers to take the place of strikers.

(e) If given the chance, the non-management employees at the place where you work could run things effectively without bosses.

(f) Striking workers are generally justified in preventing strike breakers from entering the place of work.

(g) Big companies have far too much power in New Zealand society today.

Obviously, each one of these statements has a 'left' orientation. To agree, then, is to be pro-worker and to disagree, pro-capitalist. The five statements were coded +2 if the respondent strongly disagreed, +1 if they somewhat disagreed, -1 for somewhat agreeing and -2 for strongly agreeing. Respondents failing to respond to any one of the statements (37 in all) were excluded from analysis. These five responses were then added up, generating an index ranging from +10 (maximally pro-capitalist) to -10 (maximally pro-worker). This index approximates a respondent's net class attitude orientation on this set of questions. Thus, a respondent who took the pro-worker option more frequently than the pro-capitalist option registered a negative value, a positive value indicates the opposite.

As I have expressed elsewhere (see Chapter 2) I have certain reservations about this scale.

Firstly, while the scale may indicate the direction of a person's attitude it does not probe the reasons behind this. Theoretically speaking, it is these reasons for attitudes that are more important than the attitude itself. Secondly, and relatedly, this scale treats class attitudes as a continuous variable running from pro-capitalist to pro-worker. This sort of consideration goes against the theoretical propositions which emphasise the qualitatively distinct forms of consciousness amongst different groups of people.⁹ It is for these reasons that the New Zealand project incorporated open-ended elaboratory questions into its Likert section. It is one of these elaborations which makes up the alternatives (open) variable.

(ii) Class Identification variables. In addition to class attitudes, I also use class identification to approximate class consciousness.

Q.74 asks, 'do you think of yourself as belonging to a particular social class'. If the respondent answers 'yes, Q.75 offers a number of classes to choose from (identify with). If the respondent answers 'no' to Q.74, then Q76 also offers a range of classes and probes them into choosing. From the three questions I, construct two separate variables.

The first variable is the strength with which people identify with their class position. Either they identify strongly by choosing a class in Q.75, or they identify weakly after being probed to chose a class from Q.76. The 6% of people who totally rejected the idea of class position were categorised as having no class identification. The second variable is the actual class with which a respondent

⁹ Also in recognition of these deficiencies, Wright (See Technical Paper 7, 12) has expressed an interest in constructing a qualitative typology of class consciousness. He proposes to draw on the work of Mann (1973), Ollman (1972), Livingstone (forthcoming, 1985) and Therborn (1980).

identifies. The three options here are working class, middle-class or upper-middle class. As above, those with 'no class identification' formed a separate category.

As Wright notes (Working Paper 19, 18), class identification is a conventional indicator of class consciousness; in fact, for many mainstream theorists, class identification is class consciousness. For my purposes, although it is only one of a range of approximations of class consciousness, it is a relatively important one. In particular, it is possible to infer something about the respondents' understanding of their own class position. Also, I argue, it is possible to infer something about their perception of the system of classes in general.

As with the class attitude index it is reasoned that these variables 'neutralise' the issue of class interests. If someone recognises their immediate class interests, then they should have some sort of perception that there are others in the same situation, and should therefore identify with their class. Because people realising fundamental class interests will also identify with class, then we have effectively broached the problem. The consciousness approximated here then is, once again, a non-interest-specific class consciousness.

(iii) Party Sympathy variables. This variable is interesting in its own right as well as being useful in an approximation of class consciousness.

Q.71 gauges the extent to which respondents sympathise with two political parties; the Labour Party and the National Party. The respondents score a 1 if they sympathise strongly, 2 if they sympathise to a certain extent, 3 for not at all.

There are potential difficulties here in respect to class interests. The presence of these party variables represents an assumption that there are recognised historical and contemporary links between some classes (and class interests) and some political parties. For example, if a working class person votes Labour this can be taken to represent a certain awareness of the Labour Party traditionally being

a working class party, and hence as a certain awareness of working class interests. Likewise, if a working class person votes for National, this can be interpreted as a lack of an awareness of working class interests.

In respect to the Labour Party, however, this relationship is not so simple. How does the Labour Party's current 'free market' and 'labour market flexibility' proposals serve the interests of the working class; fundamental or immediate. In this case it is entirely reasonable to see a working class person realising their interests by not sympathising with Labour. For this reason, the connection between Labour Party sympathies and class consciousness is treated with utmost caution in the analysis.

Within this variable there is also a possible reliability problem.¹⁰ The snap election last July was dropped right into the middle of our interviewing period (May to November). Thus, some of the party sympathy data was gathered prior to the annual election and some after. With intensive public relations campaigns, election promises, revealing of party performances and so forth, it is entirely feasible that for some respondents their party sympathies changed over the course of the interviewing period. Once again, this is a case for exercising caution.¹¹

(iv) Alternatives variables. Respondents were first asked to agree or disagree with the statement at Q.37d:

"It is possible for a modern society to run without the profit motive." This produced the 'Alternatives' (closed) variable. They were then asked to elaborate on their answer with the question 'why did you say

¹⁰ Babbie (1979,131) defines a technique as reliable when it yields the same results when repeatedly applied to the same object.

¹¹ For future use, it would be possible to run a reliability check by crosstabulating pre-election respondents with post-election respondents.

that?' This elaboration gave rise to an enormous range of responses, which were coded into an eight value 'Alternatives'(open) variable.

The alternatives variables have a very particular relation to class interests. Q.37d suggests that an alternative form of society can exist; one that does not need a profit motive. A conception of this sort is one which does not take for granted the existing mode of production: it calls into question the organisation of society. To agree with Q.37d therefore, or to answer its probe favourably, can be construed as a degree of realisation of fundamental working class interests. Moreover, as I have argued in the theory chapter, this perception of social alternatives, and realisation of fundamental working class interests, is normally associated with a strongly developed form of pro-working class consciousness.

The precise nature of this realisation (or non-realisation) is reflected in the values on the alternatives variable. The values range from (1), the complete non-realisation of the fundamental working class interest, to (8), the explicit favouring of the socialist alternative. As compiling this variable is really part of the analysis itself, the full range of values will be tabled and discussed in the next chapter.

It is obvious that this variable is somewhat removed from the other class consciousness variables in the way that it is related to class interests. Both theoretically and analytically it can be seen to be tapping a different dimension of class consciousness. Theoretically, it is the only variable to be explicitly concerned with fundamental interests. Analytically, all class consciousness variables, except alternatives, behave similarly in respect to class structural position, age, gender, and ethnicity. Because of these differences, the alternatives variable is treated in isolation at the end of the analysis chapter.

(C) Control variables.

This section deals with a number of variables that I use to examine more closely the general relationship between class structure and class consciousness.

I explain the precise purpose of these variables in the Analysis Chapter itself.

There are three control variables;

(i) Gender. This is indicated from the interviewer's panel on page 12 of the questionnaire.

(ii) Ethnicity. Q.80 asks "do you identify yourself as.....", and lists a range of ethnic groups. When constructing this variable I was more interested in having a reliable controlling instrument (reasonable amount of people in each category) than an instrument finely tuned to the intricate differences in ethnicity. For this reason the variable has only three categories: Pakeha majority ethnic group, minority ethnic groups, and no ethnic identification.

(iii) Age. Q.82 asks "what year were you born". As with the ethnic variable, age was coded into broad categories that would be useful in controlling. The fifteen year cohorts are 18-32 year olds, 33-47, 48-62, 63+. In the final analysis, the cohort boundaries could have been better placed to get round the small cell sizes for the oldest age-group.¹²

These control variables are used in section three of the Analysis Chapter.

¹² This categorisation is slightly different from that in New Zealand Working Paper 1 (22). The Working Paper uses 10 year cohorts and therefore allows a more precise analysis of age.

(3) NOTES ON STATISTICAL METHODS ¹³

A discussion of statistical strategy must first take into account the levels of measurement of the variables involved. There are three levels of measurement that I am concerned with; nominal, ordinal and interval. Very briefly, a nominal measure is one that simply classifies the variables attributes into categories, gender for example. An ordinal variable is where the categories stand in some relation to one another; they are in order. Any one category has more or less of some attribute. On the class attitude index, for example, any one category can be seen in terms of being more pro-worker or less pro-capitalist. The interval variable is one where the distance that separates categories actually means something. With age, for example, to say that a person is in one age-group not only means that they are older than some and younger than some, but also you know by how much they are older or younger. Given these brief definitions, the levels of measurement of the variables in this thesis are as follows:

The class consciousness variables are straightforward. The class attitude index and party sympathy variables are all ordinal. The strength of class identification and the actual class identified variables are nominal. The control variables are also unproblematic. Gender and ethnicity are nominal while age is interval. The class structure variable has some peculiar measurement characteristics. Strictly speaking it is a nominal variable because any one class is not above or below another on any single dimension. You could not, for example, say that petty-capitalists are above or below managers. You will recall though, that theoretically this variable combines three dimensions (control over labour, control over investments, control over the means of production - see Table Two). The presence of these dimensions does give rise to a certain ordinality. You can,

¹³ This section is really only aimed at those who are interested in the statistical underpinnings. For this reason I have reneged on the promise not to employ technical language and have assumed some statistical familiarity (though not much). Non-enthusiasts may safely skip the section if they wish.

for example, say that capitalists have 'more' than workers because they do have more on all three dimensions. Likewise, managers have more than supervisors. In this respect the class structure variable can be said to be nominal with 'hidden' ordinality. In this thesis I get around this peculiarity by presenting the results in the class map format, rather than in the usual crosstabulation tables (see Figure 5, then Appendix 13).

The significance of these measurement levels is that many statisticians argue that they should constrain the choice of statistical techniques. Most statistics have assumptions about the level of data that is being used in the analysis. The Lambda statistic, for example, assumes nominality while the Gamma statistic assumes ordinality. The concern here is that the misuse of statistics on the wrong level of data, and the violation of measurement assumptions, contributes to misleading analysis. In particular, proponents of this view argue that interval level statistics (eg. regression, factor analysis) should not be used on ordinal data. (see Siegel, 1956, Chapter Three).

There are now, however, claims that too much has been made of these underlying assumptions and hence the choice of method has been too constrained (see Labovitz, 1970, in Weisberg, 196). The argument here is that the risk is there, but not to the extent that it leads to faulty conclusions. Further, there is much sound analysis to be lost by not using higher level statistical techniques.

Within the parameters of this debate I take the middle line. I do use statistics which violate the assumptions of measurement, but only in the initial stages of data manipulation and familiarisation. These statistics do not find their way into the substantive discussions in into the thesis and, in the main, the substantative discussions are based on 'de jure' techniques. The one exception to this is the practice of calculating means for ordinal data (discussed below).¹⁴

¹⁴ This position is at variance with Wright's position. In classes (1985), Wright confidently presents regression co-efficients and t-tests for ordinal data -this is, of course, a common practice in the social science literature

All techniques were drawn from the computer package SPSS (statistical package for the social sciences). Within this package, the basic procedure was crosstabulation; running each of the dependent variables up against the class structure variable in simple table form.

In the early stages I watched several measures of association quite closely, in particular, Lambda, Gamma, the co-efficient of contingency and Somers D. The power of these measures, however, was somewhat diminished. This was because: (a) I was mainly concerned with the relationship between a nominal variable (class structure) and a number of ordinal variables (class consciousness). The nominal measures underestimated the strengths of association, while the ordinal measures violated assumptions and thus had to be treated with caution. The appropriate nominal/ordinal statistics (eg. the Wilcoxon model) are not available in SPSS. (b) no measure of association could allow for the hidden ordinality within the class structure variable. This was the prime concern. Nevertheless, in the early stages of analysis the above measures were useful.

Likewise, the chi-square significance test also played an important role in the early analysis. As it stands, the large sample and consequent low sampling error (see Methods Chapter) have meant that most results are significant to the .05 level. However, in the final analysis, the failure to satisfy the underlying assumption of randomness and the sometimes large tables (small cell sizes) detracted from the power of significance tests. For this reason, I have not reported significance levels throughout the analysis.

As Wright (1985,264) points out, sociologists are prone to fetishizing significance tests (and measures of association) at the cost of ignoring the real patterns and meanings of results. It has been this latter factor which has been the major analytical focus in this thesis. I have tended to give far more weight to a relationship being repeated time and time again, than I have to its precisely measured strength or significance. In this way the final analysis relies more on the actual substance of the crosstabulations than on the SPSS statistical options.

One procedure I did use in this search for patterns was the SPSS 'Breakdown' facility. When the dependent variable was ordinal (eg. class attitudes) I used 'Breakdown' to calculate the mean score on each class position. It is those mean results which appear in the following chapter. Although this obviously violates the level of measurement assumption, the SPSS users manual (260) does consider the 'Breakdown' appropriate for ordinal level data (of course, had there been a comprehensive median breakdown, it would of been preferable). I must, however, sound two notes of caution: (a) A mean is sensitive to extreme scores. In a situation where most people have answered in one direction but a few people have answered strongly in the opposite direction, the mean is skewed towards the few. (b) To give a mean score for a class does not imply that the whole class has that score. To say, for example, that the mean score for capitalists is conservative does not infer that all capitalists are conservative. There may be a significant group of liberal or even radical capitalists. To watch for these effects I appendix the full crosstabulations and standard deviations (average distance from the mean), for the main section of analysis.

In the control section I was initially interested in the extent to which the independent variables contributed to a unit change in the class consciousness variables. To this end I used the SPSS regression facility. As regression is an interval statistic I constructed dummy variables for class and ethnicity (nominal) and made do with the ordinality of the ordinal variables. Gender is a naturally dichotomous variable so did not need a dummy. Although the regression coefficients do find their way into an appendix they do not contribute directly to the final analysis.

I have handled missing data through pair-wise deletion. If a respondent had a missing value on any one variable they were dropped from the crosstabulation on both or all variables. As you will see, there is no real problem with missing data.

I think it is appropriate that this chapter finish on a philosophical note. The examination of the relationship between class structure and class consciousness in this thesis is only in respect to the way in which we have 'made' these concepts. The variable construction,

survey population, indicators and so forth all contribute towards giving these concepts meaning. The thing to remember is that the meaning should not be construed to extend past this. The 'measurements', the estimations of 'degree', the statements of 'absolute' consciousness that follow must therefore be treated with the utmost caution. One of the mistakes of positivism was that this caution was not exercised.

With these variables and techniques in place I can now examine the tendencies for co-variation. Do the class consciousness variables co-vary with class structure in any systematic way?

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

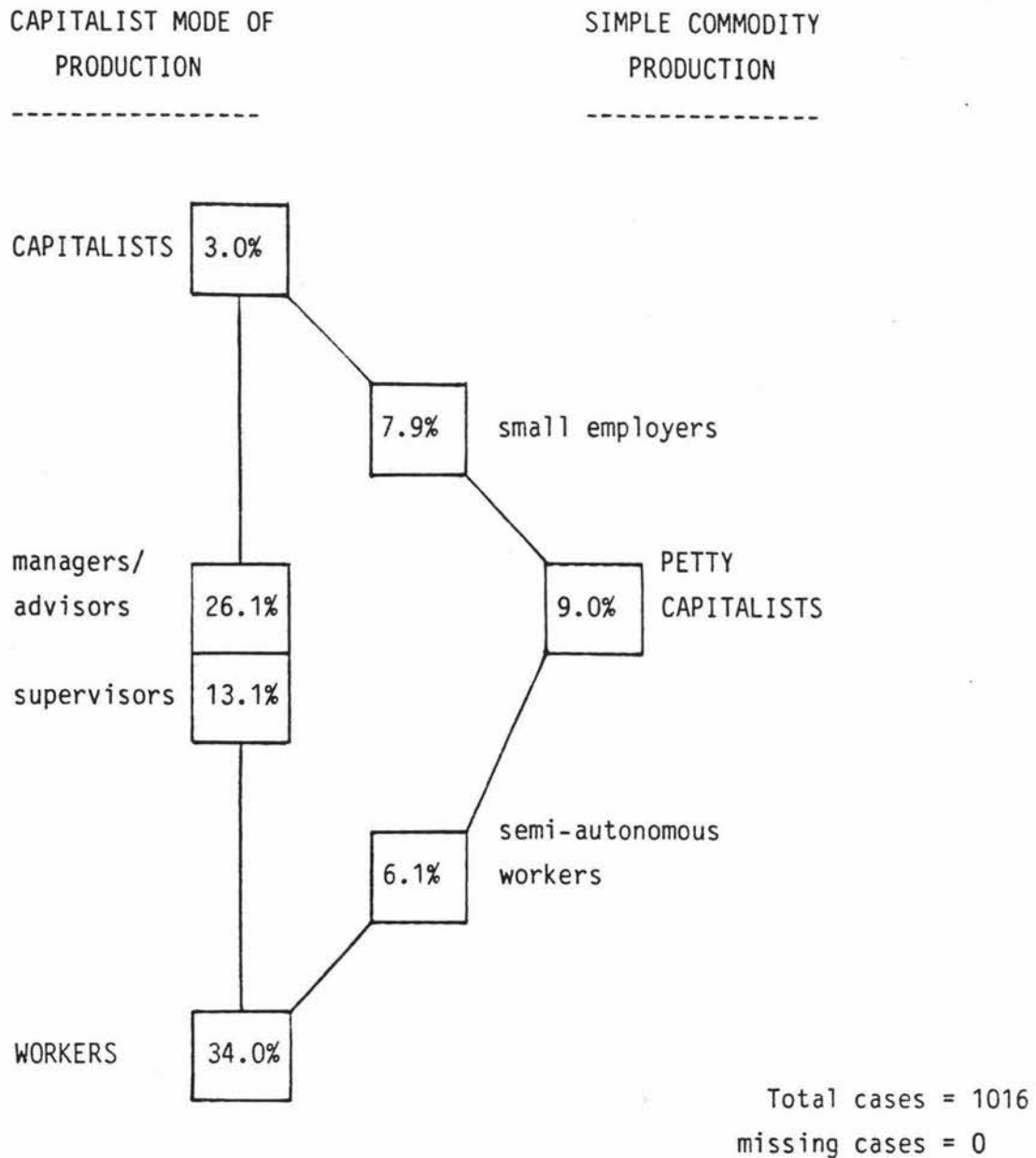
This chapter draws on the variables and concepts specified in the previous chapter. The relationship between class structure and class consciousness is analysed in four separate stages:

- (1) Class structure in New Zealand
- (2) Examination of the general relationship between class structure and class consciousness.
- (3) Examination of the general relationship when various control variables are added.
- (4) Examination of the alternatives variable

Each stage is sub-divided into the analysis of individual variables. I offer summaries throughout.

(1) CLASS STRUCTURE IN NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealand class structure divides itself up as follows: the number in each cell represents a % of the 'economically active labour force'. The supervisor location, for example, comprises 13.1% of New Zealand's economically active labour force.

Figure 4: The New Zealand class structure.¹

¹ The class sizes here are slightly different (3 cases) from those put forward in New Zealand Working Paper 1 (12). The most significant differences are that the W.P.1 total cases were 1017, and the working class was 34.7%. This is due to ongoing data cleaning since the above was published (see Methods Chapter for details).

The New Zealand Working Paper One explores the class structural map in some detail. In particular it considers the relationship between class structure and occupational groups, business sectors, regions, gender, ethnicity, and age. In this thesis only the most outstanding features of the class structure will be put forward. I make comparisons with the American class map to highlight these outstanding features (see Appendix 12).

These results provide a useful insight into the prevailing social formation in New Zealand. There are two things about this social formation which are worth noting:

(a) While the capitalist mode of production is most prominent (77% of all class positions) there is also the strong presence of the simple commodity mode of production (23%). In general terms this dual existence is similar to the United States (capitalist 78% and simple 22%) and is typical of many capitalist societies. It is common for large to medium capitalist organisations and institutions to co-exist with a whole battery of much smaller, more vulnerable, more volatile enterprises.

It is the particular nature of this co-existence in New Zealand which is most revealing though. Very importantly, the presence of an agrarian-based simple commodity production inflates the petty capitalist, the small employer and even the capitalist locations (aggregating, compare the New Zealand 20% with the U.S.A. 14.6%). This inflation is due to the small scale of agricultural production and the high levels of private land ownership, coupled with the widespread employment of seasonal, casual and permanent rural labour. The point here, then, is that our agrarian-based economy, with its own patterns of ownership and employment, has made its own particular 'stamp' on the structure of class relations in New Zealand.²

² To discuss the agricultural sector in terms of simple commodity production is not to imply that it is divorced from the capitalist mode of production. On the contrary, simple commodity production is inextricably linked to and dominated by the presence of the capitalist mode of production. One can consider the proliferation of 'Queen Street farmers' and the expansion of capitalist based agricultural companies (eg. Dalgety's, Yates) in this light.

Within the capitalist mode of production, the most outstanding feature is the large working class. 34% of the people who work are in the working class. By definition, this means that at least a third of all positions (or 42% of all employee positions) lack control over investment and resource allocation, lack control over labour power and lack control over the physical means of production. This 34%, though, is smaller than the American working class (best estimate 46%). Relatedly, the managerial positions between capitalist and worker are significantly larger in New Zealand. These variations probably point to the different organisation of the capitalist mode of production in each country. Comparatively, New Zealand tends towards smaller enterprises with fewer people confined to strictly working class positions. Comparatively, American capitalism is characterised more by large monopoly organisations. This contributes to a concentration of control in a smaller capitalist class (New Zealand 3% vs. U.S.A 1.8%) and a larger group of people devoid of control in a larger working class. In this respect one could argue that North American capitalism is more advanced than New Zealand capitalism.³

(b) The proportion of people in contradictory class locations is another important feature of the New Zealand class structure. In New Zealand, over half (53%) of the economically active labour have contradictory class locations; or, to say the same thing, have 'one foot in one class and one foot in another'. Although North America also has a sizeable portion of its class structure in contradictory locations (45%), the proportion is smaller than New Zealand's. As I argued above, one could take this to imply a greater polarisation within the larger scale, entrenched, and more advanced American Capitalism.

The most important aspect of these contradictory locations is the implications they have for class interests/consciousness. As you will recall, 53% of people in contradictory class locations imputes 53% of people with contradictory class interests. The implications of this will be picked up in the analysis of consciousness which follows.

³ See Simpson, 1984, Chapter Two, who also evidences and argues that there is an ongoing concentration of power and ownership in New Zealand.

Summary. I have picked out the more salient features of the New Zealand class structure. These are the agrarian 'stamp' on class relations reflected in the inflated capitalist to petty capitalist locations, the large but comparatively small working class, and the large numbers of people in contradictory class locations.

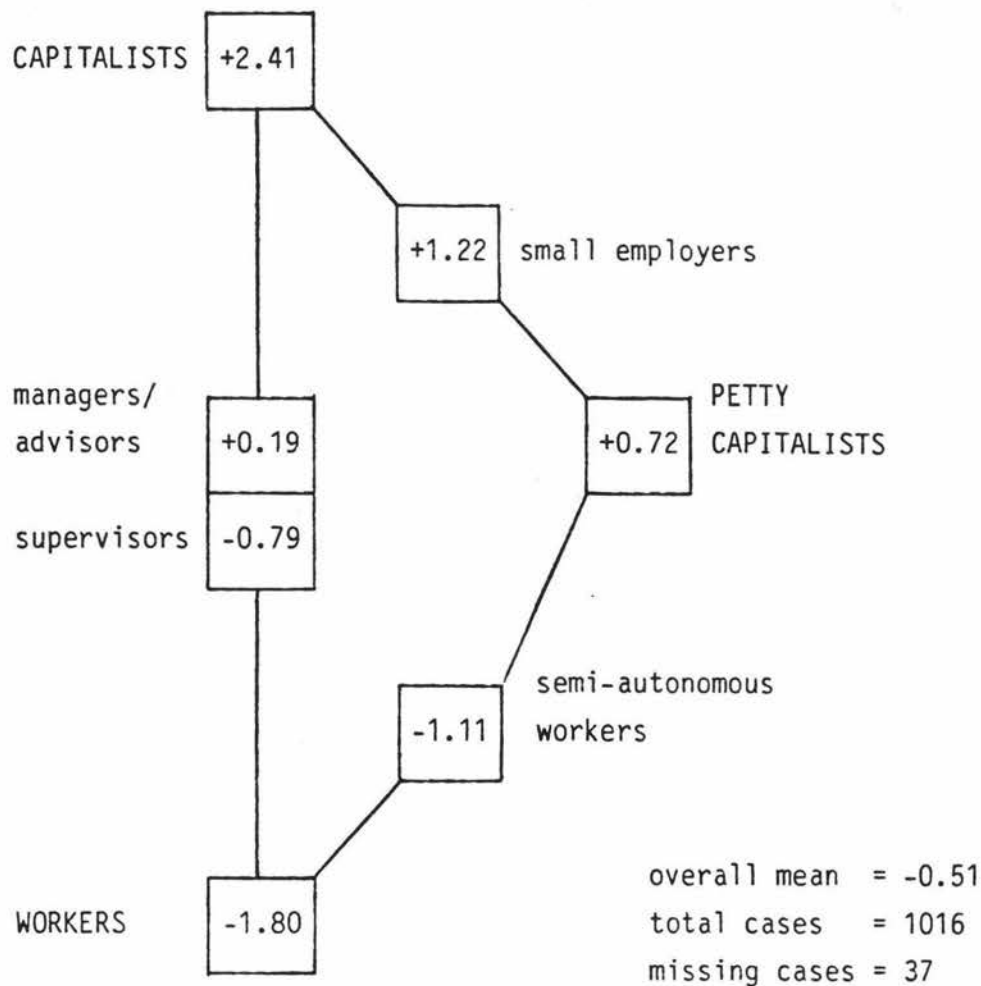
This underlying New Zealand class structure now forms the basis for the analysis of class consciousness. The question remains; to what extent do these people, in their class positions, have a consciousness associated with that position.

(2) THE GENERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASS STRUCTURE AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

In this section I take each of the three class consciousness variables in turn - class attitudes, party sympathies, class identification - and discuss how each is related to class structure. Typically, this involves putting each class consciousness variable against the class structure typology, using the crosstabulation and breakdown procedures outlined earlier.

(a) Class structure and class attitudes

The class attitude index gives us an indication of the extent of pro-worker or pro-capitalist orientation. You will recall that a +10 on this index implies a respondent has maximum pro-capitalist consciousness, while a -10 implies maximum pro-worker consciousness. (Appendix 13 explains the following form of data presentation). Figure 5 presents the mean index score for each class (see Appendix 14 for the full crosstabulation of class attitudes with class, and per class standard deviations: and the crosstabulation of the index's component items with class).

Figure 5: Mean values on class attitude index.

There are two aspects of this relationship that I will comment on.
 (i) The pattern of means over the class structure and (ii) the exceptions to this patterning.

(i) The first thing we notice about Figure Five is the symmetrical pattern of responses. Starting with the capitalist class (mean 2.41) and going down through managers (.19) and supervisors (-.79) to workers (-1.8) we see that the means descend in order. That is, the closer to the working class a person is, the more likely it is that they will have pro-working class attitudes. Likewise, if you start with the capitalist class and go out to small employers (1.22) and petty capitalists (.72) then back through semi-autonomous employees (-1.11) to workers, the same order of values is observed. As above, the indication is that the closer a person is to the capitalist class the more likely it is that they will have that class's attitudes.

It is interesting to have a look at this pattern a little more closely. The strongest pro-capitalist people are those that own their own means of production; capitalists, small employers and petty capitalists. Furthermore, it seems that this pro-capitalist orientation is reasonably sensitive to the number of employees. This is evident in the large gaps between the means amongst the three owning classes. The capitalist class is particularly distinct in this respect.

The strongest pro-worker orientated people are clustered quite decisively around the working class as either supervisors, semi-autonomous employees or workers themselves. Unlike the classes that own, the three classes here have means that are reasonably close together. In this respect note the comparatively strong pro-working class orientation of the semi-autonomous location. One interpretation of this 'clustering' is that the working class may not have the pro-working class attitudes that we might 'expect'. If the working class had a more negative value the class map would be more symmetrical, but as it stands the working class corner seems a little 'pushed in'; hence the clustering with supervisors and semi-autonomous employees.

The mean value for managers/advisors is the one most obviously strung between the two poles of pro-capitalist and pro-worker. That is to say, the people in this category have the least polarised mean attitude. One may argue that this could be expected given

that both capitalist and working class interests impinge on contradictory class locations. Along these lines, you will also notice that all contradictory class locations have values that lie between those of the two basic class positions.

In general terms then, the overall pattern of responses on this variable points towards the 'expected' relationship between class structure and class consciousness. In this instance, there seems to be a tendency towards the realisation of class interests and thus the hypothesis is supported.

(ii) This support of the hypothesis is tempered somewhat when we look more closely at the attitude index. The index has a possible range of +10 to -10; 20 points. Given this potential we can consider the 4.21 point range in means (-1.80 to +2.41) to be quite limited. This is also evident in the small standard deviation (4.41 points -see Appendix 14). The indication here is that throughout the class structure the realisation of interest is partial and incomplete, more in line with a 'tendency', as described above.

The absence of complete realisation is also indicated by the many exceptions to the relationship. As you will recall, the means are only summary attitudes for each location and are not to be taken to suggest that each person in the location has that attitude. The degree of exception to mean attitudes is most evident in the full crosstabulation and in the standard deviations (see Appendix 14). Using the working class as example, we see that the majority (63%) have pro-working class attitudes, and in doing so have attitudes consistent with our expectations. However, and this is the point, also note the large minority of workers (37%) who register a positive value, and in particular, the 10% who register +4 or more. Likewise, the standard deviation shows that the average distance from the working class mean, for working class people, is 4.13 points. That is to say, a large minority of working class people have interests inconsistent with their class position, inconsistent with their class interests. In these cases the hypothesis is cast into doubt. Amongst capitalists there are also exceptions; 6% of capitalists score a negative value on the class attitude index, and

the standard deviation is 4.17. Throughout the whole table the mean analysis obscures exceptions to the general tendency.

Summary. In broad terms there seems to be at least a tendency for class members to have attitudes that are consistent with their class position. The suggestion, therefore, is that there is at least a tendency for the realisation of class interests. This tendency, however, cannot in any way be construed as evidence of an exclusive or determinate process. The small range of opinion and the high level of exception suggest that in many cases the realisation of interests is incomplete and partial. Furthermore, the clustering around the working class may indicate that the realisation of interests is more incomplete here than elsewhere. Also interesting is the sensitivity of class attitudes to the number of employees, and the strongly pro-working class mean of the semi-autonomous location. These themes are discussed more fully below.

(b) Class structure and party sympathies

In this section I present the results for attitudes to both National and Labour, comment, then discuss the results in terms of the realisation of class interests. Because of the ambiguous relationship between political parties and class interests, these two variables must be treated with some caution. Nevertheless, as you will see, it is difficult not to see them as supporting previous findings.

The question asked 'can you tell me how you feel about the four main parties, and if you sympathise with their programmes to a large extent (code 1), to a certain extent (code 2), or not at all (code 3)'. The mean level of sympathy for each class is as follows (see Appendix 15 for full crosstabulations and per class standard deviations for National and Labour):

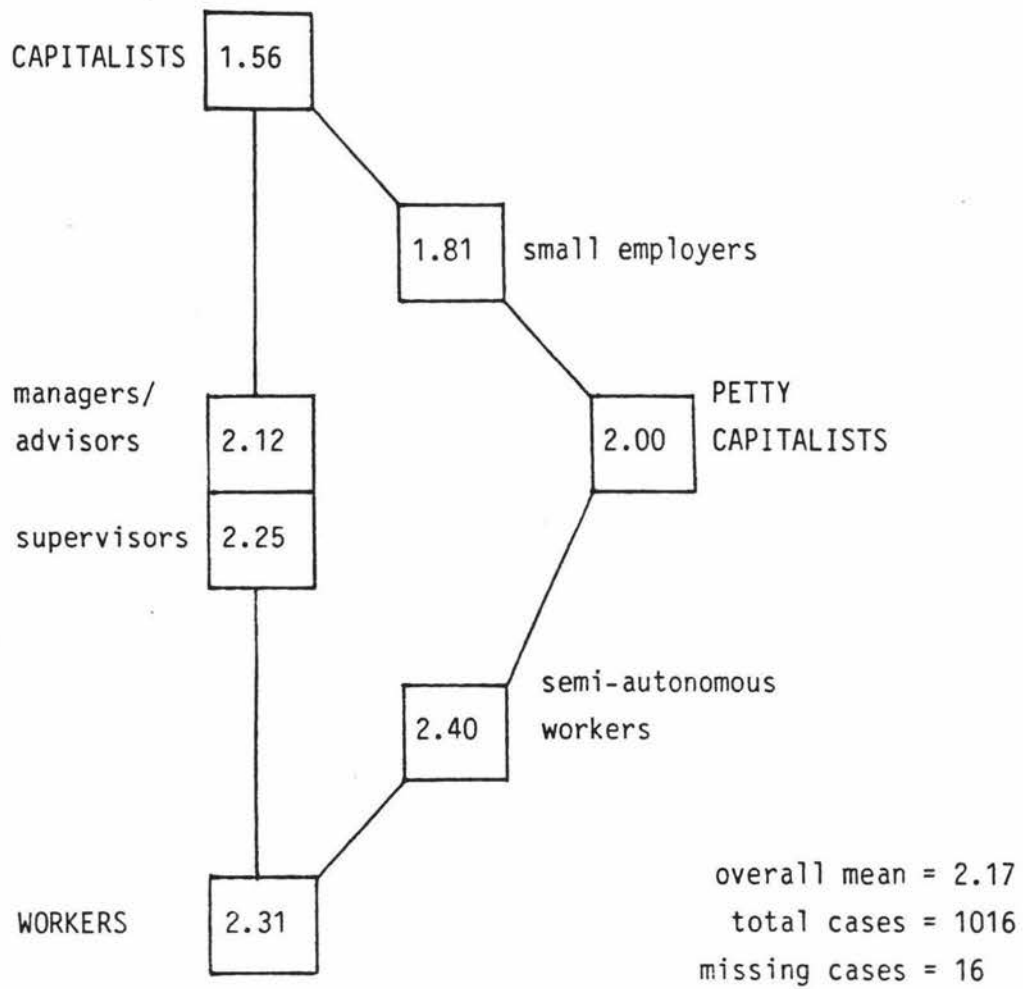
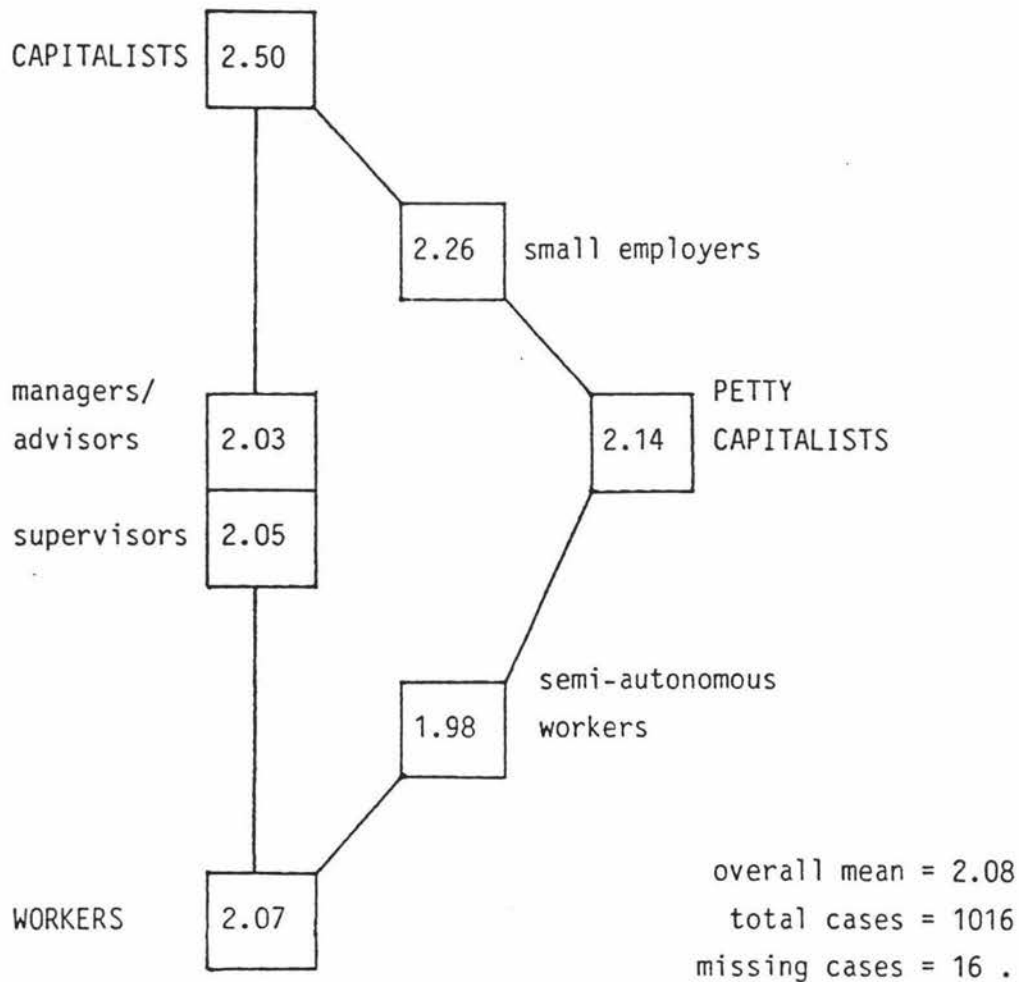
Figure 6: Mean level of sympathy for National Party

Figure 7: Mean level of sympathy for Labour Party

Figures Six and Seven show broad similarities in the patterning of means. In figure six, with exception, the class sympathy for National decreases as you move towards the working class. From a pro-National capitalist class (mean 1.56) down through managers (2.12) and supervisors (2.25) to an anti-National working class (2.31), this

pattern is reasonably strong. The order in values is repeated when you move from the capitalist class out through the small employers (1.81) and petty capitalists (2.00) to the semi-autonomous location (2.40). At this point the exception to the basic pattern is that the semi-autonomous location has a higher mean anti-National sympathy than the working class.

In Figure Seven this patterning is more diffuse and ambiguous but, I argue, still present. The capitalist class is now anti-Labour (2.50) and the working class less anti-Labour (2.07). But between them, managers (2.03) and supervisors (2.05) are even less anti-Labour than the working class (although the differences here are very minor). In this respect there is obviously some degree of exception between managers, supervisors and the working class. Around the other side of the class map this broad pattern is a lot stronger. The small employers (2.26) are less anti-Labour than the capitalists, the petty capitalists less than the small employers and the semi-autonomous employees less than the petty capitalists; a descending order of values as you move away from the capitalist class. Once again though, the exception to this is that the semi-autonomous location is less anti-Labour than the working class.

There are some important similarities in the class sympathies to Labour and National. These are worth dwelling on:

(i) The capitalist, small employers, petty capitalist group show the same characteristics on each variable. Firstly, overall this group is consistently, strongly pro-National and anti-Labour. With these classes there seems to be a clear and unambiguous association between class position and political sympathy. Secondly, within this group there is a strong association between the degree of political sympathy and the number of employees. It seems that the more employees a person has, the greater the likelihood that the person is pro-National, anti-Labour.

(ii) The second parallel between the National and Labour variables is the ambiguous patterning of means around the working class. This is indicated by both the lack of pronounced differences between means and the exceptions to the expected pattern. This ambiguity is similar

to the 'clustering' around the working class observed on the class attitude index. There are two phenomena which, I argue, may contribute to this ambiguity.

Firstly, as Simpson (1984, 91-95) documents, since the 1960's there has been a 'liberalisation' of some sections of the 'middle class'. In terms of the results here, this can be most clearly seen in the mean values of the semi-autonomous contradictory class location. On average, the people in this location are consistently more pro-Labour and more anti-National than any other location in the class structure, including the working class. You will also recall the liberal attitudes of the people in the semi-autonomous class location on the class attitudes variable, although this was not as pronounced as it is here. The argument concerning the 'liberalisation of the middle class' can also be extended to account for the pro-Labour sympathies of supervisors and managers. As we noted previously, both these locations have locations marginally more pro-Labour than the working class.

The second phenomenon which may be adding to the ambiguity at the bottom corner of the class map is that of 'working class Toryism', political conservatism amongst the working class. On the national variable the working class is not noticeably more anti-national than supervisors and is in fact slightly less anti-national than semi-autonomous employees. These effects are most pronounced on the Labour variable with the working class, on average, less pro-Labour than managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous employees (although less pro-Labour is not necessarily Toryism). This working class Toryism can be observed in greater detail in the crosstabulation in Appendix 15. In Table One you observe that 12% of working class people sympathise with National to a large extent (explicit working class Tories) and 43.3% a certain extent (latent working class Tories). This is nothing more or less sympathetic than the classes surrounding the working class, but that is the point; our expectation is that there should be markedly less sympathy for National amongst the working class than other classes.

(i) and (ii) are interesting interpretations of the results in themselves, but I must go further and link the results to the broader issue of the realisation of class interests. It was evidenced above that people in the capitalist, small employer and petty capitalist group have, on average, a pro-National, anti-Labour sentiment. This sentiment seems entirely reasonable when it is considered that it has been National (and not Labour) which has traditionally looked after the owning/employing classes interests. That is to say, many people in these locations realise what parties look after their class interests; or again, many people in these classes realise their class interests. In this respect, these sympathies could be said to be a basic expression of some form of class consciousness. Here, then, the hypothesis receives some support. Moreover, one could argue (more tentatively this time) that the more employees a person has, the more their interests would be in line with National rather than Labour. This being the case, then, we can partially account for the regular escalating pro-National sympathy in line with the increasing number of employees.

The clustering and ambiguity at the bottom corner of the class map also has implications for the realisation of class interests. The cases of working class Toryism provide clear examples of a non-realisation of class interests. It is very difficult to construe the National party as acting in the interests of the working class. In that working class people sympathise with the National party at all, they are sympathising against their class interests. In these cases, the form of class consciousness that is associated with party sympathies cannot be said to be present, and the hypothesis is rejected. One may be tempted to further conclude that a working class person's anti-labour sentiment (29% of workers, Appendix 15) could also be considered a non-realisation of class interests. However, for reasons outlined in the last chapter, this conclusion is not well enough founded. The relation between the working class and Labour sympathies must, therefore, remain obscure.

The case of middle-class liberalism is also obscure. It could be argued though that the liberalism of many managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous employees is, in fact, a realisation of class interests. The class interests of these locations are contradictory.

On the one hand, because they are employees, they have a working class type interests in alleviating exploitation. But on the other hand they have a capitalist type interest in maintaining the vestiges of power and privilege that they do have. If this is so, then the pro-Labour (or less anti-Labour) sympathy is perhaps entirely reasonable. The Labour Party is concerned with reforming the mechanisms of exploitation, (improving working conditions and so forth) but does not in the process threaten the very organisation of society. If this interpretation has substance, then the argument provides support for the hypothesis.

Summary. This whole section presumes that links that can be made between the two political parties and class interests. Despite the fact that these links are sometimes tenuous, there are still some statements that can be made. In the most general terms, the summary of the class attitudes variable can only be repeated here. There is a tendency for class position to influence political sympathies, but this cannot in any way be construed as evidence of a unique determination. In particular, I noted three features:

Firstly, we noticed that many people within the employing/owning locations seemed to have political attitudes consistent with their class interests. In this respect they have a form of class-interest-consciousness that is stronger than that of the working class. Secondly, within the working class, it is possible to identify a significant group of people who do not identify with their class interests; working class Tories. Thirdly, one may tentatively argue that the middle class liberalism is an accurate reflection the contradictory interests of managers, supervisors and semi-autonomous employees. The first point can be taken as support for the hypothesis, the second point as a refutation, and the third is really too speculative to be of much use.

Finally, it is useful to dwell on the similarities that these variables have with the class attitudes variable. Firstly, the behaviour of the employing class and the sensitivity of attitudes to the numbers of employees is consistent across variables. Secondly, the 'clustering' or ambiguity in the bottom corner of the class map is also consistent across variables.

(c) Class structure and class identification

As outlined in the last chapter this variable is in fact composed of two separate variables: the strength of class identification, and the actual class identified with.

(i) Strength of identification with class position.

To get a general idea of the degree of class identification, we will first look at the strength variable independent of class structure. The question (Q74) was, 'do you think of yourself as belonging to a particular social class':

Table 4: Frequency distribution on the strength variable.

	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY (rounded)
(1) identifies strongly	347	34%
(2) identifies weakly	631	62%
(3) does not identify	38	4%
	-----	-----
TOTAL	1016	100%

These results suggest that there is not the widespread consciousness of class position that our hypothesis 'expects'. Whereas 100% of respondents have a class position, only 34% of people are prepared to think about a class position; only one third. We can merely speculate about those 62% who recognise a class position only when prompted. This may mean that they recognise a class position but are reluctant to admit it, it may mean they don't see social class at all but are complying with the questionnaire, it may reflect the general absence of the term 'class' (linguistically) in New Zealand expression (but which makes sense when suggested). Whatever the case, for some reason there is quite a high level of 'latent class identification'. The group of non-identifiers, 4%, are definitive in

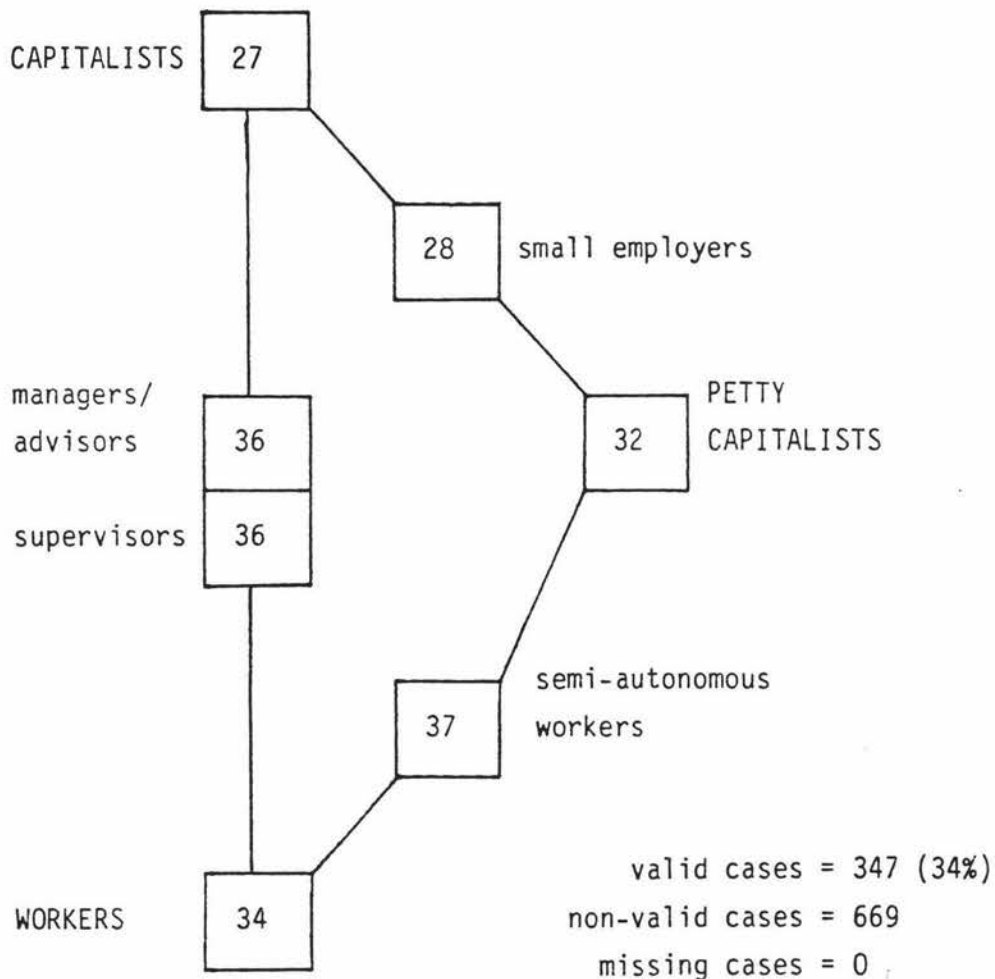
their attitude. The questionnaire does not provide a category for non-identification; to register a respondent must more or less refuse the question. Reasons for the non-identification were jotted down by interviewers. They included:

"Social classes are divisive. We are all New Zealanders"

"Social classes breed contempt and I want no part of it" and so forth.

To get an idea of how strongly each class identified we can crosstabulate the strength and class structure variables (see Appendix 16 for full crosstabulation):

Figure 8: % (rounded) of each class that identified strongly with a class position.



Although there is little variation over the class structure, there is a set pattern similar to previous variables. Firstly, as a group, the three employing classes are the most 'conservative' in their sense of belonging to a social class (if you consider non-perception of class an indication of conservatism). Moreover, amongst this group the sense of belonging is again related to the number of employees. Only 27% of capitalists identified strongly with a social class, 28% of small employers, and 32% of petty capitalists. In some respects, though, there is a certain inconsistency here. While capitalists seem to have strongly class related attitudes (on previous variables), they do not recognise the class itself.

Secondly, there is a vague polarisation between this group and the employee locations. The employee locations, as a whole, are more willing to identify with a social class, although overall the identification is still very weak.

Thirdly, within the group of employee locations, the pattern is obscure and ambiguous. But within this ambiguity two features can be noted. Most working people do not identify with a class to the extent which we may expect (only 34%). Also, it is the semi-autonomous location, (37%) which shows signs of being the more liberal of the locations (if you take class identification as an indication of liberalness). That these features parallel the previous variables is plain.

In terms of class consciousness this variable is most revealing. Overall there seems to be a weak recognition of all class positions and, therefore, this facet of class consciousness seems underdeveloped. A question arises out of this. If someone cannot acknowledge their own class position is it likely that they do not acknowledge class at all? If the answer is yes, then the implications for the development of class consciousness are clear. We may speculate that over 50% of class members do not perceive a class situation in New Zealand. Moreover, it is the working class that we have hypothesised to have the most reason to think about their class position. With this expectation, the fact that the working class is not outstanding in its realisation means that it is possibly the most underdeveloped class in terms of its level of class identification.

(ii) Actual class identified and class structure

This analysis is more precise when we look at the actual classes that people identified with. The 'actual' class is compiled from Q.75, 'which class is that' (that they have identified with on Q.74), and from Q.76, 'Many people say that they belong to the working class, the middle class or the upper-middle class. If you had a choice, which class would you say you would belong to?'. I have aggregated Q.75 and Q.76 so that the results are indifferent to the strength of identification (although this distinction is reintroduced where relevant). The two most interesting results are as follows (full crosstabulations in Appendix 17):

Figure 9: % (rounded) of each class identifying with the working class.

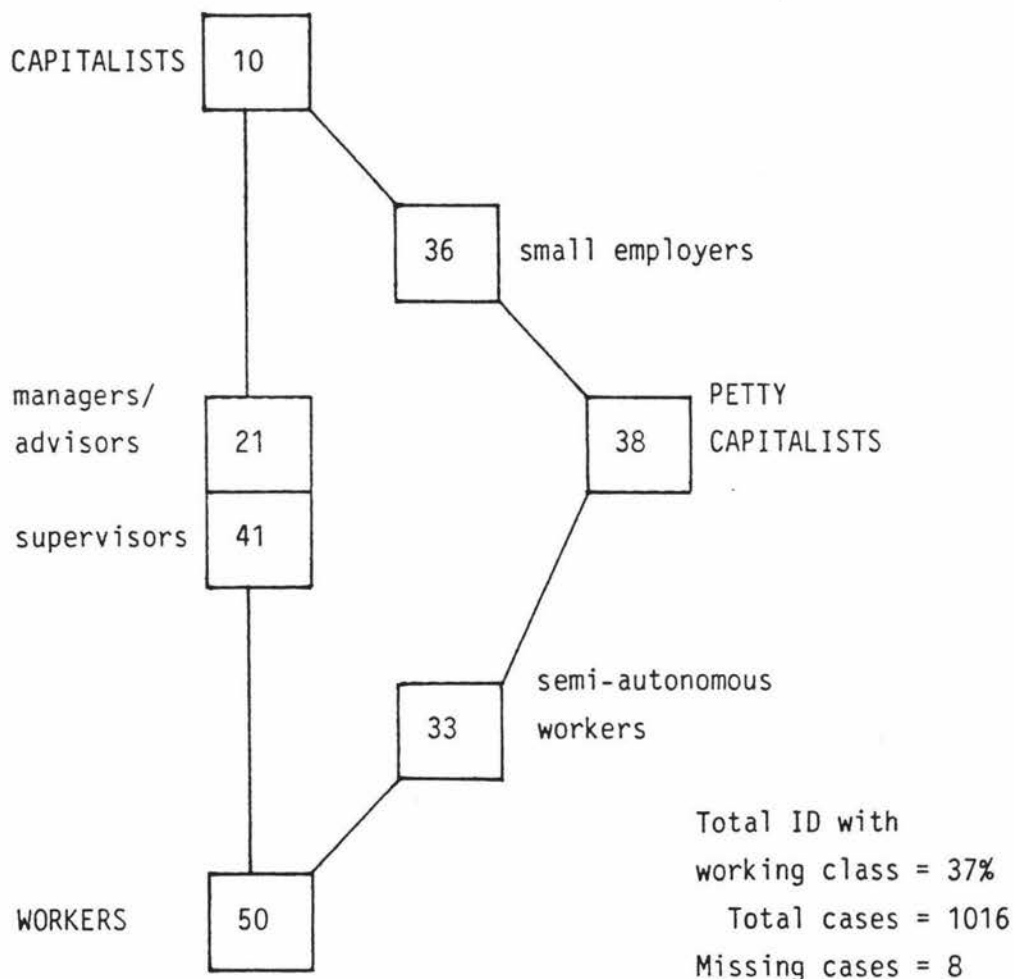
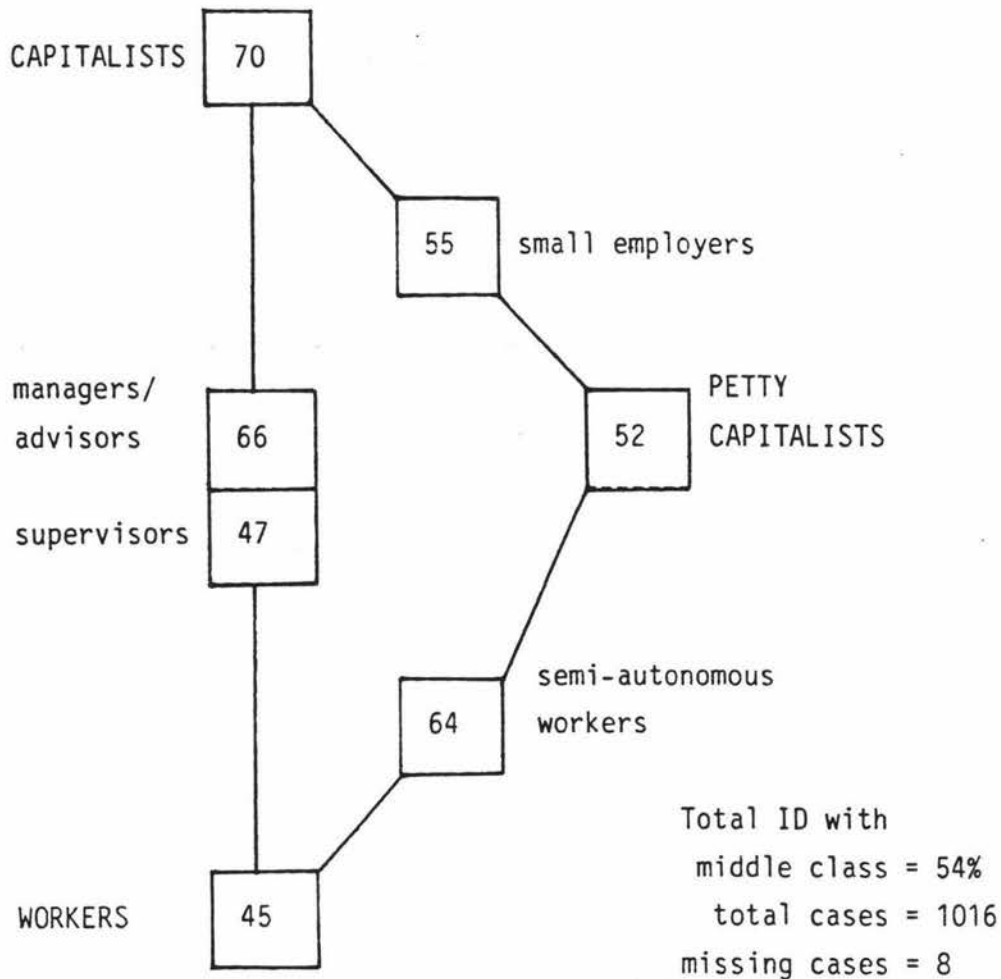


Figure 10: % (rounded) of each class identifying with the middle class



I will first look at the working class in particular then at the situation more generally.

(a) Figure 9 reveals that 50% of the people in the working class realise their class position. However, of this 50% only 16% realise their position strongly; the rest, 34%, only do so reluctantly (last two results not tabled). Figure 10 on the other hand reveals that

45% of working class people rationalise themselves to be in the middle class. What do these results tell us about class consciousness? Firstly, they tell us that only 16% of the working class have the class consciousness that they are hypothesised to have. Secondly, there seems to a large number of working class people who have some sort of latent class consciousness; they would prefer not to think about class, but when they do it is with a sound realisation of their class position. So, taking these two points together 50%, of the working class had at least some understanding of their class position and, therefore we find a measure of support for the hypothesis.

Thirdly, aside from this, there is an enormous group of working class people who identify with the middle class. It is unlikely that this could be construed as a realisation of class position. Thus, these people cannot be said to have a pro-working class consciousness on this variable. This last group, then, runs counter to the hypothesis.

Fourthly, while it seems that many working class people's attitudes are strongly shaped by their class position (see Figures 5 and 6), the class position itself is only weakly recognised.

(b) It is not only the working class that identify pervasively with the middle class. Figure 10 indicates that over all classes, 54% of people identified with the middle class. Moreover, in every class location except workers and supervisors, a majority of people identified with the middle class. This identification may perhaps be justified for the petty capitalist and contradictory class locations. These locations are, after all, between (or in the middle of) the two basic classes, capitalists and workers. It cannot, however, be justified for the capitalist class. No matter how capitalists define their class position - by income, by wealth, by assets, by control - it does not matter. They typically still come out on top. The point here is that a large percentage of capitalists (at most 70%) are refusing to see their class position and are instead identifying with the middle class. Moreover, of the other 30%, 10% reject the idea of class outright and 10% identify with the working class(!). This leaves a mere 10% of capitalists who claim the 'upper-middle' class as their own. These results run counter to

the expectations within the hypothesis. Once again, the implication is that while capitalists may have attitudes consistent with their class position, they do not name them as class attitudes.

(c) Figure 9 suggests a fairly strong positive relationship between class position, and the strength of identification with the working class. Here, with exception, the further a person is from the working class, the more likely they are not to identify with the working class. This illustrates a basic form of class consciousness in itself; a consciousness of what class you are not in; a consciousness of what interests are not yours. Thus, the further a person is from the working class, the greater the likelihood that they will realise that working class interests are not theirs, and the more chance that they will not have pro-working class consciousness.

Summary. In this summary, I shall return to the distinction between the patterns of results and the results themselves.

The pattern of results tends to lend support to the hypothesis. Both Figures 8 and 9 suggest that the degree of identification (or non-identification) with a class position is related to a person's position in the class structure; there is 'covariation' of class identification with class position. Furthermore, we see again that class identification is sensitive to the number of employees, and is more ambiguously related to class (clustered) in the bottom corner of the class map.

The results themselves tend to run against the hypothesis. At the basic level there is an overall weak identification with class position (Figure 8). The inference here is that there is an overall weak recognition of the class structure in general. Relatedly, we also find that half of the working class and a large percentage of the capitalist class identify with the middle class (Figure 10). Identification with the middle class is pervasive. These results are, to a certain extent, inconsistent with the previous variables. While it seems that many class members have class attitudes consistent with their class position, this is not reflected in their identification with the class position. Furthermore, if we take into account the pattern of results above,

then it is clear that this inconsistency is itself related to class position. Thus, the more capitalist a person is, the greater the chance that they will have pro-capitalist attitudes, and the less chance that they will identify with their (or any) class position. The more working class a person is the greater the chance that they will have pro-working class attitudes, and the greater the chance that they will identify with their (or any) class position.

(d) Summary of the general relationship between class structure and class consciousness

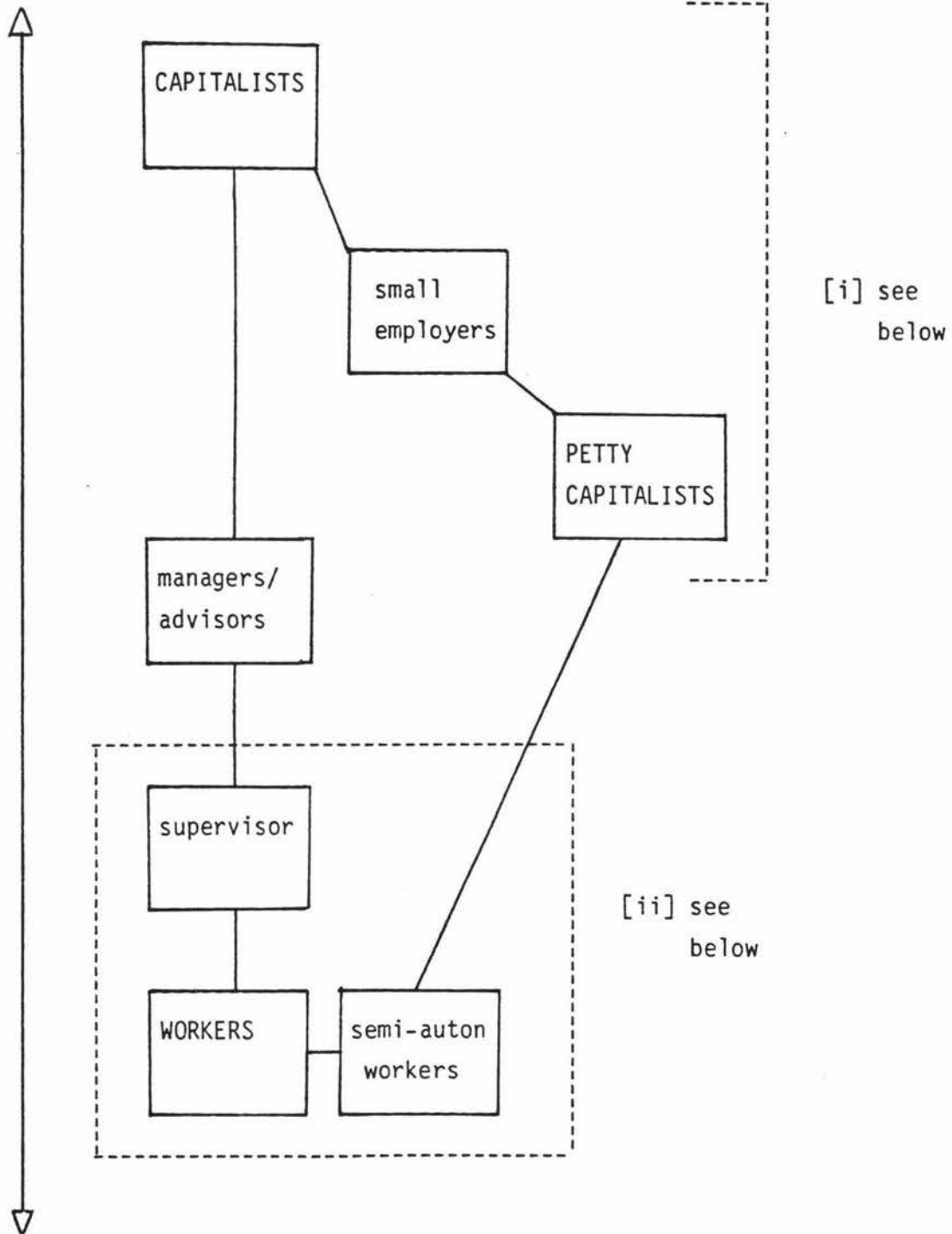
As I have mentioned throughout, there are striking similarities in the relationships between the variables analysed and class structure. These similarities suggest, at least, that the variables do in fact tap the same dimension. This dimension, I argue, bears some relation to class consciousness. Moreover, these similarities also lend support to one another; a consensus of evidence is strong evidence.

The overall pattern of results reveals that there is a broad tendency for consciousness to be related to class position. Here, the capitalist class people tend to be more pro-capitalist class consciousness than other class members, and, working class people tend to be more pro-working class consciousness.

Figure 11 (below) is an attempt to capture the particularities of this tendency. The length of lines roughly summarise the attitudinal distances that separate the locations. Also, the higher up the page the more pro-capitalist the orientation. The claim is that class and consciousness are related, but imperfectly so. If they were perfectly related Figure 11 would be symmetrical, as with a normally drawn class map (eg. Figure 10).

Figure 11: Idealised general relationship between class structure and consciousness.

PRO-
CAPITALIST



As you can see there are two basic effects here:

(i) On all variables the owning classes registered higher pro-capitalist values than the employee classes. These classes had higher mean pro-capitalist attitudes, more people sympathising with the National party, less people sympathising with the Labour party and the weakest overall identification with class position. Further, without exception, within this group the capitalists stood out as the most pro-capitalist, followed by small employers, followed by petty capitalists. Because it is the number of employees that separates these locations, it seems likely that the level of pro-capitalist consciousness is related to employment levels; the more employees, the higher the probability the employer will be pro-capitalist conscious. Given that all owning class have degrees of capitalist interests, then this prevailing consciousness can be considered a form of class-interest-consciousness. Despite this comparatively high level of pro-capitalist class consciousness, it must be remembered that capitalists overwhelmingly identified with the middle class. Also, it seems that although capitalists (and other classes to a lesser extent) have attitudes consistent with their class position, they do not identify with the class position itself. I return to this important feature of the results in the Conclusion.

(ii) The second effect is the clustering around the working class. There are two distinct components to this.

The contradictory class locations of semi-autonomous employees, supervisors and (on occasions) managers, seemed to have developed their working class interests more than their capitalist class interests. This is especially so for semi-autonomous employees; the mean attitude for these employees is close to that of the working class, more people are anti-National than in the working class, they are more pro-Labour than the working class and their identification with a class position is relatively strong. To a lesser extent, supervisors are also close to the working class in their attitudes, party sympathies and strength of identification. These pro-working class sympathies I have dubbed 'middle class liberalism'. Amongst these groups, identification with the middle class is widespread.

The other component in the clustering is the overall lack of pronounced pro-working class consciousness amongst the working class.

This aspect of the clustering was evident on every variable. Over half sympathise with National at least to a certain extent (working class Tories), and half identify with the middle class. Their recognition of any class position (strength) could be stronger, and there is still plenty of room for the development of more potent working class attitudes. This working class clustering should not be overemphasised though. The working class does have the highest mean pro-working class attitude, many people in the working class are anti-National in their sympathies and, although only a small number identify with the working class strongly, over half are willing to identify their class position when prompted. These latter results all point towards at least some realisation of working class interests.

In this analysis I have found both support and refutation of the hypothesis. In the broadest terms, the hypothesis is supported. The tendency for co-variation of class consciousness with class position does exist. The refutations come from the lack of perfect co-variation (discussed above) and the many exceptions to even the strongest of findings. Note though, that it is not so much this comment on the hypothesis that is important, but the analysis that precedes it. The question now is, can the relationships discovered and the patterns of co-variation stand up to closer scrutiny.

(3) EXAMINING THE GENERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASS STRUCTURE AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS WHILE CONTROLLING FOR OTHER VARIABLES

In the previous section it seems as we have revealed a relationship between structure and consciousness. I say 'it seems' because it is quite possible that this relationship is in fact 'spurious'; that is, we may simply have revealed a relationship between class consciousness and another variable which only happens to be related to class structure. This, then, gives the appearance that class structure and class consciousness are themselves related, when they are not. For example, let us speculate and say the capitalist class has far more men than women, and that men are more pro-capitalist in their orientation. This being the case, then the relationship between the capitalist class and high levels of pro-capitalist consciousness may

simply reflect the number of men in the class, and may not be something solely to do with the class itself.

In the New Zealand context, there are three major variables which have the potential to render the revealed relationships as spurious. These are gender, ethnicity and age. Because it is widely known that each one of these variables is related to class structure (the working class has more than its share of young, Polynesian women) then each has the potential to contribute to the observed variation in class consciousness.

In order to account for the effects of these variables, I employ a standard method of statistical controlling. According to Weisberg (1977, 168) this method involves:

"holding a third variable constant (eg. age) while examining the relationship between two other variables (class structure and consciousness)"

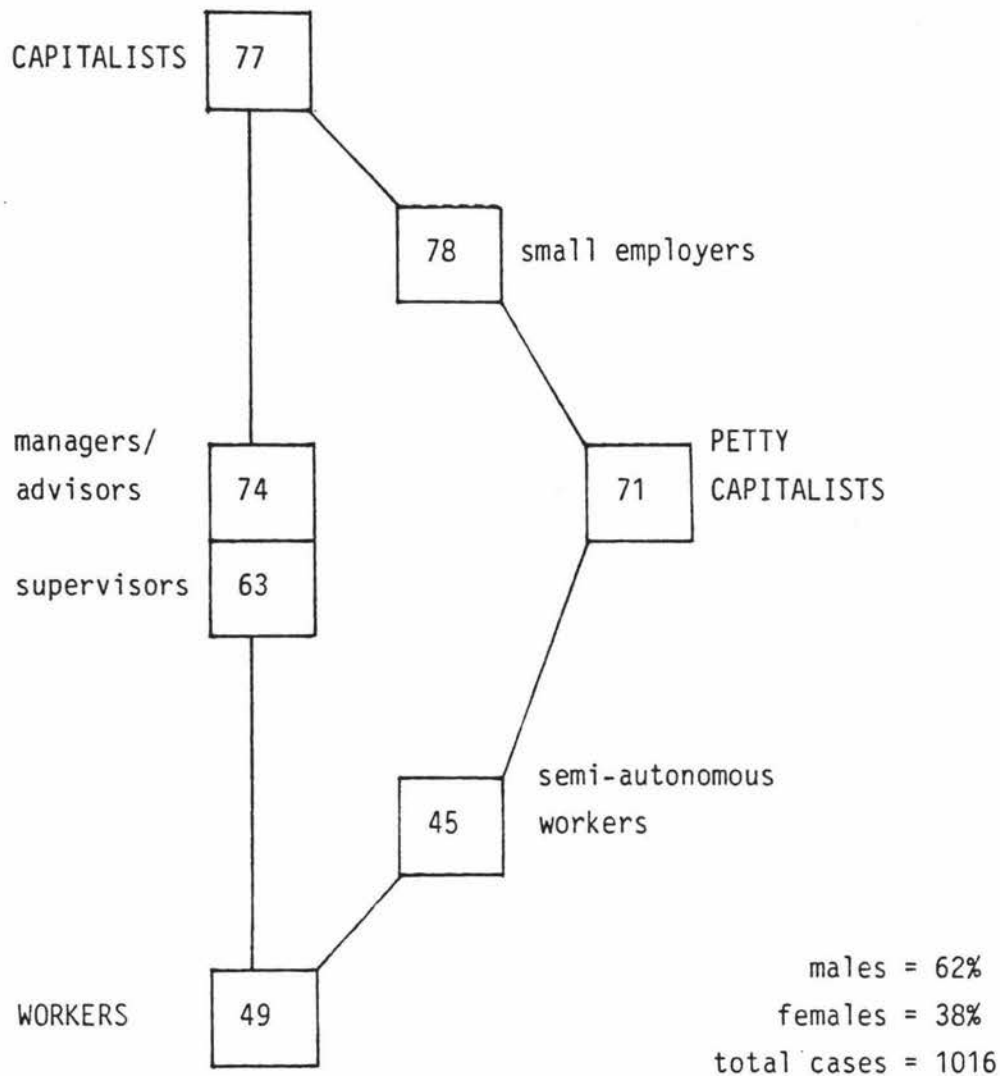
This is not a complex task. When controlling for age, for example, we simply examine the relationship between class structure and class consciousness in one age cohort; say, in the 18-32 years cohort. We do the same in the next group, 33-47 cohort, and the next and the next. If the original relationship between structure and consciousness remains stable in each cohort, then the likelihood that it is fact a relationship is heightened. Further, it is seen that age does not cause the relationship, and the spuriousness is removed.

The primary purpose of this section, then, is to observe the variation in the general relationship between structure and consciousness in each category of the control variables. There is also a secondary purpose of this section which is difficult to escape. Because I will be controlling for sex, ethnicity and age there is a unique opportunity to comment on these variables and their relationships to the structure and consciousness variables. These comments will, however, be brief.

Instead of using all the class consciousness variables in this section I will only be using the class attitude index. After doing the analysis myself, it seems as if the class attitude index is related to the control variables and to class structure in much the same way as the party sympathy and class identification variables are. This is of course only generally so, and there are exceptions, but nevertheless it provides sufficient rationale for using just the class attitude index throughout the control section.

For each control variable I will first examine the relationship between it and the class structure variable, then between it and the structure/consciousness relationship

(a) Controlling for gender

(i) gender and class structureFigure 12: % of each class that are males⁵

⁵ I have presented the % of each class that is male, rather than the % of males in each class. The former figure is a more useful indication of the proportion of males in each class, and is therefore more useful in controlling. The latter figure would probably be more useful in a discussion of class and gender.

You can see here that in broad terms there is a relationship between class position and gender, in that males are over-represented in the positions of power and control. Whereas males are only 62% of the sample at large, they are over 70% of capitalists, small employers, petty capitalists and managers. Conversely, they are under-represented in the classes without control; workers and semi-autonomous employees. In general terms then, the more control a class location has, the more likely that it is males who fill it. Because class and gender are related, therefore, there is a certain potential for the relationship between class and gender to be rendered spurious.

(ii) gender, class and class consciousness

Figure 13: Mean values for males on class attitude index

(+10 = maximum pro-capitalist, -10 = maximum pro-worker)

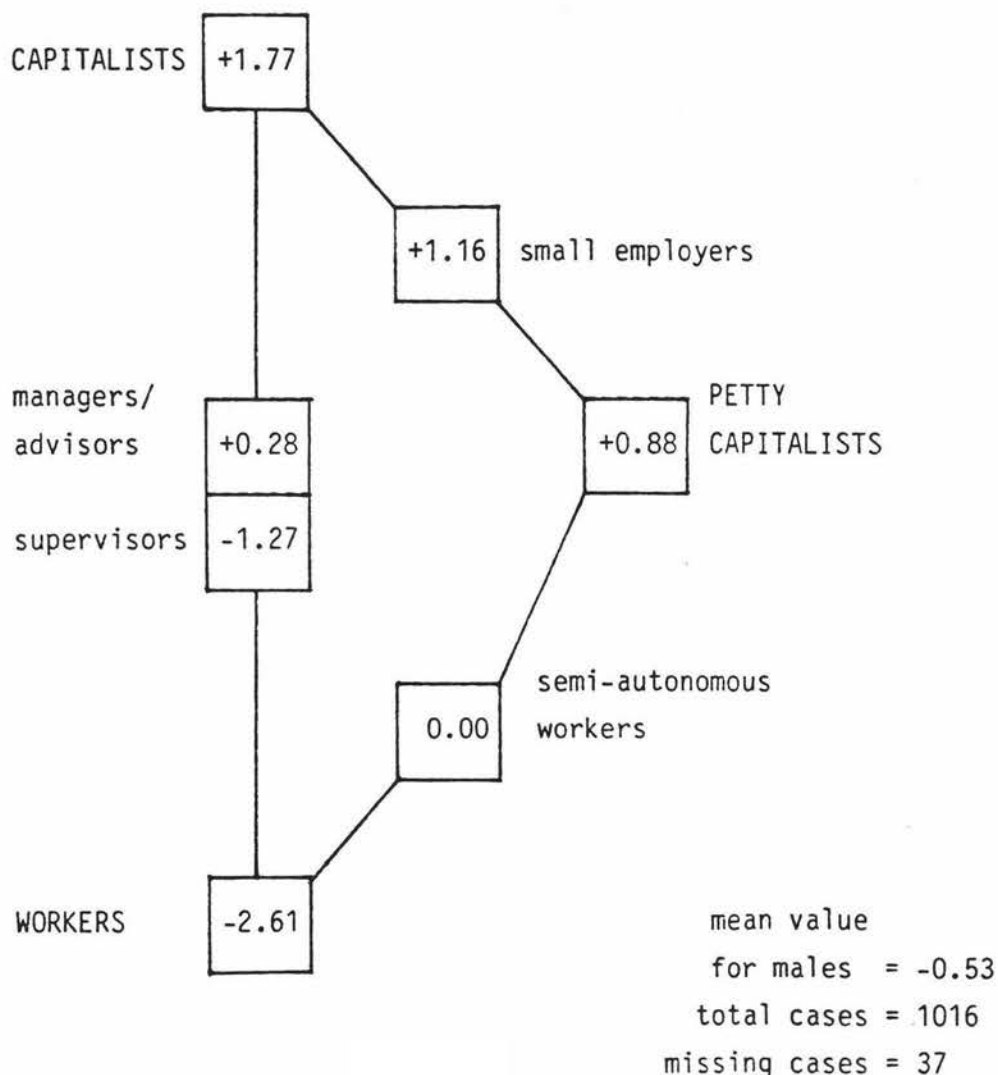
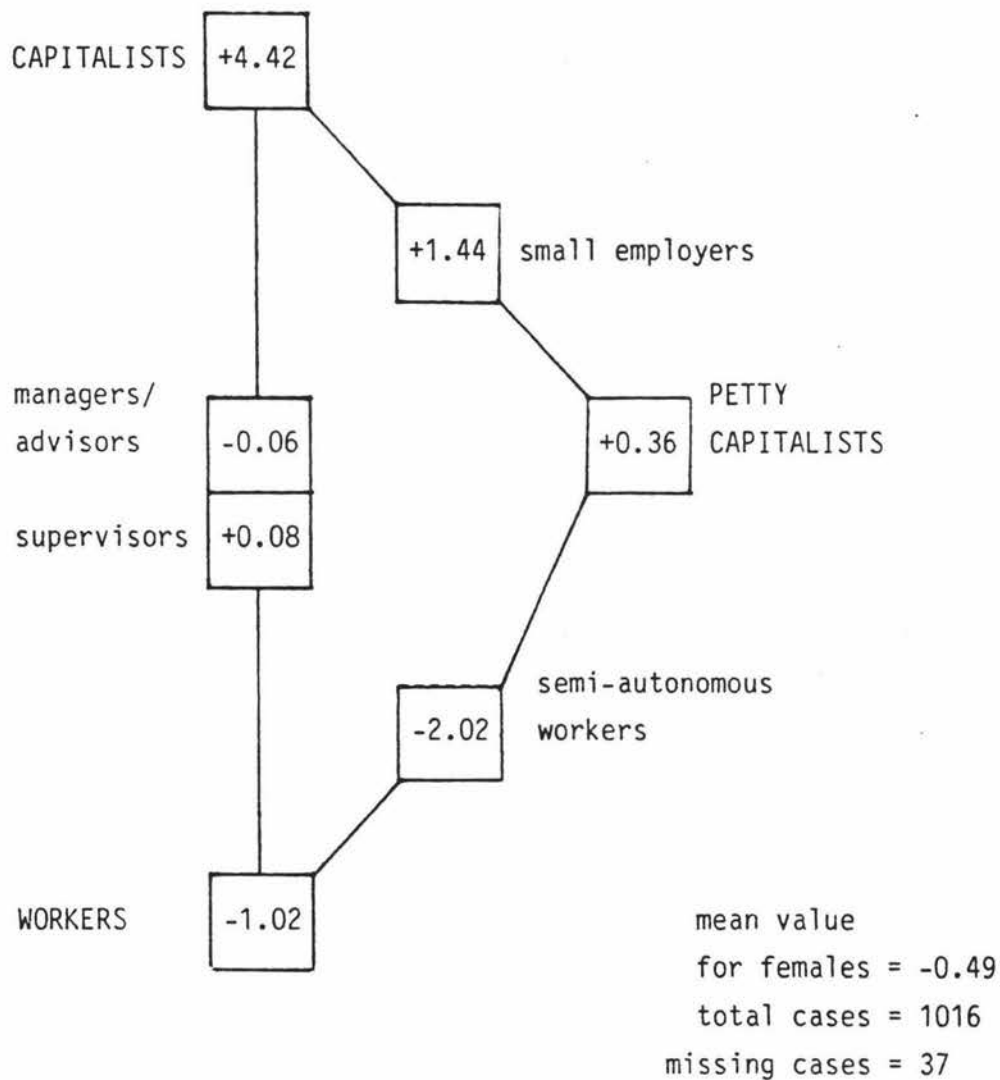


Figure 14: Mean value for females on class attitude index

Males. Amongst males, the relationship between class structure and class consciousness has generally been reproduced. Note though, that working class males seem more pro-working class than the overall working class mean, and that the semi-autonomous males are less pro-working class. This has meant that the clustering effect which was characteristic of the general relationship is no longer present.

Females. Although the general relationship is also reproduced amongst females, it is fairly obscure throughout the employee locations. The exceptions which lead to this obscurity are the pro-working class

attitudes of managers and the pro-capitalist class attitudes of supervisors. Other features outstanding are the weak pro-working class attitudes amongst the the working class itself and the strong pro-working class attitudes amongst semi-autonomous employees. These results may be taken to shed light on previous findings. It may be that the obscurity amongst female employee locations contributes to the clustering in the general relationship. Also note that the relationship still holds good for employer positions, and that the pro-capitalist attitudes of female capitalists are the strongest yet encountered (although the cell sizes are small).

What we have therefore, is a situation where a man's class position is likely to influence his class attitudes more than a woman's hers. Why? A possible explanation here is that a woman may have class attitudes that are more closely tied to her spouse's (if she has one) class position than her own. There is one theorisation amongst class/gender analysts which argues that a woman's class position comes in fact from the household class position. Moreover, in many instances this household class position is allocated from the husband's class position, as he is the main income earner.⁶

The situation here could end up supporting this theorisation. It may be that in the employee locations, a woman's class attitudes are more closely tied to the household (husbands) class position than her own. Thus, her own relationship between class position and attitude is obscured. Further, it may also be that when woman are in the employing/owning locations their own class position becomes more prominent and more determinant of the household class position. Thus, her own relationship between class position is clarified. If this scenario is correct, it would explain the results in hand.

Another possible explanation here is that women have a whole set of women's interests that are aside from men's. It may be that it is these other interests which mediate the transformation of class interests into class attitudes in certain class positions. The range

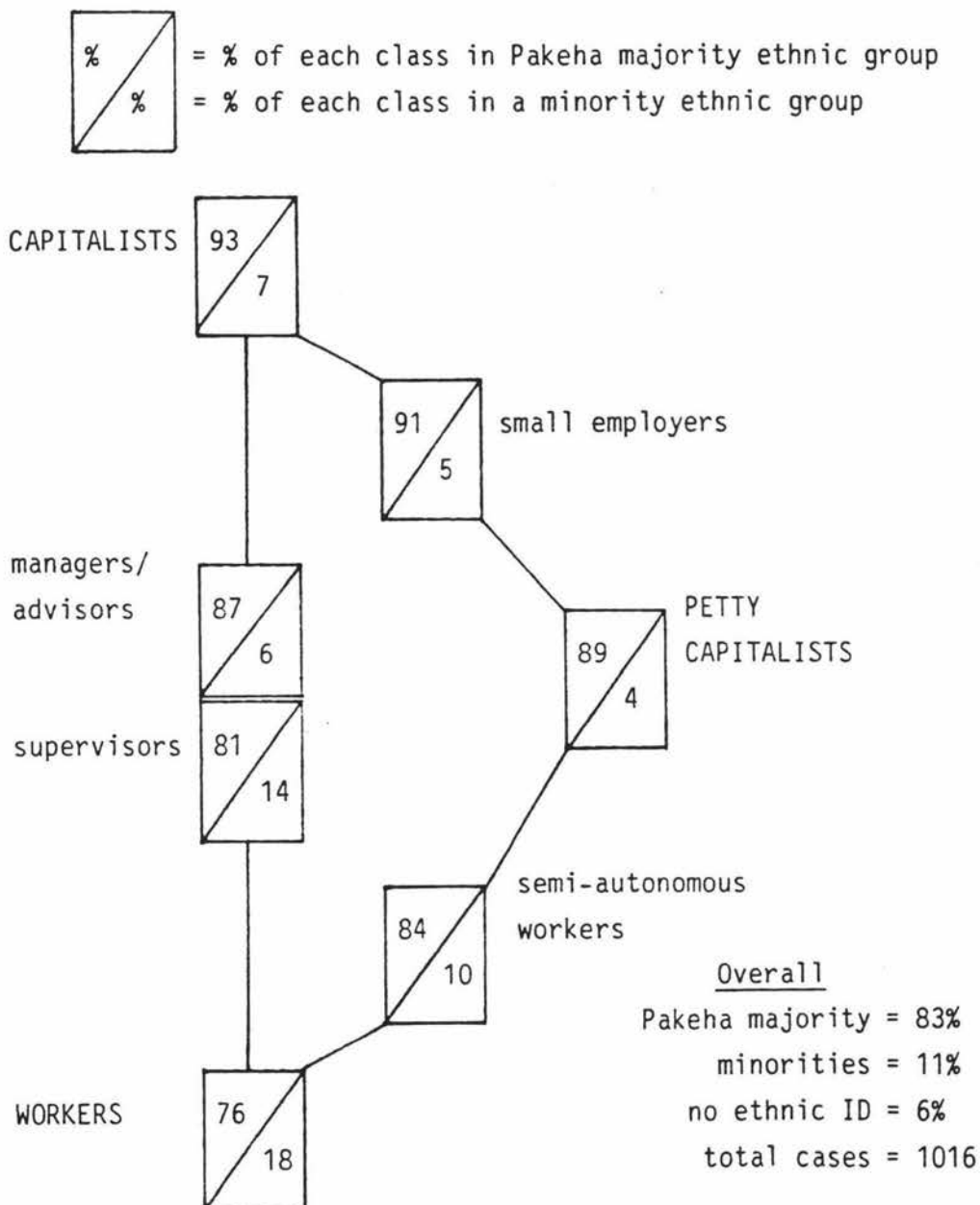
⁶ See Delphy (1981), for a presentation and criticism of this theorisation.

of explanations here is endless; women's part-time work experience and union experiences may be different, men have a more explicit history of class politics than women and so forth. Whatever the case, these questions beg closer examination. There is the potential for this examination with the data available.

(b) Controlling for ethnicity

(i) ethnicity and the class structure

Figure 15: % (rounded) of each class in ethnic groups



For the record, the composition of the minority ethnic group is as follows: Maoris 57% (of the minority ethnic groups), Samoans 17%, Cook Islanders 5%, Tongans 1%. Others (20%) include Fijians, Indians, Yugoslavians.

There is no relationship between those who do not identify with an ethnic group (6%) and class position. We can leave these people aside in the meantime. There is a relationship between the other two categories and class position. Generally speaking, the less control a person has, the more likely they are to be a member of a minority ethnic group. Given that they comprise 11% of the overall population, the minority groups are under-represented amongst capitalists, small employers, petty capitalists and manager/advisor positions. Relatedly, they are over-represented amongst supervisors and workers. The reverse is true of the majority group. Because this relationship exists there is the potential for the disruption of the original structure/consciousness relationship. It therefore makes good sense to control for ethnicity.

(ii) class, ethnicity and class consciousness

Figure 16: Mean value on class attitude index for majority ethnic group

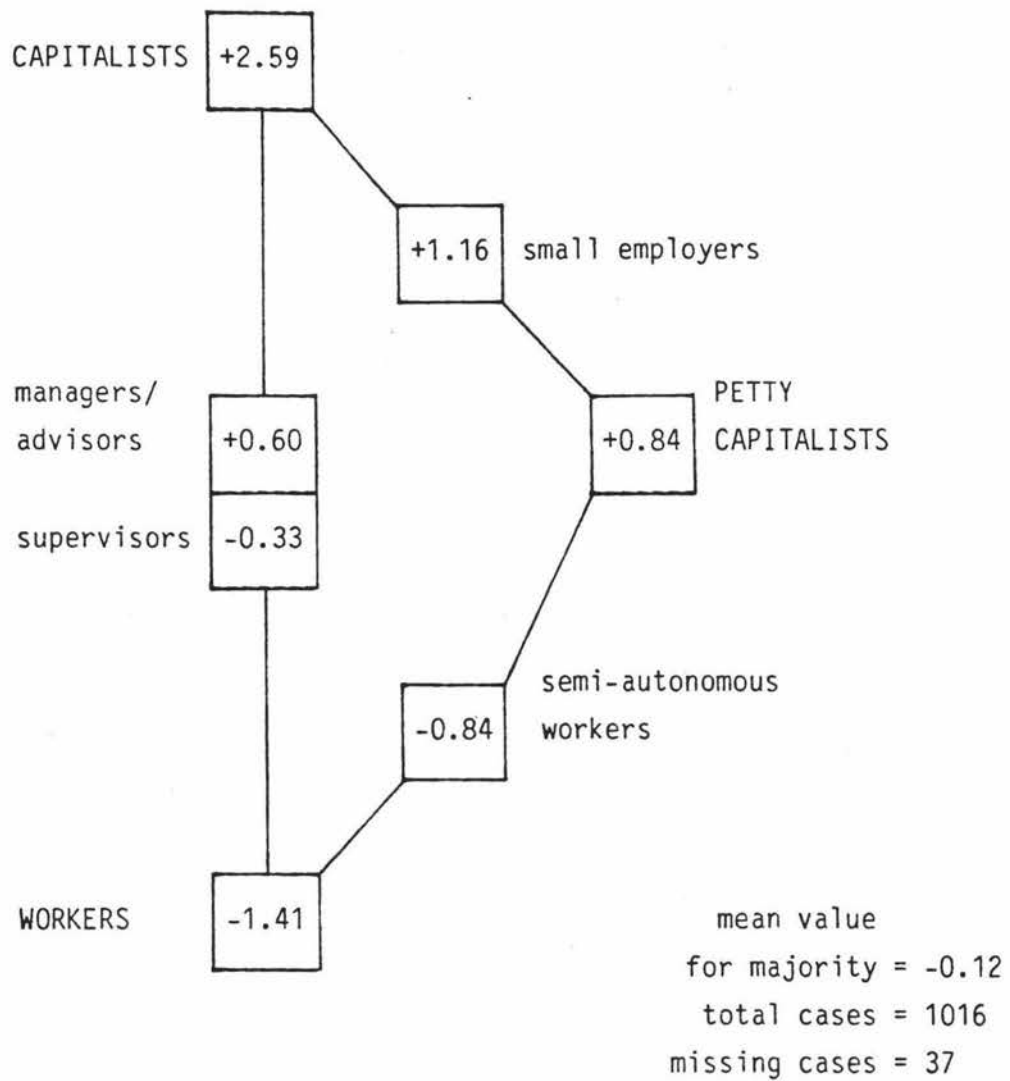
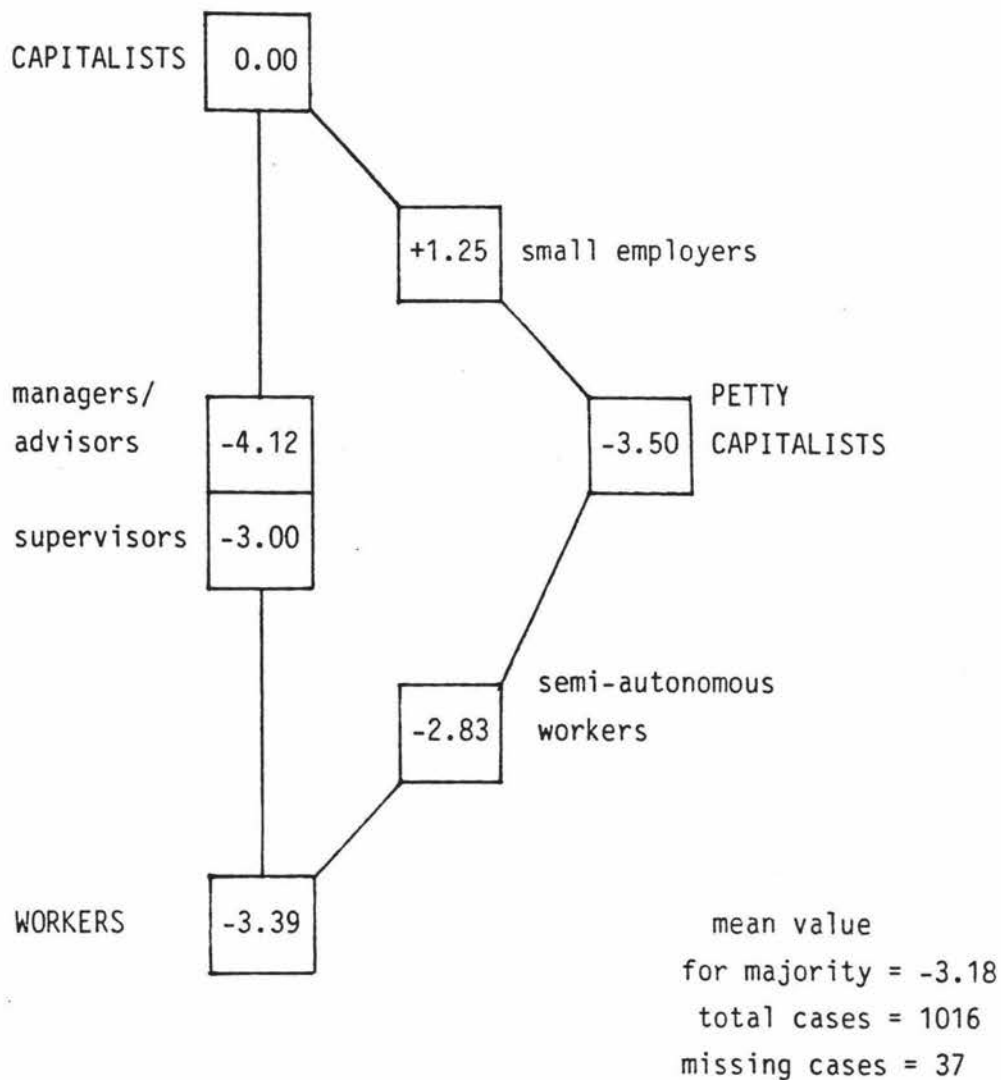


Figure 17: Mean value on class attitude index for minority ethnic groups



Before interpreting this results I must sound a note of caution. Some of the means for Figure 17 are based on very few numbers of people. There are, for example, only 2 minority group capitalists (the same

sort of problem exists for the age variable). The means in question must therefore be treated very carefully.⁷

Majority group. The original relationship between class structure and class consciousness is maintained within this ethnic group; in fact it is strengthened. Because the semi-autonomous employees and supervisors are less pro-worker than the original relationship, there is less clustering around the working class. A person in this group, then, is more likely to have class attitudes consistent with their class position than in the general population. Notice also that in every class position (with one exception) the majority group members are more pro-capitalist (less pro-working class) than the minority group members.

Minority groups. The original relationship between class position and consciousness is obscured within these groups. The pattern of the relationship is barely perceptible; if it is perceptible at all. There is, though, still evidence of class position influencing attitudes. Figure 15 indicates that most minority groups members are located in the working class.⁸ In addition, figure 17 indicates that the mean value for the working class is strongly pro-working class. That is to say, most minority group's members probably have attitudes that are consistent with their class position. Aside from the working class, the supervisors and semi-autonomous locations also have pro-working class attitudes which could be said to be consistent with their class position. These latter pro-working class attitudes could be contributing to the clustering observed in the population overall. The obscurity that is observed in the original relationship, though, probably comes from the strong mean pro-working class attitudes of petty capitalists, managers/supervisors and (comparatively) capitalist locations.

⁷ Alternative methods of controlling would get around this problem. For example, one could 'standardise' the results instead of simply examining variations within categories as I have done.

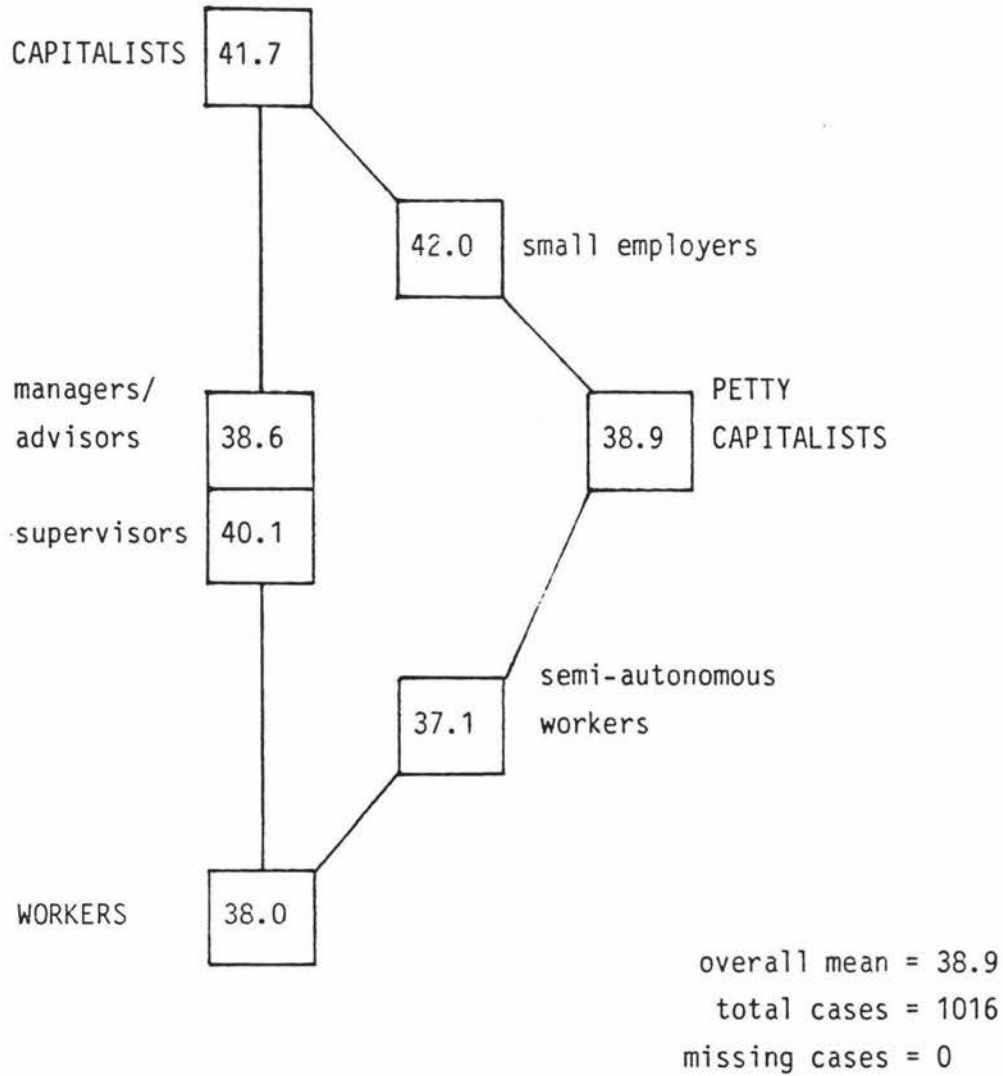
⁸ The column percentages, which are not presented, tell us that 55% of minority group members are workers.

We have a situation then, in which the original relationship is clarified for majority group members and obscured for minority groups members. As with the gender variable I will offer some possible explanations.

The first involves, again, an argument concerning the indirect identification with class position. We have seen that the bulk of minority groups members are working class with strong pro-working class attitudes. This means that by far the most common class interested amongst minority groups is a working class interest and the most common class attitude is a working class attitude. Now, if those minority group people outside the supervisory and working classes identified more with their ethnic group than with their own class position, then they may be inclined to take on board the pro-working class attitudes of their fellow ethnic group members. This being the case, then those non-working class minority groups members are identifying with a class; it is just not their own. This seems an entirely plausible explanation. I return to this issue in the conclusion.

These results may also be interpreted as evidence of the pervasive development of working class interests amongst minority groups. All those locations that have a component of working class interests do in fact have pro-working class attitudes. Relatedly, those locations without any working class interests (capitalists and small employers) are the only locations without pro-working class attitudes. The particular experience of minority groups within classes may mean that, when present, it is their working class interests rather than their capitalist interests that are developed. This is quite conceivable. Polynesians (the major majority group) are discriminated against and oppressed within their workplaces. Under these conditions, one would 'expect' it is their working class interests that they are drawn to realise. Once again, this possible explanation need much closer attention before we can be at all definitive.

(C) Controlling for age

(i) age and class structureFigure 18: Mean age in years of each class

These results do suggest a rudimentary relationship between age and class. There seem to be three groups; an older group which includes capitalists and small employers, a youngest group which includes workers and semi-autonomous employees, and a group between these two, managers, supervisors, and petty capitalists. In these terms then, the more control a group has, the older it is. But this is a very

rudimentary association. There are strong exceptions to the relationship, the range from the youngest to oldest mean is only four years, and the standard deviation is also only four years (not shown).

In my opinion it is the latter non-associational points which are interesting. They point away from a commonly accepted idea that class is simply a result of promotion with age, and age-related social mobility. With what we have here we cannot say that the class structure is a pure reflection of the age structure. Age does of course influence class, but it cannot be seen to cause it.

(ii) age, class and consciousness

For this section, age has been divided up into 4 age cohorts.

Figure 19: Mean class attitudes for 18-32 year olds

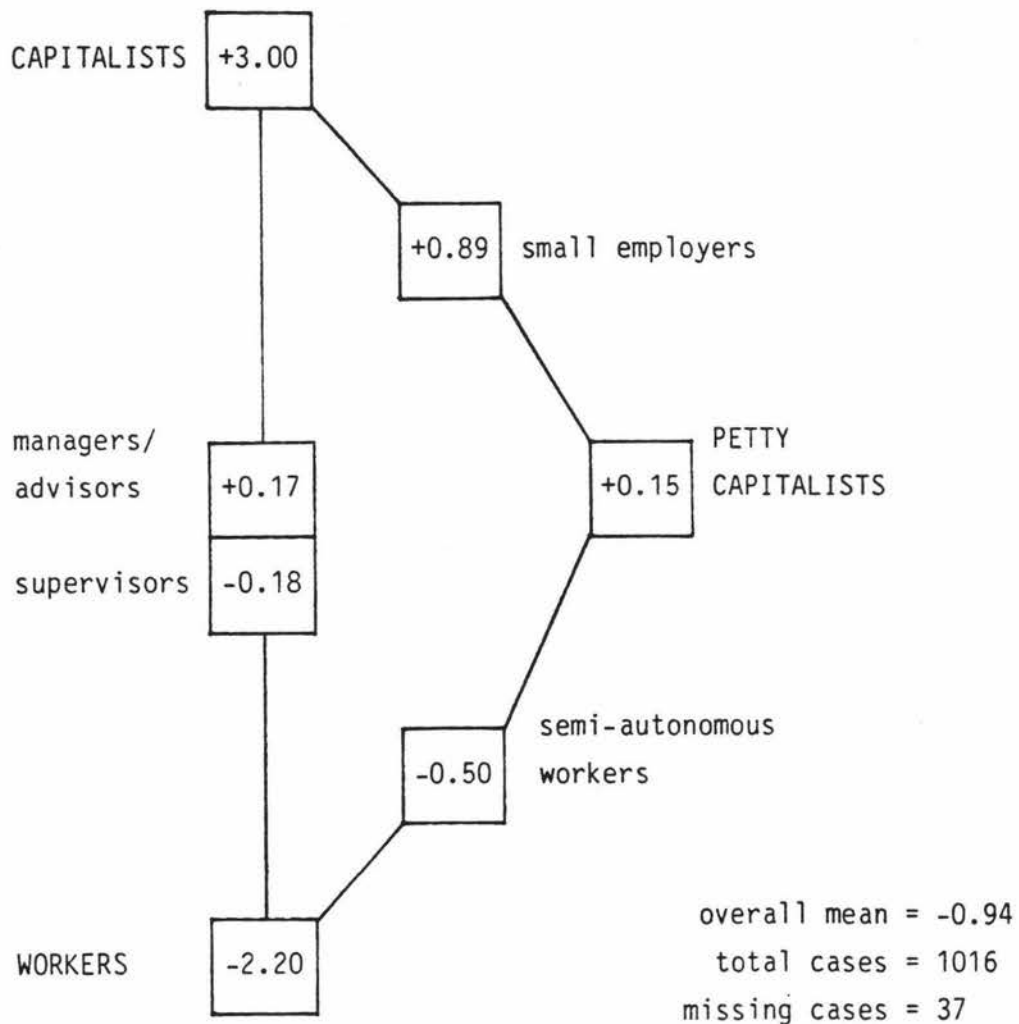


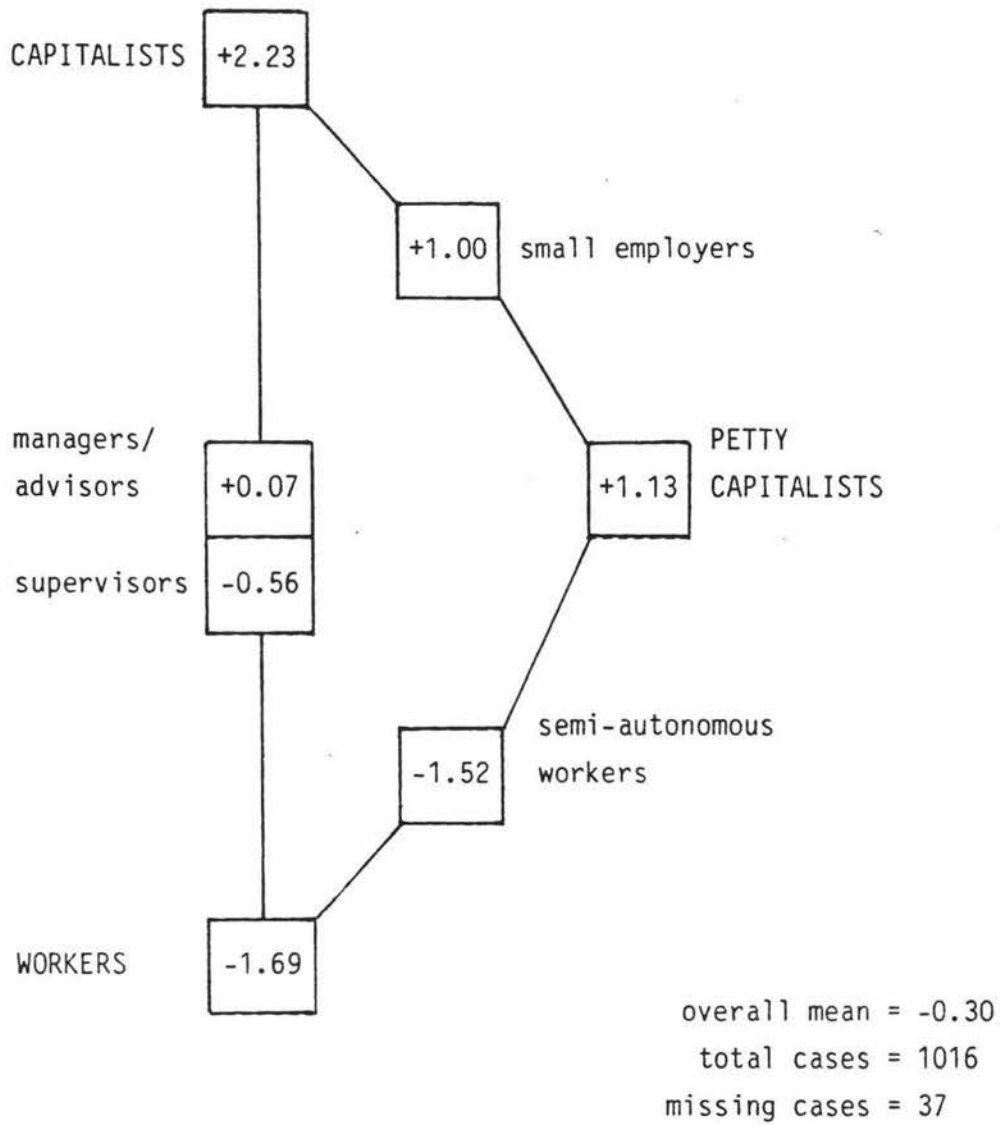
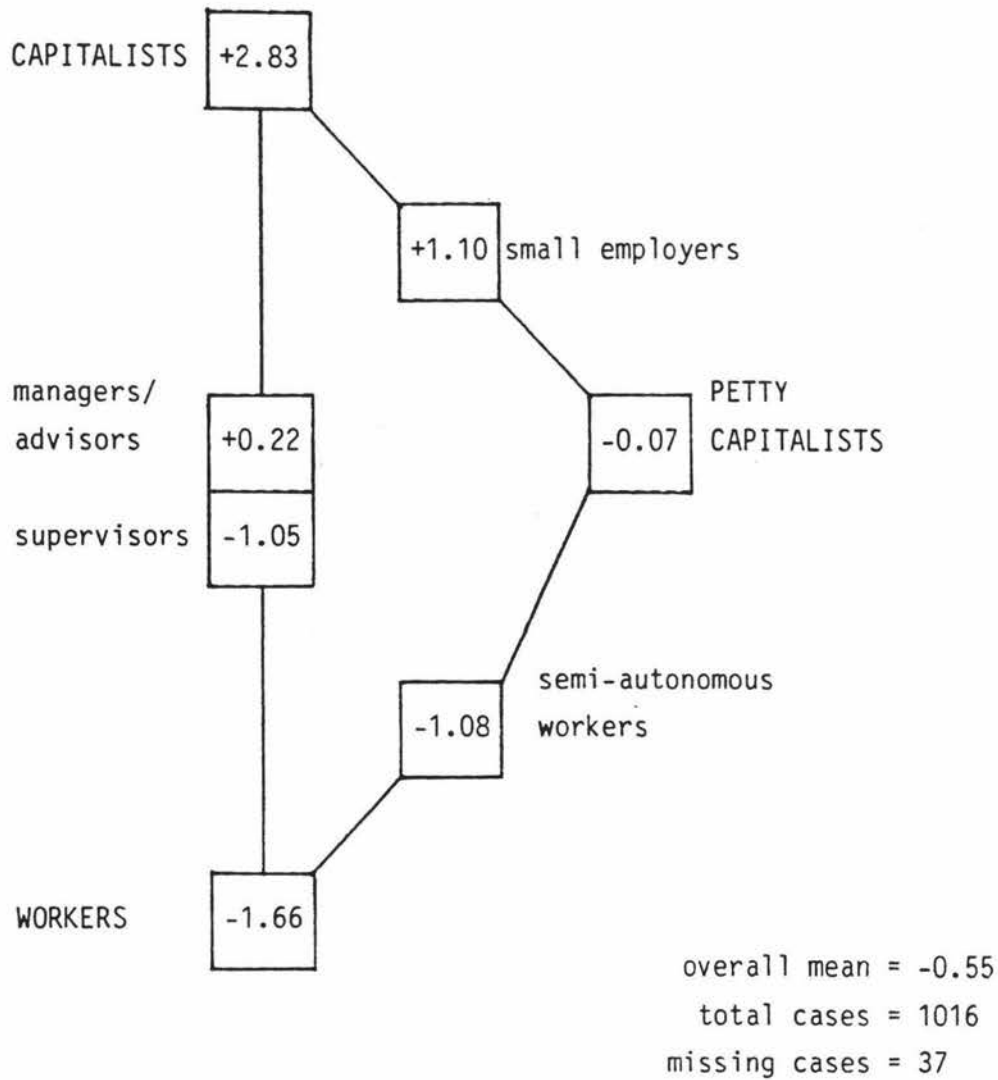
Figure 20: Mean class attitudes for 33-47 year olds

Figure 21: Mean class attitudes for 48-62 year olds⁹

⁹ For the 63+ cohort the cell sizes are too small to give meaningful results. The number of cases was only 23. Overall mean was +1.69.

18-23 cohort. The original relationship between class structure and class consciousness is reproduced in this age group. If anything the clustering around the working class is not so pronounced.

33-47 cohort. The original relationship has also been reproduced, but not in the same way as above. The clustering has returned and there is an exception to the fact that class attitudes get more pro-capitalist with the increase in the number of employees. So, although the relationship between structure and consciousness persists, it does so weakly.

48-62 cohort. Finally, the original relationship has been reproduced here also. As with the youngest age group, the clustering is not so pronounced, and the class structure once again seems to have a stronger impact on consciousness.

The differences here are not really strong enough to speculate about. It is possible that, in accordance with the sample error, the observed differences are no more than random variation. Also, in this section the party sympathy and class attitude variables did not totally agree as to the nature of the relationship between age, class and consciousness. Although they both reproduced the original relationship, in each age group the nature of the reproduction varied.¹⁰

¹⁰ The National and Labour results are very interesting and may be worth taking up in relation to other topics. In the youngest cohort, the difference between the class attitudes of classes is not so pronounced. However, as you move up through the cohorts you find an increasing polarisation of sympathies with age. With the capitalists, small employers, petty capitalists and managers, the older the age-group the more pro-National and anti-Labour is the sympathy. Conversely, with supervisors, semi-autonomous employees and workers, the older the age group the more pro-Labour and anti-National is the sympathy. This polarisation may reflect; (a) as the first group ages it may increasingly condemn others for not reaching similar positions (b) as the second group ages it may get increasingly disillusioned with a lack of social mobility. Alternatively, these results may reflect the different historical experiences of different generations.

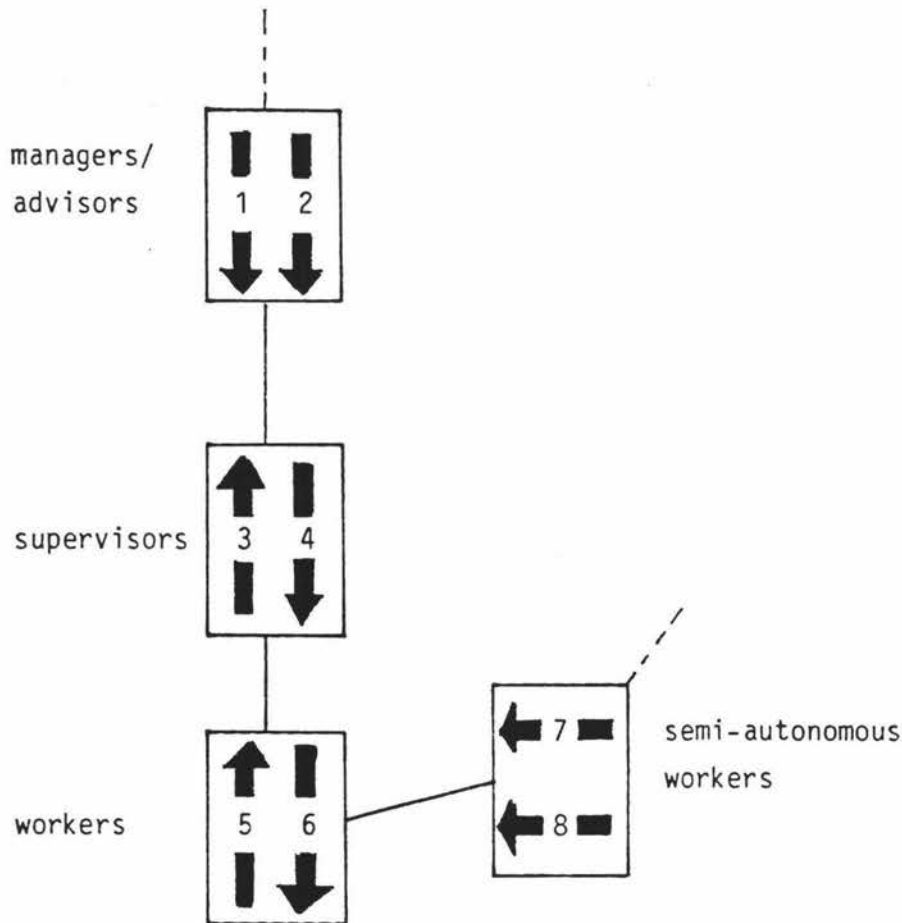
(d) Summary of controls

Within this section I have found some interesting variations and relationships, but nothing that undermines the general stability of the original findings. In most (not all) of the sub-groups examined, class attitudes still tended to co-vary with class structure. What did alter was the nature of this co-variation. In effect then, the findings in this section specify the conditions under which class structure affects class attitudes.

The most volatile aspect of the original relationship was the degree of clustering around the working class. Amongst the Pakeha majority and amongst males, this clustering was not so pronounced. For these major sub-groups, the class positions seemed to have an impact on class attitudes in a more uniform way. Relatedly, the clustering was more pronounced amongst women and amongst minority ethnic groups. It was more pronounced amongst women because working class women were less pro-working class than the overall mean, and the semi-autonomous and managerial women were more pro-working class than the overall mean. It was more pronounced amongst minority ethnic groups because all minority group employee classes were strongly pro-working class. The predominance of pro-working class attitudes amongst minority ethnic groups is a key finding.

This wide range of effects is summarised in Figure 22. The numbered arrows indicate the class pole to which the sub-group pushes the whole class. For example, the arrow for semi-autonomous women (7) points towards the working class, which indicates that the pro-working class attitudes of semi-autonomous women pushes the whole semi-autonomous location towards the working class in attitudinal terms. The fact that most arrows point inward suggests the overall clustering effect observed in Figure 11.

Figure 22: Contributions of women and minority sub-groups to the clustering of attitudes around the working class in the overall population.



- (1) = pro-working class managerial women
- (2) = strongly pro-working class managerial minorities
- (3) = pro-capitalist class supervisory women
- (4) = strongly pro-working class supervisory minorities
- (5) = less pro-working class (than overall mean) working class women
- (6) = strongly pro-working class working class minorities
- (7) = pro-working class semi-autonomous women
- (8) = pro-working class semi-autonomous minorities

Throughout this section I have interpreted these results in terms of (a) indirect class identifications amongst women and minority ethnic groups and (b) different patterns of realisation of class interests amongst women and ethnic groups.

I have purposefully left age out of this figure. As mentioned previously, the variations amongst age groups were not necessarily more than random variations. The predominant finding with age, then, was that the relationship between structure and consciousness was reproduced in each age group.

In that the original relationship has been reproduced, it could be said that the hypothesis receives some support. I prefer to think that I have specified the hypothetical relationship.¹¹

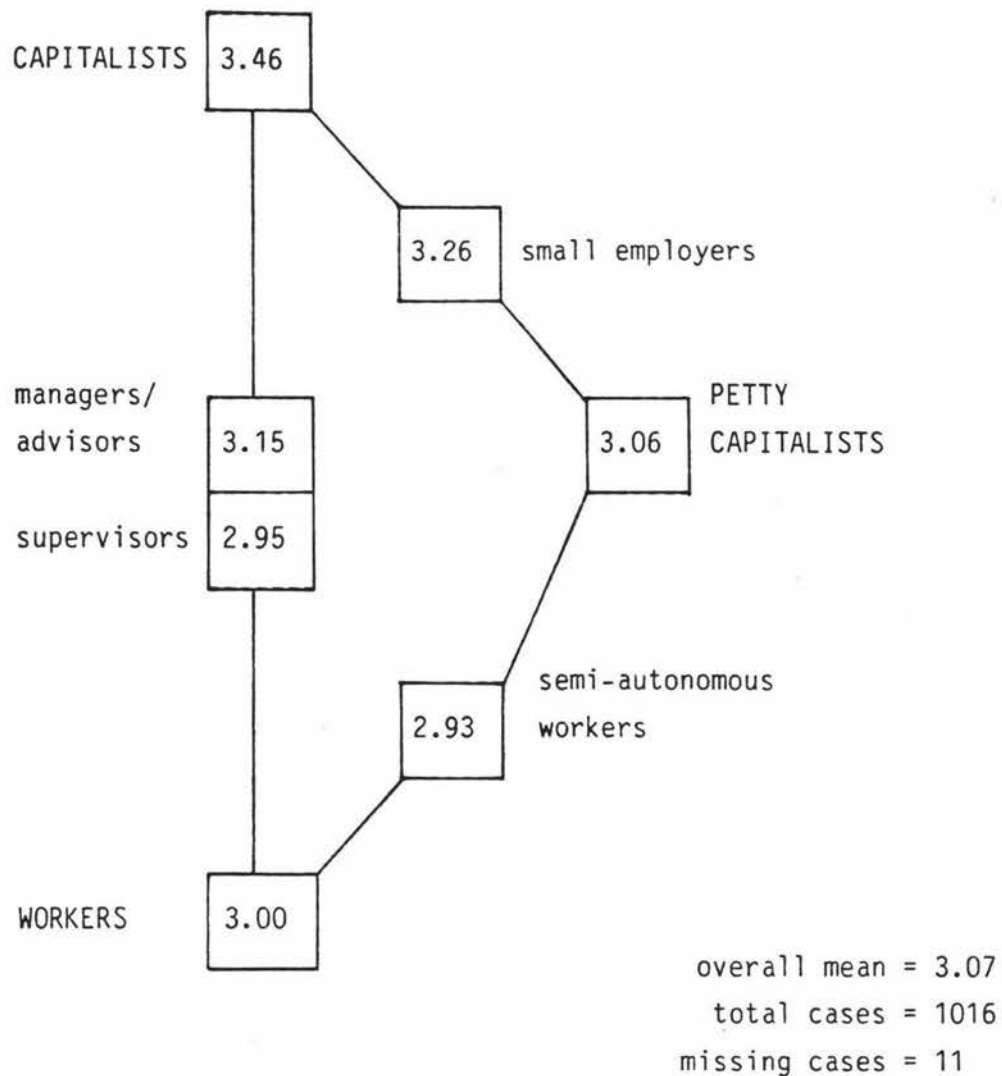
(4) ALTERNATIVES

As you will recall, these variables have the potential to tell us about a different dimension of class consciousness; the realisation of particularly fundamental working class interests.

(a) Alternatives (closed)

Question 37(d) asked the respondent to strongly agree (1), somewhat agree (2), somewhat disagree (3), or strongly disagree (4), with the statement 'It is possible for a modern society to run effectively without the profit motive'. This level of agreement (or disagreement) was crosstabulated with class to produce the following results:

¹¹ For those interested, the multiple regression analysis of class attitudes with age, gender, ethnicity and class can be found in Appendix 18.

Figure 23: Mean disagreement of each class with Q.37d.

The first thing you will notice here is that the overall agreement with the statement is not strong. Even the most agreeing mean (semi-autonomous, 2.93) is still closest to the somewhat disagree code (3). The frequencies (not shown) bear this out. Only 25% of people see the non-profit alternative as possible (they agree with the statement), while 74% see it as impossible (disagree with the statement).

The pattern of results is similar to what we saw on the other class consciousness variables. The closer to the capitalist class a respondent is, the less chance they have of realising the fundamental working class interest. Note, however, that in this case the clustering around the working class is acute. In fact the working class is actually more disagreeing than both the supervisors and semi-autonomous means. In these terms, not only do the working class not perceive social alternatives as much as 'can be expected', but they do not even perceive the social alternative as much as other classes. This seems to indicate marked underdevelopment of the realisation of the fundamental working class interest amongst the working class.

Despite this, the limited realisation of fundamental interests that is present, does seem to be weakly related to class position.

(b) Alternatives (open)

The results from the elaboration to Q.37d 'why did you say that' are not so nearly straightforward. The answers were coded into eight broad, qualitatively distinct, categories. Although this is not a strictly ordinal variable the categories do range from a complete non-perception of the social alternative to a full perception of the social alternative. The first four categories are comprised of responses that take the existing mode of production as given while the last four are prepared to raise questions about the mode of production. The categories are as follows:

Table 5: Codes and frequencies for Q37d probe.

		Absolute frequency	Adjusted frequency (rounded)
Take mode of prodn. as given	(1) profit motive is human nature	32	3%
	(2) profit motive needed for incentive	316	34%
	(3) profit motive necessary for business enterprise	263	28%
	(4) alternative not conceived	118	13%
Call into question mode of prodn.	(5) criticism of profit motive	48	5%
	(6) alternative conceived but rejected	59	6%
	(7) alternative possible	43	5%
	(8) socialist alternative to profit motive	56	6%
	MISSING	81	MISSING
	TOTAL	1016	100%

(1) Human Nature. The people in this category implied that there is something inherent or genetic about the profit motive. Under these conditions an alternative to the profit motive would be 'against human nature'. Responses included;

"It's human nature to make profit" and
"People are fundamentally greedy"

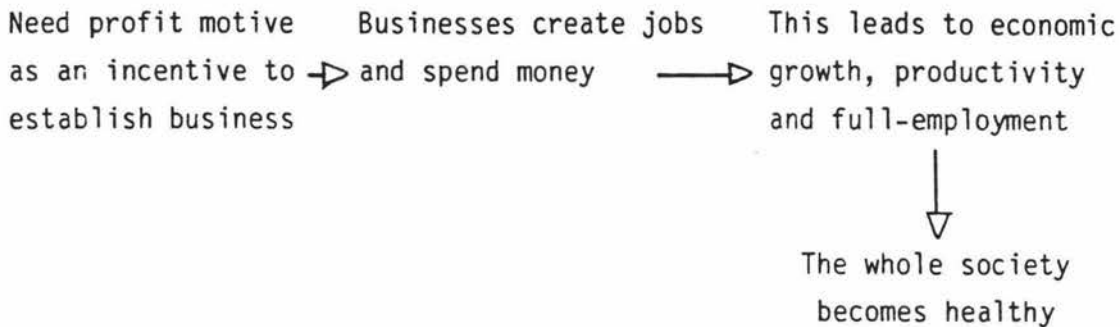
(2) For incentive. The argument here is that the profit motive is the primary means of motivating people to work, to improve themselves, to progress. A society without the profit motive would therefore stagnate. For example;

"Profit is an incentive necessary for motivation"
"Have to have incentive for people's ideas"

or most succinctly

"you need a carrot"

(3) Business logic. This position was the most entrenched and the most forcefully argued of all. In essence it reiterates, and accepts the fundamental principles of the capitalist economy. The logic was generally pieced together in the following way:



The logic was captured in full on some occasions:

"If you increase profit and productivity, you increase national income, social services are increased and everybody benefits" and

"Society revolves around businesses; if society is to progress then businesses must have profits"

Most of the time, though, it was only part of the logic that was expressed:

"You must make a profit to keep businesses going and to keep people employed"

(4) Alternative not conceived. This was the last category which took the existing mode of production as given, immutable. In some respects this was a slightly miscellaneous category which incorporated the ridiculous and the reactionary as well as the straight non-conceivers. The latter people gave responses like:

"That's the way things are"

"You've got to make a living"

Although rare, other responses included:

"Utter rubbish"

(5) Criticism. Here I have tried to capture those that criticised and questioned the profit motive but were still not conceiving an alternative. These people were accepting of the profit motive, but only by default. The criticisms were normally fairly naive and whimsical:

"People are starving at the cost of human greed"

"The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer"

(6) Alternatives conceived. In this category there is an acknowledgement that alternatives do actually exist. Capitalism and the profit motive are seen to be only an option in the organisation of a society. However, although the possibility of an alternative is acknowledged, it is normally rejected. The responses range from:

"Russia and China are not effective" to

"Not a bad idea but people wouldn't do it that way" to

"I would like to think it would work but I wonder"

(7) Alternatives possible. Here an alternative to the profit motive is both conceived and considered possible. The emphasis here, though, is on different forms of alternative:

"Its an ideal, lots of possibilities"

"No need for profit; self sufficient farms"

(8) Socialist alternative. This is the strong favouring of the socialist alternative to a system based on the profit motive.

"There's a lot to be said for socialism"

"Works in China and Cuba; could work here"

The last four categories (22%) do not take the existing mode of production for granted. For this reason, they stand in some sort

of positive relation to the fundamental working class interest. In terms of the realisation of interest though, probably only codes 7 and 8 (10%) would rate.

The distribution of people across this variable supports the previous alternatives (closed) variable findings. There is a very low degree of realisation of the fundamental working class interest in an alternative to the profit motive. Thus, there is a very low incidence of this form of pro-working class consciousness.

The crosstabulation of the Alternatives (open) variable with class structure produced a complex and non-definitive series of results (see Appendix 19). Overall, there is very little relationship between class structure and the perception of the social alternative. The even distribution of column percents indicates that most responses are spread fairly evenly throughout the class structure. Relatedly, the even distribution of row percents indicates that each class has its fair share of responses.

Nevertheless, the results are still very interesting. In particular, they provide an insight into the types of perceptions and theories people have when they are not realising their class interests. Also, some of the minor fluctuations with class may be more than random variation.

Firstly, the business logic category must be given close attention. This is because the business logic is essentially tied to capitalist class interests. The argument is that the profit motive, and profit itself, is a necessity. Because it is capitalists who reap this profit most directly, then it must be seen that the argument serves essentially capitalists interests. The argument, however, goes further than that. It goes on to say not only that profit is necessary for capitalists, but that it is necessary for the whole society. Through economic growth and full employment, the business profit benefits everybody; all classes. The latter part of the argument is crucial. It represents the tying of the whole society's interests to capitalists' interests. If all classes accept the argument, then all classes serve capitalists' interests.

(I return to this idea in the conclusion with the concept of hegemony).

Given the potency of this idea, the results are revealing. It seems as if the capitalist logic is most pervasive amongst managers (they are over-represented with 39%), and supervisors (31%). The idea also has support in the working class as much as in the population as a whole (28%). This could be interpreted as a fairly successful attempt to tie the interests of the employee classes to the capitalist class.

The odd thing about this, however, is that the business logic is under-represented amongst the capitalist (19%) and small employer locations (16% -although the cell sizes are small here). Although this is an odd result it is conceivable. These locations are over-represented in categories 6 and 7. This may be construed to mean that do perceive alternatives, but that they still may favour the capitalist society with its profit motive. This is of course only a tentative interpretation of the results.

Secondly, the only relationship to class which may exist is with the 'socialist alternative.' Those very few people who do favour the socialist alternative (6%) are over-represented amongst the working class (8%) and semi-autonomous location (15%) and under-represented amongst the rest. If this is anything more than random fluctuation, it could be interpreted to mean that the hypothesised development of this type of consciousness has touched the working class and semi-autonomous location only to a very small extent.

I think the most pertinent question to ask now is why is the conception of a society without a profit motive not related to class when all other consciousness variables were related to class.¹²

¹² There is the possibility of a practical survey problem here. On this question there may be a degree of question misinterpretation. The concepts within the question are abstract and respondents are being asked to think abstractly. In our experience this is not a prescription for clarity.

Conceptually, as I have pointed out previously, this dimension of class consciousness is different from the dimension tapped previously. Crosstabulations of the class attitude, political sympathy, class identification variables with the alternatives variables have confirmed this; there was very little co-variation (results not presented). In this context it is at least comprehensible that the relationship between class and class consciousness revealed previously is not reproduced here. What this points to is that the dimension of class consciousness in the first section is present, whereas the dimension in this last section is not.

Summary. In spite of the suggestions and interpretations within this section, I think it is only safe to settle on one thing. The dimension of class consciousness that is associated with a fundamental working class interest in an alternative to the profit motive is virtually absent in New Zealand. Both the open and closed variables pointed to this. The issue of the relationship with class I will have to leave obscure. If there is a relationship it does not seem to be strong. This finding refutes the expectations within the hypothesis.

The real value of this section though is not in the above statements but in the qualitative range of ideas and categories of opinion discovered in the open code. Although it is difficult to make sense of them, and they are ambiguous, they are the reality of what people think. Ultimately, this more qualitative analysis should take precedent.

(5) SUMMARY OF ANALYSES

In this chapter I have ranged fairly widely and made a variety of suggestions and interpretations. In this section I wish to pull out only the more definitive of these (for a detailed summary, see section summaries and the Conclusion).

Over the class consciousness variables I revealed a tendency for a person's class attitudes, political sympathies and class

identification to co-vary with class position. In the theoretical context I interpreted this to indicate at least some sort of realisation of class interests. This tendency must not be overemphasised though, and in no way can it be construed as evidence of a unique determination of class consciousness at work. The most prominent feature in this non-determination was the clustering of attitudes around the working class attitude on all consciousness variables; there was an absence of the difference expected between the working class and the two adjacent locations. Although this was interpreted in a number of ways, the non-realisation of working class interests amongst the working class was important in the clustering (see Figure 11). Compared with the working class, the owning classes had attitudes tied more closely to their class locations. Moreover, the strength of this pro-capitalist consciousness was directly related to the number of employees; the more employees, the stronger the tendency to be pro-capitalist. The other interesting result that came out of this section, was the apparent inconsistency between people's class attitudes and class identifications. That is, while many class members had class attitudes consistent with their class position, they did not seem to recognise the class position itself. Moreover, the inconsistency was in fact related to class position. Capitalists tended to have stronger attitudes and weaker identification, and workers tended to have weaker attitudes and stronger identification.

Controlling for gender, ethnicity and age did not undermine the stability of these findings. Further, the original relationship was clarified in the following ways; (a) the class position of Pakehas and males had more influence on their class consciousness than any other groups and (b) the relationship between structure and consciousness was obscured amongst females and minority groups. It is probable that this latter aspect contributed to the clustering within the original relationship (see Figure 22). Also outstanding in this section was the predominance of relatively strong pro-working class attitudes amongst all minority group employee classes.

The section on alternatives was complex. The only finding I really feel comfortable reporting is that there was an overall lack of

realisation of the fundamental working class interest in an alternative to the profit motive.

With these results in hand let us now return to our theory. Does our theory seem applicable to the apparent situation in New Zealand? What parts of the theory have been clarified, what parts need reworking, what parts are particularly useful?

CONCLUSION

This conclusion concentrates on theoretical questions. It is here that I recount the broad theoretical propositions in Chapter One in the light of the analysis in Chapter Four. Also in this conclusion I suggest further research options that exist both within and beyond the New Zealand and international projects.

(1) THEORETICAL REMINDER

The first two thirds of the theory chapter developed the classical Marxist argument concerning class structure, class interests and class consciousness. This argument began with a very basic proposition. Because New Zealand is a capitalist country, then Marxist theory argues for the existence of social classes, in an objective sense. Classes, in the class structure, are nothing more than the large groupings of people that are formed around the way we produce our goods and services. Within this class structure some people have full control over resource allocation, the labour power of others and the means of production, and some classes have no control over these dimensions.

This class structure is inextricably linked to class interests. The basic assumption here was that people have a general interest in consuming more (in the broadest sense of the word) and working less. The specifically class interest arises because the general interest is violated by the fundamentally exploitative nature of capitalism. Under these conditions, working class people have objective class interests in increasing their control over their labour power, improving working conditions, obtaining a greater say in investment decisions and so forth. Alternatively, the capitalist class was said to have fundamentally opposed class interests. These include the maintenance of the system of production, increasing profit margins and so forth.

Now, in classical Marxist terms, it was envisaged that class members would develop consciousness in accordance with their class interests; over time, people would come to know, understand and

realise their class interests. Thus, in a number of ways, class consciousness would develop organically out of the class situations in which people found themselves.

At this point in the Theory Chapter, these claims were moderated somewhat with input from some more contemporary neo-Marxist theorists. Here it was reasoned that there is only ever a certain potential for a class member to realise his/her class interests and develop class consciousness. Further, there is no guarantee that this potential will ever be fulfilled; the development of class consciousness as a historical necessity was deemed not to be realistic. This is so because the pure relationship between class structure and class consciousness is often mediated. Religion, politics, the media and so forth, can all inhibit the realisation of class interests in the minds of individual class members.

Against this background of theoretical propositions, the task of this thesis has been to examine the extent of realisation of class interests - and the fulfillment of potential - in the New Zealand context, 1984.

The hypothesis in Chapter Three was worded to serve this end. Within the hypothesis I captured the classical Marxist notion that consciousness would develop around class interests. It was, therefore, a 'devil's advocate' type hypothesis. In a rudimentary way, the instances of support for the hypothesis indicated the extent to which the potential formation of class consciousness had taken place, while instances of refutations indicated the extent to which the potential formation had not taken place.

Given the limited understanding of these issues in the New Zealand context, it was argued in Chapter Two that an appropriate method to examine class consciousness was the questionnaire survey. The unique aspect of this survey, though, is the way it integrates contemporary neo-Marxist theory with survey techniques. The theoretically designed questionnaire reflects the anti-positivist philosophy (epistemology) that one cannot observe without theory.

Both the nature of the hypothesis and the choice of the survey reflect a prime investigative principle. That is, this thesis examines the most systematic and pervasive tendencies rather than the intricacies and complexities of the consciousness forming process; 'mapping the field' rather than 'filling the holes'!!

(2) THE RESULTS AND THEORY (key results bolded)

To examine the potential that actually existed I first analysed the class structure; this was the analytical starting point. Compared with the American class structure there were three notable distinguishing features (see Figure 4 and Appendix 12). Firstly, the 'agrarian stamp' on class relations has inflated the capitalist, small employer and petty capitalist locations. About 20% of the working population are in ownership positions, and therefore have predominantly capitalist type interests. Secondly, although the New Zealand working class is smaller than its American counterpart, it still constitutes one third (34%) of the working population. One third of the population, then, have working class type interests and have the potential for the development of working class consciousness. Thirdly, with approximately half (53%) the population in contradictory class locations, the New Zealand class structure is less polarised than the American class structure. These contradictory class locations - managers, supervisors, semi-autonomous employees (but not small employers) - all have a particular mix of capitalist and working class interests, depending on their proximity to the working class. The potential for class consciousness development is, therefore, more wide-ranging for contradictory class locations than it is for the basic class locations.

Overall, this class structure bore testimony to the particular nature of the mode of production (social formation) in New Zealand. Compared to the American social formation, New Zealand has a less entrenched form of monopoly capitalism, reflected in the less polarised class structure, and a strong presence of agrarian patterns of ownership and employment.

The analyses of the realisation of these interests in the development of class consciousness were revealing. After examining the three class consciousness variables - class attitudes, party sympathies and class identification - it was obvious that there was a broad tendency for the nature of class consciousness to vary systematically with class position. With exception, the closer a person was to the working class, the greater the likelihood that they had working class consciousness. Likewise, the closer to the capitalist class the more chance of pro-capitalist class consciousness (see Figure 11). In the broadest of terms then, **taking the class structure as a whole, the potential for the development of class consciousness around class interests seems to have been in some part fulfilled.**

A closer look at this broad pattern shows that the realisation of interests is not uniform. Firstly, it seems as if the strongest relation between consciousness and class position is amongst the three employing classes; capitalists, small employers and petty capitalists. These classes had stronger pro-capitalist class attitudes, more people sympathising with National and the weakest overall perception of a class position. Furthermore, within this group, capitalists were always the most pro-capitalist and petty capitalists always the least pro-capitalist, (see Figures 5-10 and Figure 11). The clarity of these results suggest that the **potential for the development of class consciousness has been most strongly fulfilled amongst the owning classes.**

Secondly, there is a lack of clear delineation in the consciousnesses of members in employee class positions. This is most evident in what I have called the 'clustering' of the employee classes' attitudes, sympathies and identifications around those of the working class (see Figure 11). The most prominent aspect in this was the comparatively limited realisation of working class interests amongst the working class. Although the working class still had, overall, the strongest pro-working class consciousness, this was not a clear and unambiguous position. There were many instances of a non-realisation of class interests within the working class. These included: over half the working class (55%) sympathising with the National party at least to a certain extent ('working class Tories'), almost half the working class (45%) identifying with the middle class,

a restrained set of pro-working class attitudes (see Figure 5), and a non-recognition of alternatives to the profit motive (see Appendix 19). In these terms it seems that although the potential for the development of consciousness amongst the working class has been in part fulfilled, it is only in part. Moreover, given the spread of interests over the class structure, and our expectations associated with this, it could be said that **the potential for the development of class consciousness has been the least fulfilled amongst the working class.**

The other important aspect in the clustering was the apparent realisation of working class interests amongst the employee contradictory class locations. This was especially so for the semi-autonomous employees and only marginally so for managers. Semi-autonomous employees were anti-National, pro-Labour and have mean attitudes close to the working class. Supervisors were strongly anti-National as are managers (see Figures 5-10 and Figure 11). This 'middle class liberalism' (so called in the text) suggests that although these locations have both capitalist and working class interests, it is the latter which are most prominent. **Amongst the employee contradictory locations, therefore, the wide ranging potential has been realised more in a pro-working class than pro-capitalist class fashion.**

We then reviewed these patterns while controlling for age, gender and ethnicity. The predominant finding here was **the relationship discovered between class structure and class consciousness was not simply the result of the distribution of genders, ethnicities and age groups over the class structure.** That is, the relationship between class and consciousness that had been revealed, was not 'spurious'. In the process of controlling I also uncovered some interesting relationships between class and the controlling variables.

With gender, it seems as if it is the weaker pro-working class attitudes amongst working class females, and the stronger pro-working class attitudes amongst semi-autonomous females, that contributes to the clustering in the overall population (see Figure 13-14 and Figure 22). Thus, **at the working class end of the class structure, the potential for the development of class consciousness seems to have**

been more fulfilled by males than females. With males, class position seems more determinant of consciousness, and for women their gender location appears to have a strong mediating influence. Also note though, that of all the groups observed in the thesis, pro-capitalist class consciousness was most developed amongst capitalist class women (although cell sizes were small here).

The analysis of ethnicity produced some complex results. Over the whole class structure the relationship between structure and consciousness was most clearly expressed amongst the majority ethnic group. Within this group there was a systematic and uniform tendency towards the realisation of class interests throughout the whole class structure. In every class therefore, there was at least a limited development of the potential consciousness (see Figure 16). Despite this, however, pro-working class consciousness was most strongly developed amongst the working class minority ethnic group. **It is amongst minority ethnic groups that the potential for the development of working class consciousness has been fulfilled the most.** This pro-working class consciousness is not confined to the working class. Throughout the whole class structure, amongst minority ethnic group members, there was extensive realisation of working class interests and only limited realisation of capitalist class interests (see Figure 17).

The results for the age variable further illustrated the stability of the original relationship. Throughout all age groups the two basic effects remained; amongst the owning classes consciousness was always strongly related to the number of employees and, although the clustering around the working class varied, it did still persist. If anything the structure/consciousness relationship was the strongest in the 35-47 age group, although there is no guarantee that this was anything more than random fluctuation (see Figures 19-21). In this thesis, then, **age did not seem to fundamentally affect the extent to which the potential consciousness was developed.**

Although inconclusive, and at times very complex, the alternatives (open) variable offered some useful theoretical insights. In the Theory Chapter I made the link between fundamental working class interests and the perception of a social alternative to capitalism.

Because of the existence of this type of fundamental interest, it is theoretically possible (or there is the 'potential') for class members to develop a radical working class consciousness of an alternative to capitalism. Against this background, the results for the alternatives variable seemed to suggest that **the potential for a consciousness of an alternative to capitalism is severely underdeveloped.** An indicative result in this respect is that only 8% of the working class mentioned the socialist alternative to capitalism when being questioned about the possibilities of an alternative to the profit motive (see Appendix 19).

(3) THEORY REVISITED AND EXPANDED (key points bolded)

From this 'conjunctural' analysis of the New Zealand situation, 1984, I am now in a position to reflect on the theory itself. This reflection is absolutely crucial because it is the 'dialectical moment' when the theoretically informed analysis informs and advances the theory. It is also crucial for the development of theory which is indigenous and applicable to New Zealand.

There are three theoretical reflections here. Firstly, from the analysis above, I can adjudicate on the proposition that the class structure offers the potential for class consciousness. Secondly and thirdly, I will make speculations (more tentatively) on the operation of hegemony and the possibility of cultural groupings around class position.

The revealed tendency towards the realisation of class interests has important implications for the theory. In that there is a tendency for the formation of consciousness in the way hypothetically expected, then the theory seems to be very broadly on the right track. That is, in that the potential was realised to a limited extent then the potential must have been there in the first place; class consciousness does not just develop out of nothing. If it had been revealed that there had been no development of class consciousness at all, then we may have reason to doubt that the potential ever actually existed; but this was not the case. The **tendency for consciousness to co-vary with class structure in New Zealand, 1984,**

therefore gives credence to the central theoretical proposition; the conception that a class structure gives rise to class interests which may potentially come to be realised in the form of class consciousness. This is the main conclusion of this thesis.

We can not overestimate the fulfillment of this potential, though. As I laboriously pointed out throughout the analysis, the tendency for the realisation of class interests is just that, and no more. In many instances the potential for the realisation of class interests was not fulfilled. This was especially so amongst the working class. In reference to the formation of class consciousness in the American situation, Wright (1985,462) draws similar conclusions:

"class relations may define the terrain upon which interests are formed and collective capacities forged, but the outcome of that process cannot be 'read off' the class structure itself"

In terms of the theoretical propositions we may speculate that this non-perfect reflection of consciousness from structure may be in part due to the mediation of the structure/consciousness relationship. That is, there may be various institutions, systems of ideas, impinging interests, different structural conditions and so forth, which undermine the potential realisation of class interests. Of all the possible forms of mediation I only touch on one here. It is tied up with the concepts of ideology and hegemony.

Ideology is the broader concept of the two. Expounding the Gramscian conception, Larrain (1983, 80) refers to ideology as:

" A specific system 'system of ideas' or a conception of the world, that is implicitly manifest in law, in art, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life...this involves a capacity to inspire concrete attitudes..."

In these terms, then, ideologies comprise broad groups of ideas which exist in a society, and which permeate people's attitudes. The class

attitudes and consciousnesses tapped in this thesis are therefore inextricably bound up with ideologies.

Hegemony, also a Gramscian conception, works on the 'terrain' of ideology; it is a variant of ideology. It refers to the ability of a particular class to secure control over the ideologies, over the systems of ideas, and thus over people's attitudes. Furthermore, the control is secured by a class in such a way as to serve that class's interests. Thus, as Wright (Working Paper 23, 77) argues, through the manipulation of ideas, hegemony constitutes:

"the capacity of a whole class to systematically tie the interests of other classes to the realisation of its own interests"

The most entrenched aspect of this hegemony is that the attitudes which embody class interests, become diffused into the 'common sense' of individual people.¹

Although this was not the focus of the analysis, **there was evidence of the mediation of the structure/consciousness relationship through capitalist hegemony.** The pervasive identification with the 'middle class' can be seen in this light. The class identification variable indicated that 45% of the working class, and 70% of the capitalist class identified with the middle class. This sentiment is consistent with the ideology that 'we are all one society' and therefore 'we must

¹ The presentation of this concept here is deliberately simple and in this respect I am probably guilty of the 'conceptual vagueness' that so many Gramscians warn against. I will, therefore, make a couple of extra points for those interested. (1) Hegemony is not some sort of package of ideas handed down from the capitalist class to the working class in the functionalist manner just described. Rather, it is a negotiated process where workers continually encounter ideas that do not square with their material experiences of the world; it involves 'active' consent. The result is a more diffuse set of attitudes than simply capitalists' attitudes held by workers. (2) Capitalists do not 'plan' hegemony then 'pass it down'. Rather, it is their way of perceiving the world, which they themselves probably believe, which is then diffused throughout society. (3) Although I have been, and will be, referring to the capitalist's hegemonic practices, this is only one variant of hegemony. The working class, for example, can also gain control over the 'systems of ideas' (counter-hegemony). For a more detailed discussion of both ideology and hegemony, see Larrain (1979) The concept of ideology, Larrain (1983) Marxism and ideology, and Bennett et. al., (1981) Culture, ideology and social process.

all pull together'. In this respect the idea that 'we are all middle class' shares similarities with the idea that 'we are all New Zealanders' (in the mono-cultural sense), and that 'we are all New Zealanders' (in the nationalist sense). Also revealed in the last chapter was the overall weak, though consistent, identification with a class position. Only 32% of class members perceived a class strongly and 4% rejected the idea of class outright (see Appendix 16-17). Once again, this can be seen to be connected to an entrenched 'common sense' idea that 'New Zealand is a classless society'.

All these expressions of 'sameness' ultimately serve capitalist class interests. When people ignore or accept social divisions in a society, and persist in living with those divisions, then those divisions become legitimated and solidified. They come to be seen as the 'natural' ordering of the world. Because it is the capitalist class that benefits most directly from these social divisions, then it is their interests that are therefore served.

The 'working class Toryism' can also be seen in the context of capitalist hegemony. The working class people that sympathise with the National Party (approximately 50% -although 71% also sympathised with Labour) are sympathising with a party that traditionally serves capitalist class interests. Instances of capitalist hegemony mediating the structure/consciousness relationship were also revealed in the alternatives (open) variable. The most blatant case here was the predilection of many class members towards the idea that the 'capitalist business logic' is a central, preferable and immutable part of New Zealand life (see Appendix 19). As argued in the last chapter, this sort of logic serves the interests of the capitalist class.

Although I could cite further examples of capitalist hegemony (especially from categories 1, 2 and 4 of the alternatives variable), I will stop here. The point is clear. It is obvious that the potential for the development of class consciousness has only been partially fulfilled. In some way the realisation of class interests has been mediated. By way of theory advancement, I have speculated that an important factor here is the influence of

capitalist hegemony over all class attitudes, and in particular those of the working class.

There is one further theoretical development that can be tentatively proposed. It remains an oddity in the analysis that while a class members often had attitudes consistent with their class position, this did not come through in their class identification. Capitalists, for example, had comparatively strong pro-capitalist class attitudes but only 10% of them actually identified with the 'upper middle' class, and 70% identified with the middle class (see Appendix 17). Amongst the working class this inconsistency is also present, although not so pronounced. Despite the fact that pro-working class attitudes were widespread, only 16% of working class members identified strongly with their class position (combining strong and weak, though, this was 50%). Throughout the whole class structure this inconsistency was present to a greater or lesser degree (see Table 4 and Figures 8-10). Thus, we have a situation in which many class members seem to have class attitudes but do not seem to recognise their class position. In terms of interests, **many class members have attitudes that are consistent with their class interests but do not name these interests as class interests.**

This finding, important as it is, is not immediately comprehensible in terms of our theory in chapter one. I can, however, offer some theoretical possibilities. Let us speculate and say that many people's attitudes are part of broad sets of 'common senses', moral preferences, forms of consciousness, practices and so forth, that are formed around class positions; or, what means the same thing, that peoples attitudes are part of broad 'cultural groupings' formed around class positions. Here, people are not forming their attitudes as individuals but as members of groups. Further, let us also say that the ideas and consciousnesses of these cultural grouping are very broadly in line with the class interests of the class positions at their centers. Thus, if there is a working class culture based very generally on working class interests (notwithstanding the hegemonic penetration outlined above), then people within that culture would develop pro-working class attitudes. Likewise, if capitalists exist in some sort of 'big business culture', then they may adopt pro-capitalist class attitudes. Now,

the crucial thing for the results here is that the 'cultures' centered on class positions may not include an awareness of the class positions at their origin; class identification may not be included in the 'cultural common sense'. This being the case, then it is possible for class members to have class/cultural attitudes consistent with their class location while not acknowledging the classes themselves, as individuals.

I employed a similar group based explanation when accounting for the the widespread pro-working class consciousness amongst minority ethnic group members of all classes (see Figure 17). Very briefly, it can be seen that the most common class interests amongst the minority ethnic groups was a working class interest. The cultural position of the whole ethnic group, therefore, is centered on the realisation of primarily working class interests. As above, I speculate that ethnic group members form attitudes as part of a cultural group, rather than as isolated class individuals. Therefore, when non-working class minority ethnic group members identify with their ethnic group (which is centered on the working class), rather than with their own class, they will develop pro-working class attitudes. This is the observed result.

The post-analytic return to theory has included three aspects. The legitimacy of the notion that the class structure provides the potential for the development of class consciousness, the suggestion that this potential has been mediated by an ideological hegemony, and the speculation that attitudes are formed within cultural groupings which are broadly related to class positions.

(4) FURTHER RESEARCH

One of the exciting things about this research is that within the New Zealand and international projects, I have only scratched the surface of the data available. The research possibilities that still exist are, for all intensive purposes, unlimited. In the area of class consciousness there are some immediate avenues that are worth investigating.

(a) Disaggregation of classes on crucial variables. In this thesis I still have not established precisely which groups are class conscious and which are not, exactly where the mediation has occurred and where it hasn't. To shed light on these issues the first task would be to examine more closely the subgroups within classes. In particular, one could examine occupational groupings (Q.3) and business groupings (Q.4), within classes. Here one could hope to get an indication of the 'sites' or 'pockets' of consciousness formation. For example, it may be that private sector transport workers would stand out, or other groups. Historically, the rural/urban division has had implications for the development of class consciousness. We have the information to examine this. The size of the workplace (Q.17-18) is important, as is the number of hours worked (cover page). It is obviously essential to include education (Q77) and income (Q83) in this list and, relatedly, some comparative work with the Elley-Irving scale should be undertaken. Mann (1973) has shown the nature of unionism to be integral to class consciousness. Questions 46-48 would be revealing here. Likewise, an analysis of social mobility (intragenerational Q.36a-36f, intergenerational Q.60-64) and geographical mobility, would also be useful.

In this analysis of the factors of consciousness formation, I would be tempted firstly to focus on the employee locations. It is essential to rout out the specifically New Zealand ingredients for a pro-working class consciousness. Maybe an immediate task would be to identify precisely those semi-autonomous employees who had such a strong pro-working class consciousness.

A potential technical problem in this further research would be the diminishing cell sizes with each level of data disaggregation. Indeed, this would be the limiting factor in any such analysis. This limitation may be alleviated to a certain extent through a variable standardisation procedure, as opposed to crosstabulation controlling.

(b) Developing the class structure variable. As I pointed out in Chapter Three, the version of the class structure variable used in this thesis is only one of a number similar versions. The variables that make up the class structure can be 'collapsed', or put together,

in a whole variety of ways. The most volatile outcome of these various collapsings is size of the employee class locations, and in particular, the size of the working class. It is essential, therefore, to examine the effects of these collapsings on the patterns of class consciousness. This would involve holding a class consciousness variable constant (class attitudes would probably be the most reliable) and experimenting with the class structure variable.

More fundamental, though, is the development of a new class structure variable since this thesis was first put together. In some reflective comments on the original class map (the one used in this thesis) Wright (1985, 80-81) reasoned that, despite his intentions, he had put forward a conception which relied too heavily on the domination aspect of the appropriation/domination duality (outlined in Theory Chapter). This was seen as a move away from one of the fundamental premises of Marxism; the centrality of exploitation. Wright's response at this point was to revamp the concept of exploitation using John Roemers' work (in particular, A general theory of exploitation and class, 1982), and to amend the original class map accordingly. For Wright, this later Roemer-styled map captures more accurately the distribution of control and exploitation over the class structure. It remains to be seen, however, whether it can act as a more useful indicator of class consciousness. If we are to take Wright's lead here, and there is no reason why we shouldn't, then we would have to experiment with this more recent conception ourselves.

(c) People outside the paid labour force. You will recall that this thesis only examines people in the 'economically active population', only 1016 respondents of the 1665 available. Those groups excluded include the retired (tapped in Q.36c), domestic labourers (Q.36d), those unemployed more than a year (Q.36e) and others (Q.36f, for example, voluntary workers). At the very least, there is a political reason for doing research in this area. As Williams (1981, 12) points out, the marginalisation of research into these groups 'for practical reasons', as I myself have reasoned, has contributed to a significant absence of work in this area. This is part and parcel of the oppression of these groups in the wider sphere.

Initially, the investigations could follow those for 'economically active' population; simply putting these groups up against the various class consciousness variables and watching the patterns of results. However, because of the complex relations between class and these groups, this research would be far more difficult. The theoretical precedents are not so established here, and analysis would be without the strong theoretical expectations that guide this thesis. The relationship between class and gender would probably be the most difficult problem that would arise in these analyses.

(d) International comparisons. The international aspects of the project opens up whole new dimensions in comparative research. Because of the complexity of structure/consciousness relationship, and the varieties of mediation, this dimension offers unique opportunities to examine the way this relationship is worked out in different conjunctures. But before the New Zealand project can launch into this research, it must first make its data set compatible with the international data set in Madison, U.S.A.. This would be the immediate task.

This is all possible research within the New Zealand/international projects. My comments now refer to necessary research outside these projects. From the Methods Chapter you will recall that a solid criticism of the survey method is that it only captures social phenomenon in one instance in time. In line with E.P Thompson's comments, I noted that the survey is only a snapshot of history. This problem is compounded when you consider the nature of class formation itself. As Przeworski (1977, 401) points out, classes do not 'spontaneously emerge' and simply 'march on to transform history'. They are not continuous historical entities. Rather (p. 372),

"The process of class formation is a perpetual one: classes are continually organised, disorganised and reorganised"

Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to examine precisely the nature of the relationship between class structure and class consciousness/formation from only the simple snapshot of history. The

implication here is that the research must be contextualised through historical analyses.

This thesis has established the adequacy of a neo-Marxist class structural analysis for the examination of class consciousness in New Zealand, 1984. Classes do matter. That this is not simply theoretical conjecture is evidenced by the fact that the class structure formulation explains important aspects of New Zealand life. We should therefore dispense with squabbles over whether classes exist, and go forward on the well-placed assumption that they do exist. Progress of this nature would have considerable political consequences.

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APPENDIX 1
INFORMATION ON DIFFERENT NATIONAL STUDIES

Country & year started	Project Director	Total Funding US\$	Sample size	Status of project
U.S.A. 1977	Erik Olin Wright Dept. of Sociology Social Science Bldg. Univ. of Wisconsin Madison, Wis. 53706	712,073	1760	Merged with Swedish & Norwegian data
Sweden 1979	Goran Ahrne Dept. of Sociology Univ. of Uppsala Box 513, Uppsala	150,000	1145	Data merged
Finland 1981	Raimo Blom Dept. of Sociology & Social Psychology Univ. of Tampere P.O. Box 607 SF-33101 Tampere 10	107,700	1435	Data in Madison, but not yet merged
Norway 1981	Tom Colbjornsen Inst. of Sociology Univ. of Bergen Christiegate 19 N-5000 Bergen	205,000	2532	Data merged
Canada 1982	John Myles, Walter Clement Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology Carlton Univ. Ottawa K1S 5B6	361,120	2577	Data in Madison, but not yet merged

Country & year started	Project Director	Total funding US\$	Sample size	Status of project
Britain 1982	Howard Newby, D. Rose G. Marshall, C. Vogler Dept. of Sociology Univ. of Essex Colchester C04 3SQ	140,000	1770	Data gathered, but not in Madison
New Zealand 1984	Chris Wilkes, Peter Chrisp Dept. of Sociology Massey University Palmerston North	23,850	1000 households 1600 individuals	Data gathered, but not in Madison
Denmark 1984	Jens Hoff Inst. of Political Studies Univ. of Copenhagen Rosenborggade 15 DK-1130 Copenhagen K	70,000	2000	Data to be gathered May 1985
West Germany 1984	Herman Strasser Thomas Hagelstange Dept. of Sociology Univ. of Duisburg Postfach 10 16 29 D-4100 Duisburg 1	150,000	2000	Pilot gathered, survey to be gathered 1985
Australia 1984	John Western, S. Clegg J.M. Emmison Dept. of Anthropology & Sociology Univ. of Queensland St. Lucia, Q 4067	45,000	1000-2000	Pilot completed, survey not yet funded

Country & year started	Project Director	Total funding US\$	Sample size	Status of project
Italy 1984	Alberto Martinelli Dept. of Sociology Univ. of Milano Milano	unknown	unknown	Survey being planned
Japan	Katsu Harada Dept. of Sociology Meiji Gakuin Univ. 2-37, Shiroganedai 1 Chome Minato-Ku, Tokyo			Proposal under preparation

APPENDIX 2

INTERNATIONAL PROJECT ON JOBS AND ATTITUDES
THE NEW ZEALAND 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:

<input type="checkbox"/>	a moderately interesting and enjoyable job with very high pay; or
<input type="checkbox"/>	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?

<input type="checkbox"/>	employed by someone
<input type="checkbox"/>	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?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	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:

<input type="checkbox"/>	sole owner
<input type="checkbox"/>	other non-family owners
<input type="checkbox"/>	family owned
<input type="checkbox"/>	tenant
<input type="checkbox"/>	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?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Actual partner
<input type="checkbox"/>	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?

<input type="checkbox"/>	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, franchise
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, lease
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, contracted to processor
<input type="checkbox"/>	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

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

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

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

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 details
 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?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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"/> |

QUESTIONS 38 to 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.

	Taken part	Not taken part
a) A strike organised by a union.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Lock-out.	<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: _____

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

SOME	<input type="checkbox"/>
A FEW	<input type="checkbox"/>
NONE AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>

who gets such promotions?

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	-----%	-----%

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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
welfare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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 _____

NE Q EJB and 84-87AKE FOR FIRST RESPONDENT ONLY

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.)

SECTION L: FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

L1. We would now like to ask a few questions about your closest friends and relatives. Think of the three people to whom you feel personally closest, aside from your parents (or husband/wife /partner).

Think of the first of these three people. Is this person a friend or a relative?

1. FRIEND

2. RELATIVE

L1a. Is this person a man or a woman?

1. MAN

2. WOMAN

L1b. Is (he/she) working either for pay or in a family business?

1. YES

5. NO → GO TO L1g

L1c. What kind of work does (he/she) do? What is (his/her) occupation?

L1d. Is (he/she) self-employed or does (he/she) work for someone else?

1. SELF-EMPLOYED

2. SOMEONE ELSE.

3. WITHOUT PAY

8. DON'T KNOW

GO TO L1f

TURN TO P. 39, L2

L1e. Does (he/she) have any paid employees?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, L2

L1f. Does (he/she) occupy a management or supervisor position at the place where (he/she) works?

1. YES

5. NO

8. DON'T KNOW

TURN TO P. 39, L2

L1g. Did (he/she) ever work at a regular job for pay or in a family business?

1. YES

5. NO → TURN TO P. 38, L1b

L1h. What was that occupation?

SECTION L: FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

The questions in this section help locate the R in a social network defined by occupation and class. The R is asked to think of the three people -- friends or relatives -- with whom he feels closest; he is then asked a series of questions about each of these friends/relatives. If R insists he can't think of three friends/relatives, get what you can and exit gracefully. Write a marginal and Thumbnail note on the situation.

L1c. This occupation question is less detailed than those at A4-A6, but it is still important to get enough information to distinguish between professionals and semi-professionals; skilled craft workers, semi-skilled, unskilled etc.

L1d-f. The R may not have a clear idea for each of these, but he should be probed with a "What Think?" -- because even a guess here will be roughly adequate.

L1g-m There are only asked if the friend/relative is not working and never worked in the past. This should be a fairly rare event.

APPENDIX 4. A SIMPLIFICATION OF ESTIMATED SAMPLING ERROR
(compiled from Babbie [1979; 539] - Appendix F.)

<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Maximum sampling error at 95% confidence interval</u>
100 respondents	10.0
200 respondents	7.1
300 respondents	5.8
400 respondents	5.0
500 respondents	4.5
600 respondents	4.1
700 respondents	3.8
800 respondents	3.5
900 respondents	3.3
1000 respondents	3.2
1100 respondents	3.0
1200 respondents	2.9
1300 respondents	2.8
1400 respondents	2.7
1500 respondents	2.6
1600 respondents	2.5
1700 respondents	2.4
1800 respondents	2.4
1900 respondents	2.3
2000 respondents	2.2

Massey University

PALMERSTON NORTH, NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONES, 69-079, 69-089, 69-099.

In reply please quote:

May 1st. 1984

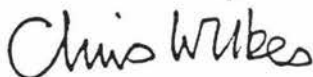
Dear Householder,

During May and June of this year, researchers at Massey University and colleagues in other centres are undertaking a national survey on jobs and social attitudes. This survey is mostly about work, the way people experience work, and about how people feel on the issues of the economy, employment and politics. The main point of the survey is to gather information which may be of help in planning alternatives in the future. Your household has been chosen at random as one of a sample of 1,000 households across New Zealand. We would be very grateful if you could spare a little of your time to answer some questions about your work and how you feel about some of the social issues of the day. One of our interviewers will be calling on you in the next few weeks. Of course, if you really feel you do not want to take part, you are free to do so, but it is really most important that all opinions are heard, and we very much hope you will take part.

The research will take about ten months to complete, by which time we hope to have a clearer picture about work and social attitudes. We undertake to send you a brief summary of our findings in the survey, as a way of showing our appreciation of your involvement. We assure you that any information provided by you is completely confidential, and no means of identification or addresses will be kept once the data is compiled. We further give you our complete assurance that no personal information will be passed on to any other agency.

In early interviews, we found most people greatly enjoyed answering the questions asked ; we very much hope you will also enjoy the survey. Thankyou for your help.

Yours Faithfully,



Chris Wilkes

Project Director.

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW RECORD SHEET

(hypothetically filled in)

Interviewer's Name

John Smith

Address

100 Kings Drive

Phone Number

Wellington

PLEASE RECORD YOUR INTERVIEW ON THIS SHEET WHEN YOU LEAVE EACH HOUSE. IT WILL HELP YOU KEEP TRACK OF ANY CALL-BACKS YOU MUST MAKE AND WILL SERVE AS A RECORD OF YOUR WORK WHEN THE SURVEY IS COMPLETED.

Date	Length of interview	Household 2 person 1 person	House number and Street	TICK (✓) FOR EACH INTERVIEW						
				Completed	Refused	No Contact	Call Back	Call Back	Replaced	
4.7.84	1 1/2 hours	2	66 Ocean Beach Rd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4.7.84	2 hours	2	8 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
18.7.84	50 minutes	1	16 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			18 Martin Cres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	elderly lady
1.8.84	1 hr 20 mins	2	22 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	pl 83109
18.7.84	1 1/2 hours	2	28 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4.8.84	1 1/2 hours	2	34(A) Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4.8.84	45 minutes	1	3 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
1.8.84	1 hour	2	25 Martin Cres	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	appoint. 6.8.84 7.00
6.8.84	45 minutes		19 Martin Cres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			13 Martin Cres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			7 Martin Cres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

COMMENTS:

18 Martin Cres. was a very elderly lady. She said she couldn't be bothered so I didn't push the point.

APPENDIX 7

REPORT ON THE TELEPHONE TECHNIQUE

Stage of Survey - Pilot I has been completed.

Date - 17/11/83.

This report is divided into three parts. Part 1 gives the facts and figures from Pilot I. Part 2 speculates on these facts and figures, and discusses what they may suggest for a possible second telephone pilot, Pilot II. Part 3 outlines where we are in respect to telephone sampling and the choices open to us. My preferences are indicated.

PART 1. The Facts.

Generally the telephone pilot served its purpose of enabling certain insight into the prospects of conducting a telephone interview for the national survey.

A sample of 15 cases was randomly selected from the telephone book - names, addresses and telephone numbers were obtained. Each of these cases was mailed a package containing a contact letter (see Appendix 1) and a copy of both the income earner and non-income earner questionnaires (the size of the package, therefore, was substantial). The pilot was carried out during the evenings of the week and the full days of the weekend. Generally the evenings started at approximately 6.00-6.30 p.m. and ended at no later than 9.15 p.m. Two households completed in that time span proved to be good going.

The survey response was only 60%. Demystification of this rate reveals:

Of the six (40%) respondents who refused,

No. 1 was an elderly woman with her husband just out of hospital;

No. 2 was an elderly woman;

No. 3 was a young couple who "weren't interested";

No. 4 was an elderly woman;

No. 5 was a middle-aged couple whose car had just been stolen;

No. 6 was an elderly woman.

The point is fairly obvious. For some reason, elderly women did not wish to be involved in the telephone interview. Explicitly stated in two cases and implicitly indicated in the other two cases, was that these women felt that they no longer had the mental and physical capacity to successfully complete the interview. Two rather enthusiastic elderly men were interviewed and performed satisfactorily.

In 60% of the successful cases (i.e. 60% of the 60%), an appointment was made in the course of the first contact. In two cases it was only possible to make appointments past the deadline for Pilot I. Thus, even though these appointments could not be kept (one was two weeks past the deadline and one one month) and were later cancelled, they were included in the 60% response rate. That is, although the actual response rate (questionnaires completed) was a mere 46%, the more indicative rate is 66% - the cancelling of appointments was my flaw, not the respondents'.

Those interviews actually completed (46%) were very successful. The length (average 40-45 minutes) proved to be no significant stumbling block. The contact of two people in the household (33% of the cases) also posed few problems.

An expectation to use the answer sheet seemed unreasonable. With only one hand available and not knowing the questionnaire off by heart, there was no time to spare on co-ordinating the questionnaire with the anonymous blanks of the answer sheet. Upon asking for comments post-interview, three people explicitly noted a favouring of the telephone technique for its ability to fit into a busy business timetable.

Only 56% of the 15 respondents had made any sort of examination of the mailed package before the first contact; therefore, in a number of cases, the first task was to read the cover letter together. The three reasonably-educated respondents were by far the easiest interviewees.

Concerning the 'fundamental flaw' with the telephone method (discussed elsewhere), I am quite satisfied that the information gathered was consistent with the intent of the questionnaire; eg. carefully-considered answers, logically consistent answers.

Telephone interviewers are faced with certain occupational hazards:
 'Phoner's mouth' - characterised by general dryness and decreasing ability to enunciate after the second hour;
 'Sampler's ear' - characterised by unusual divets in the ear region which are only partially alleviated by the required skill of being an ambidextrous telephoner.

Back to business.

PART 2. Speculations on Pilot I (PI) and Suggestions for a Possible Pilot II (PII).

The most significant fact emanating from PI was the severity of the rejection rate. As such the discussions within this section are centred on reducing that rate.

(a) Reducing the Questionnaire Package

Our prime rejecting group seemed to reject on the basis that they 'just couldn't cope'. Also, some other respondents, albeit successful, expressed misgivings about the size of the questionnaire and, relatedly, their ability to cope.

Given that in the course of the interview the respondent needs only some parts of the questionnaire, then there is a definite case for reducing the size of the questionnaire package.

(i) Suggestion for PII - in the mailed package we sent contact letter and only pages:

Cover page, 14,15,16,17,18,19,20,22,34,35,44,46,47,48,56 and 57 of Questionnaire 1 and ditto of Questionnaire 2.

(b) Interview Appointments

It became increasingly obvious throughout the course of PI that appointments needed to be established rather than pushing for an interview at first contact. Appointments in PI were constrained by the Pilot deadline.

(i) Suggestion for PII - the opening dialogue of first contact must emphasise appointment rather than an immediate interview.

(ii) Appointments may be beyond the PII deadline as the aim is

to obtain an appointment, and reduce rejection rate, rather than completing a questionnaire. To remain considerate these post-pilot deadlines may then be cancelled - this point may need discussion.

(c) Personal Contact Option.

PI did not examine a potentially important alternative for those who were not at ease with a telephone interview, i.e. an option to have an in-house interview. Specifically, persuasive provision of this option may have an effect on the elderly women in the sample. In fact this may be preferred, as elderly women (as they expected) may well find a 45-minute interview difficult.

However, the mixing of contact methods may pose validity problems as the data obtained over the telephone may be qualitatively different from the data obtained door-to-door.

(i) Suggestions for PII - offer of an alternative home interview. The timing of this offer is essential; i.e. the offer must be forcefully presented at the moment of presentation to avoid a complete rejection of the whole questionnaire.

(ii) Research into the reality validity problem is needed.

So,

SUMMARY - Potential PII would have

- (i) shortened mailed questionnaire;
- (ii) emphasis on interview appointments;
- (iii) post-Pilot II appointments;
- (iv) personal contact option.

The tasks involved would be:

- (i) amending the questionnaire by removing pages;
- (ii) getting 15 copies of each questionnaire;
- (iii) picking sample;
- (iv) mailing;
- (v) conducting pilot and taking notes;
- (vi) research on the validity problem posted by suggestion (iii);
- (vii) research on representation problem (discussed below).

Costs:

- (i) costs of reproducing a total of 450 pages of questionnaire;
- (ii) mailing costs;
- (iii) opportunity costs for the rest of the survey.

PART 3. Where Now?

Before we can discuss the options we must first consider that previously 'assumed as solvable' representation problem. As we all know, by only representing 85% of the population (A. Needs, p. 18), the telephone is inadequate as a sample frame in itself. There are two ways of overcoming this:

- (a) We can take a compensatory sample from those groups in the population that the telephone book is deemed not to represent, for example, low income earners.

However, consider this: we also know that many low income earners do have telephones. Can we therefore get over the problem simply by sampling for low income groups? No, I think not. Certainly, low income may be a characteristic of people without telephones, but there are other characteristics which may make the group a specific one within this low-income category. That is, if we want to allow for a systematic misrepresentation of a particular group, then we must know exactly who that group is.

- (b) Another way of overcoming the problem may be to construct some sort of sampling frame from a combination of sources. For example, pick a sample from the electoral roll then trace these cases to see who has a telephone and who hasn't. For those with telephones, a telephone interview would be appropriate; for those without telephones a door-to-door interview is possible.

OR For example, construct a representative sampling frame from, eg., Wise's dictionary, telephone book and local body lists etc.

The extensiveness of these sorts of exercises may serve to negate the initial purpose of the telephone method, i.e. to save time, money and energy. At some stage there needs to be an extensive examination of this representation problem.

Also, we must not forget the advantage of rural sampling that the telephone gives us. Important class fractions reside in a rural environment, and to miss them would be sacriligious.

So: the way I see it we have three options.

- 1) Drop the telephoning method because:
 - (a) the fundamental representation problem has not been solved and needs a fairly heavy examination;
 - (b) the rejection rate from PI is too high and the costs/opportunity costs of examining this rejection rate in a PII are impractical.

Tasks - none except to get back onto door-to-door sampling.

- 2) Go ahead with PII because of the potential shown in PI; - therefore we can:
 - (a) still assume the representation problem solvable;
 - or (b) concurrently examine the representation problem.

Tasks - if (a), all the tasks outlined in Part 2;
or (b) all the tasks outlined in Part 2 plus examination of the representation problem.

- 3) Postpone Pilot II until we have some conclusive evidence about the representation problem - an immediate examination must be able to tell us about the worthwhileness of PII.

Task - immediate examination of representation problem.

Personally, I slightly favour option (3). What an unnecessary waste of time it would be if the representation problem could not be resolved. However, in spite of this favourism I feel a need to discuss the matter with the learned people around me.

Peter Chrisp

APENDIX 8

THE SURVEY - ESSENTIAL DETAILS1. Where to interview.

You will be provided with an 'interviewers report' which lists the addresses allocated to you personally. Depending on the extent of your undertaking you may have 1, 2, 3 or 4 interviewer reports. What you are aiming to do is to contact and interview the first eight addresses on each interviewer report. As you see there are more than eight addresses on the interviewer report - the 'extra' addresses are for refusals and non-successful call backs.

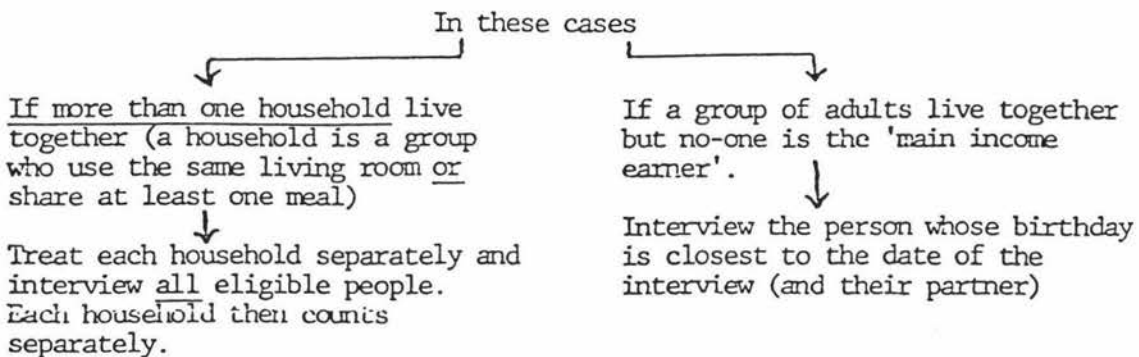
Refusals - If you are refused an interview, simply mark the refusal box then go on to the first 'extra' address.

Call backs - If nobody is at home you are required to call back 2 times (at different times). You record these call backs on the interview record sheet. If, after 2 call backs, you have still made no contact then pass on to the first available 'extra' address.

Thus, the overall aim is to have eight contacted and interviewed addresses from each interviewer record sheet.

2. Who to interview?

- (a) Who answers the questionnaire? Firstly, people over 18 years of age... Basically the questionnaire is aimed at either
- (i) the main couple in the household.
A couple is usually thought of as the main income earner and his/her cohabitee. That is, a couple may be a couple by marriage or some form of cohabitation, e.g. de facto. In this situation you will conduct two interviews.
 - or (ii) In the situations where there is no couple you will interview the main person in the household. e.g. solo-parent families, single person household. In this situation you will conduct one interview.
 - or (iii) On the very odd occasion there will be some houses which do not fit the above categories (less than 5%).



(b) Interviewing couples:

(i) Cohabitees must be interviewed separately. That is, the interview must be conducted with the respondent without the presence of the cohabitee. This may pose some problems - the way around these is to.

* Try a during the day contact to interview one cohabitee.

However, if both cohabitees are out during the day and you have to interview both cohabitees in one visit you can

* offer an explanation of separation of cohabitees during the interview - a ready made explanation is available for this purpose, or

* as a last resort allow the cohabitee of your respondent to be in the same room but courteously ask/insist that the cohabitee sits behind your respondent and remains silent.

(ii) 'First respondent only' - when interviewing cohabitees the second cohabitee need not answer some questions - these are marked in the questionnaire.

(iii) Questionnaires from a couple must be kept together.

3. Who answers what.

Different people answer different aspects of the questionnaire - the flow chart attached should simplify this.

4. What to say in the beginning.

The door is opened in reply to your knock. What do you do now?

"Hello my name is In doing the survey on jobs and attitudes. You should have received a letter in the mail to say I was coming."

(You can expect some sort of confirmation here.)

"As the letter says, we are talking to people all over New Zealand about their jobs, attitudes, job satisfaction etc. All is voluntary, and the information you give us will be strictly confidential and anonymous".

"Firstly, how many people live here?"
"Does a family live here?"
"Does a main couple live here?"

} The questions must determine who in the household is eligible for interview.

NOTE: The above dialogue is not a strict guideline. You will develop your own styles and find easy ways to say things. It will suffice to note that you are wanting to

- a. say who you are
- b. mention the letter
- c. guarantee confidentiality/anonymity
- d. workout a household structure - eligibility.

- 3 -

With eligibility sorted out you can now approach the relevant people and conduct the interview according to the cover page.

<u>i.e.</u>	employed go to	Question 1	→ etc.	
	retired go to	"	36(c)	→ etc.
	work at home go to	"	36(d)	→ etc.
	unemployed go to	"	1 or 36(e)	→ etc.
	other go to	"	36(f)	→ etc.

see flow chart.

5. When to interview.

Some suggestions:

- (a) A 'during the day' contact in order to contact and interview. If a couple household and one of the couple is not home you may make an appointment for the second contact in the evening.
- (b) The evenings are good for interviewing although you must not approach anyone later than eight o'clock. In the evenings you may be fulfilling appointments, making new contacts, interviewing both cohabitants or whatever.
- (c) During the weekends is also a good time to contact. These days it is acceptable to interview on a Sunday.

NOTE: call backs should be at different times of the day in order to maximise the chance of catching people alone.

6. Miscellaneous

- (a) Keeping track of your questionnaires.
 - (i) keep the questionnaires from cohabitants together.
 - (ii) If you have more than one interview record (list of addresses) keep the questionnaires per interview record together.
- (b) Sending your questionnaires back to us.
 - (i) we will send you a stamped addressed envelope per interview record sheet.
 - (ii) you will bundle the completed and checked interview records into the envelope(s) and post them off.
- (c) Pay We pay according to completed questionnaires. Thus you will be paid in a suitable administrative period after the questionnaires are returned.

POINTS TAKEN DURING INSTRUCTION SESSION:

CONTACT: _____

Briefing Paper for Interviewers

BEWARE MINOR DETOURS!

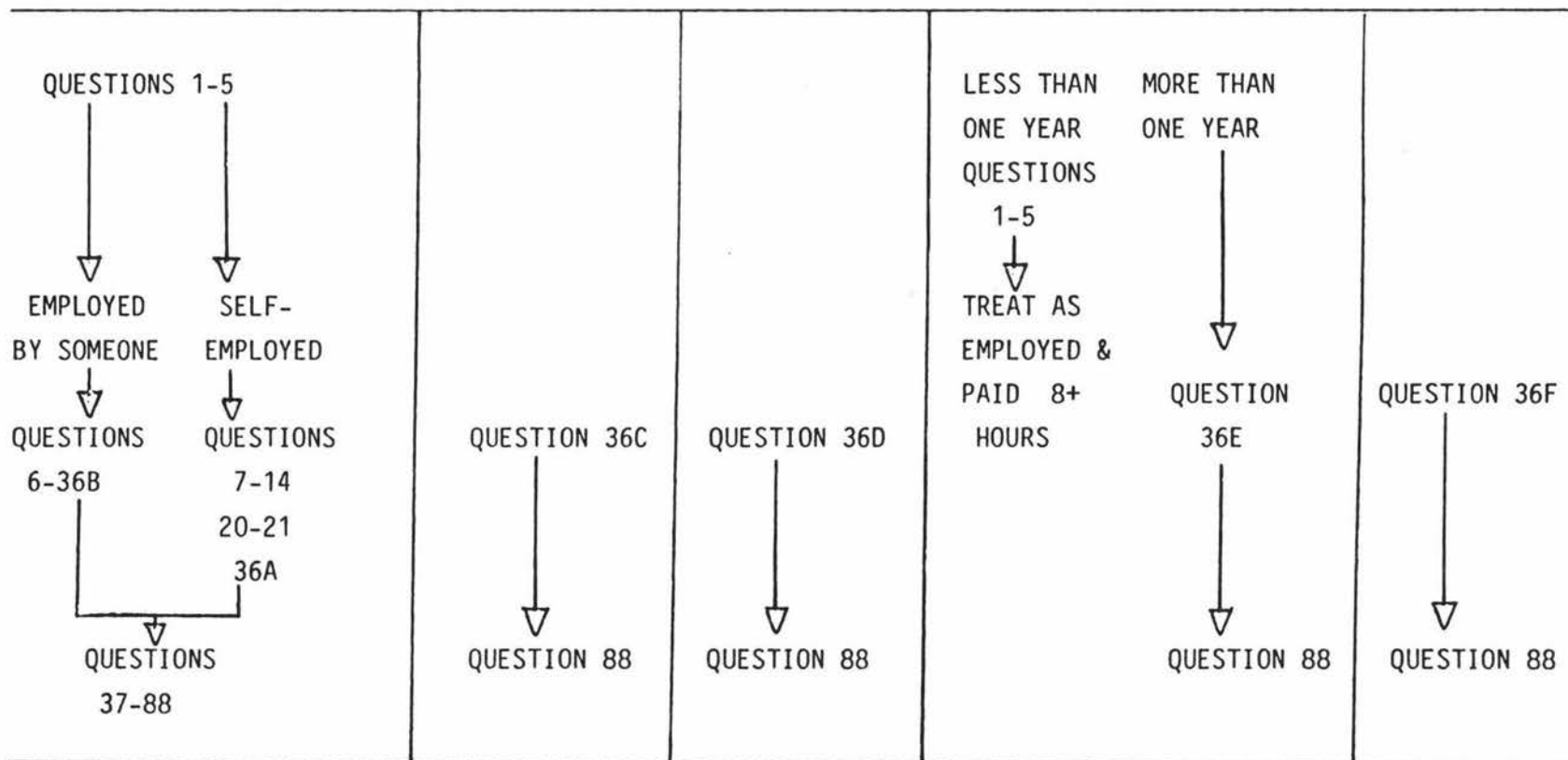
PAID WORK
[8+ hours]

RETIRED
SEMI-RETIRED

WORK
AT HOME

UNEMPLOYED

OTHER





APPENDIX 9

Massey University

PALMERSTON NORTH, NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONES, 69-099, 69-089.

In reply please quote:

Department of Sociology

NEWSLETTER, July 8th

Dear Interviewer,

Our efforts are now producing very satisfying results, and your startpoint results are now coming in apace. Here are some comments which we hope will help.

If you began your work early in May, then any new houses you now approach will have received a letter 6-7 weeks ago. We have taken great pains to ensure accurate delivery of letters, so all the targetted people should have received a letter. However, if your respondents don't remember, it is a good idea on first contact to come armed with a copy of the letter, and perhaps leave it with them to refresh their memory. This should help explain what we are doing.

The election has made this month a little hectic. Our suggestion is that you don't try and interview on election day (July 14th) unless you already have appointments. Sunday, July 15th may be a good day, however, because the political events of the previous day may make people more voluble than usual.

One of our research team, Gail Stacey, will be resident in Auckland (876576) for the next two weeks, so if you are an Auckland interviewer and need a contact, you can phone her at this number.

We have found that making appointments at the door works very well. It is sometimes much easier to arrange a set time than to do the survey on the spur of the moment. Remember we do need both people in a household (unless one partner is ill or unavailable) and the interviewer thus needs to establish contact with both inhabitants.

Finally, we are gearing up for the rural part of the survey, using a similar questionnaire. If you are interested, or know others who might be interested in these interviews, please let us know.

Our deadline for most of this interviewing was July 14th - shall we allow 10 days for the election and say July 24th? Hope this is a reasonable finishing date.

Kind regards

Chris Wilkes

APPENDIX 10. THE FULL MANAGERIAL LOCATION VARIABLE

The full managerial location variable which was then collapsed in various ways for different versions of the class typology, was constructed as follows:

Full Managerial Location	Condensed Managerial Variable*	Decision-making Participation	Authority	Formal Hierarchy	Interpretation of the Category
1	1	Direct	Sanction or task	In hierarchy	Manager on all criteria
2	1	"	"	Nonmanagement	Manager not in hierarchy
3	1	"	None	In hierarchy	Manager without authority
4	2	"	"	Nonmanagement	Decisionmaker without authority and outside of hierarchy
5	2	Advice only	Sanction or task	In hierarchy	Advisor-manager on all criteria
6	2	"	"	Nonmanagement	Advisor-manager not in hierarchy
7	2	"	None	In hierarchy	Advisor-manager without authority
8	3	"	"	Nonmanagement	Advisor without authority & outside of hierarchy
9	4	None	Sanction	In hierarchy	Supervisor: sanctions
10	4	"	Task only	In hierarchy	Supervisor: tasks
11	5	"	Nominal	In hierarchy	Nominally in hierarchy
12	4	"	Sanctions	Nonmanagement	Supervisor: sanctions but outside hierarchy
13	5	"	Tasks only	Nonmanagement	Task supervision outside of hierarchy
14	5	"	None	In hierarchy	No subordinates at all but in hierarchy
15	5	"	"	Nonmanagement	Nonmanager/supervisor on all criteria

* As specified in text

APPENDIX 11. CONSTRUCTION OF THE CLASS STRUCTURE VARIABLE

Class	Self-employment	Number of Employees	Condensed Managerial Location	Autonomy
Capitalist	Self-employed	≥ 10	X ^a	X
Small Employer	Self-employed	2-9	X	X
Petty Capitalist	Self-employed	0-1	X	X
Managers and Supervisors		-	-	-
Managers	Employee	X	1	X
Advisory Managers	Employee	X	2	X
Supervisors	Employee	X	4	X
Semi-autonomous Employees	Employee	X	3 ^b , 5	1-3
Workers	Employee	X	3 _b , 5	4-6

a X = criterion not applicable

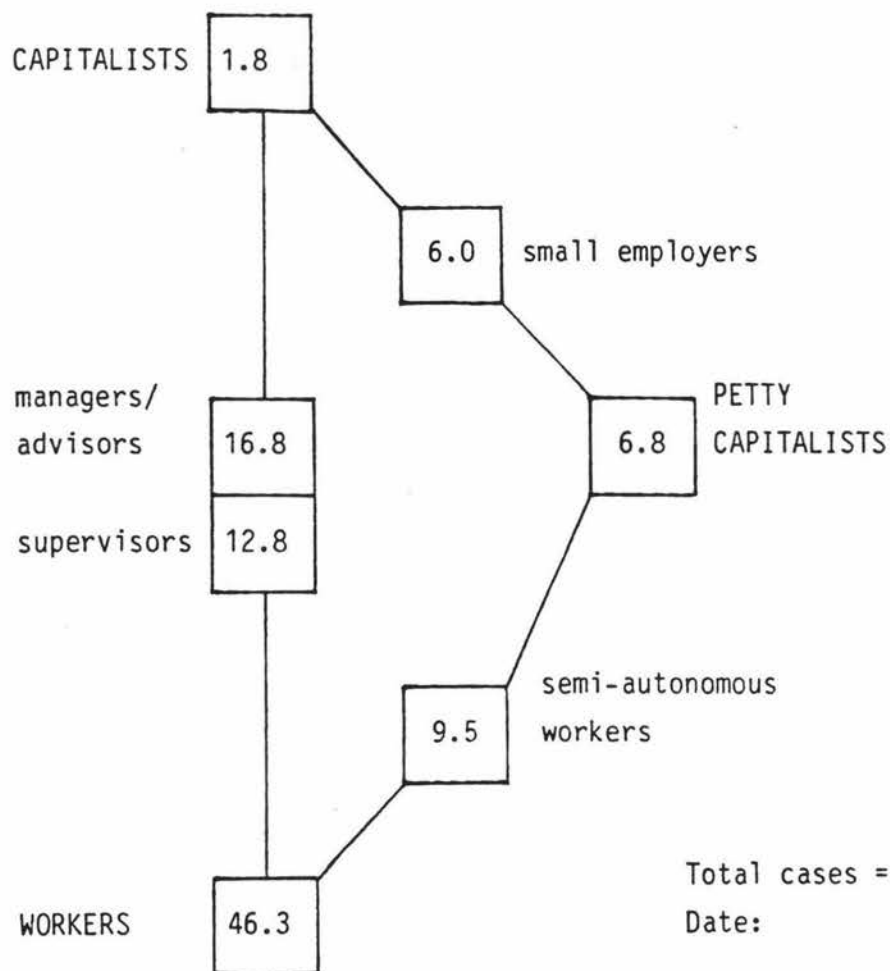
b "Nonmanagerial decisionmakers" -- people who make decisions but have no subordinates and are classified as "nonmanagement" in the formal hierarchy, are merged with semi-autonomous employees (if they are autonomous) or workers (if they are nonautonomous) throughout this paper. The number of cases involved is very small.

APPENDIX 12. THE NORTH AMERICAN CLASS STRUCTURE: PERCENTAGE OF
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE LABOUR FORCE IN EACH CLASS

(from W.P.3, p. 31.)

CAPITALIST MODE OF
PRODUCTION

SIMPLE COMMODITY
PRODUCTION



APPENDIX 13. TECHNICAL NOTE ON DATA PRESENTATION

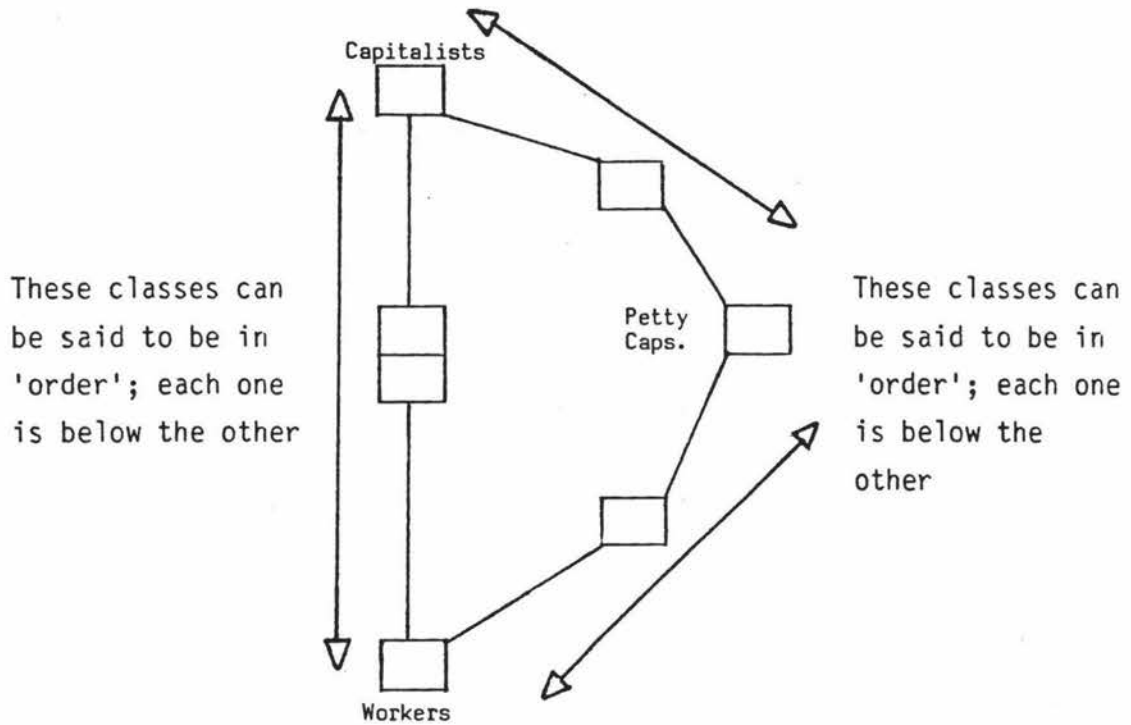
(This section is best understood in conjunction with the last section of chapter 3; notes on statistical methods')

The display of data in the form of the class map makes best intuitive sense. There is, however, a deeper underlying reason for this display. As you will recall, the class structure typology is a nominal variable with hidden ordinality. If I present the results in normal crosstabs form this precious ordinality is lost. For example;

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Capitalist 4 8 5 etc.
	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
	Small employer 15 21 30 etc.
These	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
classes	Petty capitalist etc
cannot	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
be said	Managers/advisors etc
to be	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
above	Supervisors
or below	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
one	Semi-auto
another.	----- ---- ---- ---- -----
	Workers
	----- ---- ---- ---- -----

Here you will notice that the class positions from the different modes of production have been crammed together. This has also meant that the three dimensions of control have been denied their real meaning. The result is that the classes can now no longer be said to be above or below one another on any one dimension, and hence the variable is nominal.

In order to get around this loss of ordinality I present the results in the form of the class map, and attach a mean or percentage for the dependent variable to each class location. In this way I can restore the true ordinality which exists. Thus;



APPENDIX 14. FULL CROSSTABULATIONS OF CLASS ATTITUDES INDEX WITH CLASS, (TABLE 14.1) AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS (TABLE 14.2); AND FULL CROSSTABULATIONS OF THE INDEX'S COMPONENT LIKKERT ITEMS WITH CLASS (TABLES 14.3 - 14.7).

Table 14.1. Crosstabulation of class attitudes index and class

Class	Count Row PCT	Pro-working class attitudes										Pro-capitalist class attitudes										Total	Row		
		-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			10	
Capitalists	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	4	3	4	1	3	3	2	0	1	1	29		
		0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	3.4	0.0	3.4	3.4	3.4	0.0	3.4	6.9	13.8	10.3	13.8	3.4	10.3	10.3	6.9	0.0	3.4	3.4	3.0	
Small Employers	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	3	5	8	13	9	6	8	8	6	2	1	4	0	0	79		
		0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	1.3	2.5	3.8	6.3	10.1	16.5	11.4	7.6	10.1	10.1	7.6	2.5	1.3	5.1	0.0	0.0	8.1		
Petty Capitalists	3	0	1	1	4	0	2	4	7	4	10	7	7	7	9	8	4	3	1	1	2	2	84		
		0.0	1.2	1.2	4.8	0.0	2.4	4.8	8.3	4.8	11.9	8.3	8.3	8.3	10.7	9.5	4.8	3.6	1.2	1.2	2.4	2.4	8.6		
Managers & Advisors	4	6	7	6	6	4	8	17	10	25	21	22	24	20	13	14	18	13	8	6	5	2	255		
		2.4	2.7	2.4	2.4	1.6	3.1	6.7	3.9	9.8	8.2	8.6	9.4	7.8	5.1	5.5	7.1	5.1	3.1	2.4	2.0	0.8	26.0		
Supervisors	6	3	1	3	7	6	9	11	7	12	9	12	6	14	7	3	7	3	5	3	0	1	129		
		2.3	0.8	2.3	5.4	4.7	7.0	8.5	5.4	9.3	7.0	9.3	4.7	10.9	5.4	2.3	5.4	2.3	3.9	2.3	0.0	0.8	13.2		
Semi-autonomous	7	1	1	4	2	7	1	3	2	6	4	5	3	9	6	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	62		
		1.6	1.6	6.5	3.2	11.3	1.6	4.8	3.2	9.7	6.5	8.1	4.8	14.5	9.7	4.8	6.5	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3		
Workers	8	6	14	10	14	21	32	30	18	40	30	25	24	24	20	9	8	9	3	1	1	2	341		
		1.8	4.1	2.9	4.1	6.2	9.4	8.8	5.3	11.7	8.8	7.3	7.0	7.0	5.9	2.6	2.3	2.6	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.6	34.8		
Column Total		16	24	25	36	39	53	68	48	92	83	86	77	83	67	46	50	34	20	15	9	8	979		
		1.6	2.5	2.6	3.7	4.0	5.4	6.9	4.9	9.4	8.5	8.8	7.9	8.5	6.8	4.7	5.1	3.5	2.0	1.5	0.9	0.8	100.0		

APPENDIX 14: continued

Table 14.2 Standard deviations of class attitudes per class
(from breakdown procedure)

For entire population	4.41
Capitalists	4.17
Small employers	3.39
Petty capitalists	4.14
Managers and advisors	4.61
Supervisors	4.47
Semi-autonomous	4.25
Workers	4.13

APPENDIX 14: continued

Table 14.3. Q. 37a and Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Strongly Agree -2.0	Somewhat Agree -1.0	Agree- Disagree 0.0	Somewhat Disagree 1.0	Strongly Disagree 2.0	Row Total
Capitalists	1	4 13.8	8 27.6	0 0.0	6 20.7	11 37.9	29 2.9
Small Employers	2	5 6.3	31 39.2	0 0.0	28 35.4	15 19.0	79 7.8
Petty Capitalists	3	10 11.0	38 41.8	1 1.1	23 25.3	19 20.9	91 9.0
Managers & Advisors	4	42 15.8	112 42.3	1 0.4	66 24.9	44 16.6	265 26.3
Supervisors	6	24 18.0	64 48.1	0 0.0	29 21.8	16 12.0	133 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	16 25.8	31 50.0	0 0.0	7 11.3	8 12.9	62 6.2
Workers	8	88 25.3	166 47.7	5 1.4	55 15.8	34 9.8	348 34.6
Column Total		189 18.8	450 44.7	7 0.7	214 21.3	147 14.6	1007 100.0

Missing observations = 9

Table 14.4. Q. 37c with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Strongly Agree -2.0	Somewhat Agree -1.0	Agree- Disagree 0.0	Somewhat Disagree 1.0	Strongly Disagree 2.0	Row Total
Capitalists	1	2 6.7	4 13.3	0 0.0	10 33.3	14 46.7	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	9 11.3	9 11.3	0 0.0	32 40.0	30 37.5	80 8.0
Petty Capitalists	3	16 18.0	11 12.4	1 1.1	27 30.3	34 38.2	89 8.8
Managers & Advisors	4	59 22.4	59 22.4	4 1.5	67 25.5	74 28.1	263 26.1
Supervisors	6	37 28.0	25 18.9	3 2.3	29 22.0	38 28.8	132 13.1
Semi- autonomous	7	18 29.0	13 21.0	1 1.6	16 25.8	14 22.6	62 6.2
Workers	8	124 35.4	63 18.0	8 2.3	72 20.6	83 23.7	350 34.8
Column Total		265 26.3	184 18.3	17 1.7	253 25.1	287 28.5	1006 100.0

Missing observation = 10

Table 14.5. Q. 37e with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Strongly Agree -2.0	Somewhat Agree -1.0	Agree- Disagree 0.0	Somewhat Disagree 1.0	Strongly Disagree 2.0	Row Total
Capitalists	1	4 13.8	5 17.2	0 0.0	7 24.1	13 44.8	29 2.9
Small Employers	2	12 15.0	26 32.5	0 0.0	15 18.8	27 33.8	80 8.0
Petty Capitalists	3	7 8.1	35 40.7	0 0.0	18 20.9	26 30.2	86 8.6
Managers & Advisors	4	37 14.2	65 25.0	0 0.8	64 24.6	92 35.4	260 26.1
Supervisors	6	20 15.3	36 27.5	0 0.0	34 26.0	41 31.3	131 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	14 22.6	19 30.6	1 1.6	7 11.3	21 33.9	62 6.2
Workers	8	80 23.0	110 31.6	4 1.1	56 16.1	98 28.2	348 34.9
Column Total		174 17.5	296 29.7	7 0.7	201 20.2	318 31.9	996 100.0

Missing observations = 20

Table 14.6. Q. 37f with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Strongly Agree -2.0	Somewhat Agree -1.0	Agree- Disagree 0.0	Somewhat Disagree 1.0	Strongly Disagree 2.0	Row Total
Capitalist	1	0 0.0	7 23.3	0 0.0	7 23.3	16 53.3	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	5 6.3	12 15.0	1 1.3	25 31.3	37 46.3	80 8.0
Petty Capitalists	3	7 7.7	19 20.9	0 0.0	27 29.7	38 41.8	91 9.1
Managers & Advisors	4	31 11.7	53 20.1	4 1.5	77 29.2	99 37.5	264 26.3
Supervisors	6	25 18.9	29 22.0	0 0.0	30 22.7	48 36.4	132 13.1
Semi- autonomous	7	7 11.3	17 27.4	0 0.0	14 22.6	24 38.7	62 6.2
Workers	8	64 18.5	80 23.1	4 1.2	82 23.7	116 33.5	346 34.4
Column Total		139 13.8	2.7 21.6	9 0.9	262 26.1	378 37.6	1..5 100.0

Missing observations = 11

Table 14.7. Q. 37g with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Strongly	Somewhat	Agree-	Somewhat	Strongly	Row Total
		Agree -2.0	Agree -1.0	Disagree 0.0	Disagree 1.0	Disagree 2.0	
Capitalists	1	12 40.0	11 36.7	0 0.0	3 10.0	4 13.3	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	32 40.0	32 40.0	0 0.0	10 12.5	6 7.5	80 7.9
Petty Capitalists	3	43 47.8	26 28.9	1 1.1	11 12.2	9 10.0	90 8.9
Managers & Advisors	4	99 37.8	102 38.9	1 0.4	44 16.8	16 6.1	262 26.0
Supervisors	6	74 56.1	34 25.8	0 0.0	15 11.4	9 6.8	132 13.1
Semi- autonomous	7	26 41.9	22 35.5	1 1.6	9 14.5	4 6.5	62 6.2
Workers	8	182 51.9	116 33.0	3 0.9	40 11.4	10 2.8	351 34.9
	Column	468	343	6	132	58	1007
	Total	46.5	34.1	0.6	13.1	5.8	100.0

Missing observations = 9

APPENDIX 15. FULL CROSSTABULATION AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF CLASS
WITH PARTY SYMPATHIES

Table 15.1. National with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Count			Row Total
		Large Extent 1	Certain Extent 2	Not at all 3	
Capitalists	1	14 46.7	15 50.0	1 3.3	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	28 35.0	39 48.8	13 16.3	80 8.0
Petty Capitalists	3	23 25.6	44 48.9	23 25.6	90 9.0
Managers & Advisors	4	38 14.6	152 58.5	70 26.9	260 26.0
Supervisors	6	17 12.9	65 49.2	50 37.9	132 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	7 11.3	23 37.1	32 51.6	62 6.2
Workers	8	44 12.7	150 43.4	152 43.9	346 34.6
Column Total		171 17.1	488 48.8	341 34.1	1000 100.0

Missing observations = 11

Table 15.2 Standard deviation of National sympathy per class
(from breakdown procedure)

For entire population	0.69	points on sympathy
Capitalists	0.56	scale
Small employers	0.69	
Petty capitalists	0.71	
Managers and advisors	0.63	
Supervisors	0.66	
Semi-autonomous	0.68	
Workers	0.68	

Table 15.3. Labour with Class

Class	Count Row PCT	Large Extent	Certain Extent	Not at all	Row Total
		1	2	3	
Capitalists	1	0 0.0	15 50.0	15 50.0	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	6 7.5	47 58.8	27 33.8	80 8.0
Petty Capitalists	3	12 13.3	53 58.9	25 27.8	90 9.0
Managers & Advisors	4	52 20.0	148 56.9	60 23.1	260 26.0
Supervisors	6	30 22.7	65 49.2	37 28.0	132 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	18 29.0	27 43.5	17 27.4	62 6.2
Workers	8	76 22.0	168 48.6	102 29.5	346 34.6
Column Total		194 19.4	523 52.3	283 28.3	1000 100.0

Missing observations = 16

Table 15.4 Standard deviation of Labour sympathy with class
(from breakdown procedure)

For entire population	0.68	points on sympathy
Capitalists	0.50	scale
Small employers	0.58	
Petty capitalists	0.62	
Managers and advisors	0.65	
Supervisors	0.71	
Semi-autonomous	0.75	
Workers	0.71	

APPENDIX 16. FULL CROSSTABULATION OF CLASS IDENTIFICATION WITH CLASS

Class	Count Row PCT	Identify Strongly 1	Identify Weakly 2	No Class Identif. 3	Row Total
Capitalists	1	8 26.7	19 63.3	3 10.0	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	22 27.5	56 70.0	2 2.5	80 7.9
Petty Capitalists	3	29 31.9	56 61.5	6 6.5	91 9.0
Managers/ Advisors	4	96 36.2	157 59.2	12 4.5	265 26.1
Supervisors	6	48 36.1	79 59.3	6 4.5	133 13.1
Semi- autonomous	7	23 37.1	38 61.2	1 1.6	62 6.1
Workers	8	121 34.1	226 63.6	8 2.2	355 34.9
	Column Total	347 34.2	669 65.8		1016 100.0

Missing observations = 0

APPENDIX 17. FULL CROSSTABULATION OF ACTUAL CLASS
IDENTIFICATION AND CLASS

Class	Count Row PCT	Working Class 1	Middle Class 2	Upper-middle Class 3	No Class Identif. 4	Row Total
Capitalists	1	3 10.0	21 70.0	3 10.0	3 10.0	30 3.0
Small Employers	2	29 36.3	44 55.0	5 6.3	2 2.5	80 7.9
Petty Capitalists	3	34 38.2	46 51.7	3 3.4	6 6.7	89 8.8
Managers/ Advisors	4	54 20.5	174 66.1	23 8.7	12 4.6	263 26.1
Supervisors	6	54 40.6	63 47.4	10 7.5	6 4.5	133 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	20 32.8	39 63.9	1 1.6	1 1.6	61 6.1
Workers	8	175 49.7	157 44.6	12 3.4	8 2.3	352 34.9
Column Total		369 36.6	544 54.0	57 5.7	38 3.8	1008 100.0

Missing observations = 8

APPENDIX 18. MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF CLASS STRUCTURE, AGE, ETHNICITY
AND GENDER WITH ATTITUDES
(Summary table only)

Variable	Multiple R	R Square	RSQ Change	Simple R	B	Beta
D Class 1	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.11	3.99	0.15
D Class 2	0.16	0.02	0.01	0.11	2.80	0.17
D Class 3	0.19	0.03	0.01	0.08	2.31	0.14
D Class 4	0.25	0.06	0.02	0.09	1.85	0.18
D Class 6	0.26	0.06	0.00	-0.02	0.96	0.07
D Class 7	0.26	0.07	0.00	-0.03	0.47	0.02
D Ethnic 2	0.31	0.10	0.03	-0.21	-1.83	-0.13
Age	0.32	0.10	0.00	0.06	0.22	0.03
Sex	0.32	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.57	0.06
D Ethnic 1 (Constant)	0.32	0.10	0.00	0.20	-3.26	0.05

D Class = Class Dummy Variables

D Ethnic = Ethnic Dummy Variable

Multiple R = Multiple correlation coefficients

R Square = }

RSQ Change = } Variations on correlation coefficients

Simple R = }

B = Unstandardised regression coefficients

Beta = standardised regression coefficients

APPENDIX 19. CROSSTABULATION OF ALTERNATIVES (OPEN) WITH CLASS

Class	Count Row PCT Col PCT	Natural Greed 1	For Motivation 2	Business Logic 3	Alternative not Conceived 4	Criticise Profitive Motive 5	Alternative Conceived 6	Alternative Possible 7	Socialist Alternative 8	Row Total
Capitalist	1	0 0.0 0.0	5 19.2 1.6	5 19.2 1.9	7 26.9 5.9	2 7.7 4.2	4 15.4 6.8	2 7.7 4.7	1 3.8 1.8	26 2.8
Small Employer	2	1 1.3 3.1	47 59.5 14.9	13 16.5 4.9	9 11.4 7.6	1 1.3 2.1	3 3.8 5.1	2 2.5 4.7	3 3.8 5.4	79 8.4
Petty Capitalist	3	5 5.7 15.6	24 27.3 7.6	22 25.0 8.4	17 19.3 14.4	5 5.7 10.4	4 4.5 6.8	5 5.7 11.6	6 6.8 10.7	88 9.4
Managers & Advisors	4	10 4.0 31.3	83 33.1 26.3	77 30.7 29.3	24 9.6 20.3	9 3.6 18.8	24 9.6 40.7	13 5.2 30.2	11 4.4 19.6	251 26.8
Supervisors	6	3 2.4 9.4	36 29.3 11.4	48 39.0 18.3	9 7.3 7.6	11 8.9 22.9	9 7.3 15.3	4 3.3 9.3	3 2.4 5.4	123 13.2
Semi- autonomous	7	3 5.7 9.4	16 30.2 5.1	8 15.1 3.0	8 15.1 6.8	5 9.4 10.4	3 5.7 5.1	2 3.8 4.7	8 15.1 14.3	53 5.7
Workers	8	10 3.2 31.3	105 33.3 33.2	90 28.6 34.2	44 14.0 37.3	15 4.8 31.3	12 3.8 20.3	15 4.8 34.9	24 7.6 42.9	315 33.7
	Column Total	32 3.4	316 33.8	263 28.1	118 12.6	48 5.1	59 6.3	43 4.6	56 6.0	935 100.0

Missing observations = 61

Key:

- | 24 | The number of people in the class who responded in this way
- | 7.6 | % of each class responding in this way, percentaged across so compare down
- | 42.9 | % of each response in the class, percentaged down so compare across

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- 1) General Bibliography
- 2) Working Papers (W.P.) and Technical Papers (T.P.) from international projects. (Because these have all been published within the last 6 years I have referred to them through their numbers rather than dates.)
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