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INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

CONGRES DE LIEGE

24 août - 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1953

LIEGE CONGRESS

24 August - 1 September 1953

Sect. I

Stratification sociale

et mobilité sociale

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Social Stratification

and Social Mobility

COMMUNICATIONS

PAPERS

Vol. IV

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THE LEGITIMATION OF AN ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS:  
THE CASE OF ENGLAND

by

Reinhard Bendix  
University of California

## THE LEGITIMATION OF AN ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS:

## THE CASE OF ENGLAND x)

by

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This essay is concerned with the ideological leadership of an entrepreneurial class. The material used in this discussion has reference to the English experience of the late 18th and early 19th century. But the questions with which this study was initiated, have general significance. It may be helpful, therefore, to begin with these general considerations.

Industrialization requires the creation of a non-agricultural work-force. Ideally, such a work-force will adapt its way of life so as to respond "adequately" to the incentives offered by employers. The adequacy of that response may be gauged in terms of a readiness to offer one's services and in terms of a willingness to submit to the discipline required in factory production. The manner in which workers originally become committed to factory work has varied widely. Yet this commitment has involved in every case a major break with traditional patterns of economic conduct. Social actions are traditional when they are animated by "the belief in the everyday routine as an inviolable norm of conduct." 1) And the everyday routine of economic conduct, which is broken by the creation of a non-agricultural work-force, consists in the subordination of work-performance to social rather than economic considerations. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of that subordination is that, ideally, work is performed to meet the needs of family-subsistence, needs which are not only defined by, but limited in accordance with, custom. Hence, when wages rise, less work is done, rather than more, because under these conditions less work will suffice to support the accustomed way of life. 2) This traditionalism of economic life has many ramifications. Workers often prefer tried methods of production; they may adhere to a way of life in which needs are limited; poverty at home may appear preferable to the risks of life abroad; and the neighborliness of economic relations within the community may seem desirable compared with the commercialization of life outside.

To be sure, we should guard against a nostalgic interpretation of this traditionalism. This mode of life is often "preferred", not because it is desired in itself, not because innovation as such is opposed, but because every proposed alternative creates more problems than it solves, socially and economically speaking. 3) Also, it is misleading to suppose that in a pre-capitalist society the laborer is spiritually and economically secure, while in an industrial society he is nothing but a commodity buffeted about by the operation of supply and demand. Without minimizing the burdens which industrialization imposes on the la-

x) This is a preliminary report on a larger study in progress. In this study the ideologies of entrepreneurial classes are analyzed for several countries, at the inception of industrialization and today. For aid in this study I am indebted to the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley. I am also indebted to my research assistant, Gaston Rinlinger.

borer, especially if it is rapid, it is well to remember that deliberate restraints and protections have been introduced in most instances and more or less promptly, where the restraints of custom prevailed before. But aside from these nostalgic interpretations of traditionalism the fact remains, that the creation of a non-agricultural work-force involves almost inevitably a major break with "everyday routine as an inviolable norm of conduct". And wherever this break with the past has been a prelude to industrialization, it has occurred under the ideological leadership of an entrepreneurial class.

Industrialization may result from the initiative of many social groups: government officials, dissenting religious groups, aristocratic landowners, craftsmen turned into small entrepreneurs, and many others. 4) In England it was bound up, more perhaps than in any other country, with the economic activities of a large and heterogeneous middle class. However, every group which stands in the vanguard of a successful movement for industrialization must prove strong enough, not only economically but also ideologically, in order to accomplish what industrialization requires: a break with the past. The question of ideological leadership on the part of an entrepreneurial class is not concerned with the origin of its capitalist spirit. Rather it is concerned with the ideological weapons by which representatives of such a class destroy the last elements of traditionalism in the relations between higher and lower classes. To study the development of entrepreneurial ideologies in England, as I do in this essay, is merely an indispensable introduction to studies of comparable or contrasting developments elsewhere. Hence, it may be helpful to state this "comparison and contrast" at the outset.

In England the rising entrepreneurial class of the 18th century found itself confronted with a working-class, which to some extent was already in the process of emancipating itself from the restricted beliefs and practices characteristic of traditionalism. Over a century ago John Stuart Mill made an observation which bears directly on this point.

Of the working men, at least in the more advanced countries of Europe, it may be pronounced certain that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question was decided when they were taught to read, and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts; when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them, and appeal to their faculties and feelings in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors; when railways enabled them to shift from place to place, and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats; when they were encouraged to seek a share in the government, by means of the electoral franchise. The working classes have taken their interests into their own hands, and are perpetually showing that they think the interests of their employers not identical with their own, but opposite to them. 5)

Mill's statement makes it apparent that in Western Europe the independence of workers was a by-product of the same major historical changes which have led to the independence of the entrepreneurial class itself. Hence, when the spokesmen for English manufac-

turers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries demanded the self-dependence of the lower classes, they were merely responding to an historic fait-accompli. That they did so in an attempt to structure this independence of the workers in a manner agreeable to the interests of the employing classes, comes as no surprise and will be examined later. But whatever the reasons, they did demand the self-dependence of the lower classes and they denied, at the same time, their responsibility for the protection of the poor. One may say that the English industrialists of that time were more fearful of the obstacles, which traditionalism placed in the way of their economic pursuits, than of the risks inherent in advocating the independence of the workers.

It is appropriate to contrast this English experience with that of Russia, for today Russia is one of the major industrialized areas of the world. Industrialization in Russia was initiated in the 18th century on the basis of forced labor. All serfs, whether they worked in manufactures or on the land, were obliged to pay a poll-tax to the Tsar, a fact which established the tradition of seeking recourse for their grievances from the Tsar. This system led during the 18th and 19th centuries to a form of social protest which attributed all actual abuses to employers, landowners and government officials and which sought relief by direct appeals to the highest authority despite continued disappointments and cruel persecutions. Hence, the revolution of 1917 was used to overthrow the established authority of a Tsar who had failed his people, but it was not used to alter fundamentally the established traditions of the Russian masses. For in that tradition all the nation's resources belonged to the Tsar as the custodian of the people. When the Tsar fell, all resources reverted to the people, who would now work for themselves as they had previously worked for the Tsar. 6) In his writings of that time Lenin accurately, if unconsciously, reflected this tradition. In an article on the "Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" he deplored the prevailing lack of labor-discipline. The task of the government must be to teach the people how to work, for the Russian was a bad worker owing to the Czarist regime and the tradition of serfdom. Elsewhere Lenin wrote that in the long run labor will be performed gratis for the benefit of society. But right now it was the duty of the Socialist government "to organize competition". Only now was competition possible on a mass-scale.

Model communes should and will serve as educators, teachers, helping to raise the backward communes. The press must serve as an instrument of socialist construction, give publicity to the successes achieved by the model communes in all their details, study the causes of these successes, the methods these communes employ, and on the other hand, put on the "blacklist" those communes which persist in the "traditions of capitalism", i.e. anarchy, laziness, disorder and profiteering. In capitalist society, statistics were entirely a matter for "official persons", or for narrow specialists; we must carry statistics to the masses and make them popular so that the toilers themselves may gradually learn to understand and see how long it is necessary to work, how much time can be allowed for rest, so that the comparison of the **business** results of the various communes may become a matter of general interest and study, and that the most outstanding communes may be rewarded immediately.. 7)

In retrospect it is possible to see that this approach sought to mobilize the enthusiasm of the masses for the tasks of the Soviet Government by appealing to their pride of collective ownership and control. Yet while the masses rather than the Russian Tsar were now the nominal fountainhead of all authority, they remained duty-bound to render services to the state. Eventually this duty had to be enforced by the centralized organization of production and distribution and by an intensified form of competition which, according to Lenin, turned the work of the individual from a private affair into an important affair of state. Hence, the non-agricultural work-force which was mobilized in the West under the slogan of the "independence of the worker", was mobilized in Russia under the slogan of "labour performed out of a habit of working for the common good." 8)

A non-agricultural work-force may also arise along lines which differ both from the English and the Russian models. I have reference to those colonial countries, where capitalist enterprise has advanced to a considerable extent. In these countries entrepreneurial classes have been composed as a rule of one or several dominant and alien groups. These groups must employ a laboring class consisting of natives, who are ethnically and culturally distinct and who are moreover extremely weak both economically and politically. It is under these conditions of a plural society that a non-agricultural work-force has been created in such countries as South Africa, the Netherlands Indies, and others. Where capital and labor have developed together, the relation between foreign capital and native labor has been complicated by the clash of color and of culture. In addition, that relation has often been complicated by the need to import native labor under contract in areas where capital is abundant but labor scarce. It is undisputed that considerations of economic advantage have over-ruled all others, wherever the dominant group has differed greatly from the subject native work-force in terms of race, culture and religion. Under these conditions the spokesmen for the dominant group are prone to assert that the native peoples are inescapable dependent and inherently inferior. And this view leads either to the assertion that their inferiority accounts for their social and economic misery or again to the charge that the superior people must safeguard the natives against the fatal consequences of their own weakness. These views concerning the native worker have ranged from the strident doctrine of Apartheid to the tempered ethic of benevolent paternalism. But whether the responsibility of the dominant group is denied as in the first view, or asserted as in the second, neither can overcome the continued dependence of weak native peoples and neither can create a non-agricultural work-force which would facilitate intensive industrialization. It is this profound cleavage between the entrepreneurial class and the native laborers which makes a case apart of these areas of the world, into which modern industry has been introduced by a Western power. For in the "plural societies" of these areas there is no political or economic community between the two groups. And if such a community were to be created, then the subject, native group would have first of all to acquire citizenship so that the decisions made would reflect the political activities of both the "foreign" capitalist and the "native" worker. Likewise, if such a community were to be created in economic terms, then the subject, native group would have to participate on equal terms in a national market rather than remain in native economic enclaves or leave them on condition of complete economic subjection. Changes in this direction would certainly alter the relationship between the entre-



preneurial class and the native laborers, for they would remove that relationship from the twin dilemma of racist subjection and paternalistic tutelage. Such changes are taking place in the position of the Negro in the United States, and it is this fact which distinguishes the American pattern from that of the "plural societies". In these societies distinct social groups are related to one another much like independent political societies, except that they exist within the same State. 9) And it is obvious that in the absence of a national community nationalist uprisings have appeared to many native peoples as the only alternative to a foreign domination which condemns them to permanent inferiority. 10)

The foregoing discussion has suggested a three-fold development of industrialization, which in each case has been reflected in the relationship between the entrepreneurial and the working class. While this typology needs considerable elaboration, it helps to point up the significance which may be attributed to the legitimation of entrepreneurial classes. Whatever their origins, the ideologies which justified the advance of modern industry, have helped to shape the vital legacies that affect the autonomy of the individual in the industrial civilizations of today. And they are the ideological weapons with which Russia and the West appeal to the peoples of underdeveloped areas. It is somewhat fanciful to suggest that communism in the 20th century is a counterpart to the Calvinism of the 17th century. But spurious as this statement may be, it helps us to visualize that in both cases we deal with an "entrepreneurial class" which is inspired by a sense of mission, which plays a major part in the industrialization of a nation, and which on that basis appeals to the loyalty of peoples elsewhere.

## II.

English industrialization was spearheaded by an entrepreneurial class which attacked the prevailing traditionalism of social and economic life by demanding freedom from restraints for itself as well for the lower classes. There are many instances in which a rising social class has championed the underdog. But there are probably few examples of an upper class which has continued to demand the independence rather than the subordination of the lower classes after its new position of power has been secured.

The English manufacturers of the 18th century were confronted by a traditionalism in economic life which has been characterized above in general terms. The following discussion is concerned especially with their ideological attack upon traditionalism in the relationship between "higher" and "lower" classes, and there is no more telling description of the object of that attack than that written by John Stuart Mill in 1848:

According to the theory (of dependence) the lot of the poor, in all things which affect them collectively, should be regulated for them, not by them. They should not be required or encouraged to think for themselves, or give their own reflection or forecast an influential voice in the determination of their destiny. It is supposed to be the duty of the higher classes to think for them, and to take the responsibility of their lot, as the commander and officers, of an army take that of the soldiers composing it. This function, it is contended, the higher classes should prepare themselves to perform conscientiously, and their whole demeanor should

impress the poor with a reliance on it, in order that while yielding passive and active obedience to the rules prescribed for them they may resign themselves in all other respects to a trustful insouciance, and repose under the shadow of their protectors. The relation between rich and poor, according to their theory, (a theory also applied to the relation between men and women) should be only partly authoritative: it should be amiable, moral, and sentimental: affectionate tutelage on the one side, respectful and grateful deference on the other. The rich should be in loco parentis to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children. Of spontaneous action on their part there should be no need. They should be called on for nothing but to do their day's work, and to be moral and religious. Their morality and religion should be provided for them by their superiors, who should see them properly taught it, and should do all that is necessary to ensure their being in return for labour and attachment, properly fed, clothed, housed, spiritually edified, and innocently amused. 12)

Mill did not claim that such relations existed at the time he wrote; in fact, he questioned whether they had ever existed historically. He believed this to be an idealization which might be embodied here or there in an individual, but which was significant because of the feelings it portrayed, not because of the facts to which it supposedly referred.

The feelings which Mill had in mind, have a medieval origin. We must go back to a time when attitudes towards authority were profoundly emotional, buttressed by unquestioned sanctions, when all persons in authority stood in loco parentis, and when the exercise of rule as well as the expressions of deference by inferiors were couched in words and acts of dramatic intensity. 13) Even though rapid social change disrupted the actual authority-relationships which had strengthened these feelings, ruling groups of all kinds were likely to cultivate them at the level of ideology.

The rise of absolute monarchy and the widespread adoption of mercantilist policies affected this traditional ideology of the relationship between "higher" and "lower" classes. For the concentration of power in the hands of the king implied that the exercise of rule and the obeisance towards superiors had become conditioned upon royal sanctions. While this did not necessarily undermine the traditional ideology which Mill described, it imparted to it the belief that the king had now the authority as well as the power to order the relations between classes. 14) Yet this claim of the Tudor and Stuart kings, that it was their responsibility to order the class-relationships of English society, did not go unchallenged.

Professor Nef has shown how difficult, if not impossible, it was for the central government to enforce compliance with the laws which were designed to implement this conception of kingship. Administration of these laws lay in the hands of justices of the peace, magistrates and other local dignitaries, who consistently refused to enforce laws which ran counter to their economic interests and which they conveniently regarded as unwarranted interference with their local jurisdiction. 15) Nevertheless, the tra-

ditional conception of the relation between higher and lower classes tended to be used by the local gentry as well as by the king, in their struggle for power and authority. Both could legitimate their claims by idealizing the authority vested in them as a higher class. That in many cases they either did not or could not meet their responsibility for the protection of the poor, made it that much more necessary for each group to speak as if they were adhering to well-established practices and sentiments. It is true that the merchants and landlords who were actively engaged in many forms of industrial enterprise challenged the sovereign prerogatives of the king. But it is also true that the king's defense against this challenge as well as the middle-class support of it, were cast in terms of an appeal to the traditional prerogatives of the ruling class and the traditional subordination of the "lower classes". 16)

The ideology of traditionalism continued to prevail long after the "amiable, moral and sentimental" feelings of the higher classes were seriously affected by the intrusion of material interests. What requires explanation, therefore, is the continued advocacy of a traditional conception of the relation between higher and lower classes, long after this emergence of material interests might have suggested that these views be abandoned. To be sure, there were certain groups of industrial entrepreneurs, especially members of the dissenting sects, among whom both the ideology and the practice of labor-relations continued in the traditional mold - largely as an outgrowth of religious convictions. But there were probably many more among the rising middle class in England, whose traditional claims to authority continued intact, while their treatment of the laboring poor hardened under the impact of rapidly expanding economic opportunities. As a consequence the ideas of the laissez-faire doctrine were gaining ground rapidly in the late 17th and early 18th century. Nevertheless, traditionalism continued its "verbal hold" over all phases of economic life, and this must be clearly understood, if one is to understand also that the doctrines of laissez-faire as applied to labor had such a profoundly disturbing effect on the class-ideologies prevailing in England at the end of the 18th century. One must appreciate this setting of the ideologies of the English entrepreneurial class, if the ruthlessness, with which its spokesmen and representatives were advancing the "cause" of industrialization is not to appear pointless.

The hold of traditionalism upon the ideology of the higher classes in the 17th and 18th centuries is best appreciated perhaps in the debates over the position of the laboring poor in society. Dorothy Marshall has observed that during the 17th century most of the tracts dealing with the problem of poverty were written in years when the price of corn was high. 17) It was believed that the high price of provisions, was caused by a want of trade and money, and that poverty was consequently the result of economic factors over which the individual had no control. Hence, circumstances rather than personal depravity were held to be responsible for widespread distress, although towards the end of the century writers began to speak of the laziness and dissipation which prevailed among the poor. The measures suggested for the relief of the poor, primarily consisted of schemes whereby the poor and the vagrants could be employed for the benefit of the nation. 18) Until the end of the 17th century poverty was regarded as a misfortune due to adverse circumstances, which the higher classes were obliged to alleviate. These views were still in keeping with

Mill's description of the traditional outlook of the higher classes, whose harshness toward the laboring poor was attenuated as much by the emotionalism of tutelage as by the emotionalism of deference. The poor were children, they must be disciplined, they must be guided, and on occasion they should be indulged. In the context of religious doctrine this ideology implied that the duty of the rich to protect the poor was an opportunity to perform acts of Christian charity.

But towards the end of the 17th century, charity came to be regarded as a responsibility of the rich, and with this shift in emphasis went a reassessment of the character of the poor. They were children still, but they were no longer to be indulged. It is perhaps significant that during the 18th century a majority of the pamphlets dealing with the problem of poverty, were written during years when corn was cheap. 19) Poverty was now regarded as the result of indolence, not of circumstances; hence, laborers were thought to be poor despite the cheap price of provisions which made poverty unnecessary. There were several reasons for the judgment that poverty was the result of vice, not of misfortune. The increase in trade during the 18th century prompted an increase in the demand for labor, but merchants and manufacturers were hampered by a relative scarcity of labor despite the increase in population. Workers were reluctant to disrupt their accustomed way of life, in keeping with a traditionalism of their own, especially when the low price of corn enabled them to maintain this way of life with less work rather than more. Finally, the settlement laws interfered with, and the system of Parish relief discouraged, the nobility of the worker, even if he was willing. It is in this setting of the employers' unsatisfied demand for labor, the workers' reluctance to offer his services, and the institutional obstacles to labor-mobility, that 18th century writers asserted the depravity of the laboring poor. The trouble was, they believed, that the poor were idle and dissolute. And although these writers did not yet deny the responsibility of the higher classes, they maintained that it was no longer a question of finding employment for the poor, but of establishing workhouses in which all the poor could be set to work under the strictest discipline. 20)

The contention that poverty was the deserved punishment of the poor was certainly not a new theme. Nor was it new to assert that poverty was the result of indolence, insubordination and dissipation and that the poor must be instructed in the virtues of industry, humility and thrift. But, in the past it had been believed that poverty was a punishment sufficient in itself. And while the poor had always been admonished to be virtuous, that admonition had taken the form of sermons and of education. The significant fact is that the 18th century writers seem to have agreed on the sternest discipline as the only means by which the rich could meet their responsibility for the protection of the poor. They did not consciously reviate from the traditionalist conception: they were still in favor of regulating the lot of the poor, and they still discouraged the poor from thinking for themselves. 21) But to them poverty was no longer a misfortune to be alleviated. It had become the inescapable lot of the laboring poor. The dissertations on the utility of poverty, which Mr. Furniss has reviewed, are so many variations on the theme of Arthur Young, according to whom "everyone but an idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious". 22)

But it was difficult to make the poor industrious as long as corn was cheap, labor was immobile, and poverty was relieved. It is not surprising, therefore, that the mercantilist theories were supplemented during much of the 18th century by the efforts of the evangelical movement within the established Church, as well as by the Methodist revival. These movements vigorously promoted various schemes for the education of the poor, and especially of their children. Such organizations as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, various Societies for the Reformation of Manners, and many others endeavored to instill in children and adults the necessary habits of industry together with a sense of subordination to the higher classes. It is too easy to decry the hypocritical mixture of economic interest and religious piety with which these theories and movements were imbued. For all of them manifested a continued belief in the responsibility and in the ability of the higher classes to reform the poor. Only by a challenge of this belief could the intellectual destruction of traditionalism be accomplished. 23)

### III.

To accomplish the ideological destruction of traditionalism it was necessary to demand the self-dependence of the poor. Yet to do so was to run the risk that the independence of the workers would interfere with the freedom of their employers. Hence it became necessary to prescribe the code of conduct for the working classes, which they would have to follow in their "independence". To destroy traditionalism it was also necessary to deny the responsibility of the higher classes for the protection of the poor. Against the contention that this was the function of the higher classes, the spokesmen of the English entrepreneurial class set the contention that it was not within their power to do so. Yet by so denying their responsibility and their power they ran the risk of relinquishing their claim to be recognized as the "higher class".

Of course, it is improbable that the early industrialists were explicitly concerned with problems which are inherent in the liberal approach to the relations between higher and lower classes. For them it did not appear problematic to urge the workers to be self-dependent and to practice the Christian virtues, although the virtues they preached undermined the self-dependence on which they insisted. Also, the contention that it was not in their power to relieve the distresses of the poor was often little more than tough-minded expression of self-interest, while the soft-minded could argue the same point by reference to the omnipotence of God and the unalterable laws of nature. These problematic aspects of an ideological position are not the equivalents of psychological problems. But they do reveal the points of weakness in such a position. And since ideologies develop through controversy, it is on these points of weakness that ideological defenses are likely to be built.

These considerations help to explain why the liberal position became dominant only at the beginning of the 19th century, although liberal opinions had been expressed throughout the 18th century. For example, early in the 18th century Daniel Defoe had attacked the basic assumption of the English Poor Laws, which imposed on the higher classes the obligation of finding employment for the poor. He felt that the proper approach was to let the laborers find employment by themselves. But Defoe did not indicate,

apart from his failure to suggest practical alternatives to poor-relief, on what basis the higher classes could deny their responsibility for the poor without relinquishing their claim to authority and esteem. Later in the 18th century writers like Townsend and Burke presented the view that the inborn idleness of the worker could not be overcome unless the Poor Laws were abolished and he was exposed to the promptings of hunger and distress. Burke conceived of labor as a commodity, which would be paid in accordance with what it was worth to the buyer; to consider the actual want of the laborer in this connection, was entirely beside the point. At the same time Burke claimed that the interests of workers and employers were in harmony. The employer would pay his workers as much as he was able in order to obtain good work from them, while the suffering of the poor in times of scarcity was an affliction of providence which no human plan could alter. The weakness of his position was that Burke took no trouble to hide his defense of vested interests. For he recommended religious consolation to the poor in times of distress; but the religious duty to relieve the poor he left to the discretion of the higher classes. He made no attempt to show that the higher classes were meeting their obligation to the best of their ability.

It is in this respect that the doctrine of population succeeded, where these earlier and similar approaches failed. In the first edition of his Essay on Population (1798) the Rev. Thomas R. Malthus announced the universal law of nature that population tends always to increase faster than the supply of food. And the misery of the poor was the inescapable means by which population was brought in line periodically with the available supply of food. Many elements of the Malthusian doctrine were not new. That the poor will always be poor, was widely accepted. That they were improvident was believed throughout the 18th century. That the Poor Laws encouraged evil habits of indolence and insubordination was accepted by many influential men long before Malthus wrote. Many others had said also that poverty was a useful stimulus without which men would not exert themselves. Finally, many of Malthus' specific doctrines on population had been anticipated by others, though the prevalent view of the 18th century had been to favor population growth in theory and as a matter of government policy. 24) Malthus' Essay brought well-known ideas within the compass of a systematic doctrine, and thereby it gave new strength to widely-held beliefs. Nevertheless, there was a startling novelty in his work, which it is important to isolate.

Malthus gave a new foundation to the demand for the self-dependence of the poor and to the denial of responsibility on the part of the higher classes. The traditional view had been to emphasize the duties of the laboring classes in the exercise of industry, humility and thrift. But Malthus succeeded in making specific and concrete proposals for the conduct of the poor, where these earlier admonitions had remained elusive. For he attributed the poverty of English laborers not to such vague and easily refuted shortcomings as idleness, but to the specific and entirely irrefutable fact that they had married at an early age and that they had had children.

"Almost everything that has been hitherto done for the poor has tended . . . to hide from them the true cause of their poverty. When the wages of labour are hardly sufficient to maintain two children, a man marries and has five or six; he of course finds himself miserably distressed. He accuses the insufficiency of the price of labour to maintain a family. He accuses his parish for their tardy and sparing fulfilment of their obligation to assist him. He accuses the avarice of the rich, . . . the partial and unjust institutions of society, . . . perhaps the dispensations of Providence. . . In searching for objects of accusation he never adverts to the quarter from which his misfortunes originate. The last person that he would think of accusing is himself, on whom in fact the principal blame lies. . ." 25)

The cutting edge of this argument was not the traditional commendation of Christian virtue to the poor, but the startling contention that the evils of poverty could be avoided by the deliberate destruction of the family. Of course, Malthus disavowed this intention; he was not, he said, actuated by prejudice against any class but solely by the love of truth, though he admitted that the "wretchedly poor" through want of foresight could not be expected to exercise moral restraint. 26) But in the eyes of the poor, Malthus had condemned them to a life, from which all passion and sentiment had to be barred if they would save themselves from semi-starvation.

This conception of the lot of the poor had its counterpart in a new conception of the higher classes. The principle of population introduced a new distinction between the damned and the elect which was made to rest, not on the doctrine of predestination, as the Puritan Divine had done, but on the exercise of moral restraint.

By moral restraint Malthus referred to the postponement of marriage, and to sexual abstinence in marriage. 27) The desire for sexual gratification and for the familial continuity of life was here subordinated to money-making, or at any rate to the exercise of foresight which was indispensable to money-making. Hence, sexual gratification and the satisfactions of family-life were made, by implication, the reward of wealth, while deprivation in these respects became the added punishment of poverty. Consequently Malthus favored a national system of education in which the principle of population would be taught. He advised the higher classes that they should better the lot of the poor by teaching them the principle of population. In this way the poor would learn "what they can and what they cannot do". Such education will improve the condition of the poor; everything which is done for the poor without having this specific effect, will only increase their misery. 28)

By his demonstration that poverty resulted directly from the folly of the poor in marrying early and having children whom they could not support, Malthus denied the moral claim to relief on the part of the poor. By the same token he exempted the higher classes from all responsibility, other than education, for it was within the power of the poor, and within their power alone, that misery could be averted by moral restraint. In the Puritan doctrine poverty and wealth had been seen as the innerworldly reflection

of an inscrutable divine judgment. In the Malthusian doctrine poverty had become evidence of unruly passions and lack of foresight, while wealth had become the manifestation of virtue and reasoned judgment. Poverty, in this view, had become an unredemptible condemnation of the English working-class, for by the time poverty had befallen a man, no practice of virtue could free him of its yoke. The uncertainty of salvation which the Puritans had preached to the poor had given way to the certainty of self-inflicted ostracism which the Malthusian doctrine now explained as an inevitable law of nature.

#### IV.

The doctrine that poverty was the fault of the poor, while only the education of the poor was an obligation of the higher classes, had a certain inherent weakness, however widely this doctrine came to be utilized at the time. In the past, responsibility for the poor had been the justification of authority over them. Now this responsibility was denied in the face of constant agitation for reform. It became necessary to spell out the particular advantages derived from the development of industry, before which all criticism could be shown to be absurd. It became necessary to identify the success of the manufacturers with the benefit to the nation if the fortunate were to be allowed the belief that their good fortune was also a "legitimate" fortune. 29)

Alexis de Tocqueville has suggested that ruling groups become vulnerable politically when they fail to render the services which give meaning to their rule while their high status remains. It is a logical consequence of this observation that ruling groups seek to make a case for their contribution to society. Of course, this case can be made in many ways. It may be an unconscious affirmation of innate superiority in every word and gesture, or again a self-conscious apologia of rulers under attack. However the case is made, the fortunate who believe in the legitimacy of their fortune want to see their case established before others. And while they may never fully succeed in persuading the humble and downtrodden, they always try anyway, and they succeed more often than is generally supposed.

In England at the beginning of the 19th century, many industrial entrepreneurs denied their responsibility for the poor and asserted their claim to authority over them simply by the praise of machinery and by reference to their economic achievements. What was good for their economic success was also good for the nation as a whole; all else was beside the point. And the principal fact which made this success possible was the use of machinery which facilitated man's labor while it increased his output. This ease of labor at power-driven machinery in the factories was contrasted constantly with the drudgery of the home-worker in his unhealthy hovel. These claims were so simple that they must have seemed most persuasive to practical men of affairs, who could not be troubled with the complexity of abstract ideas. 30)

Yet, this simple ideology had its weakness also. The English entrepreneurial class was on the ascendance. But it had still to win political and social recognition for its contribution to the nation's welfare. Such recognition was difficult to attain as long as the spokesmen of this class denied that industrialists had either the power or the responsibility to provide



for the welfare of the laboring poor, while radical agitators and spokesmen for the landed aristocracy denounced the manufacturers for their inhumanity to women and children. In the face of such agitation it was not persuasive to praise the machinery which was the very symbol of oppression in the eyes of the critics.

At this juncture the emergence of the entrepreneurial class as a political force gave rise to an essentially new ideology. I have reference to the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League, founded in 1838. Of this agitation John Morley has written that

"the important fact was that the class-interest of the manufacturers and merchants happened to fall in with the good of the rest of the community. . . . The class-interest widened into the consciousness of a commanding national interest. In raising the question of the bread-tax (i.e., duties on all imports of corn), and its pestilent effects on their own trade and on the homes of their workmen, the Lancashire men were involuntarily opening the whole question of the condition of England." 31)

In fact, the use of free trade as a political issue caused an ideological realignment of the English class-structure. Before the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League, the poor had been condemned to economic destitution, a celibate life, or a "voluntary" confinement in a "well-managed" workhouse, while the spokesmen of the manufacturers had denied the miseries incident to industrialization, or had blamed them on others. Now, the entrepreneurial claim to authority was changed from a denunciation of the poor and a mere denial of well-publicized abuses into a claim based on moral leadership and authority on behalf of the national interest. Now, industrialists could demonstrate as well as claim that their efforts to advance the wealth of the nation benefited employers and workers alike. The appeals of the Anti-Corn Law League were weapons in the struggle of the entrepreneurial class to assume leadership over an increasingly restive working class and to wrest leadership from the politically entrenched, landholding aristocracy.

The buoyancy of this new and different spirit stood in marked contrast to the pessimism of the Malthusian doctrine. In one of his campaign speeches John Bright, the famous spokesman of the League, gave a new interpretation of the relation between higher and lower classes.

"I am a workman as much as you. My father was as poor as any man in this crowd. . . . He boasts not - nor do I - of birth, nor of great family distinctions. What he has made, he has made by his own industry and successful commerce. What I have comes from him, and from my own exertions. . . . I come before you as a friend of my own class and order; as one of the people; as one who would, on all occasions, be the firm defender of your rights, and the asserter of all those privileges to which you are justly entitled. . . . It is on these grounds that I solicit your suffrage. . . ."

And after pointing out that the workers had a vital interest in the abolition of the Corn laws, for themselves and their children, Bright pointed to the consequences which were sure to follow if these laws were not abolished by the time their children had become adults.

"Trade will then have become still more crippled; the supply of food more diminished; the taxation of the country still further increased. The great lords, and other people, will have become still more powerful, unless . . . the working classes stand by the working classes; and will no longer lay themselves down in the dust to be trampled upon by the iron heel of monopoly, and have their very lives squeezed out of them by evils such as I have described". 32)

It is apparent that such an appeal no longer adhered to the Malthusian view according to which the working class was by nature "inert, sluggish and averse from labor". Perhaps Bright was in advance of his fellow-manufacturers, though his agitation on behalf of the Anti-Corn Law League was not exceptional aside from his personal vigor. At any rate, this agitation was inspired by a new image of the self-dependent workman, as well as by a new image of moral leadership by the middle class. 33) Yet, this ideology had difficulties of its own. The more the propagandists of the Anti-Corn Law League attempted to rally the workers behind them, the more they ran the risk of having their middle-class agitation turn into a vehicle of a more radical, working-class movement. On the other hand, safeguards against this risk could not be pushed too far, either, since the agitation of the League had to be carried on in all-out opposition to the landowners and the politically powerful aristocracy.

This new orientation of the English entrepreneurial class should not obscure the fact that even the most "radical" spokesmen of the League were vigorously opposed to all factory legislation. While a man like Richard Cobden acknowledged the need for limiting the hours of child-labor, he opposed the idea that this should be done by legislation. He made it incumbent upon the "resolute demands and independent action of the workmen themselves" to accomplish this end, yet he opposed the "combinations" of workers which might have done so. 34) But as long as the landholding aristocracy was regarded as the major opponent of the League and its backers, this basic hostility to working-class demands did not become apparent. Once the Corn Laws had been repealed in 1846, it could no longer be hidden. The alliance of all manufacturers in their fight against the Corn Laws gave way to a split between liberal and conservative elements. Liberals like Bright sought to continue the middle-class leadership of the masses which had been initiated under the League. Conservatives like Cobden were satisfied with their successful rebellion against the landlords and were apprehensive about the possible consequences of further agitation, especially with regard to the suffrage. While Bright fought for the remainder of his active political life for the enfranchisement of the working class, it is probable that the majority of businessmen and manufacturers did not share his belief in universal suffrage. But it is significant that the entrepreneurial ideologies which became popular after the repeal of the Corn Laws clearly reflected upon the optimistic creed of the free-trade agitation, and could no longer go back to the dismal views of the Malthusian doctrine.

## V.

To examine the entrepreneurial ideology after the repeal of the Corn Laws, we must turn away from colorful figures like John Bright and consider, instead, the drab successors of Andrew Ure. Among them Samuel Smiles was perhaps the most popular. He elaborated a theme which Ure had barely touched upon, but which had figured prominently in the agitation of the League: that the successful men of business had worked hard and had done well, and that the means by which they had become successful were within reach of everyone. The writings of Smiles reflect these two themes accurately enough. A series of his volumes were devoted to biographical accounts of successful merchants, engineers, manufacturers, inventors, and others, in which the chronological details of each man's career were interspersed abundantly by moral homilies, describing the virtues of the businessman-hero and upholding him as a model to be emulated by all. Another series of his books was designed to demonstrate the specific, if old-fashioned, virtues, which could be cultivated by everyone, and which would lead to success. Eloquenty entitled Self-Help, Character, Thrift, and Duty, these four volumes contained didactic essays on virtues and vices, each of them illustrated abundantly by biographical and other documentation. It is important for us to see the significance of this ideological position in the context of the development which this essay has traced.

As Smiles pointed out, his counsel to young men of ambition was as old as the Proverbs of Solomon. Biblical passages extolling the honor and dignity of hard work had been cited for centuries, in order to teach humility and resignation to the poor. This had been the traditional view, on which the demand for the self-dependence of the poor had made inroads only slowly. Malthusianism had taught that the poor should exercise foresight and moral restraint, but it had held out little hope for the majority of the "wretchedly poor". The debates over Poor Law Reform, which were partly inspired by Malthus' views, had made the opinion prevail, though perhaps unwittingly, that the poor were idle and dissolute. Once the higher classes had renounced their responsibility for the poor, they began to assert their authority in the manner of Andrew Ure, exonerating themselves and attributing riot and treason to the workers who wanted to assert their much-advocated independence by trade-union organization. Then the agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law League had sought to rally the politically restive workers to the support of middle-class agitation against the Corn Laws and against aristocratic supremacy. And in the middle of the 19th century, this evolving ideology of the entrepreneurial class found its culmination, not in John Bright's agitation for suffrage, but in Samuel Smiles' message of virtue and success for the humble.

Smiles stated his belief, and he reiterated it constantly, that the poor need not remain dependent and impoverished. The higher classes had demonstrated by their own success that it was possible for each to "secure his independence". To be sure, Smiles continued the old theme that the workers were idle and dissolute. But he did so, not to discourage them, or teach them the Christian virtues so that their inevitable poverty would be spiritually alleviated. Instead, he wanted men to know the enemies of idleness, thoughtlessness, vanity, vice, and intemperance so that they may "employ their means for worthy purposes". At considerable length and in wearying detail he recounted the many ways in

which even the most humble could aspire to higher things, by hard work, attention to detail, and systematic savings. 35)

Smiles preached a gospel not merely of work, but of hope. He founded the industrialists' claim to authority and leadership on a creed which attributed their success to qualities readily accessible to the poor. In fact, he enjoined upon the higher classes the task of doing all that lay in their power, to instil these qualities in their workers. Consequently, Smiles took a new look at the relations between the higher and the lower classes. He deplored the prevailing lack of sympathy between masters and men. Of course, he made the usual arguments against indiscriminate charity, yet he did not leave the definition of their duties to the caprice of the higher classes. Instead, he chastised the character of the rich man of business, whose all-absorbing love of gold would make him "almost invariably disposed to be idle, luxurious, and self-indulgent". 36) Instead of interpreting economic success as evidence of virtue, Smiles claimed that the vast majority of businessmen are of "no moral or social account". And by taking this forthright stand against the inmorality of the rich, Smiles could advance the claim to authority and leadership on the part of the entrepreneurial class. He formulated an ideology, which avoided the political risks involved in the extension of the franchise without abandoning the claim to moral leadership which had inspired the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League. For in his view the rich have a great opportunity for influencing the working class, and they have therefore the social responsibility for doing all they can. Malthus had denied the ability of the higher classes to do anything for the poor beyond educating them in the exercise of moral restraint. Smiles recognized that the worker was a citizen, who gave daily evidence of his rising social power, and whose very discontent was "only the necessary condition of improvement". That Smiles could criticize severely the actions of the rich and think constructively about the discontent of the poor, is perhaps the clearest indication of how much entrepreneurial ideologies had changed since the beginning of the 19th century.

But by the 1860's the workers of England had already won major victories on many fronts. Trade unions flourished, suffrage was extended. The individual independence of the worker which Malthus and Senior wanted enforced, which Ure decried, which Cobden and Bright wanted to lead, had by then changed from a demand of the employers and their spokesmen into a political force which the doctrine of self-help could not undo. For the worker had used his independence to join in organizations of his own, which could oppose the employer with commensurate power as the individual could not. The workers had helped themselves. And the doctrine of self-help would henceforth appear to them as a device to undermine the solidarity of their organizations.

## VI.

I break off this very brief survey of ideological history to return to the questions raised in the first section of this essay. The distinctive feature of the English experience was that an entrepreneurial class legitimated its power by the demand that the poor should imitate them. Though this demand was amplified by exhortations which often seemed hypocritical to those to whom they were addressed, it is historically significant that economic success alone was made the touchstone of compliance with this ide-

ology of industrialism. The contrast of this approach with the legitimation of other ruling classes is striking. An aristocracy insists upon the inferiority of the common man, whose every imitation of the aristocratic way of life is either farce or presumption. A class of colonial entrepreneurs views the native working class much as the aristocrat views the common people, only that race purity takes the place of family lineage as an unalterable criterion of status; but since membership in a race confers upon the individual neither quality nor personal dignity, nor ancient and hallowed prerogative, and since moreover it is made the ground for rule under conditions where the ruled cannot accept it without losing their self-esteem, coercion cannot be given effective legislation. Finally, a successful communist party claims for itself the undisputed and unerring leadership of the masses, it claims to act as the faithful representative of their general will; hence everyone who fails to fulfil the Party program has wilfully ostracized himself from the community and must be punished accordingly.

It will be useful to formulate these considerations as if they were the theoretical alternatives which are open to an entrepreneurial class. Assume that industrialization requires the creation of a non-agricultural work-force and that this involves a break with "everyday routine as the inviolable norm of conduct": an entrepreneurial class may then take one or another of the following positions.

(a) It may demand the self-dependence of the lower classes and deny its responsibility for their protection; theoretically, the danger of this position is that the lower classes become too independent.

(b) It may assert that the lower classes are inevitably dependent and take responsibility for creating a non-agricultural work-force solely in terms of economic self-interest; theoretically, the danger of this position is that the continued dependence of the lower classes seriously interferes with the labor-requirements of industrialization.

(c) It may demand that all power be placed in the hands of the working class and enlist the full participation of all in the exercise of that power. But the final authority for detailed planning and supervision is vested in a party, which represents itself as the organ of the most progressive section of the working class and excommunicates all who challenge this claim. Theoretically, the danger of this position is that the participation of the workers suffers as the "organized spontaneity" of supervision gains in importance.

Now it will be useful to relate these considerations to an earlier study of legitimation. More than a generation ago the German sociologist Max Weber analyzed the religious doctrines which made the pursuit of economic gain legitimate and which were used to justify that pursuit against older religious doctrines which condemned it.

"Religion has psychologically met a very general need. The fortunate is seldom satisfied with the fact of being fortunate. Beyond this, he needs to know that he has a right to his good fortune. He wants to be convinced that he 'deserves' it, and above all, that he deserves it in con-

parison with others. He wishes to be allowed the belief that the less fortunate also merely experiences his due. Good fortune thus wants to be 'legitimate' fortune". 37)

Weber showed how the doctrines of the Puritan Divines made the fortunes of their parishioners seem legitimate. These doctrines helped to buttress the self-esteem of a rising entrepreneurial class: it had been Weber's intention to explain the "innerworldly asceticism" of this class, i.e., the emergence of a new code of conduct. Religious beliefs accounted for this change in conduct and justified the economic success to which it led.

Much valuable work is still being done along the lines which Weber suggested originally. Yet it is probable that today the interests of many social scientists are shifting away from this perspective, even if they accept his thesis without reservations. There is less concern today than a generation ago with the uniqueness of Western rationalism as it manifests itself in economic life, or with the way in which the economic activities of a middle class are strengthened psychologically by certain religious doctrines. For the East-West conflict of today presses upon us less academic questions than those dealing with the origin of capitalism in the West and its failure to develop in India and China. While Calvinist doctrines probably account for the rationality of capitalist enterprise at the time of its first development in the West, there are today other than religious bases for the emergence of a new ethic of economic conduct. Among these nationalism ranks perhaps first of all, and communism runs a close second.

To mention these ideologies as if they were on a par with the Protestant Ethic which Max Weber analyzed, opens up problems which need at least to be stated explicitly. We have seen that in England, the need for legitimation remained after the spread of Calvinism had succeeded in undermining the general acceptance of earlier religious precepts which had been inimical to unrestrained economic activity. The doctrines of Calvinism had given strength to a class ideology. But when major technological and economic changes during the latter half of the 18th century began to give real scope to the economic enterprise of this class of merchants and manufacturers, more was needed in the way of ideological defenses than a reiteration of Puritan formulae. These formulae had applied to the conscience of the individual; now they needed elaboration, to say the least. For the ideology of the English entrepreneurial class was to justify the rejection of government interference in economic affairs in an age when such "interference" was accepted as a matter of course. It was to justify the means needed to create a cheap, docile and readily available labor-force in an age when wages were low but labor was neither docile nor readily available. And it was to justify the demand for social recognition of the middle class in an age when the ruling aristocracy regarded the trader and manufacturer with contempt and ill-concealed derision. It is apparent that the rising entrepreneurial class in England was still confronted with a preference for traditional modes of life on the part of the workers and the landed aristocracy, long after it had overcome the religious restrictions on its own economic conduct. But its ability to legitimate its rise to economic and political power by an appeal to the independence of the working classes depended upon certain preconditions which are largely absent from the underdeveloped areas of the world today.

In the England of the early 19th century workers were asserting their independence long before their employers were willing to grant it, or before they were ready to give that independence a positive meaning in line with their own interests. To be sure, Smiles and others like him were accused of hypocrisy, partly because their slogans were used to undermine the solidarity of trade-union organizations, and partly also because independence and success appeared as a travesty to the worker who could barely earn enough to make ends meet. But this accusation is irrelevant, for every ideology which defends material interests will be called "hypocritical" by its adversaries. The point is rather that the legitimation of the English entrepreneurial class was meaningful because the independence of the worker, which it extolled, had a history of its own. The workers were demanding their independence and using it as they saw fit; and there was evidence of independence on the part of men who had achieved economic success by overcoming the formidable obstacles of their environment. Hence, there is a certain disparity between the Protestant Ethic which aided the formation of a new code of economic conduct and thereby helped to initiate English industrialization, and the Ethic of individual striving and success which in its secularized, 19th-century form proclaimed a doctrine of individual opportunity that mitigated the sharp differences between classes which were a legacy of feudalism. That is to say, the Protestant Ethic initially served to legitimize a change in the economic conduct of a numerically small class. In England it took a century and a half before a more general acceptance of that ethic inspired an upsurge of industrial activity; and it took several further decades before the upheaval of the industrial revolution gave way to an established industrial society and a widely accepted ideology of industrialism.

There is, then, a disparity in time and in content between the ideology which helped to initiate industrialization and the ideology which defends the practices of its successful development. That disparity is absent from the patterns of industrialization outside the European and American orbit. For today there is no interval of two centuries between the initial phase and the full development of industry. Since techniques of industrial production are theoretically available in all their modern complexity, countries will either industrialize quickly or continue for a considerable time as plural economies, if not with one foreign capitalist then with another. But if they do industrialize quickly, then this requires the total organization of a country's resources. And the ideology which is to inspire that total organization must create at the same time a new ethic of an entrepreneurial class and an ideology of industrialism which will be widely accepted among the masses. There is no reason to believe that either the Protestant Ethic or the ideology of striving and success are suitable for inspiring the total organization of a country's resources.

R E F E R E N C E S

- 1) H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, p.296.
- 2) A comprehensive survey of traditionalism in economic life, especially as it applies to labor, is contained in Wilbert Moore, Industrialization and Labor (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951), 14-139. A more analytical approach to the same problem is contained in J.H. Boeke, The Interests of Voiceless Far East (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1948). See however the judicious critique of Boeke's thesis in J.S.Furnivall, Netherlands India (New York: Macmillan, 1944), pp.454-464.
- 3) For a striking, if extreme illustration of this point see McKim Marriott, "Technological Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas", Economic Development and Cultural Change (December, 1952), 261-272.
- 4) Because of this diversity of origin, an entrepreneurial class is here defined in terms of its function rather than in terms of its social composition. In the words of Joseph Schumpeter, "the function of entrepreneurs is to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an invention, or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source of supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an industry, and so on.. To undertake such new things is difficult and constitutes a distinct economic function, first, because they lie outside of the routine tasks which everybody understands and, secondly, because the environment resists in many ways..." See Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harpers, 1950), p. 132. I should add that I am not concerned here with the further implications of Schumpeter's theory. However, I believe that to define an entrepreneurial class in terms of its function is more unequivocal at the beginning phase of industrialization than otherwise.
- 5) John Stuart Mill, Principles of Political Economy (Boston: Charles C.Little & James Brown, 1848), II, 322-323.
- 6) This direct collective obligation of the Russian people to the Tsar as a person did not allow conceptions of private ownership to develop much strength. Thus, the obligation of all citizens to render services to the state prepared the ground for the collectivist tendencies of the Russian revolution. A convincing elaboration of this point is contained in Boris Brutzkus, "Die Historischen Eigentuenlichkeiten der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Russlands", Jahrbuecher fuer Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, X(1934), pp. 62-99.
- 7) V.I.Lenin, Selected Works (New York: International Publishers, n.d.), VII, pp. 333-334.
- 8) Cf., for example, Lenin's praise of the unpaid, volunteer labor of Communist party-members ("subbotnik") in Selected Works, VIII, 238-246 and IX, 423-448.
- 9) See J.S.Furnivall, op.cit., 462-464 for suggestions along these lines.



- 10) These nationalist movements in underdeveloped areas run a special risk ever since the rise of communism in Soviet Russia. For the affinity of nationalism with communism ceases on the day after the "foreigner" has left, and then it may be too late for the native ruling class to stem the tide which it has used to "improve its own position".
- 11) The foregoing typology uses the experience of given countries as its basis, but it is not confined to that experience. Rather, each type is conceived as encompassing certain possible variants. Thus, the French or German experience approximate that of English industrialization but they also retain elements of traditionalism which were destroyed in England. The variety of colonial practices ranges from the complete duality of the South African case to its tempered modification in Portuguese or Belgian practice. And the communist ideology of a pseudo war-economy has its analogue in many forms of nationalism.
- 12) John Stuart Mill, Principles of Political Economy (Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1948), II, pp.319-320.
- 13) See Sylvia L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500: (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 16-27.
- 14) Cf. the explanatory preamble of the Statute of Apprentices (1563) quoted in George Unwin, Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1904), p. 137-140.
- 15) John U. Nef, Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1940), 35-57.
- 16) If these ideological defenses, both the theory of kingship and the assertion of local autonomy, seem exaggerated during the 17th century, then this does not indicate an absence of traditionalism in the prevailing conceptions of authority, but their gradual decomposition. Exaggerated re-affirmations of an ideology are as clear an index as any of the existence of basic threats to them, however difficult it may be to specify the required degree of exaggeration.
- 17) Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1926), 20-21.
- 18) Several writers maintained that it was "our duty to God and Nature" to provide for and employ the Poor, even if such employment would not result in a material benefit to the nation. This is clearly an example of undiluted traditionalism. Cf. the discussion of 17th century writers in Marshall, op.cit., 18-30.
- 19) Cf. Marshall, op.cit., 32-33.

- 20) There were other proposals which did not become as widely accepted at the time. Some writers urged that the poor should be employed in separate enterprises, established for the purpose. Others already anticipated the later view of the laissez-faire economists by demanding that the poor should be forced, if need be, to find work for themselves. It is indicative of the persistence of traditionalist conceptions that the latter view did not become popular despite the fact that it was urged by such well-known writers as Defoe, Locke, and Dunning.
- 21) See the detailed exposition of these doctrines of 18th century writers in Edgar Furniss, The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920)
- 22) Quoted in Ibid., 118.
- 23) In this essay I confine myself to an examination of ideas. That these ideas, which reveal the impact of economic interests directly, develop largely in response to economic changes, is not perhaps as illuminating a suggestion as is often supposed. It does not explain, for example, that traditional attitudes prevailed long after they had become detrimental to the economic interests of a rising entrepreneurial class. The intellectual challenge of traditionalism at the end of the 18th century can be understood only, if it is fully appreciated that traditionalism persisted although this conflicted with economic interests.
- 24) See Kenneth Smith, The Malthusian Controversy (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), 3-43.
- 25) Thomas R. Malthus, An Essay on Population (2nd ed., Everyman's Library; New York: E.P. Dutton, 1933), II, 170.
- 26) Ibid., II, 143.
- 27) I should mention parenthetically that Malthus buttressed his doctrine of population by a theological argument. In this he described "moral restraint" as "those exalted qualities of mind which will fit (men) for His high purposes", and he suggested that the principle of population was the divine instrument by which the world has been peopled, for without this instrument men would have remained "inert, sluggish and averse from labour". See T.R. Malthus, First Essay on Population, 1798 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1926), 352, 363-64.
- 28) Malthus, op.cit., (2nd ed.), II, 259-260.
- 29) This necessity follows from a proposition of Max Weber, that the "fortunate are seldom satisfied with the fact of being fortunate". The weakness of the Malthusian doctrine was that the fortune of the successful was attributed to a purely human trait: the exercise of foresight. The fact that a merely human quality was said to account for the acquisition of wealth and that this quality involved, moreover, the subordination of human passions to "the hope of bettering our condition, and the fear of want" severely reduced the moral stature of this doctrine. It is not surprising that many English industrialists and their spokesmen would not let go of this convenient justification of their every practice merely because the

tender-minded could not stomach the consequences. But it is not surprising either that the argument suffered in the long run from being much too closely identified with a mere defense of material interests to carry much conviction to anyone who did not profit from it more or less directly. How readily fault was found with the Malthusian argument even by those who were convinced by his major thesis is analyzed in great detail in Kenneth Smith, op.cit., 47-169.

- 30) The classic statement of this position is contained in Andrew Ure, The Philosophy of Manufactures, originally published in 1835.
- 31) John Morley, The Life of Richard Cobden, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1881), I, 141.
- 32) Quoted in George M. Trevelyan, The Life of John Bright (London: Constable and Company, 1913), 113-114.
- 33) To be sure, workers were more self-dependent by that time, and the middle class had to claim leadership in national affairs, if it wanted political recognition. But ideologies are not simply reflections of changing circumstances. Andrew Ure's Philosophy of Manufactures, for example, was not altered in subsequent editions despite these changing conditions.
- 34) John Morley, op.cit., I, 298-299, 464-468.
- 35) See, for example, Thrift. (London: John Murray, 1875), 30-64, 159-178.
- 36) Ibid., 290.
- 37) H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, ed., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 271.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Difficultés rencontrées dans les Essais  
de Catégorisation ou de Stratification sociale

par

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DIFFICULTES RENCONTREES DANS LES ESSAIS  
DE CATEGORISATION OU DE STRATIFICATION SOCIALE

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La science de la population comporte l'analyse des structures de la population. Toute analyse de structures de populations se heurte à la difficulté des catégorisations sociales. Cette difficulté est d'autant plus gênante pour les statisticiens, les démographes et les sociologues que l'emploi du sondage stratifié - c'est-à-dire par catégories plus ou moins homogènes - devient plus général. On se rend compte, en effet, en sciences sociales, que l'étude d'une population à travers les moyennes, et même à travers les moyennes et les dispersions est insuffisante, qu'il s'agisse de niveaux de salaires ou de niveaux alimentaires. S'il s'agit de niveaux complexes de consommation ou de genres de vie, ou de niveaux culturels et spirituels, la répartition de la population en catégories sociales apparaît encore plus nécessaire, et si l'on en arrive à l'étude des tensions sociales et des états conflictuels aigus, l'appartenance sociale se révèle le plus souvent comme l'élément le plus déterminant.

Les très nombreuses enquêtes actuellement en cours, en France, pour la mesure de la pratique religieuse se heurtent partout à ces difficultés. C'est surtout sur cette expérience que nous nous appuyerons, en recourant aussi aux diverses études de population, sous tel ou tel aspect, et souvent en fonction des besoins collectifs, que le groupe "Economie et Humanisme" a effectuées soit en France, soit à l'étranger.

#### Les sexes

La diversité habituelle du comportement religieux entre hommes et femmes a d'abord amené à traiter à part sexe masculin et sexe féminin. C'est, en analyse de population, le seul point qui ne pose aucune difficulté.

#### Les classes d'âge

Puis l'examen des silhouettes de pratique religieuse par âge a conduit à distinguer des classes d'âge. Ici des difficultés se sont présentées, les âges d'abandon de la pratique religieuse, ou de retour à la pratique religieuse, n'étant pas les mêmes selon les régions, les occupations professionnelles, l'âge du mariage, l'âge de la retraite.

Le problème des âges se pose toujours en analyse de population. La décomposition des couches de population de 5 ans en 5 ans est devenue classique dans les pyramides des âges. Dès que l'on veut simplifier l'analyse, par exemple s'il s'agit d'utiliser les diagrammes triangulaires ou de distinguer personnes à charge, personnes productives, la distinction jeunes, adultes, vieillards devient utile. Mais où commence l'âge adulte: 20 ans, 25 ans? A quel moment atteint-on la vieillesse? 50 ans, 55 ans, 60 ans? Beaucoup sont productifs avant 20 ans, beaucoup le sont encore après 60 ans. Aucune distribution n'est jamais pleinement satisfaisante, surtout si l'on ambitionne de faire des comparaisons de région à région ou de peuple à peuple. Il serait utile de pouvoir distinguer première enfance, adolescence, jeunesse, maturité, vieillesse, vieillesse avancée, mais on perçoit d'emblée l'arbitraire d'une telle division, chaque individu se plaçant dans chaque groupe à des âges différents et les moyennes de peuple à peuple étant très diverses. Il en va de même pour la distribution entre âge scolaire, apprentissage, exercice d'un métier, retraite.

#### Les professions.

Revenons à la sociologie religieuse. Une première distribution en paysans, commerçants et artisans, autres, a révélé presque partout, dans les populations rurales, des différences marquées de comportement religieux selon les occupations professionnelles. On en est ainsi arrivé à nuancer les catégories, en distinguant ouvriers agricoles et exploitants. Mais il convient de séparer ouvriers saisonniers et ouvriers permanents, exploitants propriétaires et fermiers ou métayers, petits exploitants et gros exploitants. Si la catégorie commerçants et artisans reste assez homogène, il faut diviser les autres en ouvriers d'industrie, fonctionnaires, villégiateurs, bourgeois, retraités.

#### Les classes sociales.

Pour les populations urbaines, abstraction faite des paysans et maraîchers qui peuvent habiter dans les limites communales ou d'agglomération, mêmes difficultés, la répartition en ouvriers, classes moyennes, bourgeoisie se montre inadéquate. Où introduire petits employés et petits fonctionnaires? Où commencent et finissent les classes moyennes? Où commence la bourgeoisie? Bien des commerçants, bien des fonctionnaires et employés de rang moyen s'estiment bourgeois au grand scandale des membres des professions libérales. Les examens de budgets ouvriers font apparaître parmi les ouvriers eux-mêmes des couches de population fort éloignées les unes des autres, quant aux niveaux de vie. Il y a loin du sous-prolétaire caractérisé à l'ouvrier aisé, du manoeuvre récemment marié et sans enfants ou n'ayant qu'un ou deux enfants au professionnel dont la femme travaille aussi en usine, en bureau ou en magasin.

#### Les branches d'industrie

Les difficultés semblent moindres pour une distribution par groupe professionnel ou d'industrie. On a distingué agriculture, pêches, mines, carrières, bâtiment, textile, métallurgie, mécanique, chimie, transports, services divers. Les frontières sont ici nettement définies. Mais les difficultés recommencent dès que l'on a la préoccupation de la qualification ou du rang social. Il faudrait, pour chaque catégorie, subdiviser en ouvriers (manoeuvres, spécialistes, professionnels), en cadres subalternes, en petits employés et moyens employés, en cadres supérieurs et traiter à part travailleurs dépendants et travailleurs indépendants.

Dès lors, même sans tenir compte de la distinction de métier, la classification se complique à l'infini.

### La composition familiale

Une nouvelle aggravation surgit enfin. Celle de la composition familiale, selon le nombre et le caractère (parent, enfant, familial, domestique, ...) de chaque membre du groupe familial et dans certains cas, selon le type familial. Pour la distribution en groupes professionnels ou en couches sociales, si l'on ne tient compte que de la catégorisation professionnelle du mari, il se peut que la femme, ou les parents, ou tel familial, ou les grands enfants appartiennent à une catégorie différente. Laquelle doit l'emporter? Il n'est pas fatal que le gain du mari soit le plus élevé, ou que la personnalité du mari soit la plus déterminante du rang social de la famille considérée dans son ensemble.

Il suffit d'ailleurs de consulter les statistiques élaborées par les services officiels, dans le seul cas des industries et des professions pour mesurer la complexité d'une catégorisation satisfaisante, dans le cas le plus simple. Il faut employer trois chiffres pour distinguer les industries, sans entrer dans les détails de leurs différenciations. Or l'appartenance à telle ou telle industrie peut de fait correspondre à un rang social très différent: le typographe ou l'ouvrier des caves de champagne ne saurait être assimilé au manoeuvre du bâtiment ou au docker méridional.

Même avec des compositions familiales semblables et des gains familiaux égaux, des familles se rattacheront à des couches sociales différentes selon les traditions ou les ambitions familiales ou selon les qualités de la ménagère. La discrimination par le niveau culturel et par le genre de vie donnerait la meilleure répartition par "milieux", mais elle est d'un maniement assez difficile.

Il faudrait encore ajouter les différences provenant des appartenances sociologiques: à tel pays d'origine, à telle idéologie, à telle religion, à telle force politique.

Cet examen rapide aboutit-il à la confusion et faut-il déclarer que toute catégorisation est impossible? Assurément non. Quelques conclusions sont en effet faciles à dégager:

- 1<sup>o</sup> Aucune catégorisation sociale n'est pleinement satisfaisante.
- 2<sup>o</sup> Les catégorisations sociales varient selon les objectifs que se proposent les chercheurs.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Les dimensions majeures d'une catégorisation de portée générale seraient:

- le sexe
- les classes d'âge
- le type familial
- la composition familiale en nombre, âges et parentés
- le niveau de salaires ou autres gains
- l'appartenance professionnelle
- le métier et le rang professionnel
- le genre de vie.

- 4<sup>o</sup> En ce qui concerne les classes d'âge, sauf études très spéciales comme celles de sociologie religieuse, il semble que l'on puisse s'en tenir à l'une ou l'autre des distributions suivantes:
- soit 0 à 20 ans, 21 à 60 ans, 61 ans et plus;  
soit 0 à âge habituel de perception du premier salaire masculin;  
du premier salaire masculin à l'âge habituel de cessation du travail normal masculin;  
après cessation du travail normal.
- 5<sup>o</sup> Le type familial (famille monogamique ou polygamique, famille monogamique avec ou sans mariage civil ou religieux, groupe familial de fait sans mariage religieux ou légal, famille patriarcale, etc. ...) peut jouer un rôle capital dans certaines analyses.
- 6<sup>o</sup> L'appartenance professionnelle est l'appartenance à telle profession dans telle industrie de telle branche d'activité. L'indication de l'industrie ou de la branche est le plus souvent insuffisante. Ainsi dans le textile, les industries de la laine, du coton, des textiles artificiels, des fibres dures doivent être considérées à part, de même, par industrie, les diverses professions: moulinage, retorderie, filature, tissage, teinture, etc. ... Il sera souvent indiqué d'en tenir compte.
- 7<sup>o</sup> Le métier est la capacité en telle activité technique déterminée, par exemple ajusteur, comptable, dactylographe. Il peut s'exercer en des professions, industries ou branches très diverses. On peut le posséder à des degrés divers: apprenti, spécialisé, professionnel. Ces affinements de division peuvent être parfois nécessaires.
- 8<sup>o</sup> Le genre de vie est déterminé par l'ensemble de commodités considérées comme nécessaires. Il comporte généralement certaine échelle des valeurs, certain niveau d'instruction avec tel genre d'ambition culturelle pour les enfants, certaines distributions de gain, certains comportements sociaux. On peut parler d'un genre de vie sous-prolétarien, ouvrier, petit bourgeois, bourgeois, aristocrate. Il joue un rôle majeur dans la constitution des couches sociales et des milieux de fréquentation ou de mariage. Il constitue l'une des dimensions les plus importantes en catégorisation sociale.
- 9<sup>o</sup> En tenant compte, au maximum, de ces diverses remarques, dans une catégorisation élémentaire, pour le cas français, on peut proposer les répartitions suivantes:

<u>Populations rurales</u>	<u>Populations urbaines</u>
Châtelains et assimilés	Aristocratie, haute bourgeoisie
Villégiateurs autres	Dirigeants économiques, hauts fonctionnaires, professions libérales.
Retraités, rentiers (n.d.a.)	Ingénieurs, cadres supérieurs (n.d.a.)
Fonctionnaires	Petits industriels, gros commerce.



<u>Populations rurales</u>	<u>Populations urbaines</u>
Commerçants, artisans, entrepreneurs	Employés supérieurs, voyageurs de commerce.
Employés	
Ouvriers industriels ou d'artisanat	Cadres subalternes (n.d.a.)
Gros exploitants	Artisans et petits commerçants
Petits exploitants	Petits et moyens employés Petits et moyens fonctionnaires.
Commis et ouvriers agricoles permanents	Gens de maison
	Ouvriers aisés.
Ouvriers saisonniers	Ouvriers gênés.
Domestiques (autres)	Miséreux (clochards, sous-prolétariat)
	(Les retraités, en ville, sont assimilés à leur catégorie antécédente.)
n.d.a.: non dénommés ailleurs.	

Cette catégorisation tenant compte à la fois de plusieurs critères n'est pas parfaitement cohérente, elle devra être accompagnée d'indications complémentaires précises décrivant la catégorie. Ainsi en ce qui concerne la distinction entre gros exploitants et petits exploitants, pour lesquels il faudra généralement créer des sous-catégories selon l'importance et le type des exploitations et selon le mode de faire-valoir. Il faudra aussi noter les degrés de mixité inter-catégories. Autrement dit, l'échelle devra être adaptée, par région homogène, du point de vue structuration sociale.

Dans le cas de populations mixtes, partiellement rurales, partiellement urbaines, il faudra amalgamer les deux répartitions.

10<sup>o</sup> Une catégorisation sociale satisfaisante, en première approximation, devrait être multi-dimensionnelle; les dimensions sexe, classes d'âge, type familial, composition familiale étant traitées à part.

Seraient envisagés:

- dimension (A), l'occupation professionnelle principale.
- dimension (B), le rang professionnel ou la qualification.
- dimension (C), le niveau de salaires ou autres gains.
- dimension (D), le genre de vie.
- dimension (E), la branche d'activité (ou le "secteur" au sens de Colin Clark et de Fourastié).

La représentation graphique globale, par essais (chaque point représentant n individus) pourrait être conçue de la manière suivante, en un double tableau distinguant population rurale et population urbaine:

Population rurale	GENRE DE VIE (dimension D)					GENRE DE VIE (dimension D)					Population urbaine	
	Misérables primitifs	Populaire inférieur	Populaire évolué	Petit bongois	Aristocrate ou assimilé	Aristocrate ou assimilé	Bongois	Petit bongois (classes moyennes)	Populaire évolué	Populaire inférieur		Misérables ou primitifs
Dimension A												Dimension A
.....												.....
.....												.....
.....												.....

Les niveaux salariaux ou d'autres gains (dimension C) seraient exprimés par les chiffres de 0 à 9 en subdivision de la dimension A; la couleur indiquerait la branche d'activité (dimension E); la qualification (dimension B) pourrait être signifiée par des formes diverses de points.

L'examen d'un nombre suffisant de populations permettrait de tirer des conclusions quant à la typologie de population.

On pourrait imaginer un autre traitement, en répartissant la population en sous-populations caractérisées chacune par un nombre de cinq chiffres (ou cinq groupes de chiffres) correspondant aux dimensions A, B, C, D, E et servant d'indicatif de groupe.

L'examen du nombre de familles correspondant à chaque indicatif permettrait aussi d'établir une typologie.

La première méthode semble plus indiquée quand il s'agit de populations restreintes n'exigeant pas le recours aux fiches perforées. La seconde est valable quand il s'agit de populations importantes exigeant l'utilisation des fiches perforées. Il serait facile d'établir des cotations de 0 à 9, de 0 à 99 ou de 0 à 999, selon le degré de précision que l'on veut atteindre, pour placer chaque "individuelle" statistique selon chacune des dimensions A, B, C, D, E. Une fois effectuée la tabulation par groupes il est d'ailleurs facile de la traduire graphiquement selon le procédé indiqué.

L'un ou l'autre traitement rendrait possible les regroupements en catégories sociales plus ou moins complexes livrant la structure sociale de la population étudiée et permettant des comparaisons de population à population.

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THE RECRUITMENT OF THE PROFESSIONS IN ICELAND

by

Jóhannes Nordal  
University of Iceland

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This paper presents a preliminary report on a study of social mobility in Iceland. The material for the research has been derived from a series of recent Icelandic biographical dictionaries. The most important of these, for our purposes, has been the Icelandic "Who's Who?", but additional data have been collected from three works dealing with graduates in law, theology and medicine respectively. 1) Our information is, consequently, very complete in the respect of the legal and medical professions and the Church.

The period mainly covered by our study extends from about the middle of the 19th century until the nineteen forties, when most of the works used as sources were published. The period covered by these works varies very much, their scope being as follows:

1) The "Who's Who?" includes people of note during the period 1904-1943. The number of subjects included in this work is 3735, which is a very large number for a country which had only 121,474 inhabitants in 1940; and we have found that a high percentage of the professional men coming within its timelimits are in fact included. This is important as the volume in question is the only source of information on the recruitment of the newer professions.

2) The register of lawyers covers all graduates in law from the establishment of the legal degree in 1736 until 1950.

3) The list of graduates in theology covers all graduates from 1847 until 1947.

4) The work on the medical profession includes all those who have either taken a degree in medicine or held a licence to practice medicine since the rise of the medical profession in Iceland during the latter half of the 18th century.

The sample resulting from combining information from these works is particularly comprehensive for subjects born in the period 1840- 1899.

Women have not been included in the study. They were found to be too few to make statistical analysis possible. In spite of the early emancipation of women in Iceland and the favourable position they have enjoyed in society, very few of them have

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- 1) The Icelandic titles of the biographical dictionaries are as follows: 1) B. Tobíasson, Hver er madurinn?, Reykjavík, 1944. 2) A. Kl. Jónsson, Lögfréðingatal, Reykjavík, 1950. 3) B. Magnússon, Kandidatatal, Reykjavík, 1947. 4) L. H. Blöndal and V. Jónsson, Læknar á Íslandi, Reykjavík, 1944.

entered the higher professions or the public service.

In the following discussion some digressions into the history of the professions will be necessary in order to make the statistical results intelligible.

## I.

The social structure of Iceland at the beginning of the 19th century was extremely simple. The country was completely rural, and more than 95% of the population consisted of farmers and fishermen, who were presided over by a small class of clergymen and officials. We have called this class the "learned class" to distinguish it from the professions as we find them later on.

The Church was the backbone of the learned class. The clergy outnumbered the other group by as much as 4 to 1. Moreover, education was entirely a province of the Church. The grammar schools were primarily intended to train young men for service in the Church. The graduates of such schools were qualified to take holy orders, but those who wanted to take up law or medicine, or aspired to the highest position within the Church had to go to the University in Copenhagen. The Grammar School in Reykjavik and the Theological College were founded in 1846 and 1847 respectively, and those events mark the final divorce of theological from other higher education, and the breaking-up of the unity of the learned class which now becomes more like the professions of today.

In addition to the clergy, the learned class included three small groups: the officials, the doctors and the teachers at the grammar schools. The medical profession was still very small at this time, and by far the most important of these smaller groups were the officials, whom we may collectively call the sheriffs, although a few other officials are involved. The sheriffs combined judicial and administrative functions, and a decree issued in 1736 requiring all those holding legal appointments in the Danish realm to have a degree in law was consequently applied to them. This made the officials a part of the learned class, whereas in earlier times the higher official positions had been the preserve of the rich landowners.

A combination of historical circumstances had given the learned class an undisputed position at the top of Icelandic society during the latter half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. The landowner class had been declining steadily in wealth and importance throughout the previous two centuries, and a monopoly of trade in the hands of foreign trading companies had prevented the rise of an internal merchant class. The trade monopoly was abolished and a limited freedom of trade granted in 1787, but because of various adverse conditions the Icelandic trading class remained relatively small and unimportant until the latter half of the 19th century.

Education had, thus, become the most important avenue to the higher positions in society, and that system seems to have worked strongly in favour of the sons of members of the learned class.

A pilot study based on a sample drawn from the first vo-

lume of the Icelandic Biographical Dictionary 1) was carried out before the main nobility study was undertaken. This earlier study covered subjects born 1651- 1850, and it revealed no significant changes in the recruitment of the learned class through time. It was found that 68% of the members of the class had their father (or foster-father) in the same class. Of the remainder 11 % (or more, as the information was not complete in this respect) had a grandfather in the learned class. A majority of those who did not come from the learned class seem to have been the sons of rich or well-off farmers.

This high degree of self-recruitment is the more remarkable when we bear in mind that the learned class at this time constituted only about 3 % of the total population of a country having about 50,000 inhabitants. But we cannot conclude that the status differences between the learned class and the rest of the population were extreme. Such was not the case. The country was very poor, no extreme of wealth were to be found between social classes, and the way of life of the upper class did not differ very much from that of the average farmer. We cannot here go further into this question of status distance, but we may state that our researches have led us to the belief that Icelandic society was remarkably egalitarian in this respect all through the 19th century. This has a bearing on the great amount of mobility from the lower classes to the professions which we shall discuss later in this paper. The high degree of self-recruitment of the learned class may seem to contradict this conclusion. That need not be so, however. Our study has shown that this high degree of self-recruitment was made possible by the favourable position which the learned class occupied in relation to the opportunities for education.

## II.

We have spent some time on describing the learned class because it is the foundation on which the professions as we find them today are built. The distinction we have drawn between the two groups is more a matter of convenience than analytical necessity. The main difference lies in the fact they existed in totally different societies. The old society was static and class structures, if not closed, were rigid, whereas the modern society is changing rapidly, and the class system is open and flexible. Social change in Iceland has been particularly rapid during the first half of the present century. The country has been urbanized, and new social classes have grown to importance in the towns.

The rise of new groups such as business owners and managers to a high social position has probably led to some loss of status by the professions as a whole. The prestige of the learned class has, however, to a surprising extent been carried over to the modern professions, but, as we shall see later, the various professional groups have not fared equally well in the process.

Several new professional groups have grown up during the last hundred years or so, but the three old professions, law, medicine and the Church remain the most important numerically, and the first two have been increasing greatly in size relatively to the Church. The new professional groups have mostly arisen since

1) P.E. Olason, Íslenzkar Eviskrár, vol. 1, Reykjavik, 1948.

the turn of the century, and they soon seem to have gained a position comparable in status to that enjoyed by the older professions. This may largely be explained by the fact that these groups e.g. the engineers, grew up late in Iceland, and they were imported from countries where they had already achieved high status. They have not, therefore, had to pass through a period of consolidation before gaining recognized professional status.

In our analysis we have divided the professional classes into four groups: 1) the legal profession, 2) the clergy, 3) the medical professions, and 4) other professions and administrative. The last group is mixed, covering such widely different occupations as public administration, the highest levels of the teaching profession, civil engineering, dentistry etc. Some marginal groups have been included because they are commonly identified with this group, such as some newspapers editors. The number of cases has, however, been too small to make a sub-division of this class into more homogeneous groups feasible.

In the subsequent analysis we shall adopt two different approaches to the problem of the recruitment of the professions. In the first place we shall study the social origins of those subjects of our enquiry who are actually known to have reached one of the higher professions. This is, of course, the most valid approach as it is these subjects which we in fact want to study. The other and more indirect method is to study the recruitment of university graduates.

By far the most important avenue to the professions is through the universities. There are in fact only a few professional occupations in Iceland for which full university education has not become a prerequisite. The most important of these are administration and teaching, but there it may to a large extent prove to be an intermediary condition because the expansion in these fields has for a time outstripped the supply of suitably qualified graduates. Let us, however, postpone a further discussion of the differences between the two approaches and get down to an analysis of our material.

### III.

Table 1 shows the occupational status of the fathers of members of the professional classes (all groups combined) born 1840 and after. The figures here differ widely from those we have already mentioned and which were derived from our pilot study of the learned class. Let us take self-recruitment. It was found that well over 60 % of the members of the learned class had been recruited within the class, and the proportion had remained almost stable for two centuries. From table 1 we see, on the other hand, that the self-recruitment of the professions has since been falling consistently from 48 % for those subjects born 1840- 1859 to 23 % for those born after 1900. We cannot, however, conclude that the professions have lost ground in the sense that has been becoming more difficult for the sons of professional men to achieve the same status as their fathers.

Table 1.

The occupational status of the fathers  
of members of the professional classes.

Subjects' period of birth	Professions	Business owners & managers	Middle class, clerical, supervisory, master craftsmen	Urban & seaside manual	Farmers, higher	Farmers, lower, & other rural	Total
1840-1859	77	5	3	6	15	55	161
1860-1879	79	20	22	10	27	81	239
1880-1899	89	20	25	24	24	105	287
1900-	85	37	74	50	29	100	375
<b>all periods</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>1062</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1840-1859	47.8	3.1	1.9	3.7	9.3	34.2	100.0
1860-1879	33.1	8.4	9.2	4.2	11.3	33.9	100.1
1880-1899	31.0	7.0	8.7	8.4	8.4	36.6	100.1
1900-	22.7	9.9	19.7	13.3	7.7	26.7	100.0
	31.1	7.7	11.7	8.5	8.9	32.1	100.0

Note: The figures for the last cohort are not complete, as subjects born after 1910 had frequently not reached the professional classes by the time the biographical works used in this study were published.

A study of social mobility should ideally proceed from father to son, but not as here from son to father. The percentage of self-recruitment would then be taken as the proportion of the sons of father in a particular social stratum who remained in the same stratum. We should like to know what the relationship is between the self-recruitment as given in our figures and self-recruitment in this more precise sense. More especially, we should like to know how far changes in the first imply changes in the second. It is obvious that the falling percentage of professional men who are the sons of members of the same class is largely, if not entirely, caused by the rapid increase in the size of the professional classes, which could only have taken place through the recruitment of more outsiders into the professional group. We see from the table that there has been some increase in the absolute number of sons of professional men entering the professions as time has gone on. This becomes clearer if we look at the following figures which show the number of sons of professional men who have taken a university degree



Period of birth	No.
1840-1859	78
1860-1879	76
1880-1899	83
1900-	113

These figures are more complete for the last period than those in table 1, but they are not as complete for the last period as for the other three. The significance of these figures escapes us as we do not know the differential fertility of social classes in Iceland. It is certain, however, that no radical changes have taken place in the chances that the sons of professional men have of entering the professions, but it seems probable, from these figures that the professional classes were losing ground slightly in this respect in the two middle periods and gaining considerably again in the last period.

The same difficulty arises when we try to analyse the recruitment to the professions from outside. We have no reliable estimate of the occupational distribution of fathers, such as would for instance be given by a random sample of the population, from which to calculate the chances which the sons from different social groups have of reaching the professions. It is certain, however, although it is difficult to estimate it correctly that a much higher proportion of the sons from higher status groups, e.g. business owners and managers, and salaried and clerical, reach the professions than from the lower status groups. This is the common pattern found in most societies, and it is actually more interesting to find how large a proportion of the professional classes have, according to table 1, been recruited from the lower groups: the small farmers and the urban manual. So much nobility for the bottom to the top of the status scale is surely a reflection of the egalitarian nature of Icelandic society.

It may, of course be argued that this great increase in social nobility is entirely due to the structural changes in society. That does not make it less important. When a simple rural community is changing rapidly into an urban industrialized society opportunities to move up the social scale increase enormously, and rigidities, even if they persist unchanged, are swamped by the structural changes. The professional classes have probably maintained their position largely unchanged, but the enormous increase in the recruitment to the class from other social groups has certainly lessened the distance between the professions and the rest of the community.

We have so far been looking at the recruitment of the professions as a whole, but we shall now go on to compare the recruitment of the individual professional groups. Table 2 shows the percentage of members of each of the professional groups who had a father in the professional classes. We see that there is a decline in professional recruitment of all the groups, and the low percentage for the clergy in the last period is particularly noticeable. These figures should be further broken down to find the self-recruitment of each profession. At this stage we shall, however, change our approach and look instead at the social origine of university graduates, as that has been found to be a more satisfactory way of studying the recruitment of the individual professions.

Table 2.

The percentage of all subjects in the professional groups whose fathers were also in the professional classes

Professional groups	Periods of birth			
	1840- 1859	1860- 1879	1880- 1899	1900-
Legal professions	71	36	29	23
Clergy	44	31	29	8
Medical profession	52	36	30	23
Other professions and administration	41	32	34	33
All groups	48	33	31	23

## IV.

By studying university graduates we are able to increase the size of our sample appreciably. This is most important for those born after 1900, many of whom had not yet entered the higher professions at the time to which our data relate. In the earlier periods the holding of a degree and membership of the professions is almost synonymous. Of those graduates in law, medicine and theology who were born 1840-1879 over 92 % did in fact enter the professions.

Another advantage of studying graduates is that we are then looking at all our subjects at the same stage in their career, and the results are as nearly as possible comparable through time. Otherwise, comparisons between the final status of subjects are confused by the different ages at which they died, and in other cases by the different ages they had reached when the data on which we are relying were collected. Various new factors enter to influence the career of graduates after graduation, and by studying their status only up to this point a more significant relationship will probably be found to exist between the subject chosen by the graduate and the occupational class of his father.

A limitation to the significance of our analysis may seem to be set by the fact that we are dealing with graduates only, whereas the choice of subjects is taken by all students on entering university. The distribution might be different at the university entry level, if the sons from certain social groups were more likely than others to fail to finish their studies. In fact no appreciable relation of this sort has been found to exist in

our sample for those subjects who did not finish university. Opportunities have always been more equal for all classes at the university level than in the middle educational levels, which form the main selection mechanism. We may, therefore, assume that the choices of subject made by graduates are broadly similar to those made by all entrants to university. Even if that were not so, however, these choices remain important to our study of professional recruitment.

The information on the recruitment of university graduates is summed up in table 3. The results for all graduates combined agree almost completely with those in table 1, which gives the same kind of figures for the members of the professions. We have tried to show the self-recruitment of the professions by separating those who had fathers in the same professions, or more accurately, in the profession into which the graduate would normally enter. In the case of the last group, which cover graduates in a variety of subjects this separation has not much meaning, but it is surprising to find as we shall see later that this group taken as a whole shows as much self-recruitment as the other professions.

One of the most striking developments revealed by table 3 is the fall in the professional recruitment of graduates in theology. In the last two periods only two sons of members of other professions than the Church graduated in theology, in spite of the fact that the other professions have been growing rapidly in size and more sons of their members have been entering the professional classes. If the members of the professional classes are, as it is reasonable to assume, the best judges of the relative status and advantages of the different professions then these figures indicate that the clergy has suffered a status decline during the last half-century. That conclusion is in fact supported by many other results of this study, and it is in conformity with what has happened in many other countries.

Table 3.

The occupational class of the fathers of Icelandic graduates

## Occupational groups of fathers

Subjects born	Same profession as subject	Other professional groups	Business Owners & Managers	Salaried, Clerical, Supervisory, Master-Craftsmen	Urban & Sea-side manual	Farmers higher	Farmers lower, & other rural	Total
<b>Graduates in Law</b>								
1840-	6	7	2	-	1	1	2	19
1860-	10	5	7	4		10	9	45
1880-	7	14	11	5	4	6	21	68
1900-	25	35	36	45	22	13	50	226
Total	48	61	56	54	27	30	82	358
<b>Graduates in Theology</b>								
1840-	37	12	3	1	1	11	43	108
1860-	29	5	5	7	5	9	50	110
1880-	19	1	2	5	6	8	29	70
1900-	7	1	7	13	20	6	36	90
Total	92	19	17	26	32	34	158	378
<b>Graduates in Medicine</b>								
1840-	-	14	3	1	2	1	6	27
1860-	3	19	4	7	6	6	16	61
1880-	6	20	5	11	8	6	33	89
1900-	9	16	9	29	19	8	21	111
Total	18	69	21	48	35	21	76	288
<b>Graduates in other subjects</b>								
1840-	1	-	-	2	1	2	4	10
1860-	-	5	4	4	-	2	9	24
1880-	4	12	2	6	4	7	18	53
1900-	7	13	7	9	7	4	23	70
Total	12	30	13	21	12	15	54	157
<b>All graduates</b>								
1840-	44	33	8	4	5	15	55	164
1860-	42	34	20	22	11	27	84	240
1880-	36	47	20	27	22	27	101	280
1900-	48	65	59	96	68	31	130	497
Total	170	179	107	149	106	100	370	1181

Tables 4 and 5 present two different views of professional self-recruitment. The percentage of sons of members of the legal profession who did, according to table 4, follow in their fathers' footsteps has been rising during the period studied, and it had reached the remarkably high percentage of 86 % for the last cohort. There seems to have been a corresponding fall in the preferences of the sons of clergymen for their fathers' profession. Both these trends are, however, influenced by the structural changes: the percentage of graduates that have taken law has been increasing, and the percentage taking theology has fallen. The trends in table 5 are also influenced by structural changes. The fall in the percentage of legal graduates having a father in the legal profession has fallen because of the great rise in the number of legal graduates, and in spite of the rise in the percentage of sons of lawyers taking the same profession as their father. The same does not apply in the case of the clergy. The number of graduates in theology has been falling, and there has certainly been some decline in the self-recruitment of the clergy.

Another way of measuring the self-recruitment of the professions is to calculate an index of association between the profession of the father and the choice of subject by the son. 1) This is the ratio of the actual number of sons of members of any professional group who chose the same object as their fathers divided by the expected number on the assumption that the sons from all professional and social groups showed the same preferences for the different professional subjects. An index of more than unity shows more than random association between the profession of father and son. Let us begin by looking at the changes in this index through time as shown in table 6. All the indices are higher than unity. None of the indices for the self-recruitment of the clergy are, however, significantly different from unity at the 5 % level, but when we combine three periods, as we shall do later, significant self-recruitment will be found to exist. A difficulty arises here again in the fact that it is not possible to take the changes in this index through time to indicate changes in the degree of self-recruitment of the profession, because the upper limit of the index may change radically through time. The maximum value of the indices has been entered in table 6 and it shows the possible range of the indices. These maximum indices show, in fact, the changes that have taken place in the relative size of the professions. In the case of the legal profession, for instance, the indices of association show a decline in self-recruitment, but the index for the latter period is much nearer maximum than in the first period, and the actual index for the first period is equal to the maximum index for the latter period. Whether we should in such circumstances say that self-recruitment has been declining or increasing is a matter of definition. A ratio of the actual and maximum indices of association would give the same proportions as those shown in table 4, and these may in a sense be the most revealing indices of the changes in self-recruitment. The importance of the indices of association lies in the fact that they establish the point of random mobility and show whether the association is positive or negative.

1) This approach has been developed in connection with the study of social nobility in Britain, the results of which will soon be published. (D.V.Glass ed.)

Table 4.

The percentage of the sons of members of certain professions who graduated and chose the same subject as their fathers

	Law	Theology	Medicine
Subjects born	%	%	%
1840- 1859	) 42	76	} 64
1860- 1879		58	
1880- 1899		54	
1900-	86	25	36
All periods	70	42	47

Table 5

The percentage of all graduates in certain professional subjects who had fathers in the corresponding professions

	Law	Theology	Medicine
Subjects born	%	%	%
1840 - 1859	} 25	34	} 5
1860 - 1879		26	
1880 - 1899		10	
1900 -	11	8	8
	16	24	6

Table 6

Indices of association between the choice of subjects by the sons of members of the profession of Law and the Church and their fathers profession

Graduates in law			
Subjects born	Actual index of association	Maximum value of index if all sons had entered fathers profession	The actual index as a percentage of the maximum index
1840-1899	2.21 a	4.90	45
1900-	1.84 a	2.21	86

Graduates in Theology			
Subjects born	Actual index of association	Maximum value of index if all sons had entered fathers profession	The actual index as a percentage of the maximum index
1840-	1.14 o	1.51	75
1860-	1.27 c	2.19	58
1880-	1.41 c	4.00	35
1900-	1.37 o	3.59	25

- a: Significantly different from unity at 1 % level  
 c: Significantly different from unity at 10 % level  
 o: Not significantly different from unity

The use of these indices is not limited to the analysis of the association between the profession of father and son, we may calculate the preferences shown by the sons of members of any profession or social group for any one of the professional subjects. These indices for subjects born 1860 and after are shown in tables 7 a and b. The first of these tables shows the preferences of the sons of professional men for the various subjects. The diagonal values are the indices of association, and they are all significantly greater than unity. We find that the sons of members of "other profession" show a significant preference for "other subjects". This is interesting but not very significant because both these groups are heterogeneous. The last column in the tables is in fact residual and the figures in it are not very meaningful, and are only included for the sake of completeness. We have put the maximum value of the indices at the bottom of each column to show the range of value of the indices in the column.

The legal profession shows the highest degree of self-recruitment. It is also the only one of the Icelandic professions where having a father in the profession may make an appreciable difference to a career, particularly for those entering legal practice. This should not, however, be exaggerated, as the rapid increase of opportunities have prevented the emergence of any serious barriers, although there are signs in the last few years of limitations being put on the entry into legal practice, which are likely to favour the sons of members of that part of the profession. Nothing comparable has happened in the medical profession, and the sale or handing down of practices from father to son has not yet become usual. Another point which the table shows clearly is the great aversion which the sons from all professions except the Church show to the taking up of theology. The sons of clergymen seem on the other hand to prefer medicine very much to law.

Table 7a shows that non-professional social groups show significant preferences for particular professions. Thus the sons of business men show a very significant preference for law and an equally strong aversion to theology. Many of the figures in this table are not significantly different from unity, but they show a consistent pattern of preferences, which is in harmony with commonsense and observation. We find some support for the proposition that the higher the status of the profession the more it is preferred by the higher placed social groups and vice versa. The higher social groups thus show a greater preference for law than the lower groups. This is hardly noticeable in the case of medicine, which probably stands slightly lower than law in status. The pattern is, however, strongest in the case of the theology, which has certainly lost status in comparison with the other subjects. We find strong aversion to theology by the professions and the higher urban groups. It is significantly preferred by the lower rural groups, the urban manual group also shows a preference of more than unity, but it is not statistically significant.

We find further that other factors, such as the nature of the fathers' occupation, have much influence on the sons' choice of subject. Those engaged in business and non-manual occupations prefer law to other subjects, whereas the manual grades prefer medicine. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the



Table 7 a.

Indices of preference of sons of professional men for the various professional subjects.  
Subjects born (1860- )

Professional group of father	Graduates in Law	Graduates in Theology	Graduates in Medicine	Graduates in other subjects
Law	<u>2.10</u> a	0.18 a	0.45 b.	0.90 o
Church	0.57 a	<u>1.57</u> a	1.12 o	0.73 o
Medicine	0.87 o	0.20 a	<u>1.86</u> a	1.27 o
Other Professions	1.29 o	0.18 a	0.93 o	<u>1.97</u> a

Table 7 b.

Indices of preference of sons from non-professional groups for the various professional subjects

Social group of father	Graduates in Law	Graduates in Theology	Graduates in Medicine	Graduates in other subjects
Business owners and managers	1.64 a	0.53 a	0.71 o	0.90 o
Salaried and clerical	1.22 o	0.70 o	1.03 o	1.00 o
Master-craftsmen, officers on boats	0.86 o	0.53 o	1.87 a	0.66 o
Other urban manual	0.79 o	1.17 o	1.29 o	0.76 o
Farmers higher	1.02 o	1.02 o	0.92 o	1.06 o
Farmers lower, other rural	0.76 a	1.37 a	0.87 o	1.09 o
Maximum values of indices if all sons had chosen same profession	3.00	3.77	3.90	6.92
No. of cases in sample	339	270	261	147 1016

- a Significantly different from unity at 1 % level or better  
 b Significantly different from unity at 5 % level or better  
 o Not significantly different from unity at 5 % level

high manual grades, master-craftsmen etc. The manual element in medicine would seem to be the significant factor here. In general, the sons prefer those professions which are most similar in nature to their fathers' occupation. The preference that the sons of clergymen show for medicine as against law would come under this head: medicine is culturally nearer the Church than law. If further sub-divisions into more homogeneous social groups had been possible more significant preferences of this sort might have appeared. We may mention two examples: Teachers show the same preference as clergymen for medicine as against law. The sons of farmers show a preference for philology and other humanities, which seems to be a reflection of the cultural premium put on rural upbringing by the nationalistic movement, but a majority of those taking humanities have studied Icelandic language and literature.

The most noticeable difference between the choice of urban and rural groups is that the latter show a preference for theology. This may be partly because of the lower position of the rural groups, but it is also likely that the clergy enjoys a higher status in the countryside, where the parson is in a closer contact with the farmer than the members of any other profession.

We have not mentioned the influence that economic factors may have had on the choice of subject. The negative correlation between status of father and preference for theology may be due to the fact that the theological course of study is shorter than that for any other subject. If such were the case we should surely have expected to find the opposite relation as regards medicine, which is by far the longest and most expensive course of study. This we do not find at all, and it does not seem to be necessary to modify our earlier statement about the equality of opportunity at the university level.

When so many factors are at work it is not easy to estimate their relative importance. It would seem, however, that the nature and cultural content of the father's occupation is the most important for the choices we have been studying. We must, of course, remember that the influence of status is likely to be at its minimum at this level because we are only studying university graduates, who have already passed the most selective status barriers.

A few words may be said in conclusion. We have found it very difficult to gauge the significance of the self-recruitment of the professions in a rapidly changing society, where the rigidities of the class structure are submerged under a flood of social change. In such conditions it may be more interesting to study other factors than status which determine the occupational mobility of individuals. When the structural changes weaken the influence of status on nobility, these other factors, such as the cultural affinity between occupations socially distant, become very important as determinants of an individual's position in society.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Perception et Représentation  
dans les Etudes de Stratification et de Mobilité sociale.

par

P. CHOMBART de LAUWE

GROUPE d'ETHNOLOGIE SOCIALE  
Centre d'études sociologiques  
Paris.

## PERCEPTION ET REPRESENTATION

## DANS LES ETUDES DE STRATIFICATION ET DE MOBILITE SOCIALE

par

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L'étude des représentations doit tenir une place importante dans les recherches sur la stratification et la mobilité sociales. Dans une enquête entreprise en 1950 (avant de connaître les projets de l'A.I.S.), nous avons essayé de faire un premier essai d'interviews dirigés sur ce sujet, en liaison avec toute une série d'autres enquêtes dont nous ne pouvons parler ici (1). Nous présentons donc un aspect très fragmentaire d'un travail collectif encore à ses débuts. Partant d'hypothèses sur les strates et les groupes, sur les relations entre les représentations et l'appartenance à une classe, et sur l'indépendance de la capillarité et de la mobilité sociale, nous donnons les résultats des réponses à trois questions ouvertes, étudiées d'après une analyse très précise de contenu.

1. Remarques préliminaires suivant les strates et les groupes.

Le terme stratification implique superposition, hiérarchie. Les critiques successives de l'ordre hiérarchique des classes soulignent les confusions qui existent dans ce domaine. Ces confusions viennent de l'absence de distinctions assez nettes entre strates et classes. Nous proposons d'étudier séparément.

- 1) Le découpage de la société suivant deux groupes de divisions horizontales et verticales basées sur des critères économiques et techniques. Nous obtenons un quadrillage de base dont les divisions horizontales sont les strates. L'étude de la place d'un sujet dans ce quadrillage est l'étude de sa situation (2).
- 2) La disposition des groupes sociaux étendus en nombre, les classes en particulier sur ce quadrillage.

(1) Voir à ce sujet notre autre rapport au Congrès: Etudes comparatives en ethnologie sociale et applications (enquêtes croisées multiples dans les unités résidentielles).

(2) Nous évitons ici l'emploi du mot "status", trop généralement lié au prestige par de nombreux sociologues.

Les sujets interrogés se situent eux-mêmes non dans des strates, mais dans des classes. Les sujets ayant une même représentation, et d'une manière plus générale, une même connaissance de la société, ont tendance à se situer dans une même classe sociale. D'autre part, les sujets appartenant à une même classe ont généralement la même connaissance et la même représentation de la société.

La mobilité sociale se présente sous deux aspects différents: mobilité d'une case à l'autre du quadrillage de base (capillarité) ou mobilité de groupe à groupe. Les itinéraires dans le quadrillage sont orientés surtout par les conditions écologiques et économiques. Les passages de classe à classe impliquent des changements de comportement, et de représentations. Les deux types de mobilité peuvent être indépendants l'un de l'autre.

## 2. Méthodes d'enquêtes.

Les enquêtes sont faites par interviews dirigés. En raison des faibles moyens mis en oeuvre et de la difficulté des interviews nous avons travaillé sur de très petits échantillons, 50 à 250 sujets, principalement par choix raisonné. Les résultats permettent non de tirer des conclusions, mais d'étayer des hypothèses. Les enquêtes ont commencé en 1949. Celle dont il est question ici a débuté en fin 1950. Elle étudie à la fois la situation des sujets et leurs représentations des structures et certaines attitudes et opinions. Elle porte sur un groupe d'échantillons de 255 sujets au total, dont nous avons retenu 159. Les 6 échantillons correspondent à 6 ensembles de catégories socio-professionnelles que nous avons regroupées suivant une hypothèse de travail en: ouvriers, employés, intermédiaires 1., intermédiaires 2., dirigeants 1., et dirigeant 2.

## 3. Premiers résultats.

Les quelques réponses que nous analysons ont trait à trois groupes de questions:

- 1) Représentation de la structure de la société en classes et auto-affiliation. Les sujets divisent la société en deux ou plusieurs classes. Le pourcentage des sujets optant pour la division en deux classes ou trois classes varie d'une manière significative dans les divers échantillons. Les critères utilisés, que nous avons fait ressortir par une analyse de contenu des réponses aux questions ouvertes, varient également d'un échantillon à l'autre. En particulier la proportion des sujets utilisant les critères tenant à la nature du travail varie en raison inverse de celle des sujets utilisant des critères relatifs aux rapports de force dans la production. Les critères de prestige sont utilisés presque exclusivement par les dirigeants et certains intermédiaires. Nous voyons aussi apparaître un certain parallélisme entre les intermédiaires 2 et les dirigeants 1.

Les termes employés pour désigner les classes ne sont pas les mêmes dans les différents échantillons. Ils expriment des représentations différentes des rapports entre les classes. Les employés notamment se rapprochent des ouvriers par certains termes mais s'opposent

nettement par d'autres. Seuls les dirigeants parlent de l'"élite", etc.

Le tableau des auto-affiliations (qui peut être dans une certaine mesure comparé à celui de Centers) (3), fait apparaître dans la représentation des sujets une division de la société en 4 classes principales dans lesquelles ils se rangent. La proportion des sujets de chaque échantillon se rangeant dans l'une ou l'autre de ces 4 classes permet de voir comment elles sont réparties par rapport aux catégories socio-professionnelles. Ainsi les ouvriers manuels se situent à 90% dans la classe ouvrière et les dirigeants 2 à 100% dans la bourgeoisie supérieure. Les employés et les dirigeants 1 se rattachent moins directement aux extrêmes; les deux groupes d'intermédiaires se distinguent l'un de l'autre par l'existence ou l'absence d'auto-affiliation à la bourgeoisie.

- 2) Images des oppositions entre les classes. La question posée ici tendait à faire apparaître quelles différences les sujets voyaient entre la "condition bourgeoise" et la "condition prolétarienne". Nous voyons alors apparaître des attitudes caractéristiques qui confirment certains résultats obtenus dans la première partie.
- 3) Images de la montée sociale. Jusqu'ici les sujets étaient amenés à donner une vue statique des structures sociales. En leur demandant "En quoi consiste pour vous le fait de monter socialement? Cela a-t-il un sens pour vous?", nous avons introduit une nouvelle question ouverte qui a provoqué des réactions sur un autre problème. Le nombre des sujets ne voyant aucun sens pour eux à la montée sociale varie significativement d'un échantillon à l'autre. D'autre part, les réponses relatives à l'impossibilité de la montée, aux moyens envisagés, à l'importance de l'élévation intellectuelle, etc. ... nous donnent des indications importantes. Enfin, nous remarquons qu'une proportion notable d'ouvriers refuse d'envisager une montée individuelle, n'admettant qu'une montée collective pour toute leur classe.

#### 4. Remarques générales.

Les résultats très fragmentaires qui sont présentés apportent une ébauche de vérification de certaines hypothèses présentées au début et surtout permettent de les préciser. Les sujets se situent eux-mêmes dans des classes et non dans des strates. Il s'opère un regroupement des sujets ayant des représentations voisines les uns des autres des structures sociales, même s'ils sont rangés dans des ensembles de catégories socio-professionnelles très différents. Les réponses d'auto-affiliation montrent que dans l'esprit des sujets les classes chevauchent largement les strates.

D'autre part, les réponses en termes de mobilité sociale laissent entrevoir des marges frontalières entre les classes et des noyaux culturels autour desquels s'opèrent les regroupements. Un nouveau schéma

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(3) Psychology of social classes (Princeton, 1949).

de la disposition des classes sur le quadrillage de base peut être donné.

En dernier lieu nous insistons sur l'importance méthodologique des enquêtes par interviews dirigés portant sur de petits échantillons et utilisant des questions ouvertes. Les analyses de contenu permettent d'élaborer les questions fermées pour les enquêtes extensives. Les recherches entreprises dernièrement sur une série de quartiers urbains nous feront franchir une étape intermédiaire au cours de laquelle de nouvelles vérifications pourront être opérées.

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## 1. Introduction: Basic concepts.

The fundamental starting point for the analysis of social status is the observation that group members generally differ in relative acceptability to each other. Rarely will a group be found whose members enjoy in all respect the same degree of social acceptability.

The word status or social status will be used to indicate a point on a dimension of acceptability characterizing a group member. There are three main ways of establishing a person's status.

1. We may ask the person himself and obtain either his self estimate of his status or his self-designated status on a private scale of acceptability.
2. We may ask other group members and obtain his accorded status.
3. We may obtain information on the amount possessed by the person of certain desiderata the possession of which is known or assumed to be correlated with accorded status. (In particular his wealth, power and knowledge and the wealth, power and knowledge of his family). The status estimate thus obtained will here be called indicated status, since interest centers around the use of certain variables as indicators of accorded status. The term "objective status" is frequently used for what is here called indicated status. (Hyman (10)) However, the former term may convey the erroneous notion that e.g. accorded status is in some sense less real than indicated status.

If the dimension of acceptability used is a rather general one ("social standing") we thus obtain a general status estimate which may be either self-estimated, self-designated, accorded or indicated. If the dimension of acceptability used is a more specialized one (e.g. acceptability with respect to football playing, dancing etc.) then a special status estimate is obtained which again may be either self-estimated, self-designated, accorded or indicated.

Persons who enjoy relatively similar general status comprise a social class. Classes are thus defined as strata differing in average general status. Change of status over time is called vertical social mobility. (Rise or fall on the social ladder.)

The class structure defined as the relative numerosity of each of the classes or strata in the group determines the maximum of vertical social mobility possible. If the upper-most stratum contains  $p_1$  percent of the groupmembers and the lower-most  $p_2$ , and if these percentages remain fixed over time then no more than  $\frac{p_1}{p_2}$ .

100 percent of the lowermost stratum can move to the top stratum.

A person's general accorded status (S) will be conceived of as a function of the prestige values ( $P_i$ ) attached to the positions that he occupies in the social structure and of the esteem values ( $R_i$ ) that accrue to him from his role behavior in each of these positions, (2 pp 91-96, 3, 8).

$$S = F (P_1, P_2, P_3, P_n, R_1, R_2, R_3, R_n)$$

Warner's studies suggest that a good estimate of S is obtainable from a knowledge of a small number of the  $P_i$ 's. (18 pp 168- 174).

More specifically occupation, source of income, area lived in, and type of dwelling all quantified gave a multiple correlation of .97 with a measure of social acceptability or accorded status in a sample of the population of Morris, Ill., U.S.A.

Occupation alone correlated .91 with the same measure of acceptability.

There is thus good basis for selecting occupational prestige as one of the main measure sticks of social status in societies beyond primary group size.

The prestige of a position in the economic system (an occupation) may with Hatt be considered a function of the difficulty of the role attached to the position, the power associated with the role and the social remuneration (other than community or society prestige) accruing to the incumbent. (8).

## 2. Methodology.

Occupational prestige measurement should give a prestige variable that is characterized by a maximum of reliability and validity for any job and given nation. <sup>1)</sup>

If this desideratum is accepted, certain conclusions follow immediately as to optimal procedures.

In order to achieve a known reliability in inferring national prestige parameters from sample prestige statistics jobraters must constitute a probability sample of the population. Any increase in sample reliability that is considered worth its additional cost can then be had by simply increasing the size of the sample, as is well known.

Some other conceivable method might give higher reliability, but since nothing is known definitely about the reliability of such methods, they must all be deemed inferior to probability sampling.

Not so easily solved is the problem posed by the quite numerous occupational titles within any one nation and the fairly limited number of jobs that may conveniently be presented for rating or ranking to a national sample of the population.

It would be perfectly feasible even if laborious to make up a list of all the occupations of any country and sample randomly from that list.

More difficult to obtain at any rate precisely is the number of people having each specific occupation as occupational statistics are rarely so detailed.

However let us suppose that a good approach to a weighted

The problem of validity will not be discussed in the following. The most adequate test of validity would seem to be the correlation between prestige scores and observable deferential behavior towards people in various occupations.

list of occupations were available. Then the optimal procedure for selecting jobs would probably be that defined by a stratified random sample characterized by differential rates of selection, so that fairly rare jobs that were assumed to have high prestige were sampled with higher rate of selection than others.

Of course such a procedure would not immediately admit of inferences from the prestige of jobs sampled to the prestige of those not sampled.

The research worker is primarily interested in and cannot do without a definite number (prestige value) associated with every kind of job that may turn up in a fairly sizeable national sample of the population. It is essentially a problem of the type: if it is known that job A is characterized by a certain prestige value what can be predicted about the prestige value of job B. It will be seen that this is just the kind of information that cannot be directly had by random sampling of jobs. Reliance will have to be put on correlation analysis.

However a random sampling of jobs would ensure that the strategic correlations observed in a sample of jobs would within known probability limits be found in the population of jobs or in other samples of jobs.

The strategically important correlation is particularly the one between the job rating given by a national sample and the job rating given to the same set of jobs by the research group which is engaged in rating jobs not rated by the national sample.

However as far as the situation in Denmark is concerned the best approach to optimal procedure that could be had without prohibitive preparatory work consisted in a selection of jobs with wide expected scatter in prestige and covering the numerically most important jobs.

Assuming that  $n$  jobs have been evaluated for prestige by a random sample of the population, then if in addition to these  $n$  jobs another set of  $N$  jobs need to be prestige evaluated, the following procedure is suggested.

A small research group evaluates first the  $n$  jobs and the correlation with the national sample evaluation, not known to the group is computed ( $r_n$ ).

Next the research group evaluates the  $N$  new jobs taking into account the results obtained from the national sample.

A reasonable expectation is that these latter  $N$  ratings would have correlated more highly with the national sample ratings had they been known, than did the first  $n$  ratings and hence  $r_n$  will be considered a minimum estimate of reliability in inferring from research group to national sample.

It follows from the preceding that higher reliability is likely to result by increasing the selection of jobs presented for rating to a national sample.

It seems reasonable to assume that around 100 jobs can be profitably included under ordinary conditions of interviewing, if rating is to be done by a national sample.

Because paired comparisons and rankings become cumbersome and unwieldy and rankings also increasingly unreliable for number of jobs increasing beyond 10-20, rating seems indicated as the preferential tool. (6 pp 235, 260).

When random samples of a population are to be approached as opposed to institutional groups, the problem of ensuring respondent cooperation necessitates increased emphasis on whatever may be conducive to creating respondent interest.

From pretests in Copenhagen the author has informally observed that rating by means of card sorting tends to engage the interest of raters far better than does rating by means of response to schedule questions.

In addition two further advantages of cardsorting may be noted,

Card sorting enables the respondent to approximate better the maximum of consistency that he is capable of, in as much as changing the position of the cards can easily be undertaken and the respondent at a glance can see which occupation cards he has placed in the same category.

Further cardsorting puts more pressure on the respondent to reach a decision. The cards are given to him with the request that they be sorted in  $m$  categories and there is no don't know category.

Some may feel that thereby an "artificial" prestige judgment is elicited. This criticism should however be tempered by the following considerations;

- a) Real life situations more often than not do put a person in a position where he has to reach a decision without much previous relevant deliberation.
- b) Indecision as to prestige placing of an occupation may be symptomatic of the characteristics of certain occupations. In so far as it is revealed by a group through a large scatter of responses on decided categories rather than through a large undecided category concentration, it may permit diagnosis of occupations where status is strongly determined by the reputation of the individual jobholder rather than by the prestige of the job.

The difference between the occupation of "actor" and the occupation of "elementary school teacher" as evaluated by 50 Danish students illustrates this point. (see below).

- c) It is always possible to include check questions on the amount of familiarity that people have with each of the occupations rated, and thus screen out those who are considered too ignorant of the job to rate it.

It should at once be stated that the various prestige rating pretests so far undertaken in Copenhagen all were done under class-room conditions and the subjects were in all but one of the trials students. 1)

- 1) Field interviewing is now being prepared (May 1953).

Thus no direct experience is available so far on the specific problems that may be faced by any of the methods discussed when using a random sample of the Danish population..

C. Dubois reported 1949 on the use of cardsorting in market research. He credited the technique with several advantages:

- a) Cardsorting makes it easier to obtain detailed information;
- b) Interviewer interpretations are eliminated;
- c) The technique tends to interest the respondent;
- d) The procedure can be adapted to a variety of problems. (4).

The chief disadvantage of cardsorting is that cards and other cardsorting implements is an extra expense item in so far as nothing much is saved in other ways, by using cardsorting. In addition mailing costs will increase.

As far as the author has been able to see the combination of rating and cardsorting has not previously been applied in the measurement of occupational prestige. This method was however used for the status placing of families by Hollingshead (9) and later by Lenski (11).

A serious disadvantage of much occupational ranking and rating so far done is the fact that occupational titles alone are presented to respondents for evaluation. But it is clear to anyone that "director" may stand for occupation of highly varying prestige. If prestige ratings are going to be used for evaluating the up or down movement of sons relative to their fathers it is of course of primo importance that fairly exact measures are available.

Thus if both father and son are reported as directors but the father employed only 10 people while the son employs 1000, there would be reason to expect that people would have given higher status to the son than to his father, but a quantitative evaluation of the difference would not be available unless the prestige rating was concerned with more than the crude occupational titles.

For this reason most of the items rated in the present pre-tests contained three pieces of information on an imagined job-holder:

- a) His level of formal education indicated by a number between 1 and 4, as follows:

Score	Schooling completed,	No. of years.
1.	Grade school	7
2.	Junior high school	9
3.	High school (gymnasium)	12
4.	University or other institution of higher learning	16 +

- b) The title of his occupation
- c) The number of people controlled by him on the job.

- 
- 1) I estimate an extra cost of 1 Danish krone per respondent if 80 cards and 1 paper folder with 5 pockets are used for each of 1500 respondents (extra mailing cost not included).

For all ratings five categories were used in all five pretests so far conducted and here reported on. The reason for selecting that number was primarily that a higher number was considered impractical and possibly also less realistic, and that on the other hand as much as five categories are frequently used with success in opinion polling. As a matter of fact the two most important previous studies of occupational prestige (7, 13) both used 5 categories although Hall and Jones in addition asked for ranking within categories.

Findings based on four small groups of students and one group of prison warders will be discussed in the following.

All these groups were exposed to a set of 56 jobholders, each of whom was identically described to each group.

All groups were asked to rate the jobholders from high to low in five categories according to instructions which varied as explained below.

The characteristics of the groups and the results obtained appear in table 1 p.9.

The jobholders to be rated were selected according to the two guiding principles mentioned above.

- a) All the more common occupations should be represented.
- b) A wide expected scatter in prestige by jobholders should be aimed at.

To find out more about the difference between a cardsorting procedure and a schedule procedure for prestige rating a controlled experiment was designed (but only partly controlled in execution).

A group of 16 students, all members of the student council of The University of Copenhagen, was randomly divided into two groups. Each group consisted of 6 males and 2 females and in the one group the age range was from 19 to 27 years, in the other from 20 to 27 years.

The two groups were placed in separate rooms, so that no interaction was possible between groups.

One group ( $M_3$ ) was asked to rate individually a list of 56 occupations on a scale of prestige according to each student's personal allotment of prestige to the occupations.

The other group ( $M_4$ ) received exactly the same instructions but worked with cards to be sorted in five heaps according to prestige.

While intragroup collaboration was absent or at a very low level in group  $M_4$  it proved difficult to get the  $M_3$  group to avoid collaboration.

Hence the collaboration factor was not under control. The expected bias attributable to this factor would be an artificial heightening in intragroup agreement on rating  $M_3$ . This should be kept in mind in interpreting the results.

It is seen from table 1. that differences between  $M_3$  and  $M_4$  are none of them taken separately very large, and none of them are statistically significant taken alone. The important finding is the fact that the cardsorting group does a little bit "better" on several comparisons:

1. The cardsorting group has a higher average, meaning roughly that it has proceeded with less reluctance to give occupations low scores 1). That  $M_4$  results are said to be better on this count means that they are more similar to the reactions of other samples.
2.  $M_4$  judgments are a little more differentiated indicating less of a tendency to put everybody at or near the middle category.
3.  $M_4$  judgments are a little more unanimous in spite of the fact that interaction occurred in  $M_3$ , but was practically speaking absent in  $M_4$ .
4. To the above may be added the informal findings:
  - a) that cardsorting was found to grasp the attention of the students much better than schedules could.
  - b) that several of the  $M_3$  people said they would have preferred to work with cards rather than schedules.

The observation that cardsorting tends to be met with particular interest was repeated in a larger non-student group, not here reported on. 2)

This informal evidence has convinced the author that the cardsorting scheme is probably one of the best ways to counteract the weariness and boredom which tend to overcome respondents exposed to a long list of questions of similar type as must be the case in occupational prestige measurement.

The difference between the two procedures cardsorting, cardsorting - schedule, should, however, not be exaggerated.  $M_3$  and  $M_4$  mean ratings correlated with an  $r = .93$

- 
- 1) 1 denotes the highest rating category, 5. the lowest rating.
  - 2) Consisting of 125 adult education classmembers. Results from this study have just now been received (May 1953). They tend to correlate highly with results from the student groups, although certain jobs are rather differently evaluated by this non-student mostly "lower middle class" group. Thus the students as will be seen (table 2) attributed quite much prestige to the "research assistant", the lower middle class sample pushed him much further down the scale.



Table 1. Prestige rating results by groups of indicated characteristics.

Statistical and nonstatistical description.	Group.				
	M <sub>11</sub>	M <sub>12</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>3</sub>	M <sub>4</sub>
Total No. of raters	7	14	27	8	8
No. of female raters	1	0	9	1	2
Median age of raters	c.35	40	29	22	22
Description	(advanced students of sociology, of ten candidates in other fields)	(prison warders)	(psychology students)	(students from various departments who were student council members)	
Method of administration	cardsorting		schedule	schedule	card-sorting
Method of instruction	request for estimate of social standing		request for estimate of marital acceptability		request for own prestige allotment.
Mean rating <sub>2</sub> ( $\bar{X}$ )	2.94	3.26	3.21	3.04	3.20
Variance (6x)	1.77	1.83	1.94	1.50	1.63
Intraclass correlation	.74	.63	.82	.68	.72

Note: Pretest M<sub>12</sub> was executed and analyzed by Preben Wolf.

The method of instruction is another feature of prestige ratings which may conceivably affect ratings severely.

The author has tried out three different ways of instructing raters, but only one way was tried in any one group and the groups are not quite comparable.

The three procedures are the following:

1. Request for estimate of prestige accorded a given jobholder in Denmark i.e. respondent estimate of popular grading.
2. Request for own prestige allotment to a given jobholder (respondent's own grading).
3. Request for estimate of the marital acceptability of a given jobholder - as seen by an average Danish mother with a daughter of marriagable age.

The detailed instructions used with each procedure was closely patterned on Thurstone's method of attitude measurement as set forth in (16).

The last mentioned method produced the most satisfactory results in terms of the overall variance of the estimates

$$6^2_x = 1.94, \text{ and in terms of the intraclass correlation } (r_{\text{intraclass}} = .82) \text{ 1)}$$

27 psychology students, 9 of them elementary school teachers, worked under this method of instruction. The two first mentioned methods did not produce any appreciable difference in results, although informally less hesitation seems noticeable when the request is for estimating somebody else's prestige allotment to a jobholder, than if the request is for the rater's own prestige allotment.

It may be noted here that two of the students working under instruction no. 2 (group  $M_4$ ) deliberately placed all jobs in same category (the middle one) indicating their opinion that all occupations to them carried equal prestige, an opinion probably more influenced by desire than by facts. These two raters were not included in the computation of any statistical measures for  $M_4$ . No such case of extreme rating occurred under any of the other two methods of rating. One might say that the advantage of the other peoples' grading criterion lies in the fact that thereby the rater can be realistic even if he has a strong equalitarian preference whereas, this is rendered more difficult under the own grading criterion.

It may be registered as a tentative hypothesis that prestige ratings of jobholders will be most effectively obtained (more spread of estimates from jobholder to jobholder, higher group agreement for given jobholder) if people are instructed to rate a somewhat more specific response of other people (e.g. their rankorder of preference respecting marital partners). Further, that persons instructed to rate the general prestige allotments of other people will not do so well on the above criteria, and that finally asking the respondents to indicate their own prestige allotment to a jobholder is the least satisfactory method in terms of the criteria mentioned.

But at the same time it should be pointed out that all three methods gave results correlating in the nineties (see below).

1) This intraclass correlation was significantly larger than that of any other group (5 percent level of significance, z transformation). For method of testing cp. (5) pp. 211-233.

### 3. Pretest findings.

Table 2 presents a tabulation of the overall mean rating of 56 jobholders and the variance of these ratings among the 50 student raters.

In order to facilitate comparisons with other studies using more or less than five rating categories, the mean score  $\bar{X}$  are transformed into a variable  $\bar{X}'$  having a theoretical maximum prestige value of 100 and a theoretical minimum prestige value of zero. That is

$$\bar{X}' = 25 (5 - \bar{X})$$

The variance is given in terms of the original variable, that is

$$s^2 (X) = \frac{\sum_1^5 (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N}$$

The jobtitles have been translated into English in such a way as to indicate as nearly as possible the same type of job in the United States and in Denmark with regard to occupational function.

The author preferred to equate jobtitles in Denmark with jobtitles in the United States, 1), rather than with jobtitles in Great Britain for the simple reason, that he knows less about British jobtitles. It is hoped, however, that the present American list may fairly easily be translated into an approximately equivalent British list.

The jobholders are listed in descending order of prestige. The students have used almost the entire range of the prestige dimension, constructed in so far as  $\bar{X}$  runs from a low of 1 for unskilled worker, ditchdigger and garbage-collector, to a high of 98 for professor and supreme court attorney.

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1) The author is indebted to Mr. Michael Weyl of the American Embassy for checking all translations and suggesting improved translations.

Table 2. Mean occupational prestige accorded each of  
56 Danish jobholders by 50 Danish Students.

Occup. No.	Title	Educational level	Social control	Mean pre- stige score $\bar{X}$	Transfor- med pre- stige score $\bar{X}'$	Variance of X
39.	Professor	4	0	1,06	98	,06
22.	Attorney (Supreme court)	4	3-9	1,08	98	,08
36.	Chief doctor (hospital)	4	10-99	1,12	97	,10
27.	Division chief in a ministry	4	12	1,44	89	,25
9.	Head of government agency	3	100+	1,44	89	,41
10.	Managing director	2	100+	1,50	88	,53
20.	Landowner	2	10-99	1,51	87	,74
31.	Physician	4	0-2	1,63	84	,24
34.	Attorney (district court)	4	3-9	1,69	83	,36
8.	Civil engineer	4	3-9	1,76	81	,47
40.	Dean (national church)	4	16-18	1,84	79	,89
30.	Highschool teacher	4	0	1,94	76	,26
37.	Colonel	3	-	1,96	76	,94
55.	Research assistant	4	0	2,16	71	,43
47.	Superintendent of elementary school	3	10-19	2,40	65	,44
51.	Minister (National church)	4	1-2	2,40	65	,61
56.	Vice-inspector of customs	2	20	2,42	64	,48
29.	Department head in a private firm	2	10-99	2,44	64	,53
17.	Wholesale-dealer	1	3-9	2,53	62	,56
49.	Captain merchant Marine	2	30	2,56	61	,65
44.	Editor	2	3-9	2,73	57	,61
14.	Manufacturer	1	3-9	2,76	56	,72
38.	Postmaster	-	-	2,76	56	,66
4.	Librarian	3	0	2,84	54	,41
6.	Master printer	3	10-99	2,86	54	,57
21.	Hotel proprietor	1	3-9	2,88	53	,67
18.	Master goldsmith	1	3-9	2,98	50	,43
50.	Actor	-	-	3,00	50	,74
19.	Farmer	1	1,2	3,06	48	,46
35.	Dairy manager	1	10-20	3,12	47	,60
43.	Accountant	1	3-9	3,16	46	,43
2.	Assistant cashier	2	0	3,18	46	,35

Table 2. continued.

Occup. no.	Title	Educational level	Social control	Mean prestige score $\bar{X}$	Transformed prestige score $\bar{X}'$	Variance of $\bar{X}$
33.	Elementary school teacher	2	0	3.18	46	.24
28.	Grocer	2	1,2	3.39	40	.37
5.	Bookkeeper	3	0	3.49	38	.45
54.	Small transportation operator	2	10	3.82	30	.49
15.	Foreman	1	3-9	3.98	26	.50
52.	Wireless operator	1	0	4.00	25	.32
45.	Salesman	1,2	0	4.04	24	.37
3.	Barber, self-employed	1	1	4.06	24	.42
26.	Clerk	2	0	4.08	23	.30
32.	Locomotive engine- shop assistant	2	0	4.10	22	.53
11.	Shop assistant in dry goods store	2	0	4.32	17	.34
46.	Carpenter	1	0	4.37	16	.30
13.	Fisherman, self-employed	1	0	4.38	16	.36
48.	Streetcar-conductor	1	0	4.59	10	.30
24.	Small-holder	1	0	4.60	10	.24
53.	Waiter	1	0	4.62	10	.23
16.	Husbandryman	1	1	4.66	8	.22
7.	Chauffeur	1	0	4.72	7	.24
41.	Janitor	1	0	4.74	6	.19
12.	Factory worker	1	0	4.86	4	.12
23.	Maid	1	0	4.88	3	.10
1.	Unskilled worker	1	0	4.96	1	.04
25.	Ditchdigger	1	0	4.96	1	.04
42.	Garbage collector	1	0	4.96	1	.04

None of the officially top ranking jobs in Denmark were included (King, prime minister etc.). None were any of the jobs of those not lawfully employed included.

We are in other words not concerned with the extremes of the status dimension. The principal reason for this limitation was the expectation of high consensus on the placing of such jobholders.

#### 4. Measuring consensus.

William Fielding Ogburn's famous dictum "How do you know it" serves to remind us that no generalization is better than the data supporting it, and hence that assertion of unanimity or its absence in the field of prestige might perhaps be made more accurate if more attention were paid to measuring variability instead of just talking about it.

In the following five statistical measures of variation or co-variation are employed:

1. percent of raters placing an occupation in modal category,
2. the variance of prestige ratings (X) for given occupation,
3. the intraclass correlation coefficient,
4. the common or interclass correlation coefficient (Pearson's product moment r),
5. the range of means for the four student groups and the one non-student group.

The first measure has the advantage of simplicity since all that is involved is the computation of the percent placing an occupation in the category most frequently used. While this percent can not be less than 20 where, as here, five categories are used, it is seen that actually no occupational had less than 40% in the modal category and out of a total of 56 occupations, 46 or 82% had at least one half of all ratings in one category. (Table 3).

Table 3. Consensus in terms of percent placing an occupation in modal prestige category.

Total student group: 50 raters.

Percent raters in modal category N = 50	Number of occupations	Percent of occupations N = 56
40 - 49 %	10	17.9
50 - 59 %	21	37.5
60 - 69 %	12	21.4
70 - 79 %	5	8.9
80 - 89 %	2	3.6
90 + %	6	10.7
	56	100.0

The use of the variance (or standard deviation) of prestige ratings presents a particular problem because any discrete variable of finite range is characterized by the presence of a curvilinear correlation between the mean of the variable and its maximum possible variance (or standard deviation).

For means at the extremes the variation must necessarily be absent or very small.

Since we have

$$s^2(X) = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N}$$

and

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N X_i}{N}$$

it seems clear that for given  $\bar{X}$  the largest variance is obtained if we have maximal concentration at the extremes,

$$(1) \quad s^2(X) = (X_{\min.} - \bar{X})^2 (1-u) + (X_{\max.} - \bar{X})^2 u$$

where

$$(2) \quad u = \frac{\bar{X} - X_{\min.}}{X_{\max.} - X_{\min.}}$$

This  $u$  value is found from the relation

$$(3) \quad X_{\min.}(1-u) + X_{\max.}u = \bar{X}$$

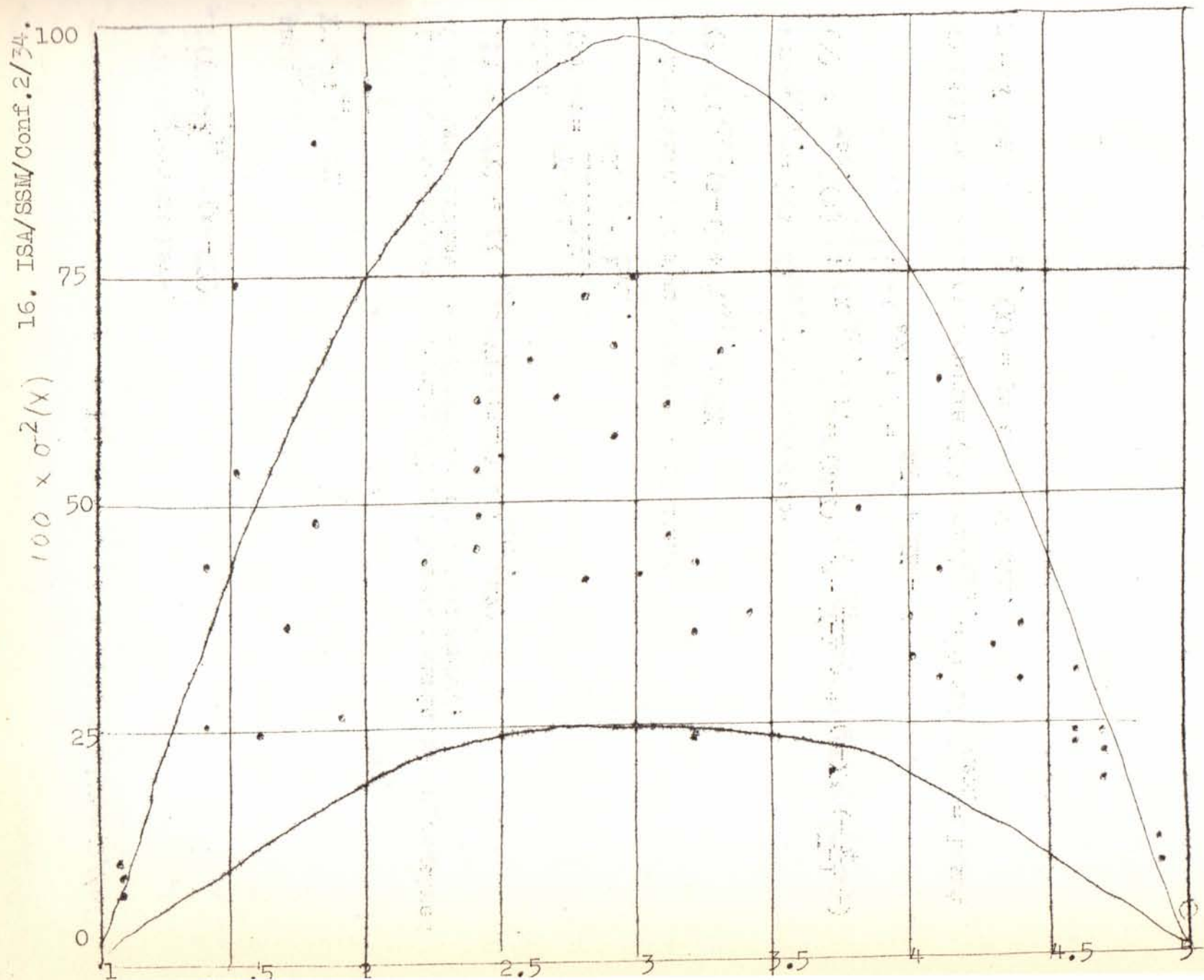
For  $X_{\min.} = 1$  and  $X_{\max.} = 5$  we obtain

$$(4) \quad \begin{array}{l} s^2_{\max.}(X) : X_{\min.} : 1 = (1-\bar{X})^2 \left(1 - \frac{\bar{X}-1}{4}\right) + (5-\bar{X})^2 \left(\frac{\bar{X}-1}{4}\right) \\ : X_{\max.} : 5 = -\bar{X}^2 + 6\bar{X} - 5 \end{array}$$

It will be seen that formula (1) for  $X_{\min.} = 0$  and  $X_{\max.} = 1$  and

$p = \bar{X}$  gives  $s^2_{\max.}(X) = pq$  as it should.

Chart 1. Observed # planes of prestige ratings (dots) compared with  $\frac{1}{4}$  (upper curve) and  $\frac{1}{16}$  (lower curve) of



maximum variance for given means of prestige rating ( $\bar{X}$ ).

Number of observations: 56.

All variance values are multiplied by 100.



Chart 1 shows

- a) the 56 actual variances obtained for given mean values,
- b)  $\frac{1}{4} \sigma_{\max.}^2 (X)$  and
- c)  $\frac{1}{16} \sigma_{\max.}^2 (X)$

All values are multiplied by 100.

It is seen that most of the observed variances range between one quarter and one sixteenth of their theoretical maximum. This means in terms of the standard deviation that an occupation rarely was the object of so much disagreement regarding prestige that the standard deviation exceeded one half its maximal value. On the other hand it was also rare to observe a standard deviation smaller than one quarter of its maximal value.

It is probably not insignificant that the three occupations having the highest relative prestige variance represented three main avenues to power and influence in the middle ages: land ownership, warfare and religion. The occupational titles were those of landowner, colonel and dean in the national church. The low rating given these occupations by a minority of the students should probably be interpreted as a reaction against a traditional hierarchy.

By means of chart 1 it becomes possible to analyze variability in prestige rating for given range of mean rating.

Thus 17 occupations received a mean rating between 2.5 and 3.5. Of these 8 had a variance ranging from .24 to .46 whereas the rest ranged between .56 and .74.

Reference to the occupations concerned (see table 2) lends some support to the hypothesis that occupations the status of which are particularly sensitive to the role behavior of the occupant are likely to obtain more variable prestige allotment than occupations the status of which are less sensitive to role behavior.

The occupation of actor would be an example of the former type, the occupation of grade school teacher an example of the latter type:

	$\bar{X}$	$\sigma^2(X)$
Actor	3.00	.74
Teacher elementary school	3.18	.24

Fisher's intraclass correlation coefficient was used to measure for each of the four student groups separately and for the prison warder group the degree to which consensus was present in each group on the prestige of 56 occupations.

The results obtained were presented in table 1. The range of the coefficients are from .63 to .82.

It can be shown that complete unanimity in the prestige allotment to occupations gives an intraclass correlation of unity. At the other extreme where one half of a group allots a maximum of prestige to an occupation and the other half gives it a minimum prestige score, the minimum intraclass correlation is obtained i.e.

$$\frac{1}{m-1} \text{ where } m \text{ denotes number of raters. } 1)$$

1)

The formula for the intraclass correlation coefficient used here is the following:

$$r = \left[ \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k \frac{(\bar{X}_i - \bar{X})^2}{k-1} - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k \sum_{j=1}^m (X_{ij} - \bar{X}_i)^2}{k(m-1)}}{\frac{1}{m}} \right]$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k \sum_{j=1}^m (X_{ij} - \bar{X}_i)^2}{k(m-1)} + \frac{m \sum_{i=1}^k (\bar{X}_i - \bar{X})^2}{k-1} - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k \sum_{j=1}^m (X_{ij} - \bar{X}_i)^2}{k(m-1)} = \frac{1}{m} \\ & = \frac{(A - B) \frac{1}{m}}{B + (A - B) \frac{1}{m}} \end{aligned}$$

where A = estimate of sample variance between occupations.

B = estimate of sample variance within occupations.

$X_{ij}$  = the rating given by the j'th rater to the i'th occupation.

$$\begin{aligned} j &= 1 \dots\dots\dots m \\ i &= 1 \dots\dots\dots k \end{aligned}$$

(Notes from lectures in mathematical statistics delivered by Z.W. Bernbaum at the University of Washington 1949).

Table 4. Intercorrelations of mean prestige ratings in three groups receiving each a different instruction.

Instruction	A.	B.	C.
A (group $M_2$ )		.97	.94
B (group $M_{12}$ )			.94
C (groups $M_3$ and $M_4$ combined)			

Type of instructions is explained in table 1 and in text p. 10. Each correlation coefficient is based upon 56 pairs of value. An emphatic demonstration of prestige consensus is the fact that mean prestige ratings in one group tend to correlate in the nine-

ties with mean prestige ratings of another group. (Table 4). Reliance on this correlation was in one case used successfully as a means of revealing errors of computation. This high correlation obtains in spite of deliberately varied methods of procedure.

Final evidence of approximate unidimensionality is the observation that the range of means for given jobholder in none of the five groups scattered over more than 2 adjacent strata out of five strata obtained by cutting at the following points, 1.50, 2.50, 3.50, 4.50 along the X dimension of table 2.

Out of the total number of 56 jobholders rated 29 were placed in the same stratum by all five groups.

##### 5. Class consciousness.

Social status may be conceived of as a continuous variable theoretically capable of taking all possible values within a certain range. Since we have defined class in terms of social status an important problem is where along the status dimension to establish cuts or breaks indicative of transition from one class to another.

If differential class consciousness could be shown to exist, it would appear to be of strategic importance to take it into account in solving the above mentioned problem.

of class

One aspect/consciousness may be operationally defined as the degree of consensus on number and position of significant breaks along the general acceptability or general status dimension.

This problem has been most carefully investigated by Hollingshead (9) and by Lenski(11).

While Hollingshead reported considerable consensus on the number of classes in Morris Ill., Lenski in a much smaller community (Danielson, Connecticut) found a rather marked scatter. Both investigators, however, worked with very small samples (30 or less) of judges.

A pilot study, 1952, among a group of students at the University of Copenhagen who were members of the Student Council (N = 20) established that great uncertainty prevailed amongst these Danish students regarding the number of status strata or classes in the Danish adult population.

A similar uncertainty was suggested by a few informal interviews with non-students in the city of Copenhagen.

The following questions were asked of the above mentioned student-group:

Imagine that the 2.8 million Danish adults may be distributed according to their social standing thus:

highest ranking layer  
next to highest ranking layer  
and so on.

How many such layers do you think one can distinguish within this population?

The students were also asked to mention typical representatives of each of the layers they mentioned. The following tabulation and numerical information is based upon a combined analysis of the students' direct responses and their illustrations.

That is if e.g. a student said: 15-20 layers, but in his illustration only mentioned nine he was only credited with nine.

6 of the students refused to accept the task or gave insufficient response. The remaining 14 showed a response distribution in some respect similar to Lenski's group in so far as no one worked with less than 3 strata and one half of the sample in both cases worked with more than 5 strata.

After having performed this task the students were admonished to debate the problem of the number of social strata in Denmark and try to arrive at some consensus. Two of those who had previously refused to accept the task now volunteered an estimate thus bringing the group up to 16. It is seen that exactly half the group after discussion agreed on five strata.

It should be noted that the author took no part in the discussion except by way of giving explanations.

Speaking generally one may note that in all four studies referred to above either all or nearly all judges work from 3 to 7 strata and there is regularly a majority in favor of 5-7 strata.

Table 5. Number of distinguishable strata in four studies.

No. of strata	No. of judges			
	Hollingshead	Lenski	Svalastoga Predis- cussion	Post discussion
2:	1			
3:	3	1	1	2
4:	2	4	2	0
5:	19	7	4	8
6:		8	1	2
7:		4	4	2
8:			1	0
9:			1	0
10:			0	2
<hr/>				
Total no. of judges	25	24	14	16
No. not cooperating			6	4
			20	20
Method	Cardsorting	Cardsorting	Schedule	Schedule
Reference group	Small city	Village	Nation	Nation

Most of these students tended to place top ranking civil service people or, more rarely, people with an academic education in general on top of the social scale.

Nearly all mentioned manual workers as either the bottom stratum 1) or the next lowest stratum. In the latter case the bottom stratum was assigned to shiftless people without regular employment (subsistensløse).

In spite of the existence of hereditary royalty and nobility in Denmark none of the students thought of this group as sufficiently important to warrant mentioning as a separate stratum.

The middle strata reveals more scatter both as to number and as to typical representatives.

Analysis of more detailed informal interviews secured by my students in Copenhagen lend some support to the tentative hypothesis, that disagreement on a number of social classes may be explained as a function of presence or absence of recognized jumps or cuts on a discrete continuum containing a given number of hierarchical layers.

In certain cases lack of discrimination could possibly be accounted for by a telescopic effect, e.g. fewer lower-class persons than upper class persons will be expected to see status cuts within the upper class.

Also there seems to be a tendency for fairly liberal upwards inclusion and hence failing discrimination and rather strict seclusion downwards from respondents own stratum.

An example:

A divorced 35 years old lady maintains that there are just two classes in Denmark and the bottom class consists of persons who cannot support themselves. Clearly by placing the division line that low, the lady should have a good chance to conceive of herself as upper class, no matter what her occupation as long as she has one.

Her occupation was that of a clerk at a hospital and she actually placed herself in the upper of the two classes.

In general if a model of  $n$  classes where  $n$  is say larger than 3, be assumed to hold for a society then several factors may be pointed out which will tend to reduce below  $n$  the number of classes that most interviewees will mention to interviewers,

1. Egalitarian idealism
2. Marxian ideology
3. Telescopic effect and in general unfamiliarity
4. Status raising tendency through identification with higher status people.

---

1) or strata as about half of the group distinguished between skilled and unskilled workers.

On the other hand only the relatively few very highly placed would, it seems, obtain status raising by exaggerating the number of classes. But even for the highly placed, factors 1 - 3 would work in a class reducing direction.

#### 6. Occupational prestige and educational level.

Fiftytwo of the set of 56 jobholders rated were described to the raters as possessing a certain level of formal education. The numbers 1 - 4 were placed in front of the job description and interpreted to the raters as indicated above p.6.

Groups M<sub>11</sub> and M<sub>12</sub> rated an additional 48 jobholders with given education score.

The following table shows the correlation between mean stratum assignment for all student groups combined and for 52 jobholders rated. In addition is shown mean stratum assignment correlated with educational score in the prisonwarder group, who rated a total of 100 jobholders of known educational attainment.

The results show a striking similarity between students and non-students in so far as both groups have depended strongly on education in according prestige and in a very similar way.

Thus neither students nor non-students placed a jobholder whose education was intermediate in stratum 5, the two groups also agreed on not placing people who had passed the gymnasium below stratum 3, and finally with but two exceptions jobholders with a university degree were placed in stratum 1 or 2.

Table 6. Number of jobholders by prestige stratum assigned and education.

a) All studentgroups combined (50 raters, 52 jobholders of known educational attainment rated).

Prestige ( $\bar{X}$ )	Stratum	Education			Total	
		Grade school	Intorme- diate school	Gymnasium Univ.		
1.00-1.50	Upper	0	1	1	4	6
1.51-2.50	Upper middle	0	3	2	7	12
2.51-3.50	Middle middle	7	5	3	0	15
3.51-4.50	Lower middle	5	3	0	0	8
4.51-5.00	Lower	11	0	0	0	11
	Total	23	12	6	11	52

$$r = .774$$

b) Group of prison warders (14 raters, 100 jobholders of known educational attainment rated).

Upper	0	0	0	5	5
Upper middle	1	5	3	16	25
Middle middle	12	11	6	2	31
Lower middle	14	9	0	0	23
Lower	16	0	0	0	16
Total	43	25	9	23	100

$$r = .758$$

Thus a more detailed picture of the role of formal education as a social elevator is available. As far as the jobs here studied are concerned, and they may probably be said to be a fair sample (although by no means a random one) from the middle range of the status dimension, education functions primarily as a fairly sure guarantee against low status rather than as a completely dependable means of obtaining high status.

Furthermore while the probability of being placed in one of the two upper strata decreases with decreasing education, there is nevertheless even for people who have only grade school education a non zero chance (table 6 b) of obtaining high prestige. Certainly this latter finding would have been further emphasized if persons holding high political office had been included among the jobholders rated.

## 7. Occupational prestige and income.

There is no logically necessary correlation between the prestige of an occupation and the amount of money people engaged in it derive from it. Theoretically if incomes were a matter of strict secrecy in a community and if differences of income did not give occasion to any difference in behavior observable by the

community, there is no reason to expect positive correlation between the two variables.

Hence only to the extent that income is converted into socially conspicuous behavior will a positive correlation between income and prestige be the expected result.

Since, however, people by and large do tend to engage in conspicuous behavior dependent upon income a positive correlation between prestige and income tends to obtain.

But since the consumption habits and other cultural traits for given income tend to vary, no perfect correlation should be expected.

Conspicuous behavior will for given income depend upon learning particularly from the parental home.

Hence a certain amount of time lag may be expected to occur so that for certain categories of people their prestige will correlate more highly with their income at an earlier time of their life or with that of their fathers. While the proceeding may seem fairly obvious it may perhaps not be so obvious that there is a fairly good apriori sociopsychological argument in favor of expecting a curvilinear correlation between occupational prestige and occupational income.

The frequently noted so called illusion of universality (12, p.553) involving an overestimation of the actual proportions engaging in certain kinds of behavior supports the hypothesis that,

- 1) absence of exterior signs of prosperity among a certain category of jobholders in more than a critical percent of cases will be associated with the generalization among observers "these are all poor people";
- 2) presence of exterior signs of prosperity in more than a critical percent of cases will be similarly associated with the generalization "these are all prosperous people".

When the income of an occupation, as in the following, is operationally defined as the probability of persons engaged in that occupation having a given income (prosperity-probability) one should expect the following on the basis of what was said above.

Prosperity probability should pull or push stronger on the prestige variable at or near the probability extremes than at or near the intermediate probability values.

In terms of the signs of the first derivative of the prestige variable with respect to the income variable we should expect an approximation to the sequence +0+0. Smoothing out the transitions we arrive at the hypothesis of a double logistic curve connecting the two variables.

A preliminary test of this double logistic hypothesis was undertaken.

Prestige values and income distributions were available for each of 14 Danish occupations.



As mentioned before the income variable was constructed as a probability of getting above a certain minimum income rather than using mean income. This procedure was chosen because it seemed a more sociologically relevant measure which, if the minimum value was well chosen would indicate probability of obtaining "the good things of life". 1)

In a study of the expenses of 443 families of average size 3.4 persons and where the main provider was a skilled or unskilled wage earner or a salaried public or private official or clerical employee it was found as of 1948 that an income after tax deduction of about 9,000 kroner was needed to take care of the mean expense budget of these families. 60 % of this money went to food, clothing and shelter and 30 % for food alone. With 1953 prices around 11,000 kroner were needed to pay for average non-tax expenses of these families, and 34 % of the expenses were for food items. (15).

It thus seemed natural to place a cutting point at or in the neighbourhood of 10,000 kroner, in so far as only incomes which after taxes leave 10,000 kroner or more to the recipient will afford appreciable opportunity for the various status raising methods of conspicuous consumption so ably described by Thorstein Veblen (17, ch. 4).

Out of a total of 2,054,878 taxpayers 91.91 % reported a total income which, after subtracting taxes paid, did not exceed 10,000 kroner for the year 1949. (14 tab. 268)

The average hourly wage for an unskilled male worker in the same year was kroner 2.94 (14 p. 204). Hence an average unskilled Danish male worker would have to work 3401 hours to obtain an income of 10,000 kroner, and of course more to make his income after taxes equal to the sum mentioned.

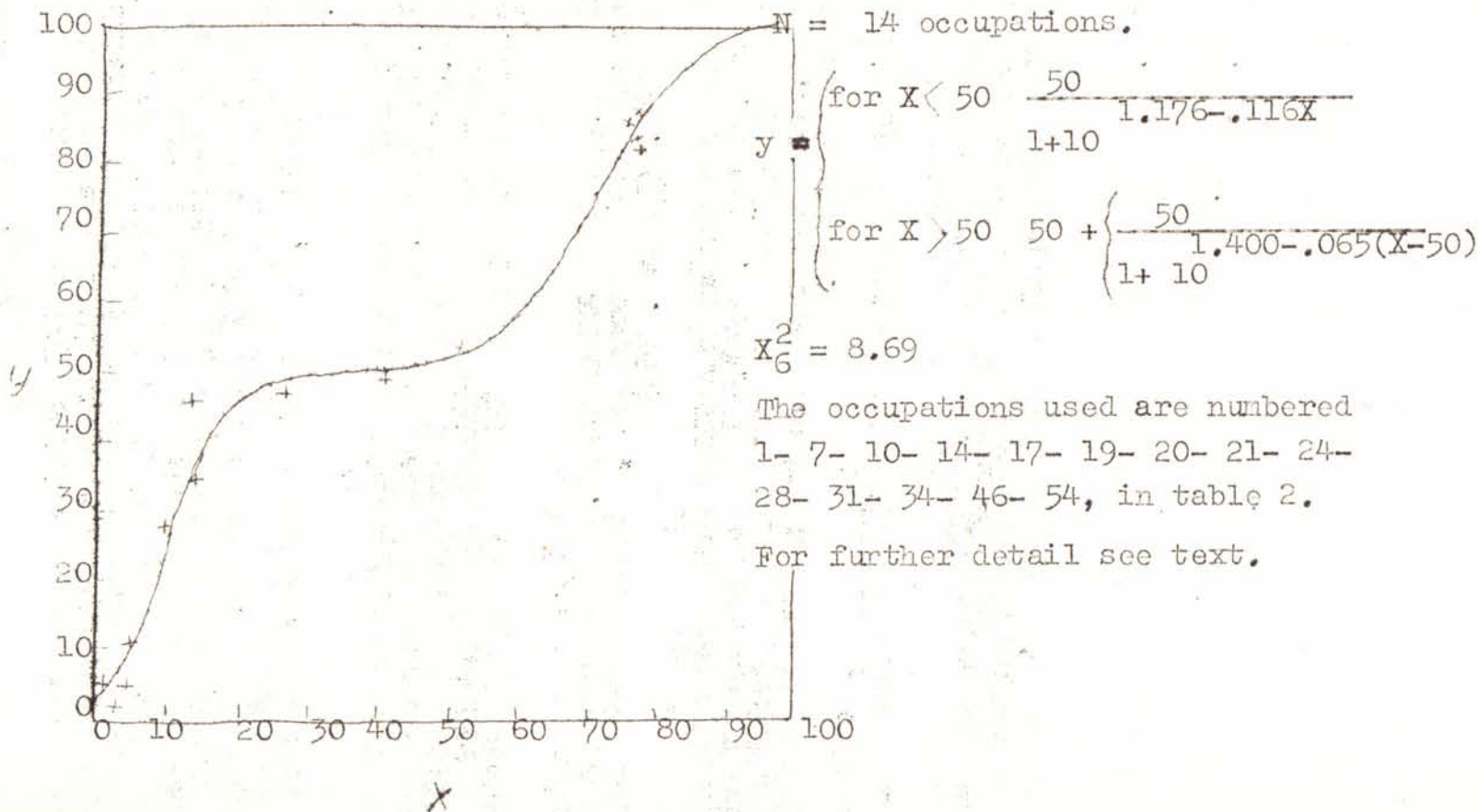
The exact operational definition of the income variable used is the following:

Proportion of all Danish taxpayers in a given occupational category who for the year 1949 reported to the tax-authorities an income minus taxes paid 1949 equal to Danish kroner 10,000 or more.

---

1) Compare H. Alpert's proposal for an operational definition of "Social Class Status" = "the probability that an individual will reach the highest rewards available in a given society". (1).

Chart 2. Occupational prestige (y) and probability of attaining "the good things of life" ( $\frac{X}{100}$ ). The double logistic hypothesis.



As prestige variable was used the mean of the two mean ratings given for each of the 14 occupations by a group ( $M_2$ ) of psychology students ( $N = 27$ ) and a group ( $M_{12}$ ) of prison warders ( $N = 14$ ).

The means were equally weighted. No better estimate of the prestige of these occupations in Denmark was available at the time (1952).

Chart 2 shows logistic curves approximating the observed distribution and also the equations used. Graphical methods were used in arriving at values for the constants in the logistic equations. In view of the admitted crudeness and insufficiency of the basic data no further refinement in curvefitting seemed warranted.

In particular the second logistic curve is based on few observations. The scatter of the data around the theoretical curves is no greater than could occur more than 10 % of the time under the hypothesis of random fluctuation around the curve ( $\chi^2_6 = 8.69$ ).

One conclusion may be regarded as warranted:

Prestige is in general less sensitive to changes in the probability of prosperity within the range .25 to .50 than to changes below that range. Beyond a prosperity probability of .50 prestige seems to increase rather fast again with increasing probabilities.

The double logistic hypothesis is offered as one possible guide for further and more refined research on the relationship between accorded occupational status and indicated economic status.

If this hypothesis or a similar one turns out to be verified by further research it would i.a. have diagnostic value in showing whether money spent on pay raise for the purpose of increasing the prestige of an occupational group could be expected to be effective.

An interesting deduction from the double logistic hypothesis is, that as long as the mean income of an occupational group is below a critical amount e.g. in Denmark kr. 10.000 after taxes, a certain amount of inequality of distribution is more conducive to prestige than complete equality.

This suggests that it might be possible to reduce the prestige gap between the unskilled worker and his employer by making it possible for workers to increase their pay substantially with increasing seniority. Or otherwise expressed. The relatively low prestige of manual workers is probably strongly influenced by the well known difficulty for persons within this category to improve their lot or those of their children.

The author realizes keenly the fairly scanty empirical basis so far provided for the double logistic hypothesis.

Data on income for the city of Copenhagen (three municipalities) provided the opportunity for another test.

This time the operational definition of the income variable was chosen as follows:

Percent of all taxpayers in the Danish capital who for given occupation reported to tax-authorities a total income of 15.000 Danish kroner or more, 1950.

That is no tax-deduction is made and hence the critical limit was stepped up.

Paired data were available for 25 occupations.

Double logistic curves were fitted by inspection. A reasonable good fit was obtained, but for two highly discrepant occupations: salesmen, whose prestige was much lower than his income chances should warrant and civil engineer whose prestige was much higher than his income probabilities should warrant - if the double logistic hypothesis held. The amount of social control attributed to these occupations in the prestige ratings may (see above) possibly explain the discrepancy.

However, again no good test of the upper of the two logistic curves was available as only 4 paired observations belonged to that part of the curve. In this test, however, the errors observed were clearly greater than chance expectation.

For the 25 occupations mean annual income was also available. As shown by table 6 there was a sizable positive correlation between prestige and mean annual income when crude class intervals were used. Guttman's coefficients of predictability K reached a value of .57 indicating that 57 % of the improvement possible (over and above nodal category prediction) in predicting prestige could be obtained by knowing mean income category to which an occupation belonged.

Table 7. Prestige and mean annual income for 25 occupations

Prestige score	Mean annual income (thousands of Danish kroner)					
	0-9	10-19	20+	Total		
$\bar{X}$						
76+)						
51-75)	51+	(3.01-1.00)	0   0	0   1	4   5	4   6
26-50		(4.01-3.00)	2	5	1	8
1-25		(5.00-4.00)	9	2	0	11
Total			11	8	6	25

Source of data given in text.

$$K = \frac{19-11}{25-11} = .57$$

Using more refined prestige and income categories, however, turned up quite much scatter of prestige values for given mean income and the data did not seem to lend themselves to any curvefitting.

## 8. Summary

Following in the main the theoretical frame of reference contained in the works of Kingley Davis, Paul Hatt and Herbert Hyman certain methodological problems pertaining to occupational prestige measurement are discussed and conclusions are formulated based in part on empirical work in Copenhagen in part on previous methodological research and in part on logical derivations from assumed research objectives. It was suggested that for occupational prestige measurements,

1. Rating be used rather than ranking or paired comparisons,
2. That the raters be a random sample of the population for which the result are going to be used in stratification and vertical mobility research.
3. That a weighted stratified random sample of occupations or a near approach thereto be chosen.
4. That a cardsorting technique would probably be superior to a schedule technique whether the schedule is self-administered or filled in by interviewers.
5. That the item rated should not be an isolated occupational title but a title associated with information on level of education and social control.
6. That request for estimate of (general or specific) prestige of an occupation be used rather than a request for assignment to classes or private opinion as to grading of the occupation.

On the basis of pretest in four small student groups (50 raters) a table was presented showing overall mean rating and variance of ratings for 56 occupations.

On a scale from 0 to 100 occupations ranged in prestige from 1 to 98. In spite of deliberately varied method of instruction and method of administration consensus was high when measured by several different statistics.

As against the high level of agreement arrived at in prestige measurement, there seemed to be a large amount of uncertainty among the students with respect to the number of significant breaks on the status dimension. It may, however, be mentioned that both before and after a discussion period there was a tendency among a group (N = 20) of student council members to favor the viewpoint that there were from 5 to 7 classes in Denmark. The same tendency had been observed by both Hollingshead and Lenski in their studies in United States.

Reasons were given for expecting people in general to report fewer classes than there are, meaning if  $n$  classes are assumed to exist, then fewer than  $n$  should probably be expected to be reported by most people, in terms of sociologically significant breaks on the status dimension.

A sizeable correlation between prestige and level of formal education was observed both in the student samples

$r = .77$  ( $N = 50$ ) and in the prison warder sample  $r = .76$  ( $N = 14$ ).

Educations act as a social elevator although by no means as a perfectly reliable one on the higher floors of the prestige continuum. Education seems to be more reliable as a guarantee against stumbling down to the lowest floors.

Income likewise correlates substantially with prestige ( $K$  (coefficient of predictability) = .57 for 25 occupations). A hypothesis of a double logistic relationship between prestige and probability of attaining a given income was formulated and confronted with observations. Findings were somewhat ambiguous.

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Sect. I.

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I.

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN URUGUAY

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In this paper we propose to present to the World Congress of Sociology a summary of some recent findings on the class composition of the Uruguayan. It seems to us that such a summary might be of interest not only in itself but perhaps also as a basis for comparisons: in some ways Uruguay offers an "ideal" field for investigations of social stratification and social mobility - its limited territory, its small population, its brief history, its ethnical homogeneity despite the "alluvial deposits" of extensive migration.

## I

Definition. It is not easy to define "social class" without falling into excessive schematism or becoming guilty of exaggerated conceptualization. If we are to avoid such pitfalls we must try to combine in our formulation the objective factors such as the functions and advantages of the specific positions in the social structure, and the subjective factors such as the reflective evaluation and awareness of these functions and advantages as they provide a basis for the relative prestige in the society of the respective positions.

Without pretending to offer anything like a definitive formulation, we may in studying Uruguayan society find it useful to conceive of the social classes as sections of the population characterized by the exercise of specific sets of functions and the enjoyment of specific sets of advantages inherent in the positions acquired or maintained in society by those constituting these sections: sections which, despite the constitutionally sanctioned principle of equality, have through a dynamic process come to be arranged in a hierarchical order in accordance with the criteria set by the society as a whole or by the sections themselves in their efforts to increase their prestige and improve their respective values.

## II

The historical background. The social structure of Uruguay during the Colonial period reflected a process of adaptation between the Spanish régime as imposed by the conquistadores, and the indigenous class system. The Spaniards transferred to America the social structure of their home country, but the

necessities of social, economic and political life soon made their impact in the direction of increased mobility.

The upper classes, the "new aristocracy", constituted themselves from the first conquistadores and their family members - not always of noble or illustrious origin in their mother country -, the prelates and the kings, the chiefs and lords of the indigenous peoples. To the members of these classes, primarily to those who came from Spain, the Crown granted land, privileges and titles, rights to subdivide and distribute estates and lots, pensions and revenue, rights to grow and to profit from the trade in spices, timber, fish, metals; rights to prizes and shipwrecks, etc. The greatest gains were often made through the collection of taxes and charges from the Indians and later through the material and personal benefits of the negro slave traffic.

These Indians and negroes made up the lowest stratum of the "people's" classes: the upper layer of these classes was constituted by free white labourers, poor country people, and soldiers.

Between the upper classes and the "people's" classes were found the different middle classes, composed of small free proprietors, merchants in gross and retail, artisans and independent professional people, both in the cities and in the country. The representative organ of their interests and aspirations was the municipal institution, the Cabildo or the Avuntamiento, just as the Viceroy and the Governor were the representatives of the privileged classes.

The increase in these middle classes, favoured as they were by a higher fertility, adapted to the creole mentality, underestimated by the aristocracy, was very soon to influence the course of events which led to the political emancipation of the Hispano-American colonies.

Special circumstances combined to accentuate the characteristics and the functions of the middle classes in Uruguay. The Viceregency of the Rio de la Plata, with its seat at Buenos Aires, was established very late and soon became decadent: this thwarted the upper classes of that time in their efforts to establish and consolidate an authentic aristocracy.

This frustration is even clearer in Uruguayan society, since during the Colonial period no political authority other than that of the Governor was known; and the group of persons by whom he was surrounded, while nominally belonging to the upper classes, in reality, through their lives, habits and aspirations, were closer to the middle classes than to the upper dominant strata of the rich capitals of the Spanish Empire of the Indies.

During the struggles for national independence and, much later, for the safeguard of established institutions, the social changes which took place, although changing the terms of the problem somewhat, did not alter the result. The foreigners, the peninsulars in the upper classes, were replaced by a

creole patrician class with similar aspirations to dominate and govern. The native population was almost totally extinguished in 1832. And the negroes who survived the liberation laws of 1825 and the complete abolition of slavery in 1842 were soon absorbed unnoticed into the midst of a people educated in the understanding and respect of their fellow-creatures, whatever the colour of their skin, their belief or their origins.

New contingents increased the "people's" class for some time: they were the new European migrations, deriving principally from Spain, Italy and France, and to a lesser degree from Switzerland, Great Britain and Germany. Some years later there were immigrations from the Near East and Central Europe. The members of these classes, most of them characterized by their thrift and their hard work, soon came to have confidence in the possibilities of the country and enjoyed the stimulation and the appreciation of the society which had accepted them: thus they gradually ascended the social ladder and increased and consolidated the predominance of the middle classes.

### III

Social class at the present time. At present Uruguay occupies an area of about 187.000 square kilometers and is inhabited by about 2,500.000 people. These data are merely estimates, since the measurement of the national territory is not finished and since a general census of the population has not been taken since 1908. At any rate, we can safely state that it is neither the most extensive nor the most populous of the South American republics, although its material density may be the greatest.

Of the total population, around 500.000 (453.912, according to the general agricultural census of 1951) make up the rural population, or more strictly speaking, the peasants, whose active section comprises 323.929 persons, 190.032 in agriculture and 165.561 in livestock farming.

The economy of the country is primarily based on livestock farming and secondly on agriculture on a fertile soil totalling approximately 16,500.000 hectares. Next in importance are the manufacturing industries: only a few of these, however, can be considered to be properly mechanized.

In order to understand the differentiation of the urban and rural social classes, the rural depopulation and the excessive growth of the cities (Montevideo alone, with its area of 528.72 square kilometers, has 800.000 inhabitants), it is necessary to take into account the extensive character of the exploitation of cattle breeding, and its greater prestige (already manifest in Colonial times) in relation to agriculture and other industries: much fewer labourers are needed to take care of the lands than to guard the herds in the fields.

In characterizing the social classes of Uruguay GROMPONE has followed a method of elimination, analyzing those sections of the population which are not situated in definite classes; the results obtained have since been confirmed by SOLERI, in studying rural society, and by myself in a study on the capital of the Republic.

The "people's" classes. They are composed of the workers (urban and rural), among whom we include the soldiers of the various armed forces (troop soldiers or soldiers of the line as well as sailors). They are characterized by their very modest way of life, although they know ups and downs of relative abundance and scarcity. They are mostly manual workers and their economic existence is based on wages received in money or in kind.

According to the industrial census of 1937, the total number of urban workers was 79.725, of which 64.561 were in Montevideo and the rest distributed over the whole of the interior; at the rate of four persons to each family, the size of this section of the "people's" classes reaches 320.000 in round figures.

The rural working population at the same time came to 342.359 persons, of which 143.321 were in cattle farming and 189.113 in agricultural farming. The salaried workers, properly speaking, totalled 45.018, of which 17.000 were in agricultural work and 28.000 in cattle farming. The difference between these figures and the total rural working population is due to the increased number of farms run by the owner and his family.

The lowest stratum of the popular rural classes is made up of the inhabitants of "rancherios": people living in the country along the roadsides and the outskirts of the large cattle farming estates, living on a low subsistence level, if not directly starving. To these should be added the inhabitants of deteriorating urban areas (slums and "favelas") and of the suburban districts with analagous characteristics. In all, they are estimated at 100.000 inhabitants.

The national army is a professional body, although each citizen must do military service. The number of active soldiers in the various forces, up to the grade of first sergeant, may be estimated, from the provisions of the Military Law, at around 7.000; if we calculate with the rate of four persons to each family, we obtain a figure of 28.000 for this section of the "people's" classes.

Altogether, adding up the different figures (all of them rather conjectural), we maintain that the popular classes comprise about 600.000 persons: a figure which GROMPONE estimated to be somewhat too high in 1950.

The upper classes. At the other extreme we can place the upper classes, composed of owners of large properties (landed estates, business firms, securities), higher officials in the Government and the Administration, the high clergy, and the higher officers of the armed forces: all these characterized by a high standard of living, economic solidity, a bent of mind sometimes intellectual, sometimes very active in the management of their affairs (unless they have preferred to keep to themselves, enjoying their unearned revenue). The sources of their high incomes are most varied: interest on capital, business profit, high fees and salaries.

These upper classes are not so easily distinguishable from the middle classes and the upper strata of the "people's" classes. Thus GROMPONE has noted that the aptitude for and the claims on leadership are features not only characteristic of the upper classes, but also to some extent of the middle classes and the upper strata of the working classes: he concludes that in Uruguayan society "there is no longer any clear indication of the existence of one dominant social class of leaders and rulers". We have seen some of the reasons for this in the historical synopsis given above. This lack of clear boundaries is clearly related to the many opportunities for upward mobility; thus the class position a person has moved to will tend to be perceived as part of the top stratum of the lower class rather than as part of any separate superior class.

The upper classes may be studied in their rural as well as in their urban setting. SOLARI has calculated the rural population at 900.000 and estimated that about 400.000 belong to the upper classes within this population: these are mainly the "big" landowners and tenant farmers. With some exceptions for special circumstances, he defined as "big" rural estates those totalling 5.000 hectares or more.

According to the rural census of 1951 there were 316 farms between 5.000 and 10.000 hectares and 71 above 10.000 hectares; these 387 farms covered in all about 19% of the total cultivated area of the country.

The urban upper classes were composed of the leaders of the nation in its different sectors: the political (including the armed forces), the social (including the ecclesiastical hierarchy), the economic-financial, the cultural, the professional; and their family members and near relations. The total number making up these upper classes has been estimated at 5% of the urban population or 80.000. The total figure for the upper classes would thus be 125.000.

The middle classes. The extreme classes thus totalling some 725.000 of the entire population, the remaining 1,775.000 or 71% may be taken to make up the middle classes. As in most countries the middle classes in Uruguay are composed of: public functionaries (including the middle ranks of officers in the armed forces), the passive classes (pensioners, etc.), employees in banks, business firms and industrial enterprises, members of the liberal professions, owners of small businesses

and industries, middle-range cattle farmers and agricultural farmers (farm of less than 5.000 and 500 hectares, respectively), priests, and many other categories.

Of all these groups, perhaps the largest is that of the public functionaries and the passive classes. These groups are manifesting a strong tendency to increase: this can be easily shown in the successive government budgets reflecting the multiplication of public units in charge of services previously managed by private enterprise (nationalizations and municipalizations). On the other hand, SOLARI has demonstrated the existence of a trend toward a decrease in the rural middle classes due to the increasing absorption by the upper classes of their properties, thus reducing them to dependants and salaried workers for the new owners.

Inferences from these data. These facts will suffice to show that Uruguayan social structure is characterized by the numerical predominance of the middle classes. The predominance, however, is not solely numerical, but also due to the economic and intellectual activities, the mentality, the ideals of the middle classes. In studying the composition and functioning of these classes GROMPONE has been struck by the differences between the Uruguayan social structure and the social structures found in other countries, and has emphasized the uniqueness of the composition and functional distribution of positions and prestige values in Uruguayan society. Within the scope of this essay, it is not possible to deal adequately with this complex problem. It may perhaps be suggested that some of these features may best be explained from the general conditions of Uruguayan society and particularly from the conditions for social mobility in Uruguay. These social conditions made themselves manifest already at the very beginning of our national existence and have become more pronounced during the 19th and 20th centuries through the immigrations from the Mediterranean and through the growth of social awareness and respect of higher spiritual values and individual rights. The widespread phrase "Nobody is better than anybody" reflects with vigour the general convictions in our society in matters of interpersonal and intergroup relations.

The specific conditions for social mobility in Uruguay are the results of the two most important reforms achieved in the country: the educational reform and the transformation of the state through legislative action. Among the fruits of these reforms may be mentioned: free secular education for all age levels, trades and professions; provisions for labour regulations, social security and social welfare; socialization of power and of public services and enterprises; extension of the suffrage to all citizens of both sexes above 18 years of age and to foreigners with more than 15 years of residence; the abolition of the hardships of the workers (there is no income tax) and the institution of progressive taxation of accumulated riches, primarily on landed estates, excess profits and inheritances; the constantly increased salaries and social security provisions for the functionaries on the Government Budget and analogous increases promoted through the Wage Boards for private workers, etc. etc.

### Conclusions.

1. Historically and sociologically, the social classes are, in Uruguay, groups characterized by their social function, position and prestige - groups which up to the present have manifested neither the rigidity of structure nor the sharpness in their boundaries to be observed in the societies from which the population immigrated to its territory.

2. Through its general characteristics, its numerical magnitude and its composition, its ideals, the social, political and economic stability of its institutions, Uruguay is "a country of the middle classes".

3. While there are many similar traits between the middle classes in Uruguay and the middle classes in other countries, there is still something unique in the modes of behaviour and the patterns of distribution of these classes in Uruguayan society.

4. This uniqueness can best be explained from the general and specific conditions for social mobility in Uruguay: the impact of migration from the Mediterranean countries of the Old World, the educational reforms on all levels, and the transformation of the state in conformity with the principles of social solidarity and justice and in respect for individual rights.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Structure de la Société paysanne  
d'une Région du Sud de la France.

par

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## STRUCTURE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ PAYSANNE D'UNE RÉGION DU SUD DE LA FRANCE

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Les études de structure sociale se limitent presque toujours au milieu urbain, traitant le milieu rural comme un monde à part, domaine réservé de quelques spécialistes. Cependant, les faits qui prouvent l'interdépendance de ces deux milieux sont nombreux et bien connus; dans le cas particulier de la France on a depuis longtemps dénoncé l'exode des ruraux vers les villes et l'origine campagnarde d'une forte proportion de la population de Paris a été longuement étudiée par M. Louis Chevalier.

Doit-on donc traiter l'émigration rurale comme un phénomène normal de mobilité sociale, ce qui reviendrait à considérer que les ruraux constituent la classe sociale la plus basse de la nation? Faut-il au contraire formuler explicitement le postulat des deux milieux culturels distincts que les sociologues semblent accepter implicitement?

Dans les deux cas, certains status marginaux demanderaient à être expliqués: le commerçant de village fait-il partie du milieu rural ou au contraire des classes dites moyennes? Le salarié agricole d'une grande exploitation capitaliste doit-il être rangé parmi les ruraux ou dans la classe ouvrière?

Le manque de données valables nous interdit de répondre à ces vastes questions, mais nous avons essayé d'étudier la structure sociale de la société paysanne d'une petite région du massif Central. Par paysan nous entendons des agriculteurs vivant dans le cadre traditionnel de la petite exploitation familiale semi-antarcique.

Les Causses de la Lozère et de l'Aveyron sont une région pauvre vouée à une polyculture nourricière peu rentable et à l'élevage extensif des brebis dont la viande, la laine et le lait (fromage de Roquefort) procurent l'essentiel du revenu monétaire des exploitations. La population, très clairsemée se répartit en villages et en petits hameaux qui tendent à devenir des fermes isolées à cause de l'émigration et de la concentration des exploitations. La pratique religieuse rest unanime et continue à être le support essentiel de la vie sociale.

Si nous en excluons les gentilshommes-campagnards et les commerçants et artisans des villages, la population rurale de la région paraît singulièrement homogène: paysans, propriétaires ou fermiers, ayant tous le même genre de vie. Cependant, il existe au sein de cette société une hiérarchie sociale très rigide qui se manifeste nettement au

moment des mariages lorsque les familles se jugent réciproquement pour savoir si elles sont dignes de s'unir; si un mariage entre membres de couches voisines est accepté sans difficulté, une plus grande distance sociale entre les futurs époux est infiniment rare et encourt le blâme.

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Nous pouvons distinguer trois critères principaux et un certain nombre d'indices.

Le critère économique est de beaucoup le plus important. La fortune se ne mesure pas au nombre d'hectares mais à certains indices plus apparents comme le nombre de paires de boeufs et la présence ou l'absence d'un cheval. Dans une agriculture non encore motorisée une exploitation familiale normale exige une paire de boeufs, une exploitation importante en exige deux et à partir de la troisième paire, l'exploitation dépasse le cadre familial. Le cheval n'a qu'un rôle agricole secondaire, servant presque uniquement aux déplacements, c'est donc un luxe réservé aux seuls gens aisés.

La valeur morale représente un deuxième critère qui permet de pondérer le premier; il se réfère à un système de valeurs qui met l'accent sur le travail, la compétence professionnelle, le respect des autorités et de la tradition, et les convictions religieuses. Les indices sont ici plus subtils, ils reposent sur les rapports quotidiens; une observation vigilante des faits et gestes des voisins permet de juger de la dignité de leur vie. L'orientation politique joue un rôle important mais la pratique religieuse reste l'indice principal: aller à la Messe est "bien", n'y pas aller est "mal".

Le troisième critère repose sur la tradition et la stabilité sociale d'une famille: l'ancienneté de l'établissement dans le pays, voire dans la paroisse, liée à une estime et à une confiance accordées de père en fils ont un poids déterminant.

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Ces trois critères et ces quelques indices permettent de distinguer clairement cinq groupes définis que l'étude de la paroisse de Novis nous a permis d'analyser à titre d'exemple:

"L'aristocratie paysanne", c'est-à-dire une vieille famille installée depuis longtemps sur une grosse propriété et jouissant de l'estime de tous, n'a pas de représentant à Novis.

On y compte par contre quelques gros propriétaires employant des salariés dont le rôle dans la vie sociale de la communauté est assez réduit car ils sont plus attirés par la petite ville voisine que par le village.

Les moyens propriétaires sont la majorité dans la paroisse. Ils se répartissent d'ailleurs en deux sous-groupes suivant le prestige traditionnel de la famille, pratiquement les familles considérées comme les plus respectables sont à quelques exceptions près, celles qui possèdent un cheval.

Depuis le début du siècle, on assiste à la disparition des petits propriétaires qui ont besoin d'une activité supplémentaire pour vivre. Ce sont eux qui ont fourni le plus gros contingent de l'émigration. On peut

se demander si ce groupe ne va pas être remplacé par le deuxième sous-groupe des moyens propriétaires.

En dernier lieu, viennent les ouvriers agricoles dont la seule ressource est leur force de travail; leur nombre diminue et ils ont tendance comme les gros propriétaires à fréquenter la petite ville plus que le village.

Notre étude se limite à un cadre trop étroit pour que nous puissions en tirer des conclusions générales mais une extension de l'enquête permettrait de savoir s'il existe de véritables classes sociales rurales et quelles sont leurs relations avec les classes sociales urbaines.

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and Social Mobility

Pratique religieuse et Classes sociales en France.

par

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## PRATIQUE RELIGIEUSE ET CLASSES SOCIALES EN FRANCE

par

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La Sociologie religieuse en France a très rapidement rencontré sur son chemin le problème des rapports entre classes et religion (pour la presque totalité de la France, c'était la religion catholique qui était en cause). A. SIEGFRIED dans son Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest avait déjà montré comment les rapports entre le paysan et le hobereau déterminaient en grande partie les comportements politiques et religieux. Plus récemment, l'abbé LIGIER étudie la Pratique religieuse du Jura et met en évidence, dans une région d'industrie rurale et semi-rurale les différences de pratique entre les populations paysanne et ouvrière. Ce problème devait devenir dominant lorsque la sociologie religieuse, sous l'impulsion de M. le Professeur Le Bras eut élaboré des techniques pour l'étude urbaine. Le terrain était préparé par les préoccupations qui s'étaient fait jour depuis LAMENNAIS et avaient - pour ne citer que les ouvrages les plus connus - donné le célèbre Christ dans la banlieue du P. IHANDE et France pays de Mission de l'abbé GODIN; la "déchristianisation" ouvrière en France, ou, plus exactement, la constitution d'une classe ouvrière en dehors de l'orbite de l'Eglise inquiétait nombre de catholiques avertis. A ces préoccupations, la sociologie religieuse est venue donner des précisions numériques. La carte établie par l'abbé RAFFIN et rajeunie récemment par J. PETIT (1) montre une proportion nettement plus élevée d'enfermements civils dans les arrondissements de Paris les plus "populaires", ceux de l'Est. Des comparaisons entre les taux d'assistance à la messe dans diverses paroisses parisiennes montrent un échelonnement allant de 6% pour Saint Hippolyte, près de la Porte de Choisy, à 20% pour Saint Pierre de Chaillot. Enfin, nous donnons à méditer ce fait relevé dans la première de ces deux paroisses, et qui est loin d'être un fait isolé: chez les travailleurs manuels du territoire paroissial, nous trouvons, un dimanche ordinaire, 1,25% d'assistants à la messe, tandis que nous en trouvons 12% chez les cadres supérieurs et chefs d'entreprises.

Le fait brut d'une correspondance entre le niveau de pratique et le niveau social en France est donc incontestable. Pour l'interprétation de ce fait, il peut être tentant de se fonder sur le sondage d'opinion. De fait, l'Institut Français d'Opinion Publique a effectué récemment une vaste enquête sur le Catholicisme en France (2). Bien que l'objet principal ne fût pas les différences entre les classes, celles-ci apparaissent, mais amorties, semble-t-il par rapport aux données que l'on pouvait avoir jusqu'alors. A cela, deux raisons principales peuvent être, croyons-nous

(1) cf. La Réforme Sociale, septembre 1906. P. CHOMBART de LAUWE. Paris et l'agglomération parisienne, Paris, Presses Univ., 1952, T.I, p. 78

(2) Sondages, 14e année, 1952, N°4; Réalités, nov. 1952.

données. On pourra d'abord remarquer que les coups de sonde effectués auparavant avaient élu des terrains particulièrement typiques, ou les différences sociales étaient fortement tranchées, alors que l'enquête de Réalités-Sondages a visé un échantillon représentatif de l'ensemble du pays. Si cette méthode présente un avantage pour une vision rapide de la situation d'ensemble, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de penser que c'est dans une auscultation attentive des cas les plus caractéristiques que se trouve le secret d'une interprétation éclairante. Mais sur le plan-même d'une appréciation d'ensemble, la méthode employée n'est pas inattaquable: la large part faite à l'introspection et à l'autoestimation ouvre la porte à des erreurs que l'on peut précisément soupçonner d'être systématiques dans le sens d'un nivellement autour d'une moyenne jugée "normale".

Il est encore un point, moins visible peut-être, sur lequel l'enquête d'opinion est, pour notre propos, défectueuse. Lorsqu'elle classe les individus par niveaux de vie, ou groupements d'activité, elle ignore les groupes intermédiaires qui servent de relais pour l'insertion dans une classe sociale et sans lesquelles celle-ci n'est qu'un concept classificatoire abstrait: nous voulons parler des localités, quartiers, entreprises, syndicats, partis politiques... et d'une façon générale tous les groupements au sein desquels, et moyennant une liaison plus ou moins étroite entre eux, s'élaborent les mentalités de classes. Faute d'en tenir compte, on risquerait de faire de l'appartenance à une classe, en particulier dans ses conséquences religieuses, une simple variable psychosociale, ce qu'à notre sens, elle n'est pas.

Nous n'ignorons pas que ces diverses insuffisances peuvent être évitées dans des enquêtes-sondages par questionnaires, moyennant les modifications de méthodes appropriées. Pourtant, dans une question comme la nôtre qui exige une référence très étroite aux conditions réelles d'existence, il nous semble que l'étude des faits objectivement décelables, dans le cadre des groupes soigneusement définis par leur structure interne et leur place dans la société globale, doit prévaloir. Qu'il soit bien entendu que par notre choix des "faits objectivement décelables" nous ne refusons pas compréhension et interprétation. M. le Professeur Le Bras a montré le parti que l'on pouvait tirer de l'étude des divers niveaux de pratique, pour pénétrer la vitalité religieuse d'un groupe. Nous avons nous-même, dans un article récent (1) essayé de montrer ce qu'une confrontation entre les données sur l'appartenance professionnelle, le niveau de l'habitat, et les divers degrés de la pratique religieuse peut donner dans une paroisse ouvrière de Paris. Par exemple, on constate que le pourcentage d'assistance à la messe différencie plus les catégories de niveau social que celui du recours aux grands sacrements de la vie. Qu'on ne nous dise pas que c'est tout simplement parce que l'assistance à la messe suppose un degré de religiosité plus caractérisé, car on aurait pu croire que dans la bourgeoisie à tradition catholique, la sacramentalisation occasionnelle aurait été quasi-générale, tandis qu'une classe ouvrière dans l'ensemble hostile au catholicisme aurait manifesté son abstention jusque dans les pratiques les plus extérieures. La proportion de "saisonniers" non-"messeux" aurait alors été plus forte dans les classes élevées. De fait, et un degré au dessus, il semble bien que, dans cette paroisse

(1) Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie,  
Vol. XIV, 1953, pp 141 - 153.

tout au moins, la proportion de membres des activités paroissiales parmi les "messeux" ouvriers soit particulièrement forte. Deux conclusions principales peuvent selon nous être tirées de ce fait. La première est que si hostilité il y a, dans notre paroisse de la part des ouvriers, elle ne va pas, le plus souvent, jusqu'à rompre les traditions familiales qui veulent qu'on se marie à l'église, qu'on fasse baptiser ses enfants et qu'on se fasse enterrer religieusement. La seconde est que le type de relations que constitue l'assistance à la messe est dans le cas présent particulièrement incompatible avec la mentalité ouvrière. On peut supposer que c'est en particulier parce qu'à la messe on accepte de s'assimiler à un public, au milieu paroissial à base de bourgeoisie, il faut s'asseoir à côté de l'ingénieur et du patron. Veut-on une preuve? Les messes où viennent le plus grand nombre de représentants caractérisés de la bourgeoisie, les messes de fin de matinée, sont celles aussi où il vient le moins d'ouvriers.

A la recherche, ainsi, de faits objectifs permettant d'expliquer les différences de comportement religieux par classes, deux voies principales s'ouvrent à nous. La première se fonde sur l'histoire et la sociologie politique. On remarquera, comme l'a fait M. François GOGUEL, le clivage de la vie politique française depuis la Révolution et au moins jusqu'à la fin de la Troisième République selon une ligne par rapport à laquelle Droite et Gauche sont synonymes de cléricisme et d'anti-cléricisme, en même temps que d'ordre et de progrès. On ne peut nier que cette liaison du politique et du religieux soit encore vivace, malgré le recul d'un anticléricalisme agressif et, il faut bien le dire aussi, le développement de l'indépendance politique chez les catholiques. Or étant donné que les options politiques expriment le plus souvent une position sociale, on peut penser que l'on va de la position sociale à l'option religieuse par le chemin de l'option politique. Aussi mesure-t-on tout l'intérêt d'études comme celle de M. Maurice SORRE (1) sur la Haute Garonne, ou de L. LAVANDEYR sur Saint Maur des Fossés (2), où sont analysées les élections, en rapport avec les attitudes religieuses.

Dans une autre direction, sans méconnaître l'importance des courants d'idée, on soulignera l'action propre des conditions d'existence sur la pratique religieuse. Conditions morphologiques: distribution des lieux de culte et du clergé, défavorisant souvent localités et quartiers ouvriers. Conditions d'habitat, désorganisant la vie familiale et ses traditions; conditions de vie nuisant à la pratique par la fatigue et le "manque de temps" si souvent invoqué dans les enquêtes, caractère des loisirs, etc. ... Tous ces faits sont fort bien mis en lumière dans l'ouvrage de l'Abbé QUOIST (3) sur un secteur de Rouen et ont été l'objet de l'attention toute spéciale de nombreuses enquêtes comme celles d'Economie et Humanisme et des Missions Françaises de l'Intérieur. Est-il nécessaire de préciser que la première direction de recherche était particulièrement apte à déceler le développement des idéologies politico-sociales favorables

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- (1) Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Vol. VIII, p. 134 - 146  
 (2) Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, N° 12, Etudes sur la Banlieue de Paris, pp. 108 - 133.  
 (3) La Ville et l'Homme, Editions Ouvrières, 1952.

ou hostiles au catholicisme, alors que cette deuxième direction met l'accent sur le côté négatif de l'abandon de pratique que ne vient pas nécessairement compenser l'adhésion à une autre doctrine.

Il convient, pensons-nous de ne pas séparer ces deux voies de recherche, et cela, non en les juxtaposant, mais en nous plaçant à un point de vue qui les unifie. Ce point de vue nous semble être le suivant: voir les conditions d'existence comme des sollicitations ouvertes, incomplètement déterminantes, auxquelles les idéologies viennent proposer des réponses. Plus précisément, un groupe humain d'une condition économique déterminée se trouve dans une situation, telle que l'insuffisance du logement ou de la nourriture, la dépendance économique, l'incertitude de l'emploi, le fait de vivre "les uns sur les autres" etc. ...créatrice de problèmes spécifiques. A ce groupe, une religion comme la religion catholique apparaît comme un ensemble de croyances, de règles, de comportements habituels et de relations humaines, diversement présentés suivant le temps, le lieu et le pasteur. Dans la mesure où cet ensemble correspond aux aspirations questions, problèmes du groupe dont il s'agit, on peut prévoir une religion vivante; dans le cas contraire, on pourra tout au plus parler de routine, de force d'inertie, destinée à s'épuiser à plus ou moins longue échéance. Les programmes politico-économiques, de leur côté, ainsi que les organisations qui les promeuvent, viennent apporter des réponses qui s'articulent sur les réponses religieuses ou entrent en conflit avec elles. Ainsi peut-on selon nous justifier dans l'ensemble une relation triangulaire dont on trouvera un exemple typique dans les trois corrélations suivantes: à Paris, en 1951 dans les 20 arrondissements, la corrélation entre le nombre d'habitants par pièce et la proportion d'enterrements civils est de .45; entre le nombre d'habitants par pièces et le pourcentage de voix de gauche (socialistes et communistes) elle est de .58, entre le pourcentage de voix de gauche et celui des enterrements civils, elle est de .65.



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LE STATUT SOCIAL COMME CHAMP D'ACTION

par

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## LE STATUT SOCIAL COMME CHAMP D'ACTION

par

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## I.

1) La plupart des recherches sur les classes sociales et la stratification sociale cherchent à définir un système de catégories tel que l'on puisse, connaissant la catégorie à laquelle appartient un individu, prévoir un nombre aussi grand que possible de ses attitudes et de ses comportements.

L'accord étant général pour classer dans ces catégories, non les individus en eux-mêmes mais les groupes professionnels auxquels ils appartiennent, il est possible de dire que la plupart des recherches visent à classer les groupes socio-professionnels en fonction d'une ou de plusieurs de leurs caractéristiques.

2) Il est aisé de constater qu'il n'existe pas de correspondance simple, directe, régulière, entre d'une part les catégories socio-économiques: groupes de revenu, classes économiques etc., et d'autre part, les groupes d'attitudes, les "subcultures", les catégories d'auto-affiliation. Le problème posé aux sociologues est d'analyser cette correspondance et ses limites.

Ceci peut être tenté en partant soit d'un des éléments à mettre en rapport, soit de l'autre.

Dans le premier cas, ayant défini la classe sociale à partir de la structure du système de production, on fait intervenir la notion de conscience de classe qui n'accompagne pas automatiquement l'existence de la classe "en soi", qui peut en particulier être développée par l'action d'une avant-garde détruisant la mystification exercée par les classes dominantes sur les classes dominées.

L'inconvénient majeur de cette position est d'être, - sous l'aspect qui nous intéresse ici - difficilement vérifiable, d'imposer une interprétation qui n'est soutenu que par sa propre logique interne.

3) Si l'on part au contraire des attitudes et des comportements, on se contente le plus souvent de transcrire les divisions régulières d'une échelle d'évaluation sociale en termes de structure sociale, de catégories socio-économiques, ce qui conduit à constituer des groupements abstraits et largement arbitraires. Si l'on tient compte de l'auto-affiliation on parvient à une formulation plus élaborée - la théorie des groupes d'intérêts - mais qui, elle aussi renonce à analyser les bases de la division proposée dans la structure concrète du système social de travail.

De plus, on accorde aux faits d'opinion une priorité qui rend impossible la détection des mythes, mystifications et auto-mystifications justement mis en relief par la première approche.

4) La situation sociale observée par les différents auteurs explique en général le choix qu'ils ont fait d'une approche ou de l'autre. Là où les oppositions et les conflits entre des catégories socio-économiques sont ouverts et violents, la première approche est la plus souvent choisie. Dans une société où existe une forte mobilité sociale ou, au moins où la mobilité sociale est considérée comme une valeur centrale, où pour n'importe quelle raison, les conflits entre catégories socio-économiques ne sont pas cristallisés, ne sont pas considérés comme insolubles selon les processus normaux d'évolution dans cette société, les analyses du second type prédominent.

## II.

1) Au delà des inconvénients propre à chacune de ces approches le fait que la première peut, par définition, tout expliquer mais peut rarement prouver ses "interprétations", le fait que la seconde peut prouver l'exactitude de ses descriptions mais ne peut les rendre explicatives - leur commune faiblesse est de chercher à définir la classe sociale - et Marx, Weber, Halbwachs, Warner, Centers, emploient tous ce mot - comme un cadre général d'analyse sociale, comme un principe de classification.

C'est cette définition qui entraîne la recherche, parce qu'elle use dès le départ d'un concept impliquant la correspondance de deux ordres de réalité qu'il faut au contraire clairement séparer pour étudier leurs relations. Si, dans ces hypothèses, la recherche a besoin de concepts unificateurs, c'est sur des concepts descriptifs, autonomes par rapport aux hypothèses, que, dans ces analyses elle doit s'appuyer.

2) Il convient de renoncer à toute définition substantive de la classe sociale, définition qui n'a d'utilité que dans le langage courant dont les sociologues ont été victimes.

Au lieu de partir de l'un des deux termes du problème, on doit étudier leur relation, les définir l'un par rapport à l'autre. Cette transformation est suggérée par la nature même des deux points de vue qui ont été distingués. Le premier est interprétatif, c'est à dire qu'il propose une hypothèse, qui est le plus souvent l'explication des attitudes et de l'action par la situation dans le processus social de production. Le second est descriptif et propose à l'interprétation du premier des groupements de faits, complexes, changeants, plus ou moins fortement constitués et nettement définis.

3) La recherche doit se préoccuper de définir des concepts opérationnels permettant d'examiner la valeur des hypothèses interprétatives proposées. Ceci suppose deux démarches préparatoires.

a) La plus simple est de ne reconnaître à une hypothèse aucune autre réalité que celle d'hypothèse et donc, de considérer la notion de conscience de classe, non par comme un moyen de plier la réalité aux dimensions d'une explication supposée acquise, mais comme une caractéristique - qui se révélera ou non centrale - des réalités descriptibles; attitudes et comportements, auxquelles l'hypothèse envisagée doit être confrontée.

- b) En second lieu, on doit se débarrasser des catégories artificielles constituées par le second point de vue, par l'intermédiaire d'échelles de statut socio-économique ou de prestige et reconnaître l'impossibilité, pour une étude précise et respectueuse des opinions et des attitudes réelles, de découvrir, dans une société donnée, un accord entre les représentations de la société observables dans les différentes catégories sociales.

Sur ce point, je me permets de renvoyer à l'introduction de mon rapport de juillet 1952, qui figure parmi les documents de ce Congrès (ISA/SSM/Conf.2/2).

- 4) Cette double critique permet de définir le domaine des études positives sur les rapports entre les bases économique-sociales de la stratification sociale et la répartition sociale des attitudes et des comportements, c'est-à-dire sur le concept unificateur de classe sociale.

C'est l'étude de la catégorie sociale de référence impliquée dans l'action d'un individu ou d'un groupe, du champ impliqué d'action.

Ceci signifie concrètement qu'il s'agit d'examiner la catégorie sociale dans laquelle et en fonction de laquelle, un individu agit quand il s'habille, quand il vote, quand il choisit ses amis, quand il se marie, quand il exprime son opinion sur l'éducation des enfants ou sur la peine de mort. Le champ impliqué d'action peut-être de plus défini par les barrières que l'individu rencontre - barrières plus ou moins institutionnalisées ou intériorisées - quand il s'efforce d'agir, par exemple, d'entrer en relation avec des individus ou des groupes, au delà des limites de son champ habituel.

- 5) Ce concept est opérationnel et n'indique aucun effort pour définir substantiellement la classe sociale.

La différence essentielle, et concrète, avec les points de vue précédemment mentionnés est d'étudier ce qui'on peut nommer la situation sociale en termes d'action et non pas en termes de classification sociale.

En d'autres termes, et pour utiliser la notion la plus descriptive, la plus ouverte de toutes celles qui sont employées, le statut social ne sera défini ni comme une catégorie socio-économique caractérisée par des habitudes de consommation ni comme un rang dans une échelle de prestige, mais comme le champ d'action tel qu'il est reconnu, explicitement ou implicitement, par l'action qui, il faut au moins le signaler, est en même temps témoin de l'action d'autres acteurs.

- 6) Ce changement de perspective s'applique aussi bien à l'étude de la mobilité sociale.

Assurément la recherche en préparation doit analyser les facteurs, démographiques, économiques, institutionnels, de la mobilité sociale: transformation de la structure professionnelle, taux différentiel de natalité dans les diverses catégories socio-économiques, mouvements de migration, système d'éducation, critère de sélection à l'entrée des professions etc..

Mais l'étude de la mobilité verticale est intéressante aussi d'un autre point de vue, comme moyen indirect d'étudier la stratification sociale dans le sens défini ici, du système de situations sociales.

C'est alors moins la mobilité qui est objet que l'homme en mouvement.

La connaissance des voies qu'il emprunte, des obstacles qu'il rencontre, intérieurs ou institutionnalisés - de la transformation plus ou moins rapide de ses divers champs d'action, de l'accueil qu'il reçoit dans la nouvelle catégorie où il pénètre, enrichit l'analyse des champs impliqués d'action, de situations sociales, et en donnant une vue dynamique.

On peut signaler enfin que l'étude de la mobilité peut être menée d'un autre point de vue encore, qui apparaît avec la question qui est mobile ? ou pourquoi un individu est-il mobile ? Cette question introduit le problème des rapports de la personnalité et du système social (différent du problème des rapports de la culture et de la personnalité) qui ne peut être étudié dans ce rapport et qui n'a pas été suffisamment considéré jusqu'ici.

### III.

1) Cette étude des champs impliqués d'action doit être clairement distinguée des études de "Psychologie des classes sociales", car, comme il a été indiqué plus haut, il ne s'agit pas d'étudier les opinions et attitudes présentées par un groupe social afin de définir ce groupe, mais le groupe de référence impliqué dans les normes orientant cette attitude ou cette action.

Ce sont les deux points de vue différents: dans un cas, on cherche à définir le groupe possédant certaines attitudes sociales, ou mieux, certaines attitudes sociales primaires; dans l'autre, on cherche à savoir si, impliquée dans l'action des membres d'un groupe socio-professionnel, se trouve une conception de la société correspondant à une hypothèse proposée par ailleurs. Dans les deux cas, le même matériel est, du moins en grande partie, utilisé, mais dans des perspectives différentes.

Les types d'action qui sont le plus aisément interprétables dans notre perspectives sont ceux qui impliquent des relations interpersonnelles. Mais ils ne doivent pas recevoir pour autant un privilège quelconque. Les traits de culture, les comportements institutionnels sont tout aussi importants.

J'ai insisté sur cette différence entre le point de vue que j'ai proposé et celui de la psychologie des classes sociales parce que la confusion des deux perspectives est l'une des principales critiques que l'on doit porter contre mon rapport de juillet 1952 (doc. ISA/SSM/Conf.2/2).

2) Jusqu'à présent, nous avons parlé de la situation sociale du champ impliqué d'action en général. Mais rien ne permet d'affirmer a priori que les divers types d'actions ou d'attitudes d'un individu ou d'un groupe se placent tous dans un champ unique. On a au contraire des raisons de penser qu'au moins dans les sociétés contemporaines où il n'existe pas de barrières institutionnelles continues entre les diverses catégories sociales ce champ

varie selon le type d'actions ou d'attitudes envisagé. Il est extrêmement important de savoir dans quel cas un individu agit comme membre d'une classe économique, comme membre d'un groupe possédant un certain niveau d'éducation, comme habitant d'un quartier, comme membre d'un groupe religieux ou ethnique et dans le cas où il ne se réfère qu'à des groupes socio-professionnels, s'il les définit étroitement ou largement, si son champ estimé de libre mouvement est vaste ou resserré.

Cette multiplicité une fois reconnue doit être corrigée par l'étude de l'importance relative de ces différents champs, la coexistence de plusieurs champs nettement différents et d'égale importance ne pouvant être qu'un cas extrême.

3) L'étude de la situation sociale peut être menée par différentes méthodes d'approche:

- a) L'étude directe des champs impliqués dans les actions d'un individu,
- b) L'étude des rapport entre le domaine intérieur à ce champ et le domaine extérieur. L'image de frontières ou memes de barrières est très insuffisante. Des concepts comme continuité, dépendance, domination, étrangeté, isolement, coopération, complémentarité, indépendance, imitation, doivent intervenir pour décrire des relations du champ et du monde extérieur à ce champ. Ils doivent être doublés par des notions décrivant les réactions affectives de l'individu à l'égard des diverses catégories, et des divers champs qu'il conçoit comme extérieurs au sien.
- c) Ceci conduit à l'étude de la mobilité sociale comme action de sortie hors du champ habituel. Il est important d'atteindre les résistances à la mobilité, dont la connaissance permet d'élargir le problème traditionnel de la mobilité verticale, en supprimant le privilège trop fréquemment accordé au nom des valeurs de la société libérale, à la capillarité sociale, sur la mobilité sociale collective. La nature des rapports jugés entre la situation sociale de l'individu et d'autres situations explique en grande partie la facilité ou la difficulté rencontrée par l'individu cherchant à sortir ou obligé de sortir de sa situation antérieure.

C'est ainsi que dans une société où les antagonismes entre les classes économiques sont violents, le passage d'un ouvrier dans les fonctions de commandement, même subalternes, entraîne des difficultés, des ruptures, des conflits de rôles beaucoup plus violents que dans une société où ces antagonismes n'existent pas.

Cette étude de la mobilité doit être menée à la fois pour l'individu lui-même et pour ses enfants, en tant que l'individu envisage leur avenir professionnel.

- d) Enfin, une approche générale n'est pas à exclure: comment l'individu se représente-t-il la société? Se réfère-t-il aux choses économiques à des situs indépendants? N'a-t-il aucune opinion ni attitude à l'égard de la structure de la société globale?

Mais ce dernier type de questions ne doit pas être prédominant dans la recherche, car son degré de généralité risque de rendre les réponses extrêmement peu sûres. Ce qui a été dit de la multiplicité des champs d'action invite également à accorder une importance limitée aux questions générales, qui ont reçu dans mon rapport de 1952 une importance excessive. L'unité ou la multiplicité des champs, la nature des champs reconnue comme extérieurs le type des relations évaluées entre le champ du sujet et les champs extérieurs, l'appréciation des difficultés à entrer dans le champ ou à sortir, sont des éléments d'information plus importants que le nom des catégories entre lesquelles l'individu divise la société. Cette supériorité tient en particulier à des raisons pratiques: dans le cours d'un interview, le recours à une représentation générale faisant intervenir des termes d'ensemble, souvent stéréotypés, risque de "geler" les réponses ultérieures dans ces premiers concepts auxquels le sujet s'attachera par souci de sa propre cohérence.

#### IV.

1) Comment ces propositions viennent-elles s'articuler avec le projet central d'enquête extensive ?

D'abord, sur un plan théorique, existe-t-il une opposition entre une enquête statistique proche d'un recensement, et notre projet ? Absolument aucune. En revanche, notre projet ne comporte pas l'emploi d'échelles d'évaluation des catégories socio-professionnelles. Il est possible d'effectuer une enquête extensive déterminant la répartition de la population entre les différentes catégories socio-professionnelles et la mobilité existant entre ces catégories sans faire intervenir d'échelles d'évaluation sociale.

Le point important est ici celui de la détermination des catégories socio-professionnelles. Elles doivent être telles qu'elles soient homogènes du point de vue de chacune des hypothèses que l'on veut examiner, par exemple du point de vue de la richesse, de l'éducation, du pouvoir, de la situation dans le processus social de production. La classification présentée dans notre rapport de 1952 s'est efforcée de répondre à ces conditions. Un regroupement partiel est possible, ou plutôt différents regroupements sont possibles en fonction des diverses hypothèses que l'on veut examiner ? Ils ne doivent jamais aboutir à créer des catégories hétérogènes.

C'est à partir du moment où l'on fait intervenir la notion de hiérarchie d'ensemble que s'insère notre projet qui ne fait qu'élaborer les problèmes impliqués dans l'idée d'échelles d'évaluation sociale.

2) Pratiquement, la conciliation apparaît moins facile du fait que notre projet entraîne des recherches approfondies, longues et par conséquent impraticables directement sur l'échantillon de 10.000 envisagé par le projet britannique,

D'un autre côté, une séparation complète des deux niveaux de l'enquête affaiblirait son intérêt en rendant impossible toute conclusion sur un plan national et, à plus forte raison international, en ce qui concerne les catégories sociales des références telles qu'elles sont définies par notre projet. Notre recherche se trouverait ramenée à une exploration.

3) La solution de ce problème dépend essentiellement des résultats d'études préliminaires qui doivent être menées et qui ne sont rien d'autre qu'une étude de la fidélité et de la validité du questionnaire en préparation.

En effet, quels que soient les efforts faits pour remplacer une représentation ou une évaluation abstraite par des jugements concrets, des problèmes bien définis et en grande partie personnels, il reste qu'il est impossible de se fier sans assurance préalable à un tel type de questionnaire. C'est pourquoi il nous semble utile de proposer à nouveau que la validité du questionnaire soit vérifiée par une comparaison de ses résultats avec ceux d'une observation directe, de type ethnographique, incluant des interviews informels, profitant dans la mesure du possible de situations se présentant spontanément: événements survenus dans l'entourage du sujet, faits divers de journaux, etc. fournissant des histoires de vie plus détaillées que celles que peut offrir un questionnaire. Une telle observation sera d'autant plus rapide qu'elle pourra utiliser un plus grand nombre de participants-observateurs (plutôt que d'observateurs-participants) à condition de les considérer comme des témoins partiels eux-mêmes socialement situés.

Par ailleurs, au cours d'enquêtes préparatoires, on utilisera le plus possible des questions à réponses non verbales, utilisant par exemple des photographies représentant des professions-types.

Le but de ces études préliminaires est de dégager un petit nombre de questions simples et significatives qui pourront être incorporées à l'enquête centrale.

4) Ceci ne peut exclure la nécessité, en marge de celle-ci, des enquêtes plus réduites en extension. La méthode à utiliser ici reste à déterminer. J.D.Reynaud, du Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, a proposé que l'on choisisse parmi les sujets de la grande enquête un nombre relativement restreint (1/10 ou 1/20) d'individus apparaissant placés dans des conditions particulièrement intéressantes pour notre étude. Cette proposition présente l'avantage important de lier les deux niveaux de l'enquête; elle présente, en revanche, des difficultés pratiques: comment le nouvel échantillon sera-t-il choisi et comment s'assura-t-on à mener un second interview ?

Le premier choix à opérer est: l'échantillon à utiliser pour ces enquêtes approfondies doit-il être représentatif ? Nous ne posséderons, à mon avis, le moyen de répondre à cette question que lorsque les études préliminaires auront apporté une première indication sur la difficulté des enquêtes approfondies.

En tout état de cause, les raisons pratiques qui ont amené, par exemple P.H. Chombart de Lauwe à abandonner, au moins provisoirement, la représentativité de l'échantillon ont une force extrême. Le souci de la représentativité doit être écarté au moins pendant la période des études préliminaires.

5) Enfin, on peut envisager des études annexes portant surtout sur la mobilité sociale.

Elles consisteraient en l'étude soit d'individus en mouvement, soit de jeunes gens placés devant le choix d'une carrière.



Dans ce second cas, et bien que ses objectifs et ses principes soient très différents, on devra considérer la recherche actuellement menée par les Professeurs Persons et Stouffer à Harvard.

Les études sur la mobilité pourraient, nous semble-t-il, aller jusqu'à la construction de plans expérimentaux permettant d'analyser les transformations des champs impliqués d'action d'individus en mouvement.

#### CONCLUSION

Ces propositions sont de nature à faciliter la comparaison internationale des résultats de la recherche en préparation. En effet, toute échelle d'évaluation sociale traduisant les conditions particulières de la société à laquelle elle s'applique, on risque, en recourant à cet instrument, d'avoir à comparer des données classées suivant des catégories ne se correspondant pas d'un pays à l'autre.

D'autre part, si l'on se contente de constituer de grandes catégories socio-professionnelles, on évite l'obstacle précédent mais pour en rencontrer un autre, à savoir que ces catégories n'ont pas le même statut socio-économique relatif dans les divers pays.

Une comparaison internationale repose moins sur la définition de catégories internationalement valables que sur l'emploi de moyen d'analyses semblables dans les différents pays, parce qu'indépendants des caractères propres à chaque pays. En d'autres termes, on doit chercher à comparer moins des catégories que des processus.

C'est là un nouvel argument, important dans le cas qui nous concerne, en faveur d'une étude opérationnelle du status social considéré comme champ social impliqué dans les attitudes et le comportement des individus et des groupes.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Mobilité sociale et Milieu résidentiel

par

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## MOBILITE SOCIALE ET MILIEU RESIDENTIEL

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Symbole privilégié de notre civilisation industrielle, nos agglomérations urbaines apparaissent, dans leur essor au 20ème siècle, plus ou moins marquées par une SEGREGATION SOCIALE qui, au-delà des considérations historiques et géographiques, en explique la structure fondamentale.

Dans une étude morphologique de la ville de Paris (1), un de nos collègues a récemment mis en valeur ce phénomène et montré qu'il était possible de le mesurer. Les différentes recherches qui se poursuivent à cette échelle macrosociologique, confirment de réelles et profondes différenciations entre de vastes secteurs d'une même agglomération. Ces ensembles, révélés parfois par une simple cartographie de statistiques officielles, laissent supposer que, de gré ou de force, des groupes sociaux s'approprient certains espaces en les marquant de caractéristiques dominantes.

A l'intérieur de ces régions sociales où des masses se situent dans des cadres administratifs, une étude plus détaillée du cadre écologique de la vie urbaine permet de définir plus précisément les différents univers spatio-temporels dans lesquels, plus ou moins consciemment, les individus et les groupes s'insèrent.

Tout particulièrement à partir de leur habitat (2), il est possible de dessiner pour chacun d'eux, une succession d'horizons qui limitent l'espace où ils se meuvent. Il a déjà été fait état de l'opposition fondamentale entre le quartier sur la base duquel différents types de citoyens mènent leur existence quotidienne, au jour le jour, et les autres espaces où ils se trouvent plus ou moins "sortir" de leur milieu propre. Dans la structure française d'aujourd'hui, la répartition des boutiques (commerces de détail) illustre et souligne le rythme et les dimensions de ces unités sociales dues à la résidence et différentes selon les classes (3). L'évolution urbaine tend en effet à différencier toujours davantage le milieu d'habitat du milieu de travail et à spécifier des attitudes, des rapports et des groupes sociaux propres au premier. Il en résulte que les

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- (1) - Serge ANTOINE, Morphologie générale de Paris in Paris et l'agglomération parisienne par P. CHOMBART de LAUWE et divers (Paris, P.U.F., 1952), tome 1, chap. IV.
- (2) - P. CHOMBART de LAUWE, Secteurs et quartiers in ibid., chap. III.
- (3) - L. COUVREUR, Introduction à l'étude de l'espace social dans un arrondissement et un secteur de Paris, in ibid. chap. VIII.  
A comparer aux chap. IX, X et XII.

rapports de production se reflètent avec de fréquentes distorsions dans ce qu'on pourrait appeler, au sens très large, les modes de consommation.

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Tant à l'aide d'observations que d'interviews, nous avons cette année commencé, entre autres, l'analyse d'une de ces unités résidentielles située dans la zone périphérique de l'intérieur de Paris, c'est-à-dire en gros, dans cette zone concentrique que la ville s'est annexée depuis à peine un siècle (4). Le travail se poursuit d'une part avec le souci d'en rattacher les divers éléments à la situation d'ensemble de l'arrondissement dont le quartier en question fait partie, d'autre part en vue d'établir des comparaisons avec les quartiers environnants ou d'autres groupes de quartiers (5). Mais l'étude oblige dès maintenant à proposer certaines hypothèses concernant la stratification et la mobilité sociale.

Le "coeur" du quartier analysé comptait lors du recensement de 1946, 728 habitants répartis en 318 ménages. Ramassée autour des 100 mètres de rue, dans onze immeubles de six étages et avec un équipement commercial propre, l'unité a une taille réduite. Incrustée entre d'autres habitations, des usines, des locaux scolaires, elle constitue pourtant une réelle unité urbaine. Elle représente même un foyer d'intégration assez fort pour que non seulement les gens des alentours, mais ses propres habitants la considèrent comme un "village". Il s'agit certes d'un cas limite, mais moins rare qu'on pourrait l'imaginer. Plus l'agglomération apparaît dense, étendue et fluide, plus les habitudes et les représentations nécessaires à la vie sociale doivent en effet pouvoir se rattacher à quelques lieux précis sous peine de s'émuousser par trop rapidement (6) et dans notre monde capitaliste, le quartier d'habitat semble offrir avec une relative stabilité, des points de repère parmi les plus sûrs, du moins pour l'individu membre d'un ménage ou d'un groupe de ménages.

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Trois caractéristiques affectent la structure démographique et la vie sociale de ce "village".

Près de la moitié des ménages soit y habitent depuis plus de vingt cinq ans (quelques uns depuis son origine : 1900) soit y sont venus des quartiers environnants soit y ont succédé à des parents décédés ou retirés. Un tiers d'entre eux ont par suite sur les lieux des attaches familiales. Une tendance s'observe à reconstituer au travers de logements étroits, des types de famille étendue. Ceci, ajouté à un environnement favorable ("quartier tranquille", bois de Vincennes à 300 mètres, possibilités locales d'un travail féminin) explique en partie la statistique des

(4) P. CHOMBART de LAUWE. L'expansion urbaine et les zones concentriques. in ibid. ch. II.

(5) D'autres études parallèles sont poursuivies actuellement par notre groupe dans six quartiers différents à Paris et dans les villes de province. Cp. P. CHOMBART de LAUWE. Rapport dans la III. section.

(6) Maurice HALBWACHS, La Mémoire collective (Paris, P.U.F., 1950).

ménages dont 30. % ne sont que d'une personne, la forte proportion de femmes de plus de 50 ans et l'intégration au quartier par des habitudes et des attitudes spécifiques.

A travers cette première base morphologique, une stratification apparaît déjà. La composition socio-professionnelle du "village", par couches d'âge et par sexe ne répond pas numériquement à la réputation qu'il a, et qu'il entretient, dans son environnement. Il est en effet souvent défini pour un quartier de petits employés et de petits fonctionnaires, ou d'autres fois par les "tabatières" qui y habitent et travaillent dans la manufacture d'Etat voisine. Or, l'élément ouvrier n'est négligeable ni du côté homme, ni du côté femme. Mais d'une part, de couches d'âge en couches d'âge, on perçoit un glissement de l'ouvrier non ou peu qualifié vers l'ouvrier de haute qualification et surtout vers l'employé et le fonctionnaire. D'autre part, leur statut fait que les "cigarières" toutes âgées et les employées fonctionnaires marquent davantage le milieu que les nombreuses ouvrières d'une usine voisine de produits pharmaceutiques. A l'intérieur de ce quartier populaire, des générations se différencient suivant les possibilités d'activité professionnelle qu'hommes et femmes ont pu trouver à une époque qui a été la "leur", et aussi suivant les possibilités de choix que leur permettait leur milieu résidentiel.

Il est en effet caractéristique que des représentants de commerce et un journaliste, introduits dans le village par suite de la crise du logement, ne s'y sentent pas intégrés, s'y refusent même pour diverses raisons, malgré le bon vouloir de l'ensemble des habitants. Des employés "arrivés à une bonne situation", qu'ils considèrent d'ailleurs comme un plafond, estiment par contre, l'avoir atteinte grâce au support familial sur lequel ils ont pu s'appuyer dans un milieu relativement stable, et grâce à une montée collective qui s'y est opérée pour leur propre couche d'âge. Malgré certaines possibilités, il n'est pas question pour eux, de quitter leur village auquel les attachent quelques liens familiaux, de nombreux liens de camaraderie et le prestige dont ils se sentent auréolés. Evidemment, cette situation a des répercussions dans la vie des groupes de loisirs qu'ils animent, comme dans leur budget et leurs préoccupations personnelles en ce qui concerne leur propre logement. Ils tendent ainsi à assumer le rôle prépondérant qui en d'autres quartiers populaires est assumé par les petits commerçants. La clientèle de ceux-ci y est trop limitée et "prendre une boutique" n'est parfois qu'un moyen temporaire, un tremplin, pour se loger.

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Cette analyse semble corroborer une série de propositions utiles à l'étude de la stratification et de la mobilité sociale dans les quartiers urbains:

1. Dans un quartier urbain, une catégorie socioprofessionnelle (ou plusieurs, mais très voisines l'une de l'autre,) se présente pour dominante.
2. Les autres catégories forment un éventail dont l'extension a des limites, et les habitants qui se situent au-delà ou en deçà de ces limites ne s'assimilent que très difficilement à la vie locale.
3. La vie sociale qui s'observe dans un quartier suppose entre ces catégories possibles, un ordre, une hiérarchie, qui peut être une hiérarchie de prestige, mais aussi une hiérarchie d'aspirations, différente selon les générations.

4. Affectant la vie sociale des quartiers et des modes de consommation, la mobilité sociale ne peut pleinement s'expliquer que compte-tenu non seulement des individus actifs, mais des ménages et des groupes de ménages dont ils font partie.

5. C'est pourquoi, dans chaque quartier, la mobilité sociale se présente comme encadrée dans une série de "lignes" dont les "seuils" sont différents selon les générations.

Aborder le problème de cette manière ne permet pas de tirer immédiatement des conclusions valables pour de grands ensembles, mais par l'étude de groupes localisés dans des unités résidentielles bien déterminées, certains processus sociaux sont mis à jour, qui peuvent aider à interpréter et même à corriger de larges mesures statistiques.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Communication résumée.

Conscience de Classe et Mobilité sociale à Vienne-en-France.

(Aspects subjectifs et objectifs)

par

N. XYDIAS

Paris

Communication résumée.

## CONSCIENCE DE CLASSE ET MOBILITE SOCIALE A VIENNE-EN-FRANCE

(Aspects subjectifs et objectifs)

par

N. XYDIAS

Paris

L'enquête a été menée en 1949-50 par Pierre Clément et l'auteur de la communication dans une ville industrielle de la province française, à Vienne (Isère), sous les auspices de l'UNESCO et de la 6<sup>o</sup> Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de Paris et la direction effective de M. le Professeur C. Lévi-Strauss.

L'agglomération urbaine compte une population d'environ 25.000 habitants, au cours de cette étude qui a porté sur des points divers, un questionnaire sociologique a été rempli par 3.640 d'entre eux. C'est de ce questionnaire que sont extraites les sections qui concernent plus spécialement l'attitude des Viennois vis-à-vis des classes sociales et de divers problèmes qui y sont intimement liés.

Une première question était ainsi libellée:

- A quelle classe sociale estimez-vous appartenir?

Prolétariat ou classe ouvrière .....	OUI	-	NON
Classe Moyenne .....	OUI	-	NON
Bourgeoisie .....	OUI	-	NON

Les réponses se distribuent de la façon suivante:

Prolétariat .....	Hommes: 53%	Femmes: 45%
Classe Moyenne .....	" 43	" 50
Bourgeoisie .....	" 4	" 5

Conscience de classe et profession des sujets. (Les professions ont été groupées en 3 classes qui correspondent - approximativement du moins - à celles de la question).

On constate que les écarts entre classe professionnelle et conscience de classe sont considérables quels que soient les groupes envisagés:

- 24% des ouvriers ne se déclarent pas "Prolétaires"; beaucoup d'ouvriers qualifiés estiment appartenir à la "Classe Moyenne". 2% d'entre eux se disent "Bourgeois", ils sont probablement issus de familles traditionnellement bourgeoises.
- 39% des Petits Patrons et des Employés estiment ne pas appartenir à la "Classe Moyenne".
- Enfin, 79% des sujets qui appartiennent à la classe professionnelle supérieure ne se classent pas dans les "Bourgeois"; la grande majorité se déclare "classe moyenne"; il semble que seuls les industriels riches se reconnaissent "bourgeois".



Considérant chacun des groupes ayant conscience d'appartenir à une même classe, on peut chercher à déterminer de quels éléments professionnels ils sont composés: 1/3 environ de ceux qui se disent "Prolétaires" ne sont pas des ouvriers; 1/4 de ceux qui se disent "Classe Moyenne" sont des ouvriers et 15% avaient été classés par nous dans la classe professionnelle supérieure. Enfin, parmi ceux qui se déclarent "Bourgeois" on ne trouve que 51% de personnes occupant des fonctions supérieures; la moitié de ce groupe est composé d'ouvriers, de petits patrons et d'employés.

Conscience de classe et sexe des sujets.

- a) Les femmes ont une tendance générale à se classer socialement "Plus haut" que les hommes et ceci quel que soit le groupe professionnel envisagé.
- b) Nationalité: cependant le phénomène est inversé chez les Etrangers: ce sont les hommes étrangers qui ont tendance à se classer "plus haut" que leurs épouses.
- c) Age: on remarque une curieuse influence de l'âge: les hommes, en vieillissant, ont tendance à s'estimer plus souvent d'une classe supérieure; les femmes, au contraire, semblent perdre progressivement leur tendance à se surclasser.

2<sup>o</sup> question - Pour quelle raison? (fait suite à la précédente)

- a) de revenu
- b) de profession
- c) de genre de vie (relations, distractions, etc. ...)
- d) de famille (éducation, naissance, mariage...)
- e) d'instruction.

(on pouvait souligner plusieurs facteurs)

Chacune des raisons proposées est invoquée par environ la moitié de la population.

Des différences considérables apparaissent entre les attitudes selon la classe sociale à laquelle les sujets déclarent appartenir.

(Graphique en projection)

Le "Prolétariat", tout en accordant une certaine primauté aux facteurs économiques (profession, revenu), ne conteste pas la valeur des autres facteurs. La "Classe Moyenne" et la "Bourgeoisie" nient l'importance du Revenu: s'il fallait en tenir compte cela pourrait conduire à un sous-classement qu'on ne veut pas admettre; le Revenu ne semble reconnu comme un facteur déterminant la classe sociale que dans le cas où il y a accord entre son montant et la classe à laquelle on estime appartenir; mais un désaccord sur ce point ne suffit pas à modifier la façon dont on se situe. La conscience de classe semble donc très largement fondée sur des éléments autres que celui-ci. Notons encore que les trois facteurs culturels - genre de vie, instruction, famille - sont de plus en plus valorisés du "Prolétariat" à la "Bourgeoisie".

3° question - Des membres de votre proche famille (y compris vous-même) ont-ils déjà changé de classe sociale à la suite de:

- a) mariage
- b) changement de profession
- c) relations différentes
- d) changement de fortune.

On ne remarque pas de différence entre les réponses des hommes et celles des femmes.

Pourcentage de NON: 57%  
 " " OUI: 31%  
 " Non Déclaré : 12%

Les diverses rubriques sont invoquées dans les proportions suivantes:

Mariage	15%	de OUI
Profession	21%	" "
Relations	12%	" "
Fortune	13%	" "

C'est la profession qui semble être le facteur le plus souvent reconnu déterminant d'un changement de classe sociale.

Mobilité sociale et profession des sujets.

Il y a une certaine tendance de la mobilité sociale (telle qu'elle a pu être saisie par cette question) à décroître des ouvriers aux bourgeois.

Mobilité sociale et nationalité.

C'est chez les Arméniens que la mobilité sociale apparaît la plus faible. Par contre les autres étrangers semblent un peu plus mobiles que les Français.

4° question - Aimeriez-vous changer de classe sociale?

NON	53%
OUI	36%
N.D.	11%

1/3 de la population se déclare insatisfaite de sa situation. Chose assez étonnante, si on considère les classes professionnelles se sont les sujets de la classe supérieure qui le sont le plus. Mais c'est le facteur "Nationalité" qui détermine les variations les plus fortes: si la plupart des étrangers se distinguent peu des Français, les Arméniens sont nettement plus insatisfaits que le reste de la population.

6° question - Pensez-vous que l'existence de plusieurs classes sociales dans la société soit:

- souhaitable
- inévitable
- inutile
- nuisible.

Une majorité relative mais nette de sujets trouve l'existence des classes souhaitable (40%). D'autres Viennois, s'ils ne partagent pas ce point de vue, semblent résignés et déclarent cette existence

inévitable (19%). 1/5 des sujets prennent nettement position contre le fait "classes sociales" et répondent: nuisible.

Si on groupe ceux qui soulignent "souhaitable" et "inévitable" d'une part et ceux qui soulignent les deux autres qualificatifs d'autre part, on partage les sujets selon qu'ils acceptent ou non les classes sociales; on a alors 59% des sujets pour et 27% des sujets contre, et, enfin, 14% des sujets qui ne se prononcent pas.

La classe professionnelle influence les réponses; des ouvriers aux groupe supérieur les classes sociales trouvent de plus en plus de défenseurs. La moitié des ouvriers (52%) est favorable aux classes sociales alors que pour le 3<sup>o</sup> groupe cette proportion s'élève à 3/4 (73%); les petits patrons et les employés occupent une situation intermédiaire. Mais cet écart ne nous semble pas tellement considérable: les ouvriers se montrent plus conservateurs qu'on pourrait le croire et les bourgeois moins attachés - en paroles du moins - à l'ordre établi qu'il n'est coutume de le penser.

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIOLOGY

by

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## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIOLOGY

by

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While the recent renaissance of interest in the nature and functional significance of social stratification in society (particularly on the part of American sociologists), has certainly added much to our knowledge, it has, at the same time, tended to by-pass certain crucial problems. This is especially true with respect to the question of the necessary, significant, and specifically sociological differentia among the type-forms of stratification which have been conceptualized. The following brief treatment, while tending to be dogmatic in tone, seeks only to re-introduce certain problems which, in the writer's opinion, have tended to fall by the way-side.

In other words, (1) Where does social stratification fit into the corpus of sociology? (2) In what consists a "sociological" analysis of social stratification? and (3) What are the implications of such an analysis for the understanding of the functional significance of social stratification in society? In connection with these problems we will first seek briefly to present a quasi-systematic image of the scope and main problems of sociology; then, an attempt will be made to locate social stratification within this framework; and finally, we will essay the specification of a "sociological" frame of reference for the understanding of the functional significance of various types of stratification systems.

## The Scope of Sociology

Most sociologists would probably agree that one way of stating the fundamental sociological question is simply: "How is it possible for men, as physical organisms, separated in space, to act in concert - i.e., in groups?" Second, the categorical sociological answer is: "By socially interacting - i.e., by mutually influencing one another," "taking the role of the other", etc.

With this question and answer in mind, it is readily seen why, for many sociologists, sociology is defined as "the study of social relationships", - the concept of social relationships being simply another term for the less euphonic "social interactions" (sic.). But if this carves out, in crude fashion, the subject matter of the sociologist, what are specifically sociological problems; and how does he go about making a sociological study?

Collective Behavior and Social Order -- Taking for granted the analytic nature of the distinctions involved, sociology can be viewed as more specifically concerned with the nature and causes of social change - the dynamic aspect of social interaction-, and social order - the static aspect of social interaction. If, however, we look at concrete instances of social interaction, there are instances in which a static view seems irrelevant; in other words in the case of the "panic" all seems to

be "change". Therefore, shifting to a different level of abstraction, it is suggested that the fundamental sociological continuum involves collective behavior at one pole, and social order at the other. 1) By definition, social order is regarded as developing out of collective behavior. But how are these concepts related to social interaction?

Social interaction can analytically be regarded as involving two aspects or bases: common symbols and common feelings. Herbert Blumer's concepts of symbolic and non-symbolic interaction will be adopted here to represent these two aspects, respectively. The point is that whereas collective behavior involves reciprocity only on the basis of non-symbolic interaction (and therefore constitutes the most elementary, and even primordial, form of human action in concert); social orders involve both symbolic and non-symbolic interaction. Indeed, the condition of social order can be viewed, other things being equal, as involving a "balance" between these two aspects. At the same time, the characteristic instability and ephemeral nature of collective behavior stems precisely from its singular basis in non-symbolic interaction.

Types of Social Order -- Given the basic sociological continuum (from collective behavior to social order), a subsidiary continuum can be developed in connection with the social order pole. This involves a typology of social orders, anchored to a degree in the cultural phenomenon of "rationalization-secularization".

On the highest level of abstraction, a transition is seen from the FOLK SOCIETY, through the FEUDAL SOCIETY, to the URBAN SOCIETY. In addition, two alternative possibilities of development beyond the urban type are: the MASS SOCIETY and the CORPORATE SOCIETY. On lower levels of abstraction, a matter of subsidiary social orders within the larger, national society, such developmental sequences as the following might be involved: e.g., in the case of religious groups, it is suggested that the transition is one from the CULT, through the SECT and INSTITUTIONALIZED SECT, to the DENOMINATION, with the CHURCH representing another developmental possibility beyond the sect. 3) It is, of course, implied in this formulation that the subsidiary types of social orders are not unrelated to the more abstract types.

At this point it can be suggested, in a more substantive fashion, that sociology can be conceived as concerted with the understanding of the transition from collective behavior to social order, generally. More particularly, it is also concerned with the understanding of the static and dynamic aspects of various social interactions insofar as they constitute "social orders". The range of sociological interest would extend, therefore, from instances of sheer collective behavior (e.g. crowds), through groups within the larger society (e.g., the family, the sect, etc.), to social orders on the national (and even international), level (e.g., the urban society).

### Sociological Perspectives

In connection with the answer to the question: "In what does a sociological analysis consist?", the present scheme takes off from some very cogent observations of Louis Wirth. We begin by observing that all knowledge (as opposed to sheer sensual experience), proceeds from the conceptualization of experience. The tools of thinking (i.e., concepts), in turn, can be seen as constituting in their interrelationships, frames of reference. Finally, "scientific" (as opposed to "common sense"), frames of reference are to be distinguished only in terms of the degree to which there is a conscious (and successful) concern specifically and explicitly to delimit the denotations and connotations of, as well as to maximize the interrelationships among the concepts involved. Such frames of reference constitute essentially "perspectives" for viewing experience and transforming it into knowledge.

The prerequisite of a strictly "sociological" analysis, then, is the adoption of specifically "sociological" frames of reference. And Wirth has suggested that social phenomena (indeed, all phenomena, although with varying increments of useful knowledge), can be viewed from a variety of such perspectives. In this connection he suggested that if sociology generally focusses on social interaction, then "human ecology" comprises essentially on "external" view, whereas "social psychology" constitutes a more or less "subjective" perspective.

Extending this line of thought, it is proposed that sociology is comprised of five subsidiary frames of reference or "perspectives": (1) Demography, (2) Human Ecology, (3) Social Organization, (4) Social Structure, and (5) Social Psychology. Conceivably "Culture" could be added as a sixth, although this would tend to broaden the scope of the discipline considerably, almost to the point of making it, once again, all-inclusive. 4)

Demography -- The demographic frame of reference would view social interaction as involving merely a population aggregate. Statically, it would be a matter of number and composition; while dynamically, it would consider such phenomena as vital rates and migration.

Human Ecology -- Social interaction from the ecological perspective is a matter of seeing groupings in terms of their relative distribution in space. Both ecological organization (spatial patterns) and ecological processes (succession, decentralization, etc.) would be involved.

Social Psychology -- Interestingly enough, the present scheme also allows for the more or less systematic affiliation of social psychology with sociology (in a fashion similar to Thomas and Znaniecki), rather than relegating it to a marginal status. Social psychology becomes a matter of the subjective and individual aspects of social interaction. Dynamically this would involve the process of "socialization". Statically, it would focus on the end-products of this process at various points in time. In other words, this aspect would be informed by the concept of "social type", considered as the strictly sociological aspect of the more inclusive phenomenon of "personality". 5) It should also be noted that an "institutional" conception of motivation is implied on this level of personality analysis.

Social Organization and Social Structure -- While most of the above concepts are more or less familiar to practicing sociologists, the analytic distinction between "social organization" and "social structure" is less often made explicit in the literature. It might be added, however, that there seems an increasing tendency to do so. The origin of this dichotomy stems from, and roughly parallels, the more basic and traditional distinction between "culture" and "society". Ralph Linton comes, perhaps, nearest to making the point explicit when he observes,

A society is an organized group of people, a collection of individuals who have learned to work together. A culture is an organized group of behavior patterns . . . . Although the interrelations of a society and its culture are close and numerous, the two things are distinct and represent phenomena of different orders. In spite of this, many sociologists describe societies in terms of institutions and use the term social structure to refer to the interrelations of institutions. Actually, an institution is a configuration of culture patterns which, as a whole, has certain functions; and the interrelations of such configurations belong primarily to the areas of cultural organization and integration. (Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality. New York: (1945), p.56.

In the present view, the concept of "social structure" as a perspective will be used to refer to the cultural organization of social interaction. This is a matter of normative systems on the one hand, and a status (positional) system on the other hand. On higher levels of abstraction such concepts as "institutions", "social systems", etc. would figure in the analysis.

"Social Organization", however, is a matter of the group organization of social interaction. Robin Williams, for example, speaks of "densities of interaction", in this connection. The elements in this perspective involve such considerations as the type of interaction involved, bases of group recruitment, etc. It might also be added that whereas the functional problem of social systems, per se, is one of integration, that of social organizations (sic) is typically a matter of consensus.

A further appreciation of the nature of this proposed distinction can be obtained from a consideration of some of the sheerly historical factors attached to the development of social anthropology and sociology, respectively. Social anthropologists have traditionally concerned themselves with the study of so-called "preliterate" societies. Sociologists, on the other hand, have dealt primarily with modern, urban societies. The concept of social structure has largely been the focus and contribution of the former; while the concept of social organization stems more from the activities and interests of the latter. Thus, social anthropologists, in speaking of the social structure of a preliterate society, usually discuss the "kinship system" rather than the "family". Sociologists, however, when they speak of the social organization of contemporary society, invariably play up the role of "voluntary associations" rather than the normative and status systems.

Such a development is readily understood when one takes into account the fact that the most impressive thing about the



ideal (sic) folk society is precisely its lack of internal, organizational differentiation. The individual members all tend to be members of the same inclusive, undifferentiated social circle; all of their activities have a total reference, involving at once implications for the total social structure as well as social organization. There are individual families, true; but in the final and functional (sic) analysis, all tend to be members of "one big family". Small wonder, therefore, that the concept of social structure, in terms of kinship systems, came to the fore as the principle of social order for social anthropologists.

At the same time, one is equally impressed by the high degree of internal organizational differentiation that informs modern, urban societies. In this situation it was again, only logical, that voluntary associations should come to be viewed as the principle of social order among sociologists. This, of course, is not to say that, in fact, concrete folk and urban societies do not have both structural and organizational differentiation. However, there is no doubt as to the relative differences in the degree of the functional importance (as well as "visibility"), of these two aspects of social order in the two contrasting situations.

In other words, the position taken here is that "social organization" and "social structure" constitute two complementary perspectives for viewing social interaction; and that an adequate understanding of the principles of social order and change necessarily involves both facets of analysis.

### Social Stratification and Sociology

There would seem to be some degree of consensus among contemporary sociologists that the concept of social stratification denotes the presence of "social inequalities" in society. If this point is considered in the light of the quasi-systematic image of sociology presented above, it is clear that social stratification as a general phenomenon, is primarily a "structural" aspect of society.

In the first place, at least one prerequisite for the existence of this phenomenon is the development of a degree of "social (status) differentiation"; and this is a structural matter. By definition, these positional differences must be differentially evaluated (substantively a "cultural" affair). Finally, there must also be large numbers of individuals occupying the same or similar positions. In other words, social stratification, as a generic phenomenon, represents a development beyond social differentiation to the point where large numbers of individuals are to be found occupying similar statuses which are differentially ranked. The congeries of individuals so situated will be referred to in this paper simply as social strata.

At this point it is suggested that the generic bases for ranking can be analytically dichotomized into power (in the sense of the ability to initiate action for others, regardless of their preferences), and prestige (in the sense of the ability to obtain deference gestures from others). But if this constitutes the general character of social stratification in society - a matter of the presence of either power and/or prestige strata - in what

inheres the functional significance of such strata for society ?

Insofar as the sociologists is ultimately interested in understanding the nature of social order and social change, it is proposed that the functional significance of social strata (for the sociologist), revolves around the question as to whether or not they constitute "social orders" and therefore bases for action in concert. In this connection, it is crucial to note that where social strata do become bases for social action, such action must be related to the fact of inequality, apart from the functional significance of the particular statuses involved. In other words, the dynamic significance of social stratification is to be explained in terms of the effects and consequences of the perception of inequalities. The fact that such inequalities as exist can be understood in terms of the functional significances of the statuses involved is irrelevant in the present context - although many "structurally" oriented sociologists seem to imply an identity between these two quite different problems. However, in order to answer the question as to the strictly sociological conditions for the development of stratum action, it is necessary to shift the discussion to a lower level of abstraction and consider sub-types of power and prestige strata.

#### Classes, Status Groups, and Castes

The concepts of "class", "status group" ('estate'), and "caste" are found fairly frequently in the literature, and the contemporary discussion of social stratification has usually taken place on this level of analysis. The differences among these constructs have been regarded as involving different degrees of social mobility (or, conversely, "closure"). While this is a relevant and useful device, it fails to answer the questions raised in this paper with respect to the strictly sociological differentia and significance of such phenomena.

Five sub-types of social strata will be discussed: (1) economic classes, (2) political classes, (3) social classes, (4) status groups, and (5) castes. For purposes of orientation, it can be observed that in terms of the conventional nobility criterion, economic classes are at one pole of the continuum (nobility being maximized); and castes are at the other (nobility being typically absent). It can also be noted that whereas economic and political classes are, ideally, sub-types of power strata, status groups and castes are typically sub-types of prestige strata. 6) Social classes, on the other hand, will be seen to constitute highly ambiguous types of strata, having some of the characteristics of each of the major types, prestige and power. But what are the sociological characteristics of these sub-types ? And what are the implications of such differences with regard to the functional significance of such strata ?

#### Sociological Aspects of Sub-types of Social Strata

Turning now to the specification of the sociological differentia among the sub-types of social strata which have been denoted, we may begin with the demographic perspective. In the first place, the size of these sub-types, while in all cases "large" 7) is typically maximized in the case of economic classes and minimized in the case of castes, other things being

equal. 8) On the other hand, with respect to the racial and ethnic composition of such strata, if homogeneity is taken as the criterion, the variation is in the other direction: economic classes represent the minimum case, castes, the maximum.

Ecologically speaking, economic and political classes are typically national in the scope of their spatial distribution; while social classes, status groups, and castes are ideally local phenomena. In addition, it may be observed that the degree of ecological segregation tends to be minimized at the economic class pole and maximized where castes are concerned.

From the perspective of social psychology, it is postulated that the nodal type of motivation involved in economic and political class "membership" is (in Max Weber's terminology), "purposeful-rational" in nature. Insofar as status groups and castes (as will be seen below), approximate "communities", a balance among Weber's four types would be expected. In the case of social classes, however, it is suggested that the motivational texture is bi-nodal and involves both purposeful-rational and traditional types.

Of course it is implied (although essentially unconsidered in this brief treatment), that the demographic, ecological, and social-psychological characteristics of social strata considered above are not unrelated to the more theoretically important organizational and structural traits. In regard to these last two facets of analysis, the point is often made in the literature that social strata constitute something more than mere "aggregates" and something less than "social groups". This must be qualified relative to the type of stratum involved, in addition to the type of society, and the particulars of the concrete situation. The present analysis proposes that only status groups and castes constitute social groups ("social orders"), in the usual sense of the term. On the other hand, economic, political, and social classes (to borrow a phrase from Max Weber), comprise only "potential communities". Such is the case, sociologically speaking, because each lacks certain qualities or elements necessary to the existence of a full-fledged social order.

In the case of economic and political classes, organizational considerations seem to outweigh the structural, almost to the point where it might be said that they approximate an instance of social organization without social structure. Conversely, considerations of social structure seem to be primary in the case of social classes, social organization being minimized.

Relative to the "symbolic" - "non-symbolic" dichotomy, the interaction which goes on within whatever social and economic divisions exist is typically symbolic in nature. Common feelings (non-symbolic interaction), is the aspect which is lacking. At the same time, such symbolic interaction as is present within (as well as among), economic and political classes is typically uninformed by norms oriented to the perception of the rank aspect of position. Indeed, such systems of stratification precisely play down the fact of differential valuation; and this is particularly true where inter-class relationships are involved.

It should also be stated that inter-class relationships in the case of such power strata are typically and inherently

"conflicting" in their potential. This quality, it is postulated, is due less to the fact that power is a scarce value (so is prestige); but more to the fact that power relationships are typically "de-humanizing" in their implications. 9) This conflict potential is further buttressed, of course, by the purposeful-rational character of the motivations involved. Further, this conflict potential can be seen to have implications for the transformation of economic and political classes into social orders and thus bases for collective action. Involved here is the tendency conflict has for inducing common feelings (i.e., non-symbolic interaction), precisely the aspect that is absent.

The above mentioned traits, together with such factors as large size, national distribution, etc., tend to give economic and political classes the organizational character of "masses". As such their functional significance is minimized. At the point, however, that non-symbolic interaction develops and a normative system oriented to considerations and the perception of rank informs interaction generally, they become effective bases of collective action and play important roles in social change and social order.

Turning now to status groups and castes, it has been suggested that they are full-fledged social orders - "communities". Within each hierarchical group both types of interaction are present. The normative system is directly oriented to the perception and (be it noted), the constant validation of the rank aspect of position. Correlatively, such systems of social stratification tend to be characterized by a considerable degree of isolation among the strata involved; and differential valuations are constantly played up. Inter-strata relations become, if not assimilative, at least accommodative, for the validation of prestige claims (as opposed to those of power), require a high degree of (at least ceremonial), cooperation. In other words, prestige involves moral evaluations as well as constant consensual validation. 10)

In view of the above remarks, the presence of status group or caste types of stratification can be seen to be basically conserving of the status quo as far as their functional significance is concerned, on sheerly sociological grounds. Stratum action constantly contributes to the current consensus, regardless of the relative rank of the stratum involved.

The case of social classes, as a sub-type of social stratum, has previously been indicated to be unique. At this point it is relevant to reiterate the postulate that type-systems of social stratification are related to types of societies. And it is suggested that whereas status groups and castes are indigeneous to "feudal" societies, social classes are characteristic of "urban" societies. 11)

Relative to the conceptual scheme which informs this paper, urban societies can typically be seen to be characterized from the perspective of social organization by; (1) a great degree of internal organizational differentiation, and (2) a tendency for symbolic interaction to outweigh non-symbolic interaction. Structurally speaking, such societies are indexed by (1) a highly complex, but also abstract normative system, and (2) a high degree of social (status) differentiation. 12) In the

light of these sociological traits of urban societies, the ambiguous nature of social class stratification becomes somewhat understandable.

In the first place, the above noted characteristics represent tendencies which not only pull in the direction of both power and prestige stratification, but also operate in both a negative and positive fashion. For example, the proliferation of voluntary associations tends to subvert organizational tendencies on a stratum basis. The high degree of social differentiation would work in favor of prestige stratification, while the complexity and abstractness of the normative system would probably work against this. Again, the emphasis on symbolic interaction would tend to work toward economic and political class developments.

The point is that these, as well as other (e.g., demographic, ecological, and social-psychological), sociological traits of the typical urban society make whatever social strata develop highly amorphous in nature. And this is precisely how the more thoughtful and comprehensive treatments have portrayed social class stratification in the urban society. In this situation, prestige and power seem inextricably interrelated, but neither highly visible in itself. Money and office vice successfully with family and life-style as effective bases of prestige. Similarly, in the urban context, life-style ("front") is often an operational basis of power. This, of course, is to be contrasted with the type cases in which family and life-style are irrelevant (power strata), just as money and office are secondary where status groups and caste are ideally concerned.

These remarks suggest that in the urban society status group and caste forms of social stratification are incompatible, while, at the same time the possibilities of economic and political strata developing into social orders are minimized. On the other hand, as the urban society changes into either a "mass" or corporate type of society, the chances of economic and political class developments are enhanced in the case of the former, just as the possibilities of status group and caste stratification are increased in the case of the latter.

### Conclusions

On the basis of the very brief, highly abstract, and incomplete remarks we have made, it is suggested that consideration of the specifically sociological aspects of the phenomenon of social stratification might serve not only to point up certain hitherto neglected problems, but also is a useful (and even necessary), prerequisite for the development of an adequate theory of social stratification.

At the same time the conceptual apparatus adopted here allows some insight into the implications of some of the current research interests. In this connection, it is readily seen that the contemporary focus on community stratification logically leads to structural (sic) emphases and the essentially conservative bias which is inherent in the prestige phenomenon. To the extent that social classes approximate social structures, primarily, it is understandable why there have been serious (and not invalid), proposals to treat such types of social strata sheerly

as "sub-cultures". But this, be it noted, subverts attention from basic sociological considerations, however valid and useful such a formulation may be for purposes of exhaustive anthropological description of the culture of communities.

Finally, in connection with the direction of future research, it is suggested that studies be made in a cooperative fashion, on the national level, with regard to stratification systems in different types of societies. This is crucial to the extent that the validity of general sociological propositions might have such a factor as a limiting condition. 13)

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#### R e f e r e n c e s

- 1) Social order is here being employed not as a perspective (the static aspect) but as a construct.
- 2) Incidentally, this formulation allows for the systematic filiation of the concept of "Social Movements" which, in their character as "social collectives", assume an intermediate position between collective behavior and social order.
- 3) The sociological differentia among these, as well as the above mentioned more abstract forms of social orders, cannot be considered in this paper. The author plans to treat these in future presentations.
- 4) An exhaustive study of social stratification in society obviously involves other than "sociological" perspectives. However, the whole aim of this paper is to point up the limited nature of all perspectives. Only as we delimit sociology can we develop it in a rational fashion.
- 5) This obviously does not exhaust the meaning of the concept of "personality".
- 6) Ultimately the distinction between prestige and power strata is a function of social perceptions in the society. In actuality, power and prestige are involved in all strata.
- 7) "Large" in this sense that no primary group implication is involved.
- 8) It is suggested that the "other things" in this context is primarily a matter of types of societies.

- 9) Admittedly, this is poorly stated, but the point should be clear. Power relationships, it is simply suggested, necessitate a minimum of consensual validation for their effective operation.
- 10) It is probably more correct to suggest that prestige strata also involve power, but the prestige aspects are so played up as to minimize the perception of the sheerly power elements.
- 11) Of course, in any concrete instance, mixed types will exist.
- 12) The necessary brevity of the present paper forbids the treatments of other sociological aspects - i.e., demographic, ecological etc., as well as other types of societies.
- 13) For example, in the writer's opinion, statements regarding the rate of social change are meaningless, unless related to the type of society. Thus, the typical "urban" society can "stand" a much more rapid rate of social change than the typical "feudal" social order without implying disorganizing and destructuralizing possibilities.

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Sect. I

Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Sect. I

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

La mobilité sociale : Le choix d'une échelle sociologique.

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## LA MOBILITE SOCIALE : LE CHOIX D'UNE ECHELLE SOCIOLOGIQUE

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Paris.I - Observations diverses.

Les recherches sur la mobilité sociale se heurtent à quelques difficultés, lorsqu'il s'agit de déterminer le choix d'une échelle sociologique.

Nous croyons pouvoir en énoncer un certain nombre, celles tout au moins qui se sont imposées à nous à l'occasion des recherches que nous avons poursuivies à l'I.N.E.D. sur la question. (1)

- 1 - Nécessité d'une étude extensive. - Pour répondre à leur objet, les études sur la mobilité sociale doivent englober l'ensemble des groupes professionnels ou socio-économiques dont se compose une population. En effet, c'est entre les quatre points cardinaux que les mouvements sociaux de chassé-croisé se poursuivent. Or l'étude d'un bilan ne se conçoit pas au niveau d'une comptabilité tronquée.

Toute étude limitée à quelques groupes peut sans doute fournir des indications sociologiques plus ou moins valables, mais ne répond pas à l'objectif visé. On peut par exemple étudier monographiquement les origines sociales ou professionnelles de telle ou telle catégorie, mais les conclusions qui peuvent s'en dégager sont sans portée du point de vue de la mobilité sociale, faute d'une étude extensive portant sur un échantillon représentatif de l'ensemble de la population.

- 2 - Variabilité des critères de hiérarchie sociale. - Les recherches en question postulent explicitement le choix d'une échelle hiérarchique de groupes socio-économiques. On ne peut en effet mesurer le déplacement d'un mobile, sans s'appuyer sur des points de repère.

Or, la constitution d'une telle échelle soulève une réserve de principe: il n'est pas prouvé que dans les sociétés qui ne sont pas intégralement caporalisées, il existe entre les divers groupes une continuité, et par conséquent, une possibilité de hiérarchisation de caractère général. En France, plus particulièrement, il semble exister un hiatus entre le monde de la ville et celui de la campagne, rendant la recherche d'équivalence ou les comparaisons assez délicates.

(1) Voir Population. 1950 - 3, pp. 533, 566.

3 - Indétermination des zones frontières.

- Le problème des zones frontières est toujours délicat à résoudre, particulièrement lorsqu'il s'agit d'un groupe humain.

Cette marge d'incertitude est d'autant plus grande, que les groupes sont eux-mêmes larges, c'est à dire complexes et peu homogènes.

4 - Limitation nécessaire du nombre des groupes.

- Mais pour des raisons pratiques, il est indispensable d'opérer sur un nombre relativement réduit de groupes, et même

dans certains cas, de procéder à des regroupements, sinon, on court le risque de voir les données de base dont on dispose s'évanouir en une poussière insaisissable.

5 - Les éléments qualitatifs risquent d'échapper aux analyses.

- Dans toute société, au sein de tout groupe, il existe certains éléments peu nombreux, difficilement saisissables lorsqu'on se contente de compter les voix, mais dont

l'influence en quelque sorte catalytique est souvent prépondérante. Ces éléments, dont la diversité est grande, peuvent agir aussi bien dans un sens positif que négatif, depuis les élites jusqu'aux êtres sociaux, et peuvent contribuer à marquer plus ou moins profondément les groupes auxquels ils appartiennent ou auxquels ils ont été annexés, quelquefois arbitrairement. C'est ici qu'il faudrait pouvoir appliquer l'adage latin "ponderantur sed non numerantur".

Une véritable enquête sociologique n'offre que de lointains rapports avec un sondage électoral.

6 - Caractère arbitraire de toute dichotomie sociale.

- S'il est exact qu'il existe à certaines époques, dans la vie des sociétés, de grands "courants" susceptibles de cristalliser les opinions et de faciliter des regroupements

massifs, contribuant à donner une vision dichotomisée de la société, il n'en demeure pas moins que toute classification sociologique qui tendrait à ne retenir que deux groupes antithétiques se situerait en dehors de la réalité, par exemple: bourgeoisie, ouvriers - élite, masse, droite, gauche - rouge, noir, etc. - . Il ne faudrait pas chercher longtemps pour retrouver ici l'antique opposition d'Ormuzd et d'Ahriman, pente si naturelle de l'esprit humain.

7 - L'avenir ne peut fournir de critères valables.

- Toute classification qui prétendrait s'ordonner dans la perspective d'une évolution présumé de la technique ou du progrès social justifie les plus expresses

réserves: le fils d'un colonel de cavalerie qui s'en va gratter du papier dans les bureaux de la recherche atomique, n'est pas monté "ipso facto" dans l'échelle sociale, parce que la cavalerie n'évoque plus qu'un passé révolu, alors que l'avenir appartient désormais à l'énergie nucléaire.

8 - Les 3 secteurs économiques.

- Pour des raisons du même ordre, des classifications de caractère purement économique ne se prêtent guère à des mesures de

mobilité sociale. Notamment la classification bien connue des 3 secteurs économiques dont M. Colin Clark a été l'initiateur, si féconde quand il s'agit d'expliquer certaines lignes de l'évolution économique, ne s'ajuste

pas facilement aux classifications sociologiques, les seules utilisables dans les recherches de mobilité sociale.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que l'évolution des trois secteurs depuis ces deux derniers siècles rend compte de l'histoire de la plupart des lignées familiales.

9 - Les doubles professions - Les revenus multiples.

- L'appartenance à une double profession, ou plus souvent encore le cas des revenus multiples, sont beaucoup plus fréquents qu'il n'apparaît à la lecture des statistiques. Tel paysan, catalogué ouvrier agricole (il peut avoir intérêt à être considéré comme salarié), est parfois propriétaire d'un petit domaine. La Corse nous fournit maints exemples de cultivateurs exploitants qui ne peuvent "tenir" que parce qu'ils sont aussi bénéficiaires d'une retraite, trop faible par ailleurs, pour les faire vivre, eux et leurs familles.

II - Critère de prestige.

Cette méthode consiste, comme l'on sait, à déterminer une hiérarchie sociale, basée sur le "prestige" exercé sur le public par certaines professions, situations ou fonctions.

Le caractère essentiellement subjectif et complexe de cette notion, qui suppose des jugements de valeur très personnels, n'est pas pour autant un obstacle à une mesure relativement aisée des attitudes qu'elle conditionne.

La méthode qui nous semble la plus simple, consiste à présenter, au cours d'un entretien, un certain nombre de cartes (1), sur lesquelles figurent les dénominations des divers groupes professionnels ou socio-économiques et les personnes interrogées sont priées de classer les cartes dans l'ordre qui leur paraît personnellement le mieux correspondre à l'image qu'elles se font de la hiérarchie sociale.

Deux solutions sont à envisager:

- 1 - On opère sur un échantillon représentatif d'une population déterminée. L'échelle de prestige ainsi déterminée correspond à l'opinion moyenne qui se dégage de l'ensemble de cette population.
- 2 - Chaque groupe socio-économique est appelé à fournir sa propre échelle de prestige.

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La première solution offre un intérêt au point de vue de la détection d'une tendance générale, mais elle n'est qu'une moyenne, ce qui justifie certaines réserves: l'opinion dominante qui se dégage, tend par la force des choses, à rejoindre celle des groupes les plus nombreux.

La deuxième répond à une analyse plus fouillée et permet de mettre en valeur les réactions spécifiques à chaque milieu.

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(1) - La présentation de listes est à déconseiller, l'ordre dans lequel figureraient les divers groupes, même classés au hasard, pouvant créer une suggestion.

Nous-même, nous avons tenté un essai de ce genre, très limité il est vrai, et sans valeur statistique, puisque nous nous sommes bornés à opérer sur un échantillon non représentatif de 30 personnes, choisies au hasard.

Les analyses étaient effectuées, au fur et à mesure des réceptions des réponses, par groupes de 10. Or les 3 échelles ainsi déterminées présentaient entre elles, de remarquables analogies, malgré l'étroitesse des éléments de base. (1)

Ces résultats, par ailleurs, viennent confirmer l'échelle socio-économique à laquelle nous avons abouti en faisant appel à d'autres critères, ainsi qu'il est précisé dans la III<sup>e</sup> partie de cet exposé.

Signalons enfin que l'étude des professions ou des fonctions exercées par les personnalités qui sollicitent ou recueillent les suffrages de leurs concitoyens, donne également des indications précieuses (maires, conseillers, parlementaires, etc. ...). Le fait d'avoir "une clientèle" est un indice de prestige.

En France, ce sont surtout des avocats, des professeurs de faculté, des industriels, des propriétaires terriens qui fournissent le contingent le plus important de ministres, auxquels viennent se joindre parfois ceux qui se sont imposés dans les organisations syndicales.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, une étude portant sur les professions exercées par les membres des conseils d'administrations serait suggestive.

(1) - Moyenne des réponses.

Hiérarchie des groupes professionnel ayant servi de base à l'étude de la mobilité sociale.	Rang moyen attribué à chaque groupe professionnel par les personnes interrogées			
	1er groupe de 10 réponses.	2 <sup>o</sup> groupe de 10 réponses.	3 <sup>o</sup> groupe de 10 réponses.	Moyenne des 30 réponses.
Industriels	2	2	2	2
Professions libérales	1	1	1	1
Fonctionnaires supérieurs	5	4	6	4
Cadres	3	3	3	3
Commerçants et artisans	6	6	4	6
Cultivateurs exploitants	4	5	5	5
Fonctionnaires subalternes	7	7	7	7
Employés	8	8	8	8
Ouvriers	9	9	9	9
Ouvriers agricoles	10	10	10	10
Manoeuvres	11	11	11	11

III - Enseignements méthodologiques d'une enquête de l'I.N.E.D. sur la mobilité sociale.

Les trois critères sur lesquels nous nous sommes appuyés pour nous efforcer de déterminer une classification sociologique sont:

- Les signes de niveau de vie,
- le niveau d'instruction,
- l'âge moyen auquel une profession est exercée.

Ce choix, qui peut sembler limitatif et arbitraire peut néanmoins trouver sa justification dans les considérations suivantes: tout d'abord, ces données sont relativement aisées à recueillir. Elles se prêtent, d'autre part, chacune séparément, à une hiérarchisation ne soulevant pas d'objection majeure, les difficultés n'apparaissant que lorsque l'on tente d'en dégager une synthèse.

- a) - Les signes de niveau de vie. - Sans doute, serait-il apparemment plus simple de pouvoir obtenir directement, des personnes interrogées, des renseignements sur

leurs revenus.

L'hétérogénéité des groupes interrogés, particulièrement la présence d'indépendants à revenus mobiles, excluent cette manière de faire.

On se contente donc de ne retenir que certains signes tangibles tels que: propriété, automobile, aide domestique, téléphone. Ces signes sont d'importance inégale: ils évoquent indistinctement les notions hétérogènes de patrimoine, de train de vie, de possibilités d'épargne, de nécessité professionnelle, et semblent parfois contestables dans bien des cas, mais à l'échelle du groupe, ils conservent une signification évidente.

Groupes professionnels des sujets	possèdent une propriété		ont une automobile		disposent d'une aide domestique		ont le téléphone		rang moyen
	%	Rang	%	Rang	%	Rang	%	Rang	
Industriels	84	1	82	1	67	1	87	1	1
Profession libérales	57	4	56	2	46	2	75	2	2
Commerçants	59	3	52	3	25	4	45	3	3
Cultivateurs exploitants	75	2	31	4	39	3	14	6	4
Cadres indust.et commerciaux	47	5	26	5	21	6	30	5	5
Fonctionnaires I	33	6	25	6	25	5	34	4	6
Fonctionnaires II	32	7	16	7	12	7	9	7	7
Employés	31	8	5	8	2	8	6	8	8
Ouvriers	18	9	2	9	1	9	1	9	9
Manoeuvres	13	10	2	10	-	11	-	11	10
Ouvriers agricoles	10	11	2	11	1	10	1	10	11
Ensemble	44		22		18		16		

Les rangs dans lesquels se classent les divers groupes professionnels suivant les signes de niveau de vie retenus sont en étroite corrélation. On trouve ci-dessous le détail des analyses effectuées sur ce point (1).

On remarquera que les professions qui viennent en tête, industriels, professions libérales, commerçants, cultivateurs exploitants, sont précisément celles qui groupent les indépendants à revenus mobiles.

Nous retrouvons curieusement ici une division déjà faite par Cantillon (2) il y a plus de deux cents ans, lorsqu'il notait que les habitants d'un Etat pouvaient se diviser en deux classes, "savoir en entrepreneurs et gens à gages", ces derniers pouvant avoir un rang très disproportionné, "depuis le général qui a une paie, le courtisan qui a une pension" jusqu'au "domestique qui a des gages". Tous les autres sont entrepreneurs "soit qu'ils s'établissent avec un fonds pour conduire leur entreprise, soit qu'ils soient entrepreneurs de leur propre travail sans aucun fonds...." et Cantillon ajoute malicieusement "les gueux mêmes et les voleurs sont des entrepreneurs de cette classe".

Lorsque, par ailleurs, on a interrogé les pères de familles sur la profession qu'ils envisageaient ou souhaitaient pour leurs fils en âge d'être orientés, une proportion plus ou moins forte de parents ont indiqué leur propre profession, sorte de jugement de valeur porté sur leur condition. Il est intéressant de noter que sous cet angle, ce sont les groupes des indépendants qui ont manifesté la plus forte propension à pousser leurs fils dans la voie qu'ils ont eux-mêmes suivis.

(1) - On a calculé le coefficient de corrélation de rang  $q$

$$q = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (r_i - t_i)^2}{n^3 - n}$$

où  $r_i$  et  $t_i$  sont les rangs respectifs obtenus par la  $i$ ème catégorie professionnelle considérée.

Tous ces coefficients sont très voisins de 1 et les probabilités pour que les différences à 0 des différents coefficients soient dues au hasard, sont extrêmement faibles.

On a obtenu pour les 6 comparaisons possibles les résultats suivants:

Propriété - automobile .....	0,96	3,03	0,003
Propriété - domestiques.....	0,96	3,03	0,003
Propriété - téléphone.....	0,91	2,88	0,004
Automobile - domestique.....	0,97	3,06	0,002
Automobile - téléphone.....	0,96	3,03	0,003
Domestique - téléphone.....	0,95	3,00	0,003

(2) - Richard Cantillon. Essai sur la nature du Commerce en général. Editions de l'I.N.E.D. Paris 1952, p. 31.

b) - Le niveau d'instruction. - Nous n'insisterons pas sur ce critère, qui n'offre pas de difficulté et sur lequel nous avons eu déjà l'occasion de nous étendre ailleurs. L'ordre dans lequel se classent les divers groupes selon ce critère est le suivant: Professions libérales, fonctionnaires I, Cadres, industriels, fonctionnaires II, employés, commerçants et artisans, cultivateurs exploitants, ouvriers, ouvriers agricoles, manoeuvres.

c) - L'âge moyen. L'âge auquel une profession est généralement exercée est un indice extrêmement précieux qui résume pratiquement des données complexes et mériterait à lui seul une étude approfondie. La courbe de distribution des âges à l'intérieur de chaque groupe professionnel serait particulièrement suggestive.

Il y a des fonctions où l'homme n'arrive à son plein épanouissement que dans la maturité, ce sont celles qui exigent des compétences, une expérience, une habitude des responsabilités, qualités dont la synthèse ne se réalise d'une manière générale, qu'au bout d'un certain nombre d'années. D'autres fonctions sont, au contraire, des passages forcés, des stages. Dans ce sens l'âge moyen auquel un métier est exercé peut, dans certaines limites, indiquer la part d'autorité nécessaire à sa pratique, seuls les métiers "différenciés" se prêtant à cette épreuve du temps.

L'âge moyen par profession donne la classification suivante qui est en corrélation avec la classification selon les signes de niveau de vie.

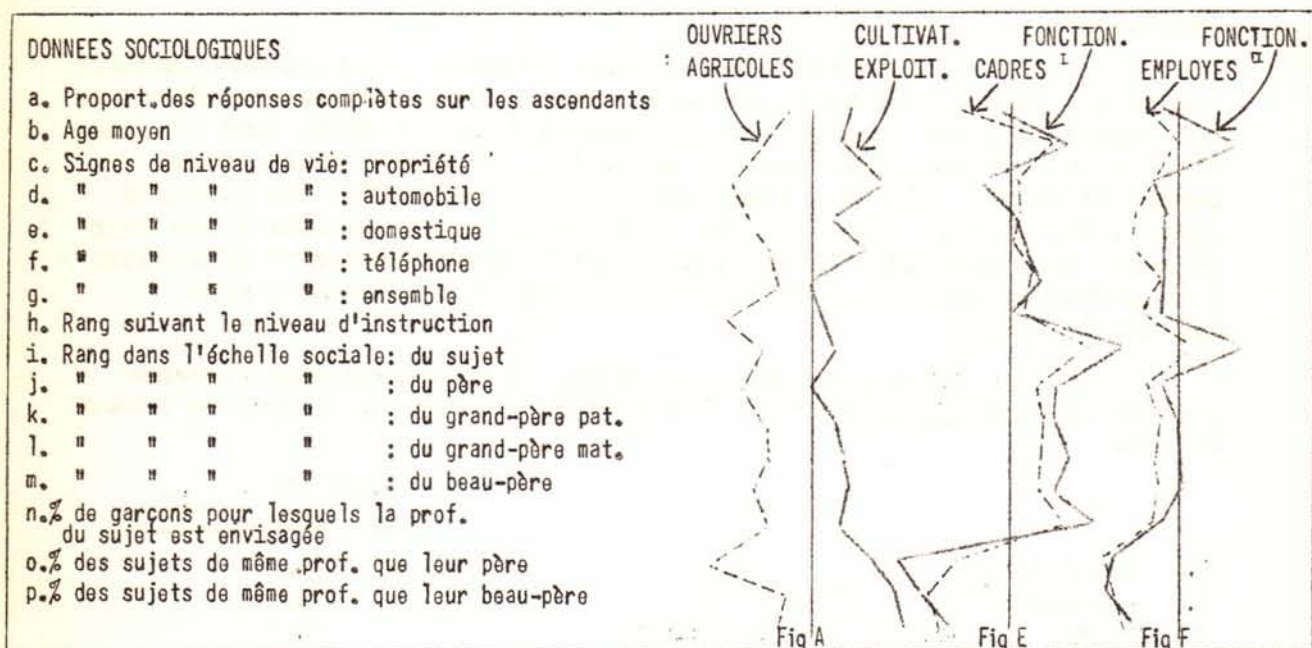
	Age moyen en années. (1)
1. Industriels .....	41,8
2. Fonctionnaires (catégorie I) .....	38,8
3. Cadres industriels et commerciaux .....	38,0
4. Professions libérales .....	37,4
5. Cultivateurs exploitants .....	37,3
6. Commerçants .....	37,1
7. Fonctionnaires (catégorie II) .....	35,4
8. Employés .....	34,9
9. Ouvriers .....	32,9
10. Ouvriers agricoles .....	32,2
11. Manoeuvres .....	31,3
Ensemble .....	35

(1) - Rappelons que dans l'enquête de l'I.N.E.D., l'échantillon était limité à la population masculine âgée de 18 à 50 ans.

### Contrôle expérimental d'un essai de classification.

Pour être valables, les groupements sociologiques doivent être aussi homogènes que possible, sinon on court le risque d'aboutir à des résultats sans signification, qui ne seraient que des moyennes d'autant plus trompeuses qu'elles masqueraient par le jeu des compensations mathématiques, des différences caractéristiques de signe contraire.

Aussi, avons-nous cru devoir procéder à des opérations de contrôle préalable: une série d'aspects caractéristiques des divers groupes socio-économiques ont fait l'objet de représentations graphiques sous forme de profils. Ces figures ont permis de mettre en valeur des affinités existant entre certains groupes.



GRAPHIQUE N° 1

Nous nous bornons à 3 exemples, particulièrement suggestifs.

Voici, confrontés, les profils sociologiques des cultivateurs exploitants d'une part, des ouvriers agricoles, d'autre part. Un simple coup d'oeil nous montre que de toute évidence, les deux groupes sont hétérogènes et s'opposent pour ainsi dire point par point. Il conviendra donc de les distinguer soigneusement au cours de nos analyses.

Voilà, par contre, les profils sociologiques des fonctionnaires I et des cadres. Nous constatons d'emblée de remarquables analogies. Nous pourrions donc au besoin, bloquer ces deux groupes à l'occasion de certaines analyses. Il en est de même pour les groupes des fonctionnaires II et des employés, comme il est facile de s'en convaincre.

Dans ce même ordre d'idées, les artisans ont été bloqués avec les commerçants et non point avec les ouvriers. Parmi les diverses raisons qui nous ont paru justifier ce regroupement, signalons les réponses données par ces 3 groupes aux questions posées relativement aux motifs du choix de leur profession.

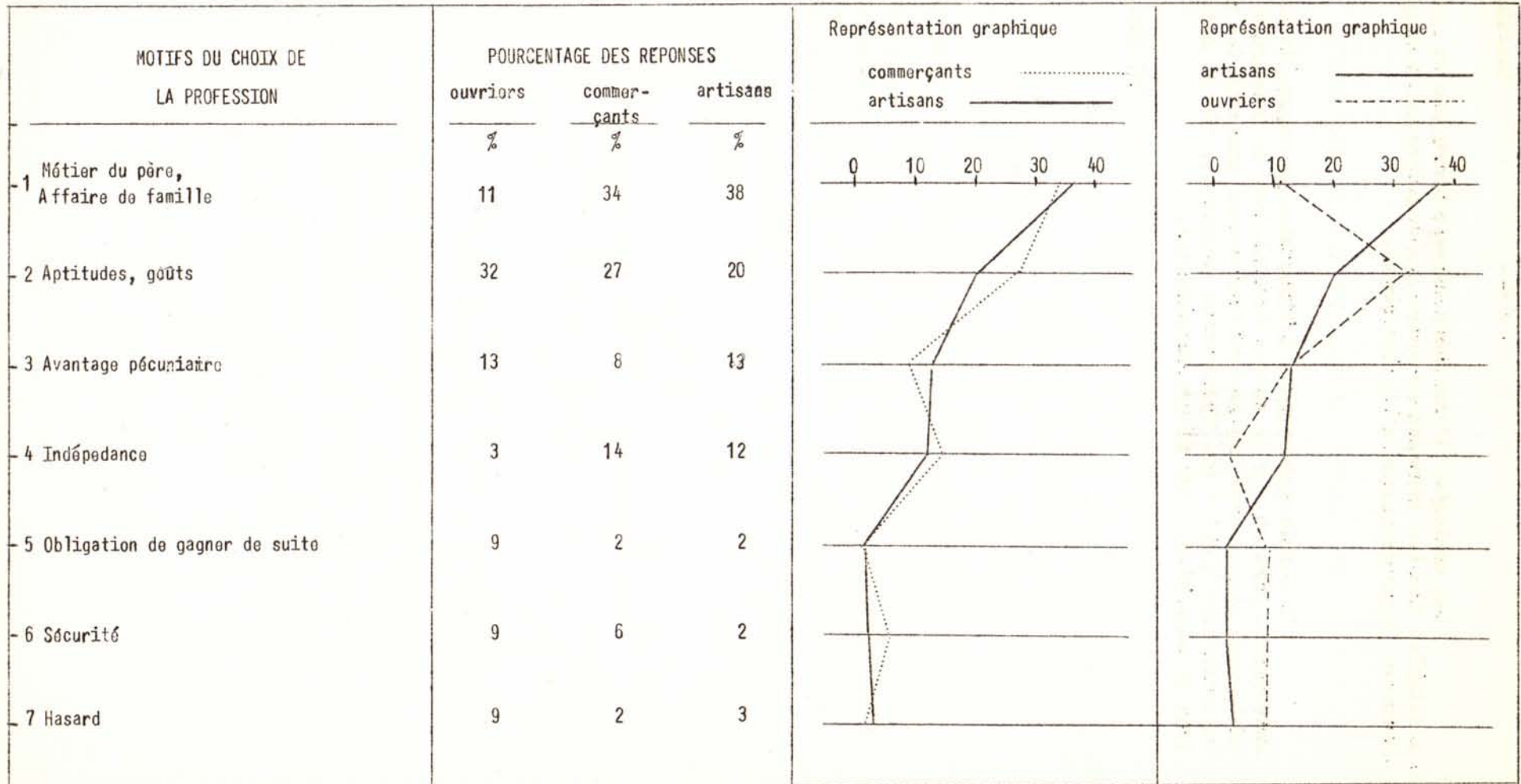


Les analogies d'attitudes entre commerçants et artisans sont soulignées par les divergences entre ces deux groupes voisins et les ouvriers (voir graphique n° 2, ci-après).

Il serait intéressant à l'occasion de chaque étude sociologique entreprise, portant sur un nouvel échantillon, de construire des profils analogues, chaque nouvelle observation venant enrichir les précédentes. On arriverait ainsi à une décantation progressive de la notion de groupe dans le sens d'une plus grande homogénéité.

M. Bresard

N.B. Les motifs du choix de la profession, très voisins chez les commerçants et les artisans, s'opposent sensiblement chez les artisans et les ouvriers.



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24 August - 1 September 1953

Sect. I

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Stratification sociale  
et mobilité sociale

Social Stratification  
and Social Mobility

Literature on Social Mobility and Social  
Stratification in Finland

by

Sven-Erik ÅSTRÖM

Swedish School of Economics, Helsinki

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SOCIAL CLASS AND RELIGION IN THE GERMAN REFORMATION:  
A REPORT ON RESEARCH IN PROGRESS,

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This report illustrates the use of stratification and nobility analysis in connection with an attempt to explain other social phenomena, namely the origins and functions of religious ideology and practice. The conclusions presented here are tentative, based on preliminary ordering of the materials so far examined. (It is hoped to have statistical results rather than merely qualitative ones ready for oral presentation at the Congress, but it is obvious that the quantification of late medieval data must be treated with enormous reserve). These materials have been obtained from secondary sources, a procedure that seems justified in view of a necessary scholarly division of labor. It is further hoped, however, that exhaustion of the secondary literature can lead to an economical utilization of primary sources at some time in the near future.

The problem of the social origins of the German Reformation has (apart from Marxist historiography, and there with no uniform success) not been given the attention it deserves. This is surprising in view of Max Weber's injunction, in the concluding paragraph of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, to studies on the effect of social structure on the development of Protestantism: an injunction heeded with respect to Calvinistic lands but seemingly ignored in Weber's homeland. This lacuna in systematic analysis is all the more surprising when we recall the wide currency given (at least in Britain, France, and the U.S.) the Troeltsch thesis on German social development. Building on Weber's work, Troeltsch held that the authoritarianism, quietism, and traditionalism exhibited by the German middle classes - in contrast with their Calvinist counter-parts elsewhere - can be attributed to Lutheranism. A study of Lutheranism at the time of its inception may help prepare the way for a re-evaluation of the Troeltsch thesis.

This report, however, deals with no such grand problems. Rather it focusses on the social situation in two German cities in the initial years of the Reformation in an attempt to see, as concretely as possible, the processes of ideological development at work. The cities, Augsburg and Lübeck, were selected because the one exhibited a variety of doctrinal commitments in the early years of the Reformation - culminating in the victory of that proto-Calvinism we can identify in Zwingli's doctrines, the other allows us to witness a relatively unequivocal conflict between old Catholicism and new but orthodox Lutheranism. The regional and economic differences - Augsburg was in the southwest and industrial, Lübeck in the northeast and mercantile - promise a useful exercise in comparison on other grounds as well.

We first consider the social structure of the two cities, with particular reference to stratification and nobility, next ext-

nine religious affiliation and innovation in its correlation with these variables, and finally seek some explanation for these phenomena in terms of these variables and the underlying processes of which they may have been indices.

Augsburg at the beginning of the 16th century presented the picture of a medieval Gemeinde in full dissolution. A process of economic expansion and a considerable increment in wealth effected basic changes in the two institutional pillars of this Gemeinde: the system of gild regulation of occupational activity and economic production, and the allocation of social honor unequally among the Standesgruppen. The guilds became explicit mechanisms for the pursuit of advantage in economic conflicts, while money dissolved the boundaries of the Standesgruppen.

The very considerable social mobility that accompanied this process had as its concomitant de-mobility for a substantially larger percentage of the population - in the sense of disappointment of traditional expectations of advancement through the gild system. (The number of master weavers doubled in the generation before the Reformation, but the number of proletarianized workmen, the data suggests, increased at a greater rate.) Inflation at once threatened standards of living and by opening possibilities for speculation to relatively low-placed strata (the speculation was not alone a function of the monopolies, a bête noire of Reformation social criticism, but of a good many small-sized companies formed by petty investors) increased the process of re-distribution of wealth - and dis-organization of old standards.

Lübeck, by contrast, showed a relative stability of social structure. Class conflict in Lübeck on the eve of the Reformation (an uprising in the late 15th century has attracted some historiographical attention) took the form of traditional medieval struggles for re-distribution of wealth and power within a Gemeinde whose fundamental design was not heavily challenged: it is significant in this connection that these struggles did not seem to place in question the uneven distribution of status typical of the Standesgesellschaft.

The predominant position of the patrician guilds - characteristic of the relative cohesion of the community, perhaps, that the patricians themselves were in the guilds - in early sixteenth century constitutional practice dated from the fourteenth century. Data on the personnel involved does not suggest any considerable mobility. The cultural and religious organization of communal life - by contrast with Augsburg, where Renaissance standards of virtu, in German form, legitimized the penetration of these sphere from below - followed rather pronounced class lines. It may, in conclusion, be recalled that this period witnessed what the historians like to think of as the decline of the Hanseatic League: in any case, no economic growth on anything like the Augsburg scale can be noted.

We should not be disappointed were we to expect religious differences between cities contrasting so markedly in other aspects of their social systems. We may begin by characterizing Augsburg as secularized to a degree unapproached in Lübeck. But we must note that this secularization extended primarily through the patrician and rising entrepreneurial classes: it did not, even in the capital of the German Renaissance, extend to lower population strata.

ta. (The Augsburg city council justified its rejection of demands for religious innovation by pointing out that this would incite the populace to a social revolutionary - or at least critical - mood; the Lübeck council justified its opposition in terms of the wrath of God.)

The secularization of the upper classes in Augsburg, a concomitant of their attachment to the German versions of Italian Humanism, made them peculiarly receptive to anti-clerical and anti-Papal thought; the Lübeck patricians were congratulated by no less a personage than Charles V on their Catholic loyalism. But the Augsburg groups, as indicated above, felt compelled to affirm their attachments to the Church when the Reformation took popular forms of a sort they feared.

We may detect three phases in Augsburg Evangelicalism (Protestantism) in the third decade of the sixteenth century - and each phase was characterized by an alignment of class forces that became increasingly unequivocal. The first phase united all population segments behind Luther in those years 1517 - 21 when the monk functioned as a prophet - a national hero. The second phase saw the patricians and a good many of the upper Bürgerliche elements cool in their appreciation of Luther, as the general population showed no uncertain inclination to derive socio-political demands from the New Evangelium. The third phase, beginning about 1527, encompassed the differentiation of this popular front, into a rationalized Zwinglianism - sufficiently non-revolutionary to attract a good many prosperous and even rich Bürgers back into the Reformation camp - and a revolutionary, proletarian Anabaptism - espoused by a relatively small group.

The Lübeck situation displayed no such complicated pattern. The patricians were unequivocally loyalist, the lower guilds unequivocally Lutheran. (And orthodox Lutheran: a point of considerable, even decisive, difference between them and their Augsburg counter-parts.) The highest in rank of the non-patrician guilds, interestingly enough, was split. The tactics of the Lübeck Lutherans showed little of the direct aggression (the interruption of Church services, marches on the Cloisters and the like) employed by the Reformation party in the Augsburg populace, while Anabaptism seemed to gain very little of a foothold.

What can be said about this situation in terms of sociological variables on the order of stratification and mobility? The considerable rate of nobility in Augsburg, the uncertainty of the increasingly non-regulated free market economy, the penetration of class boundaries in all fields: these clearly unloosened that secularized atmosphere of which we have spoken. But for the less favored participants in this process, not a secularization but increased religiosity was the result. This religiosity rested on a negative judgement of the efficacy of Church religion in its Catholic form: since the Church was precisely the guardian of those standards now being obliterated, and in its corrupt forms, was associated with the destructive powers of the new society - one has only to think of the association of the Fugger with the Papal Treasury. Its positive dimensions were shaped not alone by the resources of the Catholic tradition but by the social situation

in which its bearers found themselves. Those threatened with complete deprivation, thrust out of the Gemeinde in fact if not in name, reacted with the apocalyptic ideology and Gemeinde formation of the Anabaptists. Those somewhat more certain (inevitably, in middle positions in this structure) developed the relatively non-magical, rationalized doctrines originated in Zurich by Zwingli.

Despite the dissolution of Church organizations, the Lübeck Reformation exhibited a considerable continuity: the lay religious societies of the 15th century became the new Lutheran congregations. This Lutheranism emphasized inwardness and acceptance of the world equally - confining the Lübeck Reformation in its early stages to the religious sphere, it confirmed the cohesion of the Gemeinde after the initial conflicts were resolved. This confirmation of social cohesion, however, may also be seen as a result of the religiosity of a population enjoying relative fixity of social expectations, interested however in giving its stamp to a Church religiosity that had alienated itself from its communicants. The Lutheran Reformation in Lübeck seemed to follow the pattern of politics in the Baltic city: a struggle for the redistribution of value rather than a conflict over the installation of new values.



