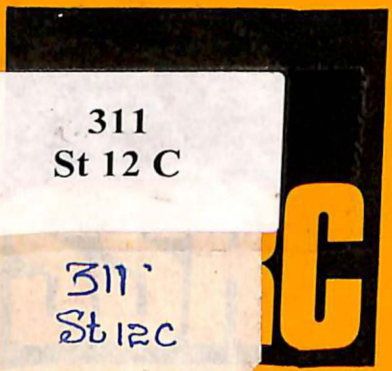
Comparability in Social Research

British Sociological Association
Social Science Research Council



Reviews of Current Research

COMPARABILITY IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

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Comparability in Social Research

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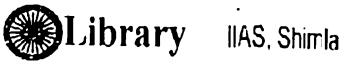

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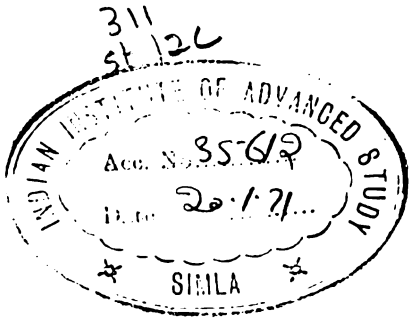

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Contents

JOHN MADGE

It is with deep regret that we record the death of John Madge on August 27th, 1968. His contribution to the working party was greatly valued and is inadequately revealed in the pages that follow. Nevertheless, we hope that these papers, the final version of which he did not see, may be some contribution towards the goal of an increasingly systematic sociology to which he devoted so much energy.

FOREWORD

Most of the research reviews in this series have been prepared by Committees of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), or by working parties of specialists brought together under the Council's auspices to deal with a particular range of research problems.

This series of papers was prepared by a working party set up by the British Sociological Association (BSA), who were responsible for taking the initiative in deciding that work needed to be done in studying the comparability of sociological data.

The SSRC became involved after the work was completed, when the BSA was considering the most effective way of communicating the results to research workers. The SSRC thought that studies prepared by the BSA were a useful contribution to the subject, and agreed to publish them jointly with the BSA in the research review series.

JEREMY MITCHELL, *series editor*

PREFACE

T. H. MARSHALL

It has long been realized that one essential condition for the development of sociological theory and of sociology as a scientific discipline is the comparability of data assembled by those engaged in research. The urgency of the need for such comparability became manifest as the volume of data assembled in sociological surveys and field studies opened up new vistas of opportunity for comparison, based either on published results or on the secondary analysis of the original material. It is obvious that these opportunities cannot be fully exploited unless the material is assembled, classified, coded and catalogued and made accessible to those who want to use it. This process has been going on for some time at the national level, notably by the foundation of survey archives or data banks – in the United States and Europe. Some of these are specialized and some more general. One of the more recent establishments of this kind is the Social Science Research Council Data Bank at the University of Essex. In 1963 the first of a series of international conferences, organized by the International Social Science Council and sponsored by UNESCO, was held to examine the possibility of providing in the same way for cross-national social and political research. There is now a Standing Committee on Data Archives of the International Social Science Council, and the beginnings of an Inventory of European Survey Data.

But it is of little use to collect data for comparison if the data collected are not in fact comparable, and it is with this problem that these essays are concerned. Reading them may, indeed, give the impression that a movement which began at the top has worked its way down to the grassroots. For much

that is written here is concerned with basic questions of research method and the solution of the innumerable problems which arise over the definition and use of concepts and the identification and measurement of variables. Published studies are criticized, not only for failing to take account of the need to make their material comparable, but also for inadequacies of a more fundamental kind. As Mr Bechhofer says, 'It should now be clear that a great deal can go wrong at the recording stage which may make subsequent analysis difficult or even impossible' – and still more, he might have added, subsequent comparison with other data.

Yet, although there is some frank talk about these deficiencies and although some problems are raised to which no agreed answer has yet been found, the general picture is far from discouraging. It is clear that the British Sociological Association has undertaken a task of great importance (of which this represents only the first phase), precisely because much sociological research has been unsophisticated and unprofessional in the past: indeed some still is. But knowledge and expertise are now available in sufficient strength to enlarge and accelerate the professionalization (in the best sense of that term) which has been in evidence for some time now. The situation is well described by Elizabeth Gittus when, referring to those for whom income is a principal variable, she observes: 'These comments will help them at least to be aware of the relevant questions and difficulties and to draw on what is now a considerable fund of experience in coping with them.'

It is eminently appropriate that the British Sociological Association should undertake to mobilize this expertise and experience for the benefit of the discipline as a whole and its British practitioners in particular, and it is to be hoped that this may be only the first of a series of activities designed to fulfil the responsibility of the Association as the accredited representative of British sociology. The working party, the

contributors, and the editor, Mrs Margaret Stacey, are all to be congratulated on their achievement, and it is appropriate that the volume should carry a memorial note to John Madge, who played so important a part in the events leading to the establishment of the SSRC Data Bank at Essex and was also the British representative on the international Standing Committee on Data Archives.

Introduction

MARGARET STACEY

In 1965, following a suggestion made at the Sociology Teachers Conference in Swansea, the Executive Committee of the British Sociological Association set up a working party to consider the comparability of data in locality studies. The working party, which held its first meeting on 1 July 1966, consisted of Mr Frank Bechhofer, Dr Dennis Chapman, Miss Elizabeth Gittus, Mr John Madge, Mrs Margaret Stacey (convenor), Mr Aubrey Weinberg and Miss A. Greenlee Friend (later co-opted).

In the first instance the working party sought to get in touch with others who might have dealt with problems of comparability. Correspondence was exchanged with the Chairman of the Social Science Research Council, the Government Social Survey, the General Register Office, the Centre for Urban Studies, the International Sociological Association, the University of Bradford Administrative Centre, the Market Research Society, the Social and Economic Archive Committee (through Mr J. Madge), Professor R. Rose and Mr T. N. Clark (Chicago).

Although the initial terms of reference of the working party were to consider comparability of data in locality studies, this was never narrowly conceived. Comparability of data in locality studies was taken to imply comparability not only of one locality with another, but comparability with nationally collected data, official and other. The attention of the working party was drawn to two types of secondary analysis, for both of which comparability is essential: (i) comparative analysis of published works; and (ii) secondary analysis of schedule data. The convenor's original paper, which had focused on

comparability of published data, had drawn attention to the first, and the work of the Social and Economic Archive Centre to the second. It does not follow that data which is collected in a manner suitable for data archives and which is susceptible of comparative study based on records in archives will necessarily be presented in published work in such a manner that comparative studies can be undertaken. Furthermore, students who might not collect data on schedules suitable for archive store might perhaps nevertheless be encouraged to present minimum data in a comparable form in their published works. The working party therefore attempted to consider categories for the collection of data and for the presentation of data in reports, although suggestions have not always been equally easy to achieve with the variables considered here.

Examination of published works makes it plain that distinctions which are made in data collection are lost in analysis and subsequent data presentation. This is inevitable, since analysts must simplify to be able to handle data, and the simplification must depend upon their hypotheses and major areas of concern. Ideally, definitions and categories used in schedules should be collapsible in many ways so that simplification for a variety of hypotheses and areas of interest is possible. Inevitably, authors will simplify in a way which makes comparison of published works difficult, but if the simplification were based upon generally agreed categories, elements of comparability would remain. Ideally also, if authors could be encouraged to set forth data in their published works in a standard form, the first steps of comparison could be made from published data, the second by calling for retrieval of schedule material from data archives. In suggesting this, the working party in no way intend to constrain the activities of research workers who wish to devise their own classifications. Indeed, they feel that such activity is essential to the proper development of the subject. They

nevertheless feel that in such cases research workers should *also* classify their data using an existing acceptable classification, in order to achieve comparability both with published works and with data in archives.

The working party have been guided by the conviction that any suggestions made should relate to the body of theoretical knowledge as well as to the empirical determinants of data collection. The working party have therefore not only considered what have been the frequently used categories, but have also attempted some clarification of the necessary approximations which must be made between theoretical concepts and collectable data.

The working party are sensitive to the ultimate need to reach international comparability of data collection, analysis and presentation. Their present activities have been largely restricted to the British field, in the belief that it is necessary to reach some understanding in a national context before international comparability can be meaningfully approached.

The classifications most commonly used by students of locality studies and by others are those which are often known as 'key variables' or 'face-sheet variables'. The working party therefore decided to start with these, attributes of individuals, families or households, rather than of localities as such. It was judged wiser to attempt a modest programme relating not only to the most frequently used variables but to areas where, although there might be some confusion, a movement towards agreed practice appeared most feasible. The variables dealt with here therefore apply much more widely than simply to locality studies.

A count of schedules collected by the Social and Economic Archive Centre in their work preliminary to the setting up of a data bank revealed that the thirteen most commonly used variables of this kind were: age, sex, marital status, occupation, family and household size and composition, education, income, place of birth, housing, leisure activities, social class,

and religion (politics came a bad fourteenth). It was not possible for the working party to study all of these at once. Of those that were initially attempted, four are presented here: *Education* by Aubrey Weinberg; *Family and Household* by Margaret Stacey; *Income* by Elizabeth Gittus; and *Occupation* by Frank Bechhofer.

While each of these papers is the responsibility of its author, they are in a very real sense the outcome of joint deliberations. Each paper was circulated and discussed more than once among the members of the working party and significantly amended in the light of this collective comment. Authors had, of course, consulted as many authorities in their own fields as possible, but such consultations inevitably could not be exhaustive within the strict time limits the working party set themselves. Furthermore, members felt that before the papers were published, they should be widely and critically discussed by professional sociologists. They felt this not only because they wished to have the benefit of wide experience but also because any movement towards comparability must depend upon a common understanding of the problems involved, and also some consensus about the need for comparability and, if possible, about the suggestions made. Drafts of the papers were therefore presented to a session of the Sociology Teachers' Section of the British Sociological Association at Bedford College in January 1968. This session was open to all members of the BSA, whether they were members of the Sociology Teachers' Section or not.

In the light of this discussion and of later discussions and correspondence which it generated, the papers as presented were revised by their authors, and then edited for their present publication.

As well as considering the content of the papers presented to them, the January 1968 conference was asked about future work in this field. The working party were of the view that further similar papers should be written on other variables.

Conference members made it clear in discussion that they felt this. The working party also felt that, however wide the consensus might be at any one time about the usefulness of a particular categorization or definition, none could be expected to stand indefinitely since they would be overtaken by advancing knowledge. They therefore asked the BSA, as the professional body with the appropriate ability, to ensure that any suggestions were reviewed at intervals of not longer than five years. The Association have met these requests by asking Miss Elizabeth Gittus to convene a further working party which is currently considering work on eight further variables.

In conclusion, thanks are due to all members of the working party for their loyal co-operation, support and hard work.

Documents available to the working party, as opposed to works consulted by individual authors, included:

CLARK, T. N. 'Comparability in Community Research': mimeo (based on a report to the Sixth World Congress on Sociology, 1966).

CONVERSE, PHILIP E. 'Some Priority Variables in Comparative Electoral Research', Survey Research Centre: Occasional Paper No. 3 (University of Strathclyde).

Government Social Survey. A selection of questionnaires used in connection with recent surveys.

HAILEY, ANTHEA. 'Inventory of key variables in social surveys undertaken for the Social and Economic Archive Committee' (unpublished working paper).

KLINGEMANN, HANS D. 'Design of a General Scheme for Study Description' (unpublished working paper, 1966).

MARKET RESEARCH SOCIETY. Working Party on social class definition, *Reports*.

PHILLIPSON, MICHAEL. 'Making Fuller Use of Survey Data', PEP, 1968.

ROSE, RICHARD. 'Comparability Problems in Voting Studies': a paper for the International Conference on Comparative Electoral Behaviour (Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 1967); 'Party Systems, Social Structure and Voter Alignments in Britain: a guide to comparative analysis': a paper for the Third International Conference on Political Sociology (Berlin, January, 1968); 'Standard Survey Variables' for use on all Strathclyde surveys.

ROSENTHAL, HOWARD. 'A master codebook for basic sociological data on national sample surveys by the French Institute of Public Opinion': draft paper (1966).

T'HART, HARM. 'Scheme for Study Description': two papers (1966).

UNIVERSITY OF BRADFORD MANAGEMENT CENTRE. Questionnaire and covering letter relating to the revised version of *Statistical Sources for Market Research* (1956).

ZETTERBERG, HANS. *On Theory and Verification in Sociology* (Bedminster, 1965), pp. 53–60 (consideration of the theoretical relevance of face-sheet variables').

1. Education

AUBREY WEINBERG

The use of education as a key variable in locality studies is by no means universal. Although there is a substantial literature on the structure and functions of education, it is difficult to discover succinct definitions which may be effectively utilized in studies outside the field of education. Unlike many other key variables, education is subject to fairly rapid substantive change which, as in the case of length of secondary schooling, may be determined by social legislation rather than individual attitude changes. A series of parliamentary acts and recommendations over the past forty years has brought about fundamental changes in the structure of the system of education. The implementation of current policy decisions will introduce further difficulties when attempts are made to compare those educated yesterday, today and tomorrow.

In addition, some contend that the use of education as a key variable serves merely as an index of social class or status. If this were the case a more exact working definition of social ranking might obviate the need for questions on education.

The first section of this paper therefore seeks to show the relevance of education as an independent variable. The second part critically examines the use that has been made of education as a variable in a number of studies. Finally certain recommendations to increase comparability in future practice are made.

(1) EDUCATION AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

(a) *Education, class and status*

In his study of social status in the mid nineteen-fifties Dennis

Chapman enumerated a substantial list of relevant variables and commented,

> It is sufficient to note that income and education in its broad sense control all of them. These fundamental influences have markedly different characteristics. High income can purchase many of the indices of status, but not all; those that remain derive from education, which is almost conditioned by the income and education of parents.[1]

He prefaces his work on status definition with a caveat imploring a more adequate definition of key variables for use in social investigation. Few investigators have attempted to obtain full value from the use of education as a major variable, but two studies provide adequate illustration of the profitability of such an approach. The field study of Derby by T. Cauter and J. S. Downham related education, as determined by the terminal education age, to a variety of behavioural patterns. They found that the most important factor in their 'Index of Intercommunication' was education[2] and that 'People with a similar education are much more likely to resemble one another in sporting habits, irrespective of class, than they are to resemble people of their own class with a different education.'[3] They found that almost all those in semi-skilled and unskilled employment had elementary education only and that most people with secondary or further education went into non-manual jobs. 'Nevertheless, even amongst the non-manual jobs it was only with the intermediate and higher administrative and professional posts that people with an elementary education were in a minority.'[4]

More recently, Dr Mark Abrams' study of reading habits in Britain has further emphasized the connection between education and other structural features. He uses education and social class as major variables in a sample of people over twenty, and compares the two generations aged 20–44, and 45 years and above, in terms of three terminal education ages.

He discovered that 'Among people of this older generation differences in social class are rarely the outcome of differences in educational background' whereas 'among adults under 45 years of age differences in education play a larger part in differentiating the social classes',[5] concluding, 'Clearly in the past, the lack of higher education has not prevented a great many people in this country from sustaining a middle class income and style of living.'[6] Abrams demonstrates that terminal education age may be more illuminating than social class in explaining daily newspaper-reading habits, and adds 'The reading of Sunday national newspapers is similarly markedly affected by educational background.'[7] It should be pointed out that this study uses occupation as the criterion for defining social class and is therefore really concerned with a comparison of education and occupation as meaningful variables in the analysis of reading habits.

The acceptance of an inevitable relationship between education and social class (as defined by occupational groupings) may be further challenged by reference to the Census tables of education,[8] which give the terminal education ages for the population aged 15 years and over. In Socio-Economic Group 8 (foremen and supervisors, manual) 82·5 per cent of men had left school before reaching the age of 15 years, a proportion higher than that for Group 11 (unskilled manual workers) which was 74·9 per cent. In social class rankings supervisors are traditionally more highly rated than unskilled workers. Socio-Economic Group 2, comprising male employers and managers in industry and commerce (in small establishments employing fewer than twenty-five persons), included 53·5 per cent who had left school under the age of 15 years, whereas for Group 6 (junior non-manual workers who have no supervisory functions) the comparative proportion was 45·4 per cent. Although it is possible to advance plausible explanations for such differences, there is little evidence here that social class thus defined is directly related

to educational background, at least as measured by school leaving age.

The oblique allusion to social mobility patterns made in the two studies quoted above indicates that social class need not necessarily be a function of the education system. Mobility studies confirm this. C. Arnold Anderson suggests that innate intelligence rather than actual schooling may well have been of greater importance in determining the mobility patterns of his sample of successful businessmen. His study again emphasizes the need to differentiate between age groups when describing this or any other social phenomenon.[9] A warning that we cannot assume that such differentiation refers only to past generations comes from the discussion on the 'pool of ability' in the Robbins Report. The Report states that the distinction between measured ability and attainment has tended to become less clear, and notes that 'it is still true, that, because of early leaving or failure to enter higher education, there are many young adults of high measured ability, whose educational attainments are modest'[10] and 'it remains true that there is a greater proportionate reserve of untapped ability in working class than middle class families'.[11] The extent to which such natural ability may be effectively asserted in gaining higher status in an 'achieving society' is considered, among others, by Alan Little and John Westergaard. Although youngsters entering the new 'secondary' schools in the late nineteen forties were already nearing the age of 30 years they believed it was 'still too early to evaluate the occupational experience of the post-1944 generation of children'.[12] They attributed the stability of social mobility, notwithstanding a diminution of class differentials in educational opportunity, to continued professionalization, bureaucratization and automation of work, and saw changes in work structure as counterbalancing advances in the field of education. This contention provides an interesting hypothesis which might well be tested through locality studies seeking

association between education, occupation, and age differentials. Ten years previously, in the introduction to his study of social mobility, David Glass had noted that his educational data related to the pre-war period. He then judged that the 1944 Education Act would not show effects 'for another 40 years or so',[13] and predicted that 'Given the diminishing importance of economic and social background as a determinant of the type of secondary education a child receives, social mobility will increase, and probably increase greatly.[14]

Mobility patterns among the post-war school generations can now be measured objectively. Although working-class parents may be said to regard continued education for their children as a newly-won status symbol, the consequences of such education for young people may well be demonstrated by increasing occupational mobility. Just as there are wide area differences in the numbers who stay on at school or proceed to higher education, so it is likely that occupational mobility will be differentiated according to the local social structure.

(b) *Changes in the structure of education*

The present writer accepts the evidence that significant changes are taking place in the value system by which status is allotted within the occupational structure. The role of education in such processes of social change is particularly interesting.[15] The author's research in the field of comprehensive education emphasizes the importance of the internal structure of the school and the extended duration of education in the formation of social attitudes. This lends support to Miller's suggestion that the values inculcated within the comprehensive system influence the social attitudes of pupils.[16] If these attitudes are reflected in living patterns, then the wider adoption of comprehensive education should provide a fertile area in which the investigator of localities may profitably employ an education variable. It is pertinent to remark

here that such fulfilment of current education policy will introduce additional complications in the commonly used typology of schools. The 'Grammar' and 'Modern' categories are not likely to remain meaningful. Comparisons between these and other school populations, present and past, will require more sophistication and demand a greater refinement of interview schedules than is found at present.

Similarly, when we turn to changes taking place in further and higher education, the categories traditionally favoured in locality studies begin to lose their significance. In 1965 there were 83,536 male students attending universities in England and Wales and 37,610 attending full-time or sandwich type advanced courses in grant-aided further education establishments.[17] Survey questions which ask only about university courses may thereby exclude 31 per cent of those males currently achieving 'higher education'.[18] Moreover, some questionnaire schedules link training colleges with universities in their definition of higher education, although excluding other further education establishments.[19] In 1965 there were 20,318 men (and 50,963 women) in colleges of education in England and Wales. They were substantially outnumbered by their peers in the colleges of further education. Such a 'binary' division of the education received was extended in the 1961 Census which asked for the age at which education ended, but excluded those enrolled in courses of full-time study which involved spending part of this time in employment. Presumably all sandwich course students were thereby climinated although, in 1965, there were over 14,000 men and women enrolled for such courses in colleges of further education (including the Colleges of Advanced Technology). Should the conclusion be drawn that completion of a three-year honours degree course is socially meaningful whereas one of four years' duration, including a year's practical work, is not? One recalls the Council for National Academic Awards' proposal to differentiate its successful sandwich-

course students from others by awarding a B.Sc.* (starred degree), and its speedy withdrawal following wide public protest.

(c) *Education and religion*

Few locality studies are concerned with religion as a variable in social analysis and still fewer with the denominational designation of schools attended. The prevalence of the 'dual system' may be of little relevance in many areas, but in others it may still be regarded as important in the preservation of family and group norms. Investigators of the Liverpool scene have described the religious conformity of the populations being studied and the supportive role played by denominational schools in maintaining the structure of local communities.[20]

In his social survey of Glasgow, Tom Brennan's discovery that Catholic households were less rigidly organized than others and that 'they all lived together', led him to conclude

> If the extended family is more often a feature of Catholic than of non-Catholic households, this difference of organization might well produce a difference of attitude among Catholic families toward a new estate, or a difference in their ability to settle down when they get there (p. 108).[21]

Presumably accessibility to denominational schools may be added to the influences which determine family attitudes to removal and settlement. In Coventry, the writer discovered that Catholic schools provided over 20 per cent of the secondary-school places in the city, and a 1 per cent sample survey of city households recorded a Catholic adult population of about 12 per cent. Rex and Moore reported on the segregation of Irish children into Catholic schools in Birmingham and drew attention to the subsequent high concentration of coloured children into Sparkbrook's state schools.[22] Floud, Halsey and Martin found a 'sizeable Catholic minority' in

Middlesbrough which contributed 20 per cent of the child population. Their study showed that 'a higher proportion of Catholic than of non-Catholic working-class children obtained entry to grammar schools in 1953 from each of the types of home classified as favourable or unfavourable in all or any of the features taken into account . . .'[23] The reasonable assumption that children who attend denominational schools are likely to conform more to traditional patterns of family and community life should have some bearing on data analysis seeking adequate explanations for social behaviour. When locality studies call for differentiation according to religion, the question of attendance at denominational schools merits inclusion, either as a subsidiary to general questions on educational background or in definition of religious orthodoxy.

(d) *Education, social change, and the family*

Sociologists of education are divided in the importance they attach to the role of the school in the socialization of the young and that of education as a catalyst of social change. Those who regard the education system only as a reflection of dynamic forces operating elsewhere in the social structure offer support to the contention that socio-economic data are of greater relevance in community studies.[24, 25, 26, 27, 28] Others who attribute to education a less static role suggest the need for a greater concern with education as a key variable.[29, 30, 31, 32, 33] But irrespective of the schools of thought represented, none gainsay the importance of family background in the transmission of behaviour patterns.[34] The call for a more precise study of the relationship of home background to education made in the Early Leaving report[35] has been followed by J. W. B. Douglas's work on the home and the school,[36] but the surveys carried out by the Robbins Committee provide some of the most revealing evidence. Commenting on the 'infectiveness' of educational experience whereby the education of the parent is passed on to the children, the tables

reveal that 'a child whose father has been to a selective school is four times as likely to enter higher education as one whose father has been only to an elementary school' and more significantly, 'the mother's school seems to have as important an effect as the father's'.[37]

Might we assume that the changes taking place in the secondary sector of education will be reflected in substantial increases in demand for higher education? The relationship between father and son is often noted in social surveys, but the importance of the mother's education has long been masked by studies of social class which look only to the father/son connection and regard the status of the mother as synonymous with that of her spouse. Changes in the structure of the family which have established the wife as a more equal partner in the marriage relationship have also given new significance to the influence of the mother (and her education) in the determination of the children's education. In Brennan's area study of Govan he comments on the Registrar General's socio-economic classes: 'One must remember here, however, that although this kind of analysis into social classes is adequate for some purposes, the occupation of the head of the household does not in many cases set the standards of social behaviour for the rest'[21] (p. 91). The same may be said of his educational standard as objectively measured.

(e) *Education and other variables*

The evidence would seem to indicate that education is mainly treated as a correlate of social class and its association with other key variables is largely neglected. A fundamental analysis of the implications of single-sex or co-education has yet to be written. Statistics of education fail to distinguish between these types of secondary schools, yet it seems plausible to suggest that the composition of the school population is likely to be significant in the formation of attitudes which

persist into adult life.[38] Certainly school-leaving patterns[35] and progress to higher education[39] reveal fundamental differences between the sexes.

Attention has already been drawn to the need to differentiate according to age cohorts when measuring educational background. School-leaving age, when simply recorded in whole years, is open to a variety of interpretations. The category '15 years', without additional information, may be construed as 'having left school at the earliest possible time', or 'having stayed on for one or two terms' (i.e. for as long as the school may allow). Where deferred school-leaving is to be regarded as an indicator of class or status differentials, accurate comparability requires a more definitive sub-categorization.[40] If one proceeds to examine the association between education and income, or to consider the importance of *situs* in the classification of occupations (see Chapter 4) the value of education as a social denominator becomes self evident.

(f) *Practical application*

The justification for the accumulation of educational data not only from both spouses, but also across the generations, must rest upon their use in the development of sociological theory, and their fruitfulness in increasing knowledge about our society.[41] The applied scientist offers a practical application in addition. An example may be taken from the field of town planning. The sociologist cannot reasonably remain uninvolved and renounce responsibility for the process of urban change when planners seek sociological guidance. A more adequate knowledge of local social structure is a prerequisite for ventures into this field, and a greater concern with the definition and application of key variables, leading to more effective comparability of data, is likely to produce important social dividends. The study by Moser and Scott is a major work in this field and, although restricted to data provided

by the 1951 Census, it provides an approach which comparative locality studies might profitably extend. Moser and Scott's reference to education when examining the diversity of British towns reveals the limitations of Census data: 'The only comment worth making on the education series . . . is that they follow closely the social class distributions of the population, and consequently show considerable variability.'[42]

Concern with education as the universal panacea for economic and social problems is ambivalent. At one extremity education is regarded as the utilitarian means whereby an increasing population may continue to advance its standard of living. At the other, concern is expressed by an extreme dissatisfaction with the content of education which, if geared only to vocational and material ends, becomes oblivious of the social goals and the personal needs of the individual. In seeking a working definition of education it is necessary to put aside any philosophy of education, although it is impossible to ignore the functional interdependence of educational philosophy and practice.

The process of formal education does not take place within a social vacuum, and the post-war extension of interaction between pupils, teachers, families and the socio-physical environment of the school represents a social experience largely denied to the previous generation. The assessment of the social consequences of this process has been more the concern of journalists and weekend commentators than of sociologists. Although the time-span suggested by David Glass has only half elapsed, there may be immediate issues which merit the attention of the social investigator. T. R. Fyvel, for example, concerns himself with the role of education in the reduction of adolescent delinquency.[43]

The comparative study which follows is a contribution to the endeavour to formulate an operational classification of education for use in social surveys.

(2) A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE USE OF EDUCATION AS A VARIABLE

To discover the use made of education as a 'key' variable in community research forty-seven studies were examined, including several in progress.[44] Some of these are concerned with a variety of features manifested by a sample population, whereas others investigate some particular characteristic such as health or reading habits. They represent a wide range of research technique and include both qualitative and quantitative forms of study. From examination of them two essential facts seem to emerge: (i) only a limited number of studies use education as a significant variable; (ii) the data, as presented, offer little to those interested in its comparability.

Of the forty-seven studies, twenty-five (Group A in Appendix II) made no reference of any kind to education (except one study with a single sentence of general comment).

A further nine studies (Group B in Appendix II) published interview schedules which included questions on education, but these were neither referred to in the text nor in the tables of data as presented, except for one publication which devoted a single page to education.

The remaining thirteen studies (Group C in Appendix II) which requested data on education and related this to other variables further reveal the limited utility assigned to education. Six of these studies related education solely to the factor of class, status, or élite group and only five discussed its relevance to more than one other variable (housing, family structure, age, occupation, reading and sporting habits are referred to).

The most common characteristic used in the definition of education was that of further education (sixteen studies) but only six of these asked for detail on all its forms. Some studies, therefore, produce data on several types of higher education whereas others are limited to details of university or training

college. Only five studies distinguished between full-time and part-time study, and it is difficult to see how it is possible to differentiate between further and higher education, given the variety of categorizations used. What is the significance likely to be attached to the group which proceeds to further or higher education? Given the 'drop-out' rate both at universities and at colleges of further education, any designated group of leavers will include those who might have attended for one year only and others who will have stayed for four years and longer. If attainment (or non-attainment) rather than opportunity to attain is the criterion to be established, an alternative form of questioning is desirable.

Terminal education age was the second of the common characteristics used (fourteen studies) but only one investigator added the refinement 'staying on' to sub-divide the 15-year-old leavers. Unfortunately school-leaving age gives only a rough approximation to educational background, as a group of '15-year-old leavers' could include a mixed bag of secondary modern ex-pupils, some of whom had stayed on and others who had left at the earliest opportunity, early leavers from grammar schools, leavers from all streams at comprehensive schools, GCE successes and failures, and those who subsequently extended their education through part-time and evening classes. A terminal classification may put the 'special-school' pupil whose particular needs require a school-leaving age of 16 years into a higher category than the talented but 'premature' grammar school leaver of 15+ who achieves a string of examination successes. It is important to define exactly what is being measured by such a classification. Many other anomalies may appear under this heading, and some declaration of intent and content is required if an accurate degree of comparability is to be achieved. It would appear from the published studies that an oversimplified classification may be preferable in order to achieve at least some minimal data for analysis. It is noted that some

questionnaires which give more detailed classifications fail to achieve an interpretation in the subsequent analysis.

Twelve studies record the schools attended by either respondents or their children; the Government Social Survey provides the most detailed list. Unfortunately such a gathering of data does not appear to have led investigators to a deep examination of the relationship between school background and social behaviour. This field has been left clear for the sociologist of education, who traditionally works from the school population outwards rather than from the general population back to school. Even if one can overlook the area contrasts in the provision of grammar-school places, the development of extended courses and 'grammar streams' within the modern school and variations in its overall structure between one area and another make any comparison based on the type of school attended difficult. With a school-leaving age of 16 years now imminent the question of parity of esteem between school types is already giving way to a noisy debate over the quality and content of secondary education. To regard as accurate a nomenclature based on the homogeneity of all secondary-modern schools is to ignore the kind of evidence which formed an essential part of the Newsom Report.[45] Such inability to infer the quality of education from school background leads the investigator to the alternative assumption that the quality of education can be derived from its quantity. This is understandable in an achieving society where an extended education has become associated with extended qualification. It can be argued that irrespective of the economic utility of education, if it is presented in an adequate way by able people in adequate surroundings, then additional increments would inevitably add to its social utility and thus, presumably, to the quality of life that social investigators may be attempting to assess.

With regard to the importance of the mother's education as an influence on both the husband and children, only three

studies specifically asked for the educational background of both spouses, and none of these refer to such data in the published texts.

(3) CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

(a) *General*

This review of locality studies suggests that the two criteria which social investigators have found most consistently useful are terminal education age and further/higher education. Where education is to be used as a key variable, a wider adoption of these criteria would permit greater comparability of research. The importance of obtaining educational data from both spouses and their children is emphasized if the influence of the mother and inter-generational changes are to be measured.

Although it is realized that some studies will require additional information on educational background, the following information categories are suggested as representing the most important elements of education as a 'key variable'. The items as listed here are not all set out in mutually exclusive categories. This is done in Section B below.

(i) *Terminal education age* (secondary education) 14 yrs or under; 15 yrs; 16 yrs; 17 yrs; 18+ yrs

(ii) *Whether stayed on at school beyond statutory leaving age:*
Premature leaver
Left at earliest opportunity after reaching leaving age
Left 1 term after statutory leaving age
2 terms
1 year
2 years
3+ years

(iii) *Last secondary school attended:*
Elementary (pre-1947); grammar; modern; technical; comprehensive/bilateral; public/private; LEA/denominational (specified); single sex/mixed.

(iv) *Duration of full-time further/higher education* (see definitional note in Appendix I)
I year; 2 years; 3 years; 4+ years

(v) *Duration of part-time further/higher education* (see definitional note in Appendix I)
1 year; 2 years; 3 years; 4 years; 5+ years

(vi) *Highest academic qualification obtained:*

None	
Secondary or basic	CSE; GCE 'O'; GCE 'A'; External (specify)
Further	Certificate; Diploma; Membership
Higher/professional	Certificate; Diploma; Membership 1st Degree; Higher Degree

(b) *Specific*

(i) *Minimum face-sheet variable*

The evidence surveyed above leads to the conclusion that the most significant educational variable is one which combines terminal educational age with 'staying on'. Most studies deal with populations of mixed ages and this offers the greatest

TABLE 1

Length of education expressed as a factor of the statutory leaving age

	14 (or under)	15 years	16 years
Premature leaver before age of	a	b	c
Left at earliest opportunity after reaching leaving age when this was:	d	e	f
Stayed on after statutory leaving age for:			
1 term	g	h	i
2 terms	j	k	l
1 year	m	n	o
2 years	p	q	r
3 years	s	t	u

accuracy in making comparisons among persons of different ages, including inter-generational comparisons. Therefore, a combination of items (i) and (ii) above, organized as indicated in Table 1 above, is recommended for use as a single face-sheet variable on education.

(ii) *Inter-generational mobility*

Where inter-generational mobility is relevant to the research, data on the parents' education may be classified in the same way as that of the subject in Table 1 above. The data would not be punched in this form, however, but would be expressed as an attribute of the subject in the form indicated in Table 2 below. (Accuracy would of course depend on parents' recall.)

TABLE 2

Duration of subject's education compared with that of parents

Same as Father and Mother	1
Same as Mother less than Father	2
Same as Mother more than Father	3
Same as Father less than Mother	4
Same as Father more than Mother	5
More than both	6
Less than both	7

(iii) *Last school attended*

An economical method of expressing the type of terminal *school* education received (item (iii) above) is suggested in Table 3 below.

(iv) *Higher and further education*

Where data on higher and further education is relevant items iv, v and vi above may be summated as in Table 4, but reference should be made to the definitional note, Appendix I.

Additional tables may be composed according to the particular requirements of the study. As with the collection of all schedule material, careful and full recording at the interview

TABLE 3

Last Secondary School attended

	LEA		RC		Other den.			
	Single-Sex; Mixed		Single-Sex; Mixed		Single-Sex; Mixed		Single-Sex; Mixed	
Non-fee-paying								
Elementary/modern	a	b	c	d	e	f		
Grammar/technical	g	h	i	j				
Comprehensive/ bilateral	m	n	o	p	q	r		
Fee-paying								
Direct grant/ public/private			s	t	u	v		
*Other**							w	x

* May be specified if so wished; y, z remain for further 'other' categories.

TABLE 4

Higher and further education

	Duration of study			
	1–2 yrs	*3–4 yrs*	*5+ yrs*	*none*
Full-time further to basic qualification	a	b	c	
Full-time further to further-education qualification	d	e	f	
Part-time further to basic qualification	g	h	i	
Part-time further to further-education qualification	j	k	l	
Full-time higher to university, college or professional qualification	m	n	o	
Part-time higher to university college or professional qualification	p	q	r	
Other	s	t	u	
No education beyond leaving school				z

stage will facilitate the organization of data at the coding and tabulation stages.

SUMMARY

(i) The constantly changing structure of education, both legal and organizational, makes it difficult to handle as a face-sheet variable.

(ii) Its association with social class, status and social mobility makes it highly relevant to many studies.

(iii) What aspect of education is relevant must depend upon the main purpose of the study: thus in addition to (ii) above, the structure and type of school attended and the length of education may well affect the social attitudes of the subject, and his family of origin may affect the education he receives and the attainments he achieves.

(iv) In Section (3)(b)(i) a minimum face-sheet variable is suggested which expresses length of education as a factor of the statutory school-leaving age at the time the subject completed his education, thus ensuring comparability over a period of time.

(v) Section (3)(b)(ii) suggests ways of retaining comparability in handling inter-generational mobility data.

(vi) Sections (3)(b)(iii) and (iv) suggest classifications for the type of final education achieved.

(vii) It is also suggested that, where relevant, data should be collected and published in forms comparable with those of official publications, making possible comparison with national data, as well as between local studies.

A NOTE ON DEFINITIONS

Further and higher education

The greatest confusion between these stages of education arises from attempts to classify educational establishments rather than courses. Given the changing structure of the educational system, there are many local-authority colleges providing elements of both stages of education. This situation is unlikely to change substantially, given the present policy of the Department of Education and Science regarding the structure of the new 'Polytechnics'.[46]

Simplification may however be achieved by referring to actual courses of education rather than the establishments within which they take place. The introduction to the Annual Report of the Department of Education and Science, *Education in 1966: a General Survey* refers to two basic documents being offered to secondary schools.

(1) *Further Education for School Leavers*, which points to the many opportunities now open for full-time education in technical, commercial and artistic subjects or for part-time education in vocational subjects.
(2) *Signposts to Higher Education* covers advanced courses in universities, colleges of education and technical colleges, in relation to career prospects.

For a more detailed discussion on further and higher education reference should be made to the *Report of the Committee on Higher Education 1963* (Appendix 2(A) Part 3 Section 1) where 'advanced work in further education' is defined as work that leads to 'recognized qualifications' and is 'above the standard of instruction' required for GCE (Advanced) level or the Ordinary National Certificate. As such advanced work is considered to be appropriate to higher education a brief list may offer some guidance:

Degree (including post-graduate studies).
Diploma in Technology.
HND/HNC (considered by the DES to be roughly equal

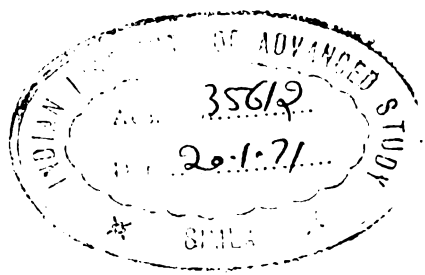
to the level of a pass degree, but available over a more limited range of subjects).
NDD (National Diploma in Design); ATD (Art Teachers Diploma).
Professional qualifications, etc.

The major areas of work in higher education were located by the Committee within the universities and colleges providing courses for the education and training of teachers. It may therefore be concluded that qualifications other than those set out above which may be gained from work in further education establishments, or which are awarded by universities or colleges of education, may be designated as belonging to further education.

Professional qualifications

The analysis provided by the *Report on Higher Education* offers the best guidance in defining the level of professional qualifications. Appendix 2(B) Part 5 describes areas of Professional Education other than that undertaken on a full-time basis entirely within the universities, training colleges and colleges of further education. Annex BB (page 535) offers a comprehensive list of professional associations.

However it is to Appendix 1 Annex D that one should refer for a list of professional qualifications at the level of higher education. It could be argued that any division of qualifications may be regarded as arbitrary, but in so far as this list is based on the classification used by the Department of Education and Science for defining advanced work for the purpose of pooling expenditure among local education authorities, it may be regarded as the most acceptable list at present available, and its use affords the best basis for comparative study. Seventy-five such courses are classified, and subsidiary lists indicate types of professional qualifications not recognized as of the level of higher education.



THE USE OF EDUCATION AS A VARIABLE IN LOCALITY STUDIES

Group A – Education neither used nor referred to as a variable

BOWDEN, P. 'An economic and sociological survey of the New Town of Newton Aycliffe', *County Durham New Town Study, 1964–5* (Source: Social and Economic Archive Committee).

BRENNAN, T. *Reshaping a city* (House of Grant, Glasgow, 1959).

CHAPMAN, D. *The home and social status* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1955).

CULLINGWORTH, J. B. *Housing in transition: a case study of the City of Lancaster, 1958–62* (Heinemann, London, 1963).

CULLINGWORTH, J. B. *English housing trends*: Occasional Papers on Social Administration no. 13 (G. Bell, London, 1965).

DENNIS, N., HENRIQUES, F. and SLAUGHTER, C. *Coal is our life* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1956).

DONNISON, D. V. (and others). 'The movement of households in England', *Essays on housing*: Occasional Papers on Social Administration, no. 9 (Codicote Press, Welwyn, 1964).

ELIAS, N. and SCOTSON, J. L. *The established and the outsiders* (F. Cass, London, 1965).

FRANKENBERG, R. *Village on the border* (Cohen and West, London, 1957).

HARNETT, R. W. F. and MAIR, A. Three studies of Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow, in *Further studies in hospital and community* (Oxford University Press, London, for Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, 1962).

JENNINGS, H. *Societies in the making* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962).

JEVONS, ROSAMOND and MADGE, JOHN. *Housing estates: a study of Bristol Corporation policy and practice between the wars* (University of Bristol, 1946).

KERR, M. *The people of Ship Street* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958).

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, MERSEYSIDE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY. Personal communications.

MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, Sociological Research Section, *A social survey of Deeplish, Rochdale* (May, 1965). A personal communication from the department states that education is not used as a variable in any enquiry and that occupation is used as the criterion of social class.

MOGEY, J. M. *Family and neighbourhood* (Oxford University Press, London, 1956).

NEWSON, J. and NEWSON, E. *Infant care in an urban community* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1963).

NORRIS, JUNE. *Human aspects of redevelopment* (Midlands New Towns Society, Birmingham, 1960).

PICKETT, K. *Attitudes of estate residents to living on a Local Authority estate* (Halewood estate) Liverpool University, 1966 (Source: SEAC).

REES, A. D. *Life in a Welsh countryside* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1960).

ROGERS, H. B. (and others) *Social survey of a neighbourhood unit in Stoke-on-Trent* Keele University (Source: SEAC).

SPENCE, J., WALTON, W. S., MILLER, J. W. and COURT, S. D. *A thousand families in Newcastle-on-Tyne: an approach to the study of health and illness in children* (Oxford University Press, London, 1954).

WILLIAMS, W. M. *The sociology of an English village: Gosforth* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956).

WILLMOTT, P. *The evolution of a community* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).

WILLMOTT, P. 'East Kilbride and Stevenage: some social characteristics of a Scottish and an English New Town.' (*Town Planning Review*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 4, Jan. 1964)

Group B – Question on education included in questionnaire schedule but not referred to in the text or by tables

BRACEY, H. E. *Neighbours* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964)

(a) education of husband and wife;

(b) schools attended by children.

CENTRE FOR URBAN STUDIES *London: aspects of change* Centre for Urban Studies: Report no. 3 (MacGibbon & Kee, London, 1964). Includes three studies of new communities: A Profile of Lansbury; Londoners in Hertfordshire; Tall Flats in Pimlico. The Lansbury study included questions on the schools attended by the children.

HUMPHREYS, A. J. *New Dubliners* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964)

(a) what school attended?
(b) if left school at 14, why?
(c) if attended secondary or technical school why not university?
(d) if attended university, what was specialization?

KEELE UNIVERSITY. Survey on overspill in Winsford, 1964. Asks of 'families with children' the schools or colleges attended by the children.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY: Dept. of Social Science. *Neighbourhood and community* (Liverpool University Press, 1954).

TAYLOR, *Lord* and CHAVE, S. *Mental health and environment* (Longmans, London, 1964).

A survey of one of eight new towns in the home counties.

(a) terminal education age
(b) type of school last attended or college/university (training college and technical college coded the same, and different from that of university).

VEREKER, C. and MAYS, J. B. *Urban redevelopment and social change* (Liverpool University Press, 1961).

Further education by private study, correspondence course or evening classes.

WILLMOTT, P. and YOUNG, M. *Family and class in a London suburb* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1960)

(a) age finished school
(b) if 16 or more did you go to university, if yes, which? (Training college and technical college not included.)

YOUNG, M. and WILLMOTT, P. *Family and kinship in east London.* Rev. ed. (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1962).

Age left school (including those going to university and training college)

Group C – Education used as a working variable (or present studies so intending to use it)

ABRAMS, M. *Education, social class and reading of newspapers and magazines* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, London, 1966). Three terminal education ages are related to social class, and newspaper- and journal-reading habits.

ARRIENS, JAN A. 'The effects of life-cycle stage and work situation on leisure activities: Harlow New Town' (unpublished)
(a) age education completed
(b) type of institution last attended
(c) part-time education . . . length . . . type . . . time involvement
(d) other training or education relevant to work.

BUILDING RESEARCH STATION Studies of housing needs (unpublished)
(a) age at which both spouses left school/university
(b) did husband continue with education . . . type . . . day/evening
(c) has husband professional qualifications . . . details.

CAUTER, T. and DOWNHAM, J. S. *The communication of ideas* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1954)
(a) kind of school or college last attended
(b) school or college leaving age
(c) part-time courses now being attended . . . type . . . time spent . . . arranged by firm or self
(d) other part-time study since leaving school . . . type . . . by whom arranged.

COLLISON, P. *The Cutteslowe Walls* (Faber and Faber, London, 1963)
(a) Cutteslowe school (local authority infant)
(b) State schools other than Cutteslowe school
(c) Private schools (where fees are paid).

GITTUS, ELIZABETH *Levels of living* (unpublished)
(a) age children expected to leave school
(b) expected progress to further education.

GOVERNMENT SOCIAL SURVEY:
(i) Crime
Last place of full-time education; University; Public

School/Grammar/Pre-1947 Secondary;Technical College; Technical School; Pre-1947 Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade; Post-1947 Comprehensive; Secondary Modern/ Elementary/non-Grammar Denominational School; Other (specify).

(ii) Survey of Shop Stewards (also Survey of Ex-Shop Stewards)

What type of school did you last attend? Elementary/ Secondary Modern; Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade/ Technical; State Grammar/County High; Other (specify). Apart from this have you received any further education?

(a) specify full- or part-time
(b) age at which this finished
(c) qualifications obtained . . . none . . . G.C.E. 'A'/HSC/ Inter; G.C.E. 'O'/GSC; Full industrial apprenticeship; Other (specify).

(iii) Leisure and Planning

(a) School last attended/attending:
Public/Grammar/pre-1947 Secondary; Technical College; Technical School; Pre-1947 Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade; Post-1947 Comprehensive/ Secondary Modern/Elementary/all non-Grammar Private Commercial Schools/Colleges; Denominational Schools; Other (specify).
(b) Age left school.
(c) Further education (including teacher training) as full-time student for at least one year.
(d) For persons 15 to 30 years inclusive who have left school/finished full-time education . . .

Did you attend evening classes of any kind from January to June this year?

How many evenings a week do you usually attend?

MOSER, C. A. and SCOTT, W. *British towns*: Centre for Urban Studies Reports no. 2 (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1961). 1951 Census data related to the occupational structure.

MUSGROVE, F. *The Migratory Elite* (Heinemann, London, 1963) Chapter 5: Midland City (1960). School-leaving age used in a comparison of élite group membership.

PAHL, R. E. *Urbs in rure*: Geographical Papers no. 2. (London School of Economics, 1965)
Chief wage earner's education: 'ordinary' primary only, Grammar school only, Grammar and University, Public school only, Public school and University. Other advanced full-time education.

ROSSER, C. and HARRIS, C. *The family and social change* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966)
(a) age finished full-time education
(b) at fee-paying school from age of 5 onwards
(c) college or university (specify).

RUNCIMAN, W. G. *Relative deprivation and social justice* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966)
(a) When are children under 15 years expected to leave school?
(b) Did children of 15 years and over leave as soon as they could or did they stay at school longer than needed?
(c) Attendance at fee-paying schools
(d) Education beyond school
(e) Age respondent finished full-time education.

STACEY, MARGARET. *Tradition and change* (Oxford University Press, 1960). Type of Education: Private, etc.; Higher Education; Secondary; Elementary.

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3. Ibid. p. 80.
4. Ibid. p. 30.
5. ABRAMS, M. *Education, social class and the reading of newspapers and magazines* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, London, 1966) pp. 7, 8.
6. Ibid. p. 9.
7. Ibid. p. 15.

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10. COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION. *Higher education* (H.M.S.O., London, 1963, Cmnd. 2154). Appendix I, Part 3, p. 80.
11. Ibid. Part 3, p. 81.
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13. GLASS, D. V. (ed.) *Social mobility in Britain* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954) p. 21.
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18. For example, the studies of P. WILLMOTT and M. YOUNG of East London.
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educational opportunity (Heinemann, London, 1956) pp. 72, 134–8, 146, 88, 89.

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25. BANKS, OLIVE. *Parity and prestige in English secondary education* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1955) p. 239: '. . . development within secondary education has had to wait upon changes in the social structure.'
26. PEDLEY, ROBIN. *Comprehensive education: a new approach* (Gollancz, London, 1956). '. . . it would be both wrong and futile to expect schools and colleges to turn back or even direct the tide of industrial and social change' (p. 140).
27. TAYLOR, W. *The secondary modern school* (Faber & Faber, London, 1963). '. . . changes in the work and status of the Modern school occur in response to changes in these (deeply rooted social and economic) pressures rather than as a result of reforms initiated by the educational system itself.' (p. 42).
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of Education, 1954). 'The school moreover softens up and loosens the rigidities of attitude imposed by the lines of class stratification outside; and in doing these things it also performs at one remove a social purpose in gradually overthrowing artificial barriers between men and women in the adult world'. (p. 66).

32. GARFORTH, F. W. *Education and social purpose* (Oldbourne, London, 1962) 'But although it is now widely recognized that education is a powerful means of preserving tradition and culture, it is not so widely understood that it is also a powerful means of adapting and reinterpreting them in the face of change; that education has what has been called a creative as well as a conservative function . . . It is a fundamental assumption of this book that education can and should be used in this latter way'. (p. 26).
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2. Family and Household

MARGARET STACEY

(1) INTRODUCTION

A main variation in the type of definitions and categories used in collecting data about the family and household is found between those used for academic purposes and those used for administrative purposes. Those collecting and analysing data for academic purposes may be described as concerned with *sociological analysis*; those collecting data for administrative purposes with *social accounting*. The distinction is not absolute, but tends to be reflected in the type of data collected and the way in which it is categorized.

All those who undertake sociological analysis are concerned with systems or structures, with, for example, interrelations of institutions or rôles. The social accountants appear to be more concerned with the attributes of persons in social categories. They are of course concerned with associations between these attributes. The social analysts are also concerned with categories, but with a good deal else besides.

This chapter is principally concerned with data collected for purposes of sociological analysis. Such data must often in practice be related to data collected initially for social accounting purposes (particularly official statistics). In rendering operational the concepts of sociological theory for use in data analysis, attention must therefore be paid to achieving compatibility at some level with the concepts used in social accounting. An initial step is to make plain the difference

* Matters relating to kith and kin outside the household or domestic group have been deliberately excluded from this paper. The concept of the extended family is dealt with in a Note by C. C. Harris and M. Stacey on p. 56 ff.

between the concepts from the two sources. This is not always done, as section 2 below shows.

Among those whose prime concern is with sociological analysis there have been a number of different approaches to the study of family and household, some of which have had important consequences for the type and method of data collection. Thus, on the one hand, some researchers have been concerned to describe the process of social relations and its implications for structure and culture, particularly at an interpersonal level. On the other hand, some have been more concerned with identifying quantifiable social types, not only for numerate description, but also for purposes of comparison over time and space and for the development of generalizations by these means. Those who have been concerned to describe interpersonal relations in a context of inter-related institutions have sometimes tended to avoid the use of techniques involving numeration, because they fear that at best this may lead to superficiality and at worst give a spurious impression of accuracy. Others, well aware of these dangers, feel that the careful definition required by the process of enumeration leads to greater precision, as well as making it possible to handle larger quantities of data and in a more elaborate manner than is possible by verbal description and analysis alone. An examination of the literature suggests that some numerate analyses are based upon the most imprecise concepts and definitions, while some non-numerate analysis is conceived and defined most carefully. There is no doubt that in the continuous process of review of definitions and categories that must go on if account is to be taken of new understanding as it is acquired, both numerate and non-numerate studies should be considered seriously. There is of course no hard and fast dividing line between students who approach the matter from the two positions described.

The distinction between these two approaches is different from that between students whose orientation is primarily

theoretical and those whose main concern is to 'collect the facts'. Again, evidence from the two sources must be carefully and continuously reviewed. It will be assumed in this chapter that all sociological analysts have in common a concern to relate theory to empirical evidence, and vice versa, using reliable data from wherever it may be found.

(2) FAMILY, HOUSEHOLD, AND DOMESTIC GROUP: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

It is clear that a distinction must be made between *family* and *household*. This is usually done, although not always explicitly, and is often not followed through consistently in the text of the analysis or even in the tables. As Madeline Kerr[28] has pointed out, the fact that the Census deals with households and not families has added to the confusion in British sociology.* In conception the distinction presents little difficulty.

A *household* is based upon the principle of commensality: the group of people who normally eat together, or who share a common larder and accounts. The operational definition varies somewhat from one author to another. Thus Kerr defined a household as 'a group of people living and eating together and sharing the money earned by one or more of them'; Douglas and Blomfield[13] as 'all those whom the mother looks after' (in their study the subjects were children, the 'mother' is the subjects' mother). The Census definition of a private household is used by many of the authors who do make a clear distinction. This practice, so long as the Census

* The 1966 Sample Census has for the first time collected data on the family which 'was defined to mean either (a) a married couple with or without their never-married child(ren) or (b) a mother or father with his or her never-married child(ren) (i.e. a lone parent with never-married child(ren)'. But a family could consist of grandparents and their never-married child(ren) where there were no parents. (Sample Census 1966 Scotland. Household Composition Tables p. xiv. para. 29.)

definition is acceptable, has the merit of making comparability with national statistics possible. The 1961 Census[24] definition, which does in fact seem acceptable, is as follows:

> A household comprises one person living alone or a group of persons living together, partaking of meals prepared together and benefiting from a common housekeeping.
>
> A person or persons living but not boarding with a household in a house, flat, etc. should be treated as a separate household. But a person living with a household who usually has at least one main meal a day provided by that household while in residence is part of that household. (Breakfast counts as a meal for this purpose.)
>
> A household must have exclusive use of at least one room. If two people share one room and do not have exclusive use of at least one other room they should be treated as one household.
>
> The rules given for identifying a private household in a hotel, boarding house, hospital or other institution were in general the same as those given above except that a person or group was only treated as a private household if they were living in structurally separate quarters and either
>
> a family group doing much of their catering separately from the institution or
>
> a person or group who did not have any meals provided daily by the institution.

The nuclear, conjugal, elementary or immediate family lacks consensus as to its name but its definition is agreed in principle. It is composed of the mates and their child(ren). Members of any one elementary family need not, but in Britain usually do, occupy the same dwelling, and form one household.*

* This customary behaviour and its associated beliefs explains, but does not excuse, much of the confusion between family and household in British studies.

The *extended family* has generally been used for a persistent group of relatives, wider than the elementary family. Empirical evidence suggests that the numbers and categories of kin included in such social groups are highly variable. It is not therefore susceptible of precise definition. See p. 56ff for a note on the problems involved.

A number of studies have been concerned with the relationships between the household and the family. Various methods have been used to classify the nature of the familial relationships within a household. All distinguish between (i) households none of whose members are related to each other, and (ii) households where at least two members are related by blood or marriage. Most distinguish (iii) single-person households from (i) and (ii), although not all authors do (e.g. Mogey[32] does not). The household which is composed exclusively of the elementary family is usually distinguished, some separating those where other relatives are included. Thus Littlejohn[29] and Williams (Gosforth)[41] do not, but Rosser and Harris[35] and Young and Willmott do.[45] Littlejohn[29] distinguishes the breadwinner as child or parent. Others make a similar distinction by identifying the head of the household. The number of generations present may also be recorded, thus implying a familial relationship among household members.

Littlejohn distinguishes between households which he describes as 'family units' and those he calls 'non-family units',[29] the latter being composed of non-related persons, while members of the former are related, most commonly the relatives comprising the whole or part of an elementary family.

The concept of the *domestic group* may be introduced to differentiate further among types of households. Fortes has defined the domestic group as 'essentially a householding and housekeeping unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its

members'.[19] This group, as Fortes points out, is analytically distinct from the family. It is also analytically distinct from the household. Fortes's use of commensality and child-rearing as indicators would suggest that a local authority family-unit home might be described as a domestic group, although its members are not related. Rosser and Harris, on the other hand, use the domestic group for 'relatives who normally share a common residence', not mentioning child rearing.[35] This definition might appear to have greater utility than Fortes's for many British purposes. A household may thus be said to be composed of non-related person(s), of a domestic group, or of an elementary family.* An extended family living as one household would constitute a domestic group. Researchers particularly concerned with family and kin would no doubt wish to specify further the nature of the relationships within the domestic group. Households may, of course, also be composed of an elementary family, or a domestic group, *plus* other non-related person(s).

If the *elementary family* is defined operationally as the mate(s) and their/his/her biological and legally adopted children this would appear to cover the concept about which there is fair analytical agreement. Distinction may be called for among those elementary families

(i) where both mates are alive and present in the domestic group,
(ii) where one mate is missing by reason of death, divorce, separation, or
(iii) missing by reason of absence for work or service.

Whether this is done will depend upon the way in which the researcher wishes to use the family variable. In a study concerned with marriage and fertility a distinction would of

* What the 1966 Sample Census defined as the 'family' (see footnote p. 34) would in this sense include both elementary family and domestic group.

course be made between biological offspring and legally adopted children. Fostered children are not members of the elementary family as here defined, but are members of the household and of the domestic group in *Fortes*'s sense. Particular problems arise in the case of step-children and the children of divorced couples. Madeline Kerr[28] distinguished households which included adopted, illegitimate, and step-children as well as the mates and their own children from 'ordinary families', by which she meant households composed of the biological elementary family. The concept of the domestic group may be helpful in such cases. Particular problems also arise in the case of certain migrant peoples. Thus Sheila Patterson[34] defines the elementary family as 'all varieties of family grouping . . . concerned with the birth and upbringing of children, whether they are based on a conjugal or a consanguineous bond'. Not all its members need to be present in the same domestic group or household. Her definition is used to cover the matricentred, matrilineal West Indian family, only part of which may be living in Brixton, other members having remained in the Caribbean.

It would appear that the *mates* are usually taken as the married couple and include those living together *'as if' they were married*. Also those children living in the domestic group would frequently seem to be counted as 'their' children. These points are not always made explicit. Where the focus is on fertility or marriage patterns they are important; where it is on the day-to-day domestic group they are not. It would be helpful if the operational practice were always made explicit.

It is generally agreed that there are *two types of elementary family*,

(i) The *family of origin* (or orientation) into which a person is born

(ii) The *family of marriage* (or procreation) formed by the act and issue of the union of the mates.

While the definitions of household and elementary family are definitions of social groups, and are the same for all members, the definitions of families of origin and marriage are ego-oriented definitions, i.e. in any group of relatives the distinction between family (i) and family (ii) depends on who is taken as ego. In studies involving the dynamics of family and household formation and dissolution the distinction is most important. In studies of population at any one time it may be ignored, as for example by Mogey,[32] although his data as collected clearly indicated the distinction. Since the distinction is ego-oriented, it can only readily be used where individuals are the sampling unit. It can be applied where the household is the sampling unit only if the occupant of a particular household role (e.g. head) is nominated as ego.

The *size of the household* is simply the number of persons in the household as defined. The following are examples of the categories used.

Williams (*Ashworthy*)[42]	1851 data: 1, 2, 3 — 12, 13, 14 1960 data: 1, 2, 3 — 7, 8, 9.
Rosser and Harris[35]	1, 2, 3 or 4, 5 or 6, 7 or more. Also give average size.
Mogey[32]	1, 2–3, 4–5, 6–7, 8 and more.
Morris and Mogey[33]	1 or 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 or more.
Census 1961[24]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 or more. Some tabulations stop at 7 or more and for some 10, 11, 12, 13 or more persons are differentiated.
Ministry of Labour[31]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 or more.

The *size of the family* is usually taken to mean the number of children in the elementary family, i.e. the number of children per married couple. However, owing to death, divorce, separation, and remarriage not all children are members of domestic groups headed by married couples, nor are all children in the domestic group necessarily children of

the couple. Thus the number of children per married woman is often taken, possibly further refined by classifying the ages of the women concerned, and/or the length of time married. Such emphases are made particularly in studies where demographic features are important (fertility rates for example). In this case maintaining a distinction between legitimate biological children and legally adopted children would be important. In other cases (e.g. Williams[42]) where the emphasis is on social relations in the residential situation, the size of the family has been taken to mean the number of children in the domestic group (i.e. ignoring any children who may have left home). Examples of the ways in which sizes of the elementary family have been categorized are as follows:

Williams (*Ashworthy*)[42]	1851 data: 0, 1, 2, 3 — 8, 9, 10 1960 data: 0, 1, 2, 3 — 6.
Williams (*Gosforth*)[41]	1, 2, 3, more than 3.
Rosser and Harris[35]	0, 1 and 2, 3–5, 6 or more (for women aged over 40 at time of survey).
Stacey[37]	0, 1, 2, 3, 4 and over.

Where the measure used is the number of dependent children in the family or domestic group, *dependents* are sometimes taken as children under 15, sometimes of 15 and under (Mogey,[35] Jennings[27]). This appears to relate to the current school-leaving age at time of survey, and it would be helpful if it were so described, to accommodate changes in the school-leaving age. (See also Chapter 1.) The Ministry of Labour define 'children' as under 16.[31] Dependent children are also referred to as *immature children*, but this term is also used to refer to *unmarried children*, all of whom are socially immature in this sense, but not all of whom are necessarily *economically dependent* (Littlejohn,[29] Rosser and Harris[35] and Williams[41]). Which measure of size is chosen must depend on the subject of enquiry, but in any case what 'size' is being referred to should be made explicit, as should the group

(family, domestic group, or household) whose 'size' is being measured.

The *composition of the household* is variously defined and recorded. Its use by sociologists and anthropologists concerned with what, if any, familial relationships the members of the household bear to each other, i.e. the relation of household to domestic group and to elementary family, has already been discussed. For many purposes it is wise to clarify the connection between familial relationships and household before collecting or analysing other relevant data. On the other hand, those concerned with administration tend to think of household composition in terms of number of dependents, aged persons and age-sex ratios in relation to living space, rents or tenure. The varieties of uses of 'composition' are so wide it seems better not to use this term in any technical sense, but to differentiate among the concepts for which it is used and to speak of *household size, household age-sex structure* or *familial structure*, as appropriate.

No satisfactory single index of age-sex structure is to hand. The definition of child dependents has already been mentioned. It seems reasonable to distinguish among dependent children thus: children under school-leaving age; older children still economically dependent; unmarried economically independent children living in the domestic group. Other codes which have been used distinguish households with

no children
all children pre-school
some pre-school, some school
all school
some school, some working
some pre-school, some school, some working
all working
some pre-school, some working.

If wished, such a classification may be further refined by

separating primary- and secondary-school children. For some purposes it is useful to cross-tabulate a code of this kind with age of housewife, and for others with length of time married.

Aged persons in the household are usually recorded as those over retiring age (e.g. by Jennings,[27] Rosser and Harris[35]). The different retiring age for men and women leads to some difficulties here; sometimes 60 is taken for both sexes as in Donnison.[14] Sometimes an older group, e.g. over 70, is also distinguished.

The Donnison household categories, shown below, may be described as an attempt to include age, sex and size in one index. (Donnison, op. cit. p. 92.)

Brief description	*No. of persons in household aged:*	
	Under 16	*16 and Over*
I 'Individuals under 60'	Nil	1 (*none* aged 60 or over)
II 'Small adult households'	Nil	2 (*none* aged 60 or over)
III 'Small families'	1 or 2	1 or 2
IV 'Large families'	3 or more	any number
OR	2	3 or more
V 'Larger adult households'	0 or 1	3 or more
VI 'Older small households'	Nil	1 or 2 (*at least one* aged 60 or over)

It is possible that by implication there is a confusion in this classification between families and households.

The *Family Expenditure Survey*[31] attempts to assimilate age and sex in a somewhat different way, making no assumptions about familial relationships within the household. In 1965 the following classification of 'household composition' (defining children as those under 16) was used. It will be noted that the sex distinction is not maintained throughout.

1 One man.
2 One woman.
3 One man and one child.

4 One woman and one child.
5 One man and two or more children.
6 One woman and two or more children.
7 One man and one woman.
8 Two men and two women.
9 One man, one woman and one child.
10 Two women (or two men) and one child.
11 One man, one woman and two children.
12 Two women (or two men) and two children.
13 One man, one woman and three children.
14 Two women (or two men) and three children.
15 One man, one woman and four children.
16 Two women (or two men) and four children.
17 One man, one woman and five or more children.
18 Two women (or two men) and five or more children.
19 Three adults.
20 Three adults and one child.
21 Three adults and two children.
22 Three adults and three children.
23 Three adults and four or more children.
24 Four adults.
25 Four adults and one child.
26 All other households without children.
27 All other households with children.

The *number of generations present in the elementary family, domestic group or extended family* may be identified. Strictly, one cannot speak of generations in a household but only in an elementary or extended family or other domestic group. Those who speak of the number of generations in a household would appear to be referring to the number of generations present in the domestic group of which the household is composed.

(3) THE FAMILY CYCLE

Elementary families, households and domestic groups share the characteristic that their composition, and the roles played within the group, constantly change throughout the existence

of any empirical group. Fortes[19] has identified three main phases in the development of the domestic group (which he distinguishes from the family)

(i) the phase of expansion, from the marriage of two people to the completion of their family of procreation;
(ii) the phase of dispersion or fission (which may overlap with phase (i), for which reason Fortes prefers 'phase' to 'stage') which begins with the marriage of the oldest child and continues until all the children are married;
(iii) the final phase, the phase of replacement.

The possible overlapping involved here means that to handle the concepts empirically and categorize any given number of domestic groups one would need to create categories equal to phase (i); phase (i) and (ii) overlapping; phase (ii); phase (iii).

Similar problems are involved in dealing with the *family cycle*. The four stages of the family cycle are generally agreed upon theoretically:

(i) Home-making
(ii) Procreation and child-rearing
(iii) Dispersal
(iv) Final

Operational detail of the definitions is less well agreed. Rosser and Harris[35] define these as follows:

(i) from the marriage (or its *de facto* equivalent) of the partners to the birth of the first child
(ii) from the first birth to the marriage of the first child to get married (i.e. the child to marry first, *not* the marriage of the first-born)
(iii) from the marriage of the first child to get married to the marriage of the last child to marry
(iv) from the marriage of the last child to the death of one partner.

It is of course theoretically possible for procreation still to be taking place in the phase of dispersal, a problem analogous to Fortes's problem of overlap. Although empirically relatively rare in contemporary Britain given the small size of the elementary family, there are certain localities where this phenomenon is common.

The present writer, on the other hand, in an earlier work,[37] considered that phase (ii) was terminated by the departure of a child from the home and phase (iii) by the departure of all the children. In this case the phase of dispersal could begin before any child married if an unmarried child left home, and if any child remained in the home of his parents, whether he was married or not, the elementary family had not entered the final phase.

If the elementary family is defined as above, i.e. the mates and their children, then the cycle I used, which I then called the family cycle, was the *cycle of the domestic group, where the domestic group was composed of the elementary family*. My present view that what I was then dealing with was the domestic group in this sense and not the family is further supported by the fact that I included as child(ren) of the mates any child(ren) (of whatever legal status) being maintained in the household. Perhaps what I identified should be referred to as the 'elementary family domestic group'.

Both the Rosser-Harris and the Fortes definitions are ideal typologies which do not allow for the variety found empirically, notably (a) some couples never have children, and (b) some are widowed, separated or divorced before stage (iv) is reached. Firth[17] and Williams (Ashworthy)[42] distinguished 'denuded families', i.e. families depleted by the death of either partner, or when children have left home. There is a case for distinguishing between these two types of denudation, which are different in kind; the first may occur at any phase of the family or domestic-group cycle, and the second marks a phase of the family domestic group.

In the case of the Rosser-Harris family cycle, when an elementary family reaches the phase of dispersal the domestic group may decrease in size by the departure of the child who marries, or it may increase in size by the addition of the child's spouse.

Williams (Ashworthy)[12] further distinguishes between old and young couples, as did the present author. This distinction is important both because it relates to procreation and thus to phase, and also because classification of phase by age of wife (determined by a notional cessation of fertility at 45) makes possible the relation of family studies to fertility studies.

The present author attempted a categorization of this kind by cross-tabulating phase by marital state and age of wife, giving twelve positions. This allows for a good deal of empirically-found variety, making it possible, for example, to distinguish between those families which have started to disperse, but yet may have more children (wife under 45), and those which are unlikely to (wife over 45). The present author referred to those families where no more children could be expected, i.e. the wife was over 45 or the mate was widowed, separated or divorced, as 'complete'.

The twelve categories used are given in Figure 1 below and relate to the cycle of the domestic elementary family group, where

phase 1 = no children	(home-making)
phase 2 = all children at home	(procreation)
phase 3 = some children left home	(dispersal)
phase 4 = all children left home	(final)

This classification, which may be used as a code for data classification and analysis, may be applied to the elementary family *per se* by appropriate alteration of the definitions of the phases.

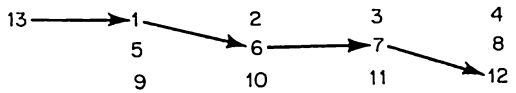
FIGURE 1

The cycle of the elementary family, or domestic elementary family group

	Phase			
All once married	1	2	3	4
Married couple				
Wife < 45	1	2	3	4
Wife > 45	5	6	7	8
Widowed, Separated Divorced	9	10	11	12

The addition of a thirteenth category, all never yet married, makes it possible to classify all members of a sample of individuals in this way. The ideal-typical progression referred to above is presumably as indicated by the arrows in Figure 2.

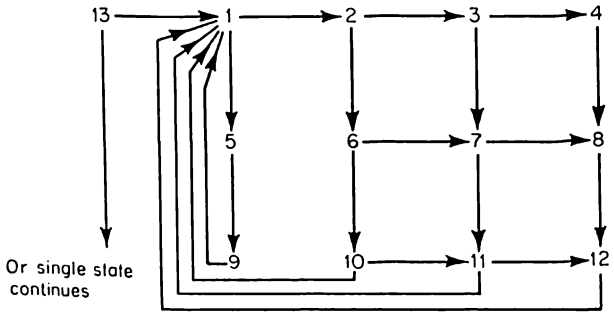
FIGURE 2



Empirically many progressions of the family cycle are possible, as indicated in Figure 3, including re-entry from positions 9, 10, 11 and 12. In the case of the cycle of the domestic elementary family group such re-entry may well be complicated, involving, for example, the movement of dependent children along with that of a bereaved mate who is re-entering. A household has no such cycle, its methods of renewal being quite different. A newly established locality may be expected to have a high incidence of families in codes 1 and 2; an old locality in 7, 8, 11, and 12.

For certain purposes length of marriage may also be important, and a categorization by family phase and length of marriage may be appropriate. Donnison, when introducing his classification of household composition reproduced on p. 42, indicated that he was attempting to apply the dynamics of the family and domestic group to the household, and said

FIGURE 3



that the classification 'broadly represents successive stages in the "life-cycle" of a household though "small adult households" are a heterogeneous group including people of any age between 16 and 60'. However, as the table shows, the six categories do not represent the cycle of an elementary family, or a domestic group, nor can they be collapsed into categories which relate to the family cycle. The classes do bear some relation to the ages of dependence and independence in the life cycle, drawing attention to households containing old or young dependents. It has already been shown that the household *per se* cannot be said to have a cycle. As was suggested earlier, this classification is really one of households defined by age, sex and size. This is reasonable since those who wish to estimate house-type demand are primarily concerned with

the structure of the household in terms of numbers and age-sex composition. The household can vary in composition over time regardless of the cycle of the domestic or family group or of the life-cycle of the individual members comprising the household. Empirically, for the majority, variations in household composition tend to correlate with the dynamics of the family. It seems likely that for accurate prognosis the concept of the 'household cycle' should be abandoned, that households of non-related persons should be isolated, as should households composed of the elementary family, the extended family and the domestic group. Thus an analysis of the occupants of council housing in a locality with a long waiting list, using both age-sex-marital structure and stage of family cycle, shows that a consequence of the long wait is that elementary families get their first council house not very long before their family is about to enter the phase of dispersal, a phenomenon which might well be considered an uneconomic use of dwelling space. Cross-tabulation of family phase by age of members may be used to reveal the numbers of dependents, both young and old, and make possible estimates not only of current housing need, but also of changes in house-type use likely within the lifetime of an elementary family's occupancy of a dwelling. Furthermore, were the data presented in such a way, they could be assimilated to concepts which are theoretically as well as administratively useful, thus leading to a more rapid development of thinking on both fronts.

In conclusion, it is tentatively suggested that in order to reduce what are merely terminological confusions the following terms should be used:

Household: as defined by the census.

Single-person household.

Domestic group: any group of relatives living together as a household. Relationships may be identified by reference to the chief economic provider or other ego as appropriate.

Non-related household: where no household members are related.
Household head: defined as the chief economic provider.
The use of 'family' unqualified is better avoided because of its many meanings. In its place are suggested:
Elementary family: the group of mate(s) and offspring or inspring (i.e. adopted children), identification of the group being made through the founding couple or the remaining mate. Children here are not necessarily dependent, may be of any age, and need not be in the domestic group.
Domestic elementary family group: the members of the elementary family comprising the domestic group at any one time.
Extended families: any persistent kinship grouping wider than the elementary family, a three-generation household thus being a particular form of a domestic extended family group.
Family of origin and *family of marriage*: ego-orientated, for these two forms of the elementary family.

The term *cycle* may be applied to the individual life cycle, the cycle of the elementary family and the domestic elementary family group, but is better not applied to the household.
Complete families: may be used to describe those where no further procreation is expected, i.e. elementary families where the mate is widowed, divorced, or separated or the wife is over 45.
Denuded families: elementary families where one partner has died or otherwise left the domestic group before the final phase of the family cycle is reached.
Childless: whether used for couples or for women (who may be married or single) for those who have never yet had children.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to show that there is no one 'key variable' to be found in the concepts 'family' and 'household'. What aspect of family, domestic group, or household should be controlled or examined must depend

upon the purpose for which the analysis is intended. It is hoped that the importance of distinguishing clearly between these three concepts has become apparent and also that it would be helpful if explicit statements were always made in published works about which concept is being used and what operational definition has been taken. Finally, there is a problem of relating egos to groups. The subject of study and the availability of sampling frames determine the type of sample drawn, and from this arises the nature of the problem to be resolved. A sample of individuals implies devising rules about group identification, a sample of addresses leads to difficulties about identifying households and determining egos, elementary families and domestic groups within households.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Certain detailed recommendations have been made above. The following points summarize the chapter as a whole and indicate some of its more important conclusions.

(i) Data for social accounting and for sociological analysis have tended to be collected somewhat differently. It would be mutually advantageous if greater comparability could be achieved between the two, particularly as comparability with official data implies comparability from one study to another.

(ii) No official data is collected about the family, as opposed to the household.

(iii) There has been a tendency to confuse 'family' and 'households'. It is important that the concepts should be kept separate. The nature of the relationship between them constitutes an important object of research.

(iv) The census definition of a household is recommended.

(v) Since the 'family' can have so many meanings it is suggested it should always be qualified, and that the elementary family be defined as the mates and their

biological or legally adopted children. It is suggested below that 'extended family' be used only in analysis and not for data collection.

(vi) The term 'domestic elementary family group' is suggested for the members of the elementary family comprising a domestic group at any one time.

(vii) Attention is drawn to the dynamic nature of the family, and suggestions are made for classifying the stages of the family cycle.

(viii) While the household is also dynamic, it cannot be said to have a cycle in the same sense as the family, since it may change in size in ways unconnected with the biological development of its members, and may be composed of unrelated persons.

(ix) Since the term 'household composition' is used for so many purposes it is suggested that it be replaced by such terms as 'household size', 'household age-sex structure', 'familial structure', as appropriate.

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A note on the term 'EXTENDED FAMILY'

C. C. Harris and Margaret Stacey

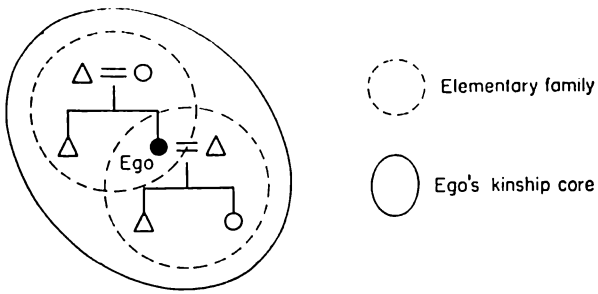
There is in British literature a good deal of confusion about the use of the term 'extended family'. This has in part arisen from a laudable intention on the part of research workers to see what empirically-found kinship groups there are in this country and how they relate to the household or domestic group. However, it is one thing not to impose concepts upon data and quite another to have a concept which is so elusive as to defy adequate communication or systematic comparative study. Furthermore, there is now in Britain a sufficient body of field data for it to be possible to clarify the concept in a way which is likely to prove fruitful in research. Definitions such as that used by Rosser and Harris seem too imprecise at this stage. Their definition 'any persistent kinship grouping of persons related by descent, marriage or adoption, which is wider than the elementary family, in that it characteristically spans three generations from grandparents to grandchildren'[1] is difficult to apply in the field with any degree of precision.

In spite of the vagueness of their initial definition, Rosser and Harris go on to use the term 'extended family' to refer to groups wider than the elementary family which arise within the open bilateral kinship system common in Britain. Looking at the system from the viewpoint of the conjugal couple, they see this as being composed of interlocking T-shaped cores composed of the families of origin and marriage of ego and spouse. Curle,[2] followed later by Littlejohn,[3] used 'kinship core' to refer to the two interlocking elementary families of which an *individual* is a member in the course of his life: his family of origin and his family of marriage. The individual is born into the kinship core of his parents, creates his own

kinship core by marriage and becomes a member of the kinship cores which his children create by their marriages. Any married person is, therefore, at different times of his life a member of two kinship cores and, in addition, the kinship cores of however many married children he may have. None of these cores is necessarily a social group, although any of them may be. Social groups may also form within, or be composed of, interlocking sets of kinship cores. In using 'extended family' researchers have been seeking the groups which empirically exist within these categories of kin.

While it is possible to define an elementary family as such, for example, as the mates and their children, it is only possible to define a kinship core with reference to an ego whose family of origin and family of marriage constitute it. We suggest that it is useful to distinguish the *kinship core of ego*, the *kinship core of ego's spouse* and the *kinship core of the couple*. Ego's

DIAGRAM 1



kinship core, like that of his spouse, is made up of his first-degree kin.* As diagram 1 illustrates, it is composed of ego's parents, sibs, spouse and children, that is to say, the members of his families of origin and marriage. The kinship core of the couple, Rosser and Harris's 'T-core', is made up of the

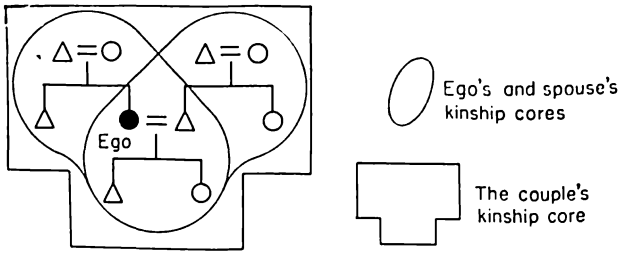
* By kin we mean persons related to ego by blood or marriage.

first degree kin of ego and his/her spouse, as shown in diagram 2. It is composed of both partners' families of origin and their common family of marriage.

At different times in his life cycle, ego has a position in kinship cores other than his own and his spouse's. He is born

DIAGRAM 2

The Couple's Kinship: the T-Core

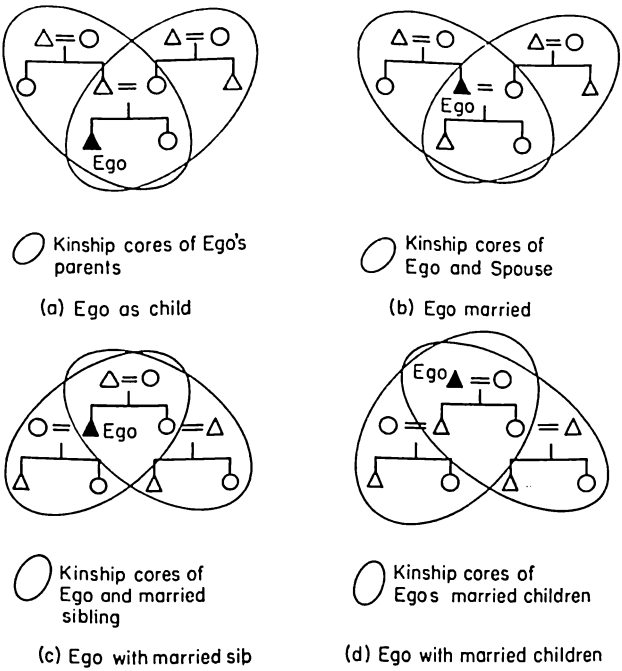


into the kinship cores of each of his parents; when his sibs marry he has a position in their kinship cores and also, with his children's marriage, in theirs. Diagram 3 illustrates these positions, a number of which ego may occupy at the same time. Similarly, ego is, of course, also successively in a number of T-cores, his parents', his own, his sibs' and his children's. In Rosser and Harris's view it is from occupants of the kinship positions in the interlocking T-cores (the couples' kinship cores) with which ego is at one time or another associated, that members of persistent kinship groups wider than the elementary family are drawn.

In order to be as precise as possible about what is involved in this and also to make possible a link between the concepts of family and of kin, it is useful to introduce the concept of 'near kin'. From the viewpoint of ego these are his first- and second-degree kin, where second-degree kin are the first-degree kin of each ego's first-degree kin.

DIAGRAM 3

Ego's successive membership of Kinship cores

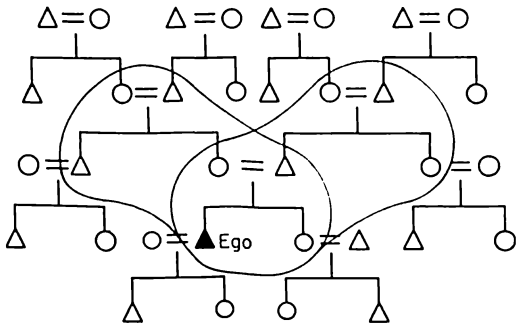


Just as ego occupies a series of successive positions in the T-core, so does the universe of near kin with which he may be associated change over the course of his life. These successive sets of categories are illustrated in Diagram 4.

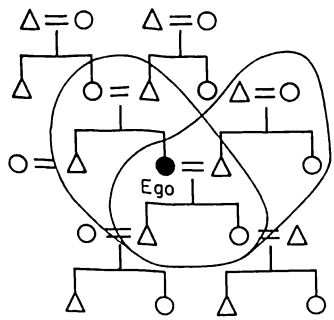
While it is not possible to define a kinship universe which limits the kin (defined in terms of their relationship to ego) with whom ego can share membership of an extended family group, such groupings characteristically arise within the category of near kin of a given ego. Ego is one of the near kin of his parents, spouse, sibs and children (i.e. of his first-degree kin). He may, therefore, find himself within an extended family group which includes people drawn from such sets of near

DIAGRAM 4

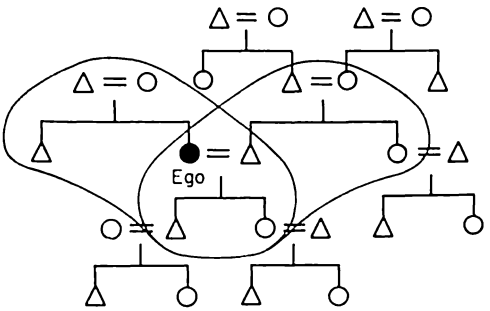
The near kin of ego's parents



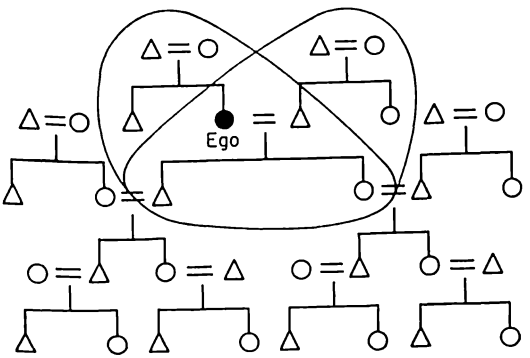
Ego's near kin



Ego's spouse's near kin



Ego's children's near kin



kin. Diagram 5 summates the near kin of ego's first-degree kin. Extended family groups in which ego is likely to find himself during the course of his life will most probably be drawn from people occupying the kin categories shown in this diagram. He cannot, of course, be in the same group with all of them at once, nor does it follow that they can necessarily share membership of an extended family group with each other, only with ego.

We suggest, therefore, that for purposes of data-collection, but not for analysis, the term 'extended family' be dispensed with. Instead we suggest the following terms be used:

(i) *Family of origin:* ego, his sibs and parents.
(ii) *Family of marriage:* ego, his spouse and their children.
(iii) *Ego's kinship core:* ego's family of origin and of marriage, i.e. (i) + (ii).
(iv) *The T-core*, i.e. the couple's kinship core: ego's family of origin, his spouse's family of origin and their common family of marriage.
(v) *Near kin:* first- and second-degree kin, i.e. for any one ego the kinship cores of ego, ego's spouse, ego's children, ego's father, ego's mother, ego's sibs.

The term 'extended family' could be applied to any persistent kinship group wider than the elementary family, discerned for any one ego. It is likely to be found among the occupants of positions in his kinship universe defined by the aggregate of near kin with which ego may be associated, as illustrated in diagram 5. This diagram assumes that all marry, all couples are fertile and have two children each.

The above suggestions are based on the assumption that what is required is a classification of relatives which is unambiguous and precise, and which is distinct from the social groups which are formed within categories of relatives. Hence we have tried to introduce precision into the classification of kin, reserving for 'extended family' the flexibility which is

DIAGRAM 5

The Kinship Universe within which the Extended Family may be constituted

demanded by the highly variable patterns actually met with. Analysts may thus define the extended families they find to exist empirically in terms of the kinship categories indicated above. Further work is needed to provide the data upon which common classifications of the meaning of 'persistent group' may be developed.

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3. Income*

ELIZABETH GITTUS

The collection and the application of data relating to 'income' entail some difficult problems, both of method and of meaning, both statistical and sociological. There are the obvious difficulties of obtaining accurate information, those of defining the units involved, whether households, families or individuals, and also the conceptual problems to be resolved in the interpretation of the data in a sociological context.

While these difficulties are recognized, they seem, by some researchers, to have been hopefully ignored, in the spirit that, while information collected on incomes might be inaccurate or incomplete, in a general way it would be interesting to have. It seems preferable to discourage this attitude and so, in this paper, no specific references are made to surveys where the form of the questions and the use of the data on income give evidence of this superficiality.

When income is included in a survey, its definition and the precision of the questions relating to it vary according to the purpose and theme of the study. In surveys previously conducted income has been featured:

* This discussion is confined to *income*. While savings and other assets are beyond its scope, they may be important as long-term indicators of resources, and their inclusion will depend on the context of the study.[1] It is assumed, moreover, that income questions put to respondents will always be accompanied by those relating to the other key variables, age, sex, marital status, household composition, family cycle, occupation and education, also that the date of the survey and the appropriate period of time will be recorded.

(1) as a face-sheet variable
(2) as weekly earnings, or rates of pay, in industrial studies
(3) as a main variable in social accounting
(4) as a variable related to social stratification

In this chapter, these four uses will be examined and an attempt will be made to suggest legitimate and useful ways of using the variable.

(1) INCOME AS A FACE-SHEET VARIABLE

There are a number of studies in which income data are collected as part of the background information, with little or no theoretical application, in general, descriptive, social surveys, especially in market-research and in town-planning. Cole questions the usefulness of market-research enquiries about income.[2] These, he says, provide no more than a rough guide as to what the individual has to spend, especially on the product being marketed; they are inadequate to delimit the social class groupings within the population. The consideration of income in town-planning surveys sometimes derives from the assumption that equality of income, among residents, is conducive to social compatability, an over-simplification that ignores the subtle influence of class, as studied, for example, by Goldthorpe *et al*[3] (and see under (4) below). Furthermore, income is not a simple variable, having many components and also many interpretations. When it is used, some careful definitions and a lengthy series of questions are needed if realistic and accurate results are to be obtained. Some of the questions may be irrelevant for many respondents, but all must be covered if any precision is to be achieved.

It is therefore suggested that income should only be considered as a face-sheet variable in so far as it gives an indication, within very broad categories, of the potential spending capacity of the individual, or household, concerned, only being collected where a hypothesis connecting spending capacity with some other variable is being explored or tested.

The minimum considerations in these circumstances are indicated below (p. 76).

(2) INCOME AS WEEKLY EARNINGS, OR RATES OF PAY, IN INDUSTRIAL STUDIES

Industrial studies which relate, for example, satisfaction with earnings to the level of morale or to the experience of technical change are usually concerned with the weekly earnings or rates of pay of individuals. However, even for this comparatively restricted aspect of income, the collection of data entails some choice of operational definitions.

It is obviously important, in this context, to recognize that earnings (much more than rates of pay) are subject to variations, both regular and irregular, and that the nature and pattern of these variations may have a considerable bearing on the phenomenon that is being studied, whether it is, for example, adaptation to change, awareness of prosperity, or the level of morale.

In principle, distinction should be made between

(i) basic wage
(ii) 'take-home' pay or net earnings
(iii) 'normal' or 'usual' earnings

Data should be obtained on variations in (i) (which may usually be verified or noted independently, being often the result of legislation, or negotiation) and also on variations in the difference between (i) and (ii), or (i) and (iii), or (ii) and (iii), and in the factors (overtime, piecework, etc.) that account for these differences.

In *The dock worker*, for example, dissatisfaction with earnings was found to be, more accurately, dissatisfaction with the basic wage and with the ability or inability to supplement it.[4] The findings underlined the need in such discussions to recognize the existence, composition and influence on earning

capacity of the local work-group structure, as well as that of the formal occupational hierarchy.

The analysis, however, was based on details of each man's basic pay, piecework, bonus and overtime week by week for a whole year. To have data in this detail for every unit in the sample was clearly a great advantage, and this example might be followed more often. It was possible to use the data to construct a probability model for classifying men according to their wage-earning capacity in an extremely variable work-situation, and so to avoid the subjective assessment of earning levels.

Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, studying the miners of Ashton, describe as 'free-income' the difference between peak wages and what were regarded as expected wages, 'free' in the sense that there was no family expenditure that had a firm and regular claim on it, and that it was the miner's own to spend as he wished.[5] The miner's sense of prosperity was found to be related to the amount of his 'free' income. It was clearly important to know what he regarded as expected or usual income and how he assessed it.

In the Ministry of Social Security's survey *Circumstances of Families* 'normal' earnings are defined in terms of pay received for the last four weeks of full employment, as far as the respondent can recollect.[6] The Ministry of Labour take the respondent's own assessment of his wages or salary last time he was paid and whether this amount was 'usual'.[7] 'Usual' seems to be subjectively defined and unrelated to a specific period. However, an objective element is introduced to the full definition of income at the data-processing stage, for if the respondent is currently off work without pay and has been so for less than fourteen weeks, his usual wage is taken into account rather than any state benefit that he may be receiving. If, however, he has been off work for a longer period, his 'usual' earnings are disregarded.

A further variation on 'usual' or 'expected' earnings,

indicating instead the minimum 'expected' level, is followed in the Liverpool 'levels of living' survey.[8] Weekly-paid respondents were asked about their take-home pay and hours worked in the previous week, the hours and rate of pay appropriate to a basic week, and whether their basic rate had changed much during the last twelve months. Similar questions were put to monthly-paid staff. (This information was incidentally useful in providing a rough check on the take-home pay reported for the previous week or month, assuming 'time-and-a-half' overtime rates, or 'double-time' for some if the hours worked were excessive.)

These estimates of normal or expected earnings therefore include:

(i) a notional definition, based on the respondent's assessment of his pay over the last four weeks (with no satisfactory method for those paid monthly);
(ii) a subjective assessment by the respondent of his 'usual' earnings, with an adjustment to regard as 'unusual' a break from employment of anything up to fourteen weeks' duration;
(iii) an indication of the monetary equivalent of a basic working week as the minimal expected level.

The choice among these, as indeed the decision to use any one of them at all, involves both statistical and sociological considerations, and its complexity should not be minimized.

(3) INCOME AS A MAIN VARIABLE IN SOCIAL ACCOUNTING

These studies, generally undertaken for administrative purposes, entail the precise definition of 'income', the unit, the period, the group involved, etc. Official data about *personal income* is found in *National Income and Expenditure*, the *Blue Books*, and other publications of the Central Statistical Office. Titmuss, however, has indicated the considerable

limitations of personal income data based on income tax returns.[9] The Ministry of Labour surveys *household* income (*Family Expenditure Survey*). Their surveys and those of the Ministry of Social Security might well be used as models in the specification of questions and of items of income, and in the definition of the basic units of study. These official surveys, and some independent ones, have drawn on the experiences of both the Oxford Institute of Statistics and the Department of Applied Economics of Cambridge University.

There are relatively few other studies which include income questions in anything like the same detail. One of them is included in the Appendix with a summary of the contents of the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Security surveys. Anyone planning a study with income as a main variable, to which further consideration is given below, p. 76, should not overlook the possibility of comparison with the official data.

(4) INCOME AS A VARIABLE RELATED TO SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Income and variants of income are found, together with other 'key variables', education and occupation, in studies of social stratification. At this point, the interests of sociological analysis and of social accounting as distinguished in chapter 2, p. 32, would seem to merge (together with those of town-planning). In relating 'income' to 'needs' or 'income' to 'style of life', the influence of class and/or status should be recognized, though it more often seems to be ignored.

The following discussion draws on some of the studies that have attempted to use income as an index of social stratification, or that have noted its inadequacies and suggested, and sometimes applied, variants or correlates of income, rather than the amount of income itself. The coverage is selective and obviously not exhaustive, but it is intended to show that

sometimes an operational alternative to income may be easier to ascertain and possibly more relevant in this context.

(a) *Income and class*

In discussing 'income' as a possible index of class, Cole comments that (if this were viable) 'it would be indispensable to take as the unit of classification the family rather than the individual but this raises difficult questions affecting the definition of the family unit and the extent to which any part of the incomes accruing to members of the family as defined should be disregarded in computing "family income", or considered separately, and also whether the basis of classification should be income per family or per head. Apart from these problems it is doubtful whether anyone would be prepared to accept income as the sole criterion of class, even though it might be regarded as constituting in some cases an important factor in determining class status'.[10]

He goes on to suggest, following his conception of class and class development, that whereas of all single criteria the form of income might be the least misleading, there are grounds for doubting its effectiveness in advanced capitalist societies.[11] (The difference even between Great Britain and the United States is an important one to recognize if comparative studies are contemplated.) Lewis and Maude in *The English Middle Classes* comment that the dividing line between the classes is certainly not one of income.[12] They therefore question the usefulness, as indicators of the characteristics of classes, of the income classifications employed by advertising agents and others who investigate the markets for consumer goods.

They go on to claim, and Goldthorpe and others would not entirely agree with them here, that 'while a small income does not make a man proletarian, a larger income *does* make him middle-class' (their italics). But a little later they say: 'he *tends* to become middle-class' (my italics). There is, however,

empirical evidence that while substantially increased resources do not afford the opportunity for a different style of life, this is not necessarily followed up or even recognized.[13]

(b) *Form or source of income*

More positively, Margaret Stacey, writing of Banbury, while noting the lack of correlation between class and income and/or wealth, claims that the way in which income was obtained did however vary consistently with class, at least among the 'traditional' sector of the town's population (with the implication that for the non-traditionalists the connection was more tenuous).[14]

For source of income, she distinguishes (for individuals and male household heads) between profits and fees, salary, and wages.

Source of income, classified in this way, appears among the distinctive characteristics of the social class and social status groups. In the discussion reference is made to W. Lloyd Warner *et al.* on the use of 'source of income' as an index of social stratification.[15]

Frankenberg, in *Communities in Britain*, refers to the application of this variant of income in Williams's study of Gosforth, where three main economic classes are distinguished:[16] those who live on capital or rent; farmers who own or rent land; and the rest who work for wages.

In his own analysis, Frankenberg also notes the differential importance of economic class in urban as compared with rural society. In urban society, economic class is observed to dominate social life, whereas in rural society it is just one division among many.[17]

This, with the Banbury distinction between traditionalists and non-traditionalists in the nature and pattern of their class/status divisions, would suggest the desirability of observing other aspects of the local social structure in using economic class (or anything else) as an index of stratification.

(c) *Expenditure*

The significance of expenditure patterns is also noted in the Banbury study, where it is claimed

> the goals of the classes are different and that although income may not correlate with class, the way in which income is spent does. . . . Those who wish to raise their status aspire to the standards of a 'set' in the status *group* immediately above them, not to those of the class above them. Similarly, those whose means are reduced do not in consequence adopt the life of the class below, but live on a smaller scale within the values of the class to which they were brought up.[18]

This remark is clearly relevant to any discussion of adequacy or inadequacy of income in relation to expenditure.

Empirical studies and suggestions for empirical studies along these lines include the following:

(i) *possession of household goods*

Wilmott notes possession of *car, television,* or *refrigerator* as indicative of middle-class standards of consumption.[19] Abrams reports 52 per cent of middle-class and 22 per cent of working-class as having their own *car* (classes being groups of occupations).[20] Stacey includes possession of *telephone* and/or *car* among the distinctive variables of social class/status.[21]

Selection of the above items would not seem in general to be on a firm theoretical basis. Such items are likely to be conditioned by the type of locality and its economy, the date of the survey, and even the availability of comparative data.

The Ministry of Labour record, for the Family Expenditure survey, the numbers of households having selected goods. 'Having' includes, besides ownership, the continuous use of a firm's car or of a rented washing-machine. The selected goods comprise telephone, washing-machine, refrigerator, car, and full or partial central heating. Possession of these durables is analysed (in unpublished form for 1966), by a

number of household characteristics including income.[22] Some interesting comparisons are possible here.

(ii) *furnishings*

Chapman follows up, for this country, Chapin's hypothesis concerning the relation between class and the furnishing of the home. He constructs a social status scale on the basis of certain items in the main living-room.[23]

(iii) *residence*

Beshers recommends taking the residence itself as a more useful index of social stratification than most other consumer goods. He claims that it is a meaningful symbol of prestige at all levels, whereas, by contrast, among certain groups, the make and model of car, for example, may be subordinate to housing desires. Further, while most of the symbols of greatest use in differentiating members of the upper classes are inaccessible, if not invisible, to members of the lower classes, the public character, necessity and high cost of residence all lead to its importance as a conspicuous symbol of social position.[24] He also advocates and discusses the usefulness of residential area in this context.[25]

(d) *Aspirations*

Some studies of social stratification include the aspirations and/or frustrations that are associated with income, or rather that may in some circumstances be affected by it, for class influences tend to operate here. Topics include:

(i) *occupational aspirations* (usually for children) – a number of surveys include questions on this.[26]

(ii) *general expectations*: see, e.g. E. Gittus on 'levels of living', which included questions, addressed to each adult, on the things that the respondent felt the need of but had to go without through lack of money; and on his rating of his own future prospects.[27] Coates and

Silburn invited their informants to assess how much more income they would need, if any, in order to live comfortably, and how much a man would have to earn or own to be wealthy. They also asked respondents to classify their own position in five categories from 'wealthy' to 'poor'. They analysed these 'expectations' in some detail.[28]

(iii) *the process of decision-making in relation to class*: discussed by Beshers.[29] He refers to certain modes of orientation, including the purposive, rational mode more applicable to the upper classes and the short-term hedonistic mode more applicable to the lower classes (and particularly to the urban lower classes), in which explicit future expectations play a negligible role. The mode of orientation in this country at any rate is much more liable to be influenced by class and status than by the amount of income. The tentative results of the surveys mentioned in (ii) would support this.[30]

These questions of expectations and aspirations, though of great interest in the context of social stratification and included here for that reason, are, however, too complex to provide face-sheet alternatives to income.

Conclusion

This review of some of the studies in which income – or rather its variants – are used in the identification of social class/status groupings, would support the contention of Goldthorpe and his colleagues that inter-group differences of this kind cannot be studied in their economic aspects alone, and that what they term the 'normative' and 'relational' aspects are also important. For a discussion of these various aspects, based on research findings, see the report by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt,[13] also Hamilton[31] and Lockwood.[32]

Suggestions with regard to the Collection of Income Data

The preceding discussions of the ways in which income has been used in social surveys suggest that with rare exceptions income data should only be collected as a main variable. They also make it plain that some of the definitions and the procedures involved will be determined very much by the purpose of the enquiry. It is assumed that anyone interested in income as a main variable will recognize the problems, and the choices and be able to use the experience summarized below[33] in his own particular design. There may also be those who, after due consideration of the complexities and the limitations of income data, will conclude that they have good reason for using income as a face-sheet variable. Such researchers may also find it helpful to bear the following considerations in mind.

Decisions must be made about the *definition of income*, the *unit* (individual or household) about which income data are to be collected, the *informant*, the *period of time* to which the income data are to relate and the *sources of income* that are to be included.

The *definition of income* may often most usefully be chosen with reference to the comparative official data that are available. Official sources include:

Ministry of Labour: (see *Family Expenditure Survey* reports for 1962 and 1966 for the definitions currently in use, also further definitions in unpublished analyses from the Ministry's statistical section).

Ministry of Social Security: (see report on Circumstances of Families, 1967).

The choice of *income unit* is not straightforward. Sometimes, for reasons of comparability and consistency it must be the household. However the size of the unit can affect the results. Michael Young has also indicated that insufficient is known about how the individual members within the family can contribute to its collective needs.[34]

In the Ministry of Labour survey the *household* is the unit of study. The Ministry of Social Security was interested primarily in the resources of *husband and wife*. If data about income are obtained for every person covered by the survey as is recommended for the occupation[35] and education[36] variables, i.e. for all members of the respondent's household, where relevant, the choice of income unit for analysis may be deferred, since it may be analysed on an individual basis or aggregated for analysis on a household basis.

Ideally, each income recipient should be his own *informant*. In the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Security surveys, income data were obtained separately for each *adult spender* included in the definition. This is important, as second-hand information about income is seldom reliable.

In surveys when the respondent is the head of the household and where information on 'income' is sought mainly for him (or her), the task of ascertaining income levels for the rest of the household may not be too difficult, but when the *informant* is the *wife* it is by no means certain that she will be able to disclose her husband's income. Since for many general surveys the informant is inevitably the wife, this difficulty is likely to be a common one.

An alternative might be to ask the wife how much she has from all members for housekeeping; but then what does housekeeping include? Who pays the rent and other regular bills?[37] The answers will not be uniform – there is at least a class differential here.

The *period of time* may vary from a notional year to the last pay-period. Considerations to bear in mind here have already been discussed (pp. 67–69).

Source of income may be included under not less than three broad headings: employment, state benefit, all other forms. Where 'source of income' is being used to replace 'income' as a face-sheet variable, categories such as those of the Ministry of Labour (1966) may usefully be applied, i.e. wages and

salaries; self-employment; investments; non-state pensions, etc.; state retirement, old-age and widows' pensions; other state benefits; sub-letting and/or owner occupation; other sources. There is a case for collecting data on wages and salaries separately, and also for displaying them separately.

The relevant *questions* covered by the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Security surveys are summarized in Appendix I. These are arranged under three main headings: (A) *employment, hours, pay;* (B) *state benefits;* (C) *other sources.* It will be seen that, while the Ministry of Social Security is more specific on the factors recently affecting work, the Ministry of Labour is more thorough and more precise in all other respects. (See for instance the treatment of those paid monthly, of normal earnings, of the self-employed, and of other categories of income, class, etc.) The questions are, of course, drawn from surveys where income was a main variable. The income section of the 'levels of living' survey is also appended (Appendix II) as a working compromise (with minimal coverage) between the need for detail and the practical advantage of brevity. Data here obtained from each adult and the results amalgamated in accordance with Ministry of Labour definitions.

Rules for the calculation of income from these Ministry questions, according to the definitions chosen, are given in the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Security reports, and in the unpublished data referred to above.* There is considerable flexibility here. The Ministry of Labour complies with at least four definitions from the one body of data. The variety of definitions and analyses, published and unpublished, is increasing. The 1966 report gives evidence of this.

Some items of income are not covered by any of these questionnaires, because they only relate to the head of the household, or the person responsible for its finances. They include

* See 'definition of income' (p. 76).

income from sub-letting and from owner-occupancy (related to the net schedule A value of the property). The relevant questions were included for each survey in the general household questionnaire.

Sometimes a study includes people with *complex finances*. The self-employed, for example, can present a problem in questionnaire design, for their class may include both the barrister with an intricate system of personal accounts (known perhaps in detail only to his accountant!), and the corner-shop-keeper or street-trader whose book-keeping is minimal.

Appendix III prints some cautionary remarks by J. Utting on the conduct of income surveys, especially among those with varied finances. In the 'levels of living' survey, a simplified form of question to the self-employed in that locality was all that could reasonably be used, but it is realized that, in such cases, potential income was probably under-estimated.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

It is hoped that the investigator who is bent on ascertaining the income of his respondents will be clear about his purpose in seeking this elusive information (if in fact he needs it at all) and some, at least, of the problems his quest entails. No attempt has been made to suggest a 'package-deal' form of questions or categories for income data for any of the types of surveys considered here. The following is a summary of the principal recommendations.

(i) Income should in general *not* be used as a face-sheet variable because there is no short cut to the collection of accurate and meaningful data.

(ii) The use of income as a face-sheet variable should be limited to an indication of the potential spending-capacity of individuals or households, since it correlates weakly with concepts such as 'class', 'status', 'style of life'.

(iii) Where income data are required these should (i) be collected separately for each individual, and summated if the unit under consideration consists of more than one individual; (ii) be collected for each individual, item by item, under such headings as those indicated on pp. 78, 81ff; (iii) be collected and tabulated in categories which make comparison with nationally-collected data possible.
(iv) Source of income is, for many purposes, a more relevant face-sheet variable than monetary income, and can usefully be collected under the headings indicated on pp. 77, 78 above.
(v) Those for whom income is a principal rather than classificatory variable are encouraged to look into certain matters in more detail. They will have to find many of the final solutions to their particular problems for themselves. It is hoped that these comments will help them at least to be aware of the relevant questions and difficulties, and to draw on what is by now a considerable fund of experience in coping with them. Even this kind of consistency is worth achieving – if it is all that one can hope for in this complex matter.

Chapter 3: APPENDIX I

DETAILS OF DATA COLLECTED BY MINISTRY OF SOCIAL SECURITY (MSS) AND MINISTRY OF LABOUR (MOL)

(A) *Employment, hours, pay*
MSS

1. (i) main occupation and employer's business
   (ii) other occupation(s)
   (iii) self employed?
2. (i) hours worked for pay last week? (total for all jobs and excluding main meal breaks)
   (ii) about normal?
   (iii) if not, how many hours worked normally?

(iv) if respondent did not work last week, but usually works, or if less than normal, reason?
sick or injured (off work less than three months or three months or more)
unemployed (off work less than three months or three months or more)
looking after sick member of family (off work less than two weeks, or more)
short-time working
other cause
no answer
not applicable

(v) if appropriate: how long been off work?

3. (i) pay received after deductions (income tax and National Insurance) last week? (main and other occupations)
N.B. (a) if paid *monthly* estimate amount for last week.
(b) if self-employed, estimate normal net earnings (after income tax and National Insurance), disregard cash value of benefits received for services.
(c) exclude holiday pay received for future period.

(ii) did this amount include any bonus or commission (other than overtime) for any earlier period, if so, how much?

(iii) anything more to come for last week in bonus, or commission? if so, how much?

(iv) (*check*) right in saying that your net earnings for last week totalled .....?
(main other occupations) ((i) + (iii) — (ii)).

(v) (Except self-employed) is this about normal? – if not, how much earned normally?
N.B. 'normal' to be defined in terms of earnings for the last four weeks of full employment?

(vi) any expenses in going out to work, travelling, equipment, special clothing, etc. and for motherless families, cost of caring for children in nursery, etc.

MOL

1. (i) whether employed, on own account, retired, employee working full or part-time, off work through illness, accident, unemployment, etc.

(ii) if (usually) working, present (most recent) main occupation and industry? subsidiary occupation and industry?
(iii) if off-work, for how long? receiving full pay while not working?
(iv) if retired, for how long? if less than two years, date? and annual immediate pre-retirement earned income (gross)?

2. *No other separate questions on hours*

3. (a) *all those at present employed or usually employed* (excluding those off work for over a year):
(i) *amount received in wages or salary last time paid?* (including overtime, bonus, etc. and after all deductions)
(ii) *period* covered? week, month, etc?
(iii) refund of income tax included? if so, amount?
(iv) amount of deductions for income tax, National Insurance, other (specify)?
(v) *usual* amount of pay received? if not what is usual?
(vi) occasional substantial bonus or other addition? how much extra received in last twelve months?
(vii) any of (vi) included in previous answers? how much?
(viii) meal vouchers from employer? if so, number used in last seven days and value?
(ix) pay surtax? last assessment for full year?

(b) *employers and self-employed with income from business or private practice*
(i) total income assessed to tax (schedule D), (net of depreciation allowances and expenses) in last twelve months for which figure available?
(ii) if sums drawn regularly from the business, how much, how often, and how much profit remaining over last twelve months for which figures available?

(c) *all not covered by* (a) or (b)
(i) income tax, and surtax, paid/reclaimed, repaid in last twelve months?
(ii) weekly National Insurance contribution?

(B) *State benefits*
(a) *Questions*
MSS

Allowances, etc., due for last pay week? (calendar week if no pay received) If so, how much received and number of days covered?
MOL
At present receiving any of the following state benefits?
If so, present weekly rate of payment and for how long continuously received
(and see (c) below)

(b) *Benefits included:*
MSS and *MOL*
Family allowances
National Insurance retirement pension
Disablement pension
War disablement pension or allowances
Unemployment benefit
Sickness benefit
Industrial injury benefit
National assistance.

MSS	*MOL*
Industrial death benefit	Old age or widow's pension
Widowed mother's allowance	Any other?

(c) *also MOL (further questions)*

(i) (excluding current absence) been off work for a week or more at a time in the last twelve months, because of unemployment, illness, accident, etc.?

(ii) *if yes*, whether full pay received for all the time when off work? how many weeks away from work in last twelve months (excluding current absence), through illness/accident? through unemployment?

(iii) received National Insurance, maternity benefit or (National Insurance) death grant in last twelve months, and amounts?

(C) *Other sources*

MSS

1. *Other benefits*, in last week (as for B(a))?
(i) TU sick pay?

(ii) Any other pension or allowance (e.g. occupational pension)?

2. *Any other regular income* (e.g. from property, interest or savings, investment or trust income)?
   If so, *nature of income, amount* and *period covered*?
   (ignore interest from small savings, e.g. Post Office Savings Bank, unless over £15 p.a.)
3. *Any income received last week from voluntary sources* (e.g. British Legion, etc)? *if so nature of income, amount* and *period covered?*

MOL

1. *Any of following benefits in last twelve months? (weekly rate and number of weeks)*
   whether receiving any at present?
   (i) TU benefits (e.g. pension, sick pay, strike pay)?
   (ii) Friendly society benefits?
   (iii) Any other benefits under private sickness or accident insurance?
2. *Any income from any of following sources? amount received in last twelve months?*
   (i) pension from central or local government services, or from armed forces?
   (ii) other pensions?
   (iii) annuities? income from trust or covenant?
   (iv) allowances from armed forces or merchant navy (excluding husband temporarily away from home)?
   (v) alimony, separation allowances or other money from friends or relatives outside the household?
   (vi) rent or income from property (excluding house occupied), after deducting expenses allowed for income tax?
3. *Interest or dividends: amount received or credited within last twelve months?*
   (i) interest on building society shares and deposits?
   (ii) interest on co-operative society shares and deposits, including dividends on purchases?
   (iii) interest on bank deposits and savings accounts, including Post Office savings?
   (iv) interest on Defence Bonds and War Loans?

(v) interest and dividends, after tax, from stocks, shares, bonds, etc.?

4. *Income from sources not mentioned (e.g. part-time work, etc.) of more than £10 a year? if so, give particulars and amount from each source in last twelve months?*
5. *To married women; if husband temporarily away from home, allowances and income?*
6. *Details of income received by non-spending members of household (if over £10 a year) referred to last twelve months.*

Chapter 3: APPENDIX II

DETAILS OF INCOME DATA COLLECTED IN 'LEVELS OF LIVING' SURVEY, LIVERPOOL 1962/4

1. *For those employed (or apprenticed)*
   (a) I understand that you are employed as a ..... (see Household Schedule I) Is that correct?
   (b) How often are you paid? (weekly, monthly, etc.)
   (c) How much did you earn last week (month) £ s. d. (record amount actually received, including overtime, bonus, piecework earnings). Period covered..... Amount received ———
   (d) Do you know how much was deducted from your earnings for:
   Income Tax: ———
   National Insurance ———
   *Any other contributions: specify ———

* Including superannuation, holiday funds, savings, etc.

For those paid weekly:
   (e) (i) For how many hours did you work last week, including overtime?
   (ii) What are your basic hours (without overtime?)
   (iii) Do you have a basic or standard rate of pay?
   (iv) How much is it at present? ——— per ———
   (v) Has this changed at all in the last twelve months? How?

For those paid monthly:

(f) (i) What is your present salary?
(ii) Has it changed at all in the last twelve months? How?
(iii) How long is your normal working week, apart from overtime?

All:

(g) Were there any special circumstances affecting your earnings last week? e.g. days off through sickness, overtime, etc.?

(h) Could you say whether your earnings have varied much during the last twelve months,
through, e.g short-time working?
variations in overtime?
variations in bonus or piecework?
change of job?
periods of unemployment? (cf. next section 2)
periods of sickness? (cf. next section 3)
any other circumstances?

2. *Unemployment*

For those unemployed now

(a) How long is it since you were employed as .... (see Household Schedule I)

(b) Have you been wholly unemployed since then?
(if any casual earnings, record briefly here, but in detail under (4) below)

(c) Are you drawing unemployment benefit at present? If so, how much did you draw last week?

All:

(d) How many weeks unemployment benefit have you drawn in the last twelve months, and at what rates?

3. *Sickness or injury*

All

(a) Have you received any sickness or injury benefit during the last twelve months? If so, for how many weeks and at what rates?

(b) Does your employer usually make up your pay? If so, how much per week? (or month) For how long has he

done this, in the last twelve months, out of the time that you have been off work?

4. *Spare-time or casual work*
   (a) (Apart from (2b) if any), have you done any spare-time or casual work in the last twelve months? If 'yes', what kind of work did you do? For how long?
   (b) About how much have you earned altogether in this way in the last twelve months?
5. *Employers or self-employed*
   (a) What is the nature of your business?
   (b) Do you have a sole interest or partnership in it?
   (c) Do you draw a regular sum out of the business for your household and personal expenses?

Amount	*Period covered*

   (d) Does your wife (or any other member of your household) help with the business. Specify
   If 'yes', do you pay (her) for her work?
   Was that sum included in the amount you gave as taken out of the business?
   (e) (If appropriate) Do you use any goods out of the business within your own household?
   Could you estimate their average value? (for expenses recovered see section 2)
6. *Government benefits* (check that Unemployment, Sickness and Injury are covered by (2) and (3) above).
   If you receive any of the following, would you tell me the *amounts* received or due to you?
   last week:

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
(a) National Insurance Retirement Pension		(d) Disablement Pension	
(b) Widow's Pension		(e) War-Disability Pension or Allowance	

£ s. d. £ s. d.

(c) Non-Contributory Old Age Pension (f) Family Allowances

(g) (i) National Assistance (to supplement?)

(ii) National Assistance.
Rent Allowance (included in g(i)?)

In the last twelve months:

(iii) Grant from National Assistance Board for special purposes?

specify *amount*

(h) Any other Government Benefit?

specify *amount*

Other benefits

If you receive income from any of the following, would you tell how much you received in the last twelve months?

£ s. d. £ s. d.

(a) Forces' or other Government Pension (b) Pension Scheme for Self-Employed

(c) Other Employment Pension (d) Benefit from Trade Union or Friendly Society

(e) Any other (specify)?

8. *Interest on investments*

If your income includes *interest* on any of the following savings or investments, could you give me the amount received, or credited to you, in the last twelve months (less tax).

£ s. d.

(a) Interest on Building Society shares or deposits

(b) Interest on Bank deposits and savings bank accounts (inc. PO savings bank)

(c) Interest on stocks, shares, etc.

(d) Interest on Co-operative society shares, deposits Interest on Co-operative society dividends on purchases

(e) Interest on any other investment

(f) Premium Bond prizes

9. *Miscellaneous* (record, in each case, the amount received in the last twelve months)

£ s. d.

Does your income include:

(a) *Income from property (other than the house you live in) less expenses allowable for Income Tax
(b) An allowance from a member of HM Forces
(c) Any other regular allowances from persons outside your own family
(d) An annuity (record net amount less tax if any)
(e) A separation allowance, or similar payment
(f) Any other item

10. Do you have any regular help in cash or in kind, from relatives or from any other person? Specify.
11. *Business expenses*
Do you recover any part of your household or personal expenditure as expenses in connection with your business or employment?
Specify item(s) Amount(s) recovered Period
12. *General comments*
(a) Do you have difficulty nowadays in making ends meet? (comments)
(b) Are there any things that you feel that you need but have to go short of through lack of money? (Specify and add comments)
(c) (i) How would you say that your present financial position compared with what it was a year ago?
(ii) (If appropriate) Can you suggest any particular reason for these changes?
(d) How would you rate your prospects for the future?

* For income from boarders, or lodgers or from sub-letting see Household Schedule I.

Chapter 3: APPENDIX III

EXTRACT FROM A PAPER 'AN INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF OLD AGE'
by J. E. G. UTTING, *University of Cambridge*

Next comes the phrasing of the financial questions. Quite apart

from the amount of detail required for the purposes of the survey – and I have already suggested that we need a very detailed description of the sources of income and types of asset – we believe that accurate figures of income, assets, savings or expenditure can only be obtained by building up the total bit by bit. Thus we should want to consider income from different sources separately even if we were only aiming at a total figure; and furthermore, even within a single source like employment income, we consider it necessary to prompt for overtime, bonus, loss of money through sickness or holidays, etc. But, apart from detail of this kind, there will always be a few cases with a financial questionnaire where the respondent's affairs are complex and not fully understood even by himself. This is true sometimes of income from self-employment, of whether income from dividends and interest is gross or net of income tax, of mortgages and insurances, and so on. In some such cases, the respondent is just wholly ignorant of the facts (leaves all his affairs to his bank manager, or something of the sort) but in many others perfectly sound and reliable information is obtained if one can approach the matter from the same point of view as the respondent. This, I believe, poses a real dilemma for the survey designer. Either he can frame a whole series of alternative approaches to the same information, designate some order of priority, and leave the interviewer to work through them question by question, word by word, until an adequate response is obtained, or he can frame the question more generally and try to teach the interviewer how to probe in different eventualities. I will not deny that the first of these alternatives is possible; I will only say that I have not myself been able to frame a set of questions in this way without either leaving some important possibilities unprobed or else finally requiring almost as much initiative from the interviewer as the second approach requires.* On the other hand, the

* The possibility of *always* using the most simple-minded approach to each one of these difficult areas is, to my mind, ruled out by the fact that it is extremely long-winded, and very irritating to a respondent who fully understands his affairs. Furthermore, what is 'simple' to one person may not be so to another, who may be able to give the more 'sophisticated' information more readily than what seems to him to be unimportant detail.

second alternative does require that the interviewer herself shall have a good understanding of the nature of the financial transaction under consideration – and of its alternative forms – and of the information which it is hoped to elicit. This implies a good deal more initiative and intelligence from the interviewer than is commonly required in market research and similar surveys, and a long period of training and discussion of the concepts involved. We have adopted a procedure which is much nearer to this latter approach than to the first, even though it has involved us in much administrative inconvenience which the other might have avoided.

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22. MINISTRY OF LABOUR. *Family Expenditure Survey, 1964*, p. 27. *Family Expenditure Survey, 1966*, pp. 17 and 23.
23. CHAPMAN, D. *The home and social status* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1955).
24. BESHERS, J. M. *Urban social structures* (Free Press, New York, 1962).
25. Ibid., pp. 57–60.
26. See, for example, UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, *The dock worker*, (op. cit., note 4) and E. GITTUS, op. cit., note 8.
27. See Appendix II, 12.
28. COATES, K. and SILBURN, R. *Poverty, deprivation and morale in a Nottingham community: St. Anns* (Nottingham University Department of Adult Education, 1967).
29. BESHERS, J. M. op. cit. (note 24) pp. 32–3.
30. Also GITTUS, E. 'Sociological Aspects of Urban Decay', chapter in PARRY-LEWIS, J. and MEDHURST, F. *Urban Decay*, in preparation for Civic Trust of North West (forthcoming).
31. HAMILTON, R. 'The income difference between skilled and

white collar workers.' *British Journal of Sociology*, 14(4) December, 1963, pp. 363–73.

32. LOCKWOOD, D. 'Sources of variation in working class images of society.' *Sociological Review* 14(3), November, 1966, pp. 249–67.
33. Especially that of the Oxford Institute of Statistics and publications in the *Bulletin*, e.g. LYDALL, H. F. National survey of personal incomes and savings. Vol. 14 (11/12) November/December, 1952, pp. 362–92, and of the Cambridge Department of Applied Economics, e.g. COLE, D. and UTTING, J. E. G. 'Estimating expenditure, saving and income from household budgets', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A. (General)* 119(4), 1956, pp. 371–87, and see also the extract from Utting, Appendix III, pp. 89–91.
34. YOUNG, MICHAEL. 'Distribution of income within the family'. *British Journal of Sociology*, 3(4) (September, 1952) pp. 305–21.
35. See pp. 102–3, 118.
36. See p. 15.
37. YOUNG, M. op. cit. (note 34).

4. Occupations

FRANK BECHHOFER

(1) INTRODUCTION

The position in Britain regarding the collection of occupational data for locality studies is easily summarized. Almost any codification would be an improvement on the present situation. Many of the best known locality studies illustrate four common practices which I should regard as faults. The examples given below are purely illustrative. The list should not be taken either as exhaustive or as implying that the studies are bad ones; indeed they are chosen as examples largely because they are well known, and frequently they are well known because they are good studies, even if far from perfect.

(a) *No data on occupation given, or only given unsystematically*

DENNIS, N., HENRIQUES, F. and SLAUGHTER, C. *Coal is our life* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1956).

FRANKENBERG, R. *Village on the border* (Cohen & West, London, 1957).

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY: Department of Social Science, *Neighbourhood and community* (Liverpool University Press,1954).

KERR, MADELINE. *The people of Ship Street* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958).

OWEN, T. M. *in* DAVIES, E. and REES, A. (eds.) *Welsh rural communities* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1960).

REES, A. D. *Life in a Welsh countryside* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1950). Here there is some differentiation of occupation. No formal data.

(b) *Occupational data incomplete*

KUPER, L. *in* KUPER, L. (ed.) *Living in towns* (Cresset Press, London, 1953).

MOGEY, J. M. *Family and neighbourhood* (Oxford University Press, London, 1956).

YOUNG, M. and WILLMOTT, P. *Family and kinship in east London* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957). Gives incomplete data for 'Greenleigh' but is quite explicit on Bethnal Green itself.

WHITELY, W. M. *in* KUPER, L. (ed.) *Living in towns* (1953).

WILLIAMS, W. M. *The sociology of an English village: Gosforth* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956).

(c) *Occupational data classified according to a scheme specific to the study: no other classification given*

e.g. BIRCH, A. H. *Small town politics* (Oxford University Press, London, 1959), and some of the studies given in group (b).

(d) *Criteria of classification not clear, or not explicit*

e.g. JENKINS, D. *in* DAVIES, E. and REES, A. (eds.) *Welsh rural communities* (1960) where farmers are an ambiguous group.

Occupation is widely considered to be a vital sociological variable, so this state of affairs is not easy to understand. It is not the task of this paper to explain the phenomenon, but it may be pointed out in passing that clearly many of the sociologists carrying out locality studies either are not interested in the occupational variable, ignoring the 'carry-over' from work to other aspects of social life, or possibly do not appreciate the complexities of occupational classification. It is only fair to say that in a number of cases cited above, the study did not require detail on occupation to carry out its main aim. However two points should be made. Firstly, overall data on the occupation of respondents, even if not of

central importance, should surely be given, if only in an appendix. Any comparison of the study with others is made more difficult if basic data such as occupational composition are omitted. Secondly, the practice of secondary analysis is growing and many studies are quite impossible without occupational data. One might cite here, purely as examples, analyses primarily concerned with the class elements of stratification and with the link between work and community or leisure.

In sharp contrast to the list above, a small number of locality studies give occupational data of reasonable quality; for example, most of the publications of the Institute of Community Studies (with the one lapse record in (b) above,* and Margaret Stacey, *Tradition and Change.*† Also, a number of other studies use systems sufficiently similar to standard classifications to be quite acceptable, or modified versions of census data which suggest that at least the original data recorded must be of an acceptable type.

Finally, with most studies made in this country it is only possible to say what has appeared in the publication. It is quite possible that full data have been collected but simply do not appear in print.

The current position, then, seems to be one of anarchy. Doubtless a whole string of studies could be pointed out which are quite blameless, but the fact that so many of our best-known locality studies can be faulted suggests that systems for the classification of occupational data should

* Again these studies are mentioned purely because they are well known. Nothing is implied about the studies themselves; in fact I would consider that the Institute of Community Studies publications have many worse (but different) faults than most of the works cited previously.

† *Tradition and Change: a study of Banbury* (Oxford University Press, London, 1960).

at least be discussed, and some of the standard classifications and difficulties outlined. This discussion is confined to British studies. Others, American for example, are little better, if indeed they are better at all.

(2) THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION

In general there is nothing more tedious than a lengthy discussion of definitions of a concept. In the case of occupation, however, the definitions themselves reveal some of the reasons why it is so difficult to design a really adequate method of classification which is not absurdly complicated. The umbrella nature of the concept is well described in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* edited by R. A. Seligman:

> The meaning of the term can definitely be fixed for a short period only. And even with this limitation the term must cover three different sets of facts: technological – the specific manual or mental operations involved in the execution of occupational work; economic – the income yield of an occupation which serves to provide a livelihood; the social – the prestige attaching to a person or group by virtue of occupation. It is this complexity which makes possible a shift of emphasis as historical conditions change; . . .

This idea of the meaning of the word occupation is, however, somewhat at odds with the official definition in this country, and indeed many others elsewhere. These attempt to separate the *definition of the term* from *the uses to which occupational data can be put.* The three different sets of 'facts' in the above definition are really different ways of looking at an occupation; they may well require the collection of different data in terms of detail, but the work a man performs remains the same. Thus we find the Registrar General saying:

> The occupation of a person is the kind of work which he or she performs, due regard being paid to the conditions under which it is performed; and this alone determines the particular group

in an occupation classification to which the person is assigned. The nature of the factory, business or service in which the person is employed has no bearing upon the classification of his occupation, except to the extent that it enables the nature of his duties to be more clearly defined. This will perhaps be made clearer by an example. A crane driver may be employed in a shipyard, an engineering works or in building and construction, but this has no bearing upon his occupation and all crane drivers should be classified to the same occupational group.[1]

And in a British dictionary of the Social Sciences[2] we find a very similar concept.

The principal usage in the social sciences (e.g. in the preparation of census data and in the study of the labour market) follows closely the common usages which take an *occupation* to denote an employment, business, or calling. 'The occupation is the kind of work performed by the individual, regardless of the industry in which this work is performed and of the status of employment of the individual' (*International Standard Classification of Occupation*, 1949 Geneva: International Labour Office, 1949, p.14.)

In these two definitions it is particularly important to note that the status of employment of the individual is not relevant to the occupational classification.

It seems, therefore, that the specific term 'occupation' should be reserved for the *definition*. For this purpose the Registrar General's definition seems adequate. A clear distinction should be made between the concept of occupation *per se* and the various *uses* to which the concept can be put. Nor is the making of this distinction a purely academic exercise. It can readily be seen that some of the inadequacies of data collection arise from a failure to understand fully the breadth of the idea of 'occupation'. It is partly for this reason that we find men classified as 'engineers', or even 'mechanical engineers' (a perfectly correct occupation classification as far as it goes), with no data on, for instance,

their level in the hierarchy. A correct account of a man's occupation as defined may be quite adequate for many sociological purposes for which additional 'occupational data' are needed.

It will be clear from the preceding discussion that the present concern is with what ought more properly to be called 'gainful occupations'. The fact that we tend in this country (and probably in industrial societies in general), to use the concept of 'occupation' as synonymous with 'gainful occupation' is in itself of considerable sociological interest. This chapter is obviously not the place to pursue this point, but some of the difficulties discussed later are related to it. The problem of classifying 'housewives' in any general classification, and in particular on a status scale, partly arises from it. Many people officially classified as 'retired' do in fact pursue an occupation, if not a gainful one, and for some purposes this may be of sociological importance. Nevertheless this chapter restricts itself in the main to discussion of the classification of 'gainful occupations', and while the usual term 'occupation' will be used throughout, the distinction should be borne in mind.

(3) THE IDEA OF OCCUPATION AS USED BY THE SOCIOLOGIST

Firstly and most simply we have the study of a particular occupation in itself. This falls well outside the locality study field and will not be discussed here.

Secondly we have the idea of a 'job' as used mainly in the sociology of work, but which may also be important in locality studies. Here the emphasis is on two features: the precise job-description, with the focus on the work content; and the position in the industrial hierarchy, with the focus on the internal stratification of industry. Additionally there is the idea of a *situs*, which is closely connected with the industry or branch of industry in which a man works. It will be noted

that the latter two uses are both expressly excluded from the idea of an 'occupation' *per se*.

Thirdly, and common in locality studies, is the idea of an occupation as determining status situation or class situation. It can be seen immediately that 'occupation' is here again extended to include the position in the industrial hierarchy and possibly the industry as well. Thus Willmott and Young say:[3] 'First, we are not so much interested in the person's job as a job, but as an indication of the kind of background the job gives him or her.'

Littlejohn[4] makes the distinction between occupation and class position very clearly; he is one of the few people to do so.

> Examination of occupations associated with the classes shows again that type of occupation is closely correlated with class position but that in one important instance, farming, persons in the same occupation can be in different classes. However, it was clear from informants' remarks while making class placements that some occupations carry a fateful prestige, in the sense that all individuals in the category are bound to occupy the same class status.

It must be emphasized that our subject is the classification of occupations. Although this chapter contains comments relevant for the study of class and status it is definitely *not* to be viewed as presenting an account of the data required in studies concerned primarily with stratification in general. Nor is this the place to enter into a discussion of the finer points in the distinction between classes and status groups, class situation and status situation.[5] One thing however is quite clear. The idea of 'social class' as used in many of the classifications is some sort of amalgam of class situation and status situation. Most classifications in practice take into account 'the standing within the community of the occupations concerned'[6] and are thus partly concerned with prestige and status. The Registrar General's socio-economic groups should *in theory* be entirely related to social status, concerned

as they are with the 'life-style' of the person performing the occupation: ideally 'each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar'.[7] Since, however, no direct questions are asked about these matters in the census, the groups are determined by reference to employment status, occupation and industry.

An elementary related point, but one which is sometimes overlooked, is that it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the status of an occupation, and the status of a person holding a particular occupational position. Obviously the status of such a person is affected by his occupation, indeed his occupation may in our culture be the most important determinant of that status. Nevertheless many other factors enter into the determination of his personal status.

A distinction must also be made here between local and national status scales. The classifications used most frequently are based of course on some idea of the generalized status of an occupation as a whole and of non-specified individuals within that occupation. Many locality studies, however, collect data on local status positions of individuals. This applies particularly to rural studies. It is clearly not possible to legislate for such studies: research workers must follow their own inclinations, though it would seem that the present situation, with each study using its own groupings with little or no reference to previous work, is excessively individualistic.

A singularly intractable problem is the placing of women and men on a single occupational status scale. This problem is, of course, most critical at the point of the manual/non-manual break. One point at least can be made immediately. Occupational classifications of this kind should collect the data separately for males and females even if they combine it in subsequent analysis. Detailed decisions on the procedure to be followed must depend on the theoretical orientation of the study and cannot be laid down in advance. It has been

argued that non-manual clerical work is performed by many 'working-class' girls and that it is unreasonable to place them on a par with male clerical workers who would generally be called 'middle-class'. If due account is taken of level in the hierarchy this argument is less convincing. In so far as women in jobs of this kind are in contact in the work situation with 'white-collar' worlds the influence on them is likely to be considerable. If they are married women, then their placing will in any case normally depend heavily on their husbands. If on the other hand they are single women, then the job, assuming they are away from home and form a household of their own, is likely to be of considerable importance as a source of contacts and normative orientation. It is true that 'clerical work' for girls covers a very wide range of jobs, particularly for young girls. As a result the precise nature of the work performed must be ascertained. Quite apart from different kinds of clerical work, the range covered by (for instance) the term 'secretary' is very considerable.

Where the emphasis of the study is on mobility, then in some cases it may be desirable to know whether the husband or wife has ever held a non-manual job (if the husband is a manual worker), or a manual job (if the husband is a non-manual worker) in order to provide some idea of intra-generational mobility. It should also be mentioned here that where the focus is chiefly on mobility, the manual/non-manual distinction, quite adequate for many purposes, is often far too crude. As Miller[8] has shown, studies of social mobility must use finer breakdowns in order to obtain meaningful results.

Where the focus is on the domestic group of the elementary family *per se*, several considerations arise which are mainly outside the scope of this paper. A number of points should however be made. The problem is important since the transmission of power from parents to children must remain fundamental to the study of stratification. In a sense it may

be said that single men and women are unimportant from the point of view of social stratification.

If the researcher's interest is mainly in the class situation, then classifying the elementary family domestic group on the basis of the husband's occupation will generally be justified. He will usually provide the main source of income, and be the main determinant of the family's life chances. The wife's earnings are likely to be subject to more short-term fluctuations and less certain to continue over a long period. In many cases they will also be smaller than the husband's. Under special circumstances, however, data on the wife's occupation and earnings may be of considerable importance, and their collection advisable.

This becomes even more necessary where the emphasis is on status situation. The influence of the mother on the style of life of the domestic group may well be affected not only by her present occupation (if any), but also by her past work-history. Any decision to omit occupational data for the mother should therefore be very carefully considered. I would argue that the general practice in locality studies should be to collect the information, and to omit it only in special circumstances.

The point should be made in passing that where the focus is not on stratification but on other features of community life then it may be important to record the occupation of everyone in the family and not just that of the father (or head of household) and the mother. Indeed this is often of importance even where stratification is the focus: where, for example, interest is in outflow mobility, or in the sort of aspirations parents have for their children. Bearing in mind the increasing use of secondary analysis, there is something to be said for always obtaining these data.

(4) CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATION

Here the term is used as strictly defined. By far the best state-

ment of the position is the Registrar General's account in the *Classification of Occupations*.[1] Although it is possible to take issue with the Registrar General over many matters, and in particular over the social-class groupings used (see below), his exposition of the classification of the occupations themselves is excellent and should be examined carefully by every research-worker. This is not to say that his practice should always be followed, but the general statement is well worth careful consideration. In order to classify a respondent correctly a good deal of detail has to be collected about his job. Indeed a general rule is to collect as much information as possible compatible with the time-cost considerations which govern all studies. There are a whole list of well-known pitfalls, of which perhaps the best known is the self-entitled 'engineer' who may be a chartered professional engineer or a virtually unskilled apprentice mechanic. Another good example is 'civil servant'. As we are here concerned only with 'occupation' proper, we need not concern ourselves with information about status or industry, except that information on the industry may be necessary to define the occupation accurately. There is no easy solution to the problem of collecting these data. Many of the occupations will be unfamiliar to anyone but an industrial sociologist and may well be unknown to him – not everybody would know at once what a 'horne worker', 'hugger-off', 'knobbler' or 'worm-boy' was, to name four somewhat perversely selected from the list. For many purposes this is of little importance, but as a matter of principle the interviewers should make quite certain that they have got the exact description, and if necessary get an account of what is done so that the job-title can be checked later.

Furthermore, it should always be made clear that the question refers to the job the man is doing *at that time*; workers in certain skilled trades will continue to refer to themselves as in that trade even when doing other work. It is wise to enquire

how long the man has been doing that particular job and whether it is his more or less permanent employment. Frequently in factories men are moved to other jobs for short periods of time. The problem then arises of how to classify them. The research-worker must make his own decision but, as a general rule, taking the job the man is actually doing is recommended, unless it really is a matter of a day or so before he returns to his 'real' job. In any event the practice followed should be recorded.

Clearly, the fact that a man continues to refer to himself by his original skill, even when employed in other work, is important because it says something about his 'self-image'. For some types of analysis the possession of a skill, even if it is not being used, may be more important than the performance of a particular job at the time of enquiry. For these reasons it may well be important to collect a job-history. In this case it is generally necessary to list all the jobs a man has held for more than a certain arbitrary time. Care should be taken to record all changes of job, and to distinguish between movement within a firm and between firms. The word 'job' is ambiguous and is often thought by respondents to mean place of employment rather than type of work. Analysing job-histories is far from easy, but a certain amount of simple basic information can be obtained, such as whether the respondent has ever held a job of different status to his present job, and the number of jobs held in all. In some cases the number may be so large for this to be a difficult matter. It may be worth distinguishing between the number of jobs held in the first few years of a man's working life and the number held subsequently. Again no hard and fast rule can be given. In the light of the considerable interest inherent in the idea of a 'career' such data can be very valuable. For studies in which occupation is not a main interest it may however be too time-consuming.

There are a host of technical problems connected with

occupational classification. In a number of countries *secondary occupations* are listed in official statistics. Germany for instance has done this since the late 1800s. Although this is not the practice here in Britain, it is certainly something to which the research-worker should give thought. If only one occupation is recorded then presumably it should be the one on which most time is spent, although it may not be the most lucrative. If a second occupation is recorded then the proportion of income obtained from it and the time devoted to it should be recorded. A major difficulty here is that many of these occupations are performed as 'moonlighting' and respondents may be unwilling to say much about them. The difficulty lies in obtaining consistency by ensuring that all respondents either do or do not mention these occupations. I would recommend that one occupation only is recorded, unless a good deal of time can be spared to this part of the schedule.

Most important perhaps are variations in the criteria determining when someone should be counted as having an occupation. A few of the problems are as follows:

(a) *Age* is not a major difficulty, though it makes international comparisons difficult as practices differ from country to country. Generally some decision can be made on the basis of legal requirements. In Britain the age at which schoolchildren can have an 'occupation' is affected by local government regulations.

(b) *Honorary positions, amateur pursuits and professional crime* are, as far as I can tell, universally omitted from official statistics. The last is clearly of interest to sociologists but is mercifully outside the scope of this paper.

(c) *Retired workers* in many studies are simply recorded as 'retired'. This seems quite inadequate, particularly if stratification is an interest. Minimum requirements are details of the last job done before retirement and the main

job held during working life. This last is particularly important in the case of manual workers. A considerable difficulty may be created by the existence of a number of jobs performed frequently (and others almost universally) by 'retired' men; for example that of school-crossing attendant. Many 'retired' men have some gainful occupation. There are two problems here. Firstly, as with 'moonlighting', they may be most unwilling to reveal these jobs because of the pension regulations. Secondly, how should they be classified? Fortunately most studies will not require a degree of refinement which goes beyond recording that a man has retired and what his previous job was. Nevertheless for some purposes it may be necessary to divide up the 'retired' category not only according to previous job, but also according to present 'secondary' occupation. At any rate the research-worker should bear in mind the possibility of respondents having such jobs.

(d) *Unemployed* are in many studies simply recorded as 'unemployed'. This is a theory problem, particularly if any comparison is to be made with official statistics, as it is possible to be technically 'unemployed', although by any sociological standards a man is in employment. An example is when he leaves a job at the end of one week, with a fortnight's pay (say), takes a week's holiday, and then goes to a job which he has already arranged. An even trickier problem is the man who is temporarily laid off. A possible procedure is to record when the respondent became unemployed, the job he did previously and how long he held it. If he has definitely arranged to go to another job within a fortnight (say) then a reasonable practice would be to record this as his occupation. In some countries the practice is to record the previous occupation in the case of *all* temporarily unemployed. Problems of honesty arise, but are outside the scope of this

chapter. An attempt should certainly be made to distinguish between those unemployed for a short period, the long-term unemployed, and those who are in a sense 'unemployable'. The Ministry of Labour classifies the current period of unemployment as: less than nine weeks; nine weeks but less than twenty-six weeks; twenty-six weeks and over. This obviously helps classification but does not entirely solve the problem.

(e) *Students* present a problem only in the sense that a decision on the category used has to be made. As a general rule it seems best to code as 'student'. If the student is on a sandwich course and a large number of such students are expected in the sample then it may be worth designing special categories for this. On the whole this is a problem to be solved *ad hoc*.

(f) *Apprentices* (also called 'improvers' in some industries) create a minor problem. The Registrar General includes them in the occupation or profession for which they are training. As a general practice this seems satisfactory.

(g) *Trainees* for certain professions or 'fringe-professions' provide a case between (e) and (f). I would recommend classifying them under their future profession, thus leaving *students* purely for those in educational establishments.

Finally, there is the question of *full and part-time working*. I find the Registrar General's solution of this problem somewhat unattractive. He counts as part-time 'persons . . . whose employment in the week preceding the Census was for less than the full working week in the occupation for reasons other than strikes, lockouts, short-time working, sickness or holidays'[9] and then defines full-time as the residual category. There are two problems here. Firstly, it is very difficult for the interviewer if he does not know the industry and is expected to precode. This can be avoided by recording the

actual hours worked and asking whether the man was on strike, locked-out, etc. Secondly, the distinction between part-timers and really casual workers is blurred. I would certainly recommend splitting the 'part-time' category up in some way, and here the insurance regulations can be used as a guide, particularly if comparison with official statistics is to be made, but the classification may be unsatisfactory for many purposes. It is certainly worth considering whether all people working more than a certain number of hours should simply be classified as working full-time. Examples of this procedure are in Young and Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, where 'full-time' is 30 hours or more per week, 'part-time' 10–30 hours and 'not working', by some extraordinary conceptual feat is less than 10 hours. In *Family and Class in a London Suburb*[3] the same authors (or possibly the then Ministry of Pensions) appear to have reconsidered this, as 'not working' now more reasonably means 'not gainfully employed at all outside the home'. In some studies the question of outwork arises; a decision on how to deal with it will generally have to be taken for the study in question. Usually the problem only arises in the case of women, mainly married women, and a reasonable course is to record it in a category by itself along with the amount of time spent per week.

Attention has so far been focused on the question of *recording* occupations and only here and there on *classification*. It should by now be clear that a great deal can go wrong at the recording stage which may make subsequent analysis difficult or even impossible. In my opinion, always subject to the time-cost factor, full details should be recorded where occupation is concerned, and precoding should be used with care. For the straightforward classification of occupation I recommend the use of the Registrar General's *Classification of Occupations*, and his numerical code should at least be considered.

(5) CLASSIFICATION OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS: AND FURTHER DATA ON JOB CLASSIFICATION

This is of importance in the classification of occupations either for use in industrial/locality studies or as a variable to take into account for status ranking. It is very difficult to lay down any guidelines. The Registrar General uses a rather crude division which is not adequate for many purposes. Unfortunately job descriptions of a hierarchical kind vary so much from industry to industry and indeed from factory to factory that a good deal of specialist or even local knowledge may be necessary to sort out the terms.

As a guide it is of help to collect data on:

(a) number of employees directly responsible to the respondent;
(b) the level or status of the man he is responsible to;
(c) whether the respondent is paid weekly or monthly, a wage or a fixed salary;
(d) the hours worked; these can sometimes be a help, especially if there are works/office distinctions, but care must be taken: many professional engineers, for instance, keep 'works' hours.

It may be of interest to obtain information on the *work group*, as for some purposes this may be a critical occupation variable. The difficulty is to know what sort of information to collect. In most studies the research-worker will be able to decide for himself, if he is competent in the field of the sociology of work; if he is not, then he would be somewhat unwise to venture into this area. It does not seem to be part of the 'basic' information to be collected as a general practice.

(6) CLASSIFICATION SCALES IMPLYING STATUS RANKING

This type of classification is on the whole the one used in most studies. When thinking of occupational classification

most people have in mind a scale of this type, even if they are not clearly aware of the implications. Doubtless, and regrettably, there are cases of the Registrar General's social classes being used without careful thought being given to the principles of stratification lying behind them.

The great difficulty confronting any attempt at standardization is the large number of existing systems of classification. However, if the data collected are in a sufficiently detailed and general form (see above), then it should be possible for investigators interested in secondary analysis to use any system they desire. In published work however a degree of comparability should be attained as high as is compatible with the special demands of the study. It may be the case that the system designed for the study is so flexible that it can be made comparable (or at least roughly comparable) with other systems. This is an ideal to be aimed at. It does however mean that the classification used has to be very complicated. Failing this, an alternative is to use a system suitable for the study, but also to provide the data in some alternative and common form.

A major difficulty will always be the handling of *rural occupations*. It is now widely accepted that they cannot easily be fitted on to a continuous status scale with industrial occupations, and they are frequently allotted a category of their own. If however it is necessary to include them alongside industrial occupations it should be done in such a way that they form a sub-category of the various groups, and can be separated out again if desired.

One further general point should be made. Comparison across time is a matter requiring considerable skill, for the status of an occupation may change. This applies particularly to skilled occupations, since those counted as skilled at one point in time may not be at another.[10] The appearance of new occupations also causes difficulties.

A further technical point in classification is that some

decision has to be taken in borderline cases or where information is incomplete or ambiguous. The usual procedure is to choose the 'lower' alternative. This seems a reasonable practice.

(7) AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE BEST-KNOWN CLASSIFICATIONS (excluding most American scales)

(a) *The Registrar General's five social classes*

Since 1921 the Registrar General has used five social classes (he started with eight in 1911) although the detailed content has changed over time, and in a sense the focus has changed also, the early classifications being more closely connected with mortality analyses. His five classes are:

I Professional, etc. occupations
II Intermediate occupations
III Skilled occupations
IV Partly skilled occupations
V Unskilled occupations

This system has been criticized frequently, in particular for the mixing of manual and non-manual occupations, when this is often considered the critical dividing line in sociological research. Furthermore the rules for incorporating 'foreman' and 'manager' status are rather rigid and not altogether satisfactory. Recently however the Registrar General has divided classes II, III and IV into 'manual', 'non-manual', and 'agricultural' sub-groups, which is some improvement. Although this scale is rather crude it has the advantage of being ready made and already used in many studies. This makes it possible to obtain official data in a comparable form. As a general principle it is desirable to be able to collapse any classification used into something at least approximating to the Registrar General's scale.

(b) *The Registrar General's sixteen socio-economic groups*

These are perhaps best used as an aid to the revision of the

five social classes. They cross-cut these in rather a curious way and it is not easy to see any systematic criteria in their composition. As noted above, they are ideally intended to put together 'persons whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar'. But in practice the classification is made on the basis of occupation and employment status, which produces quite a different result. The weight placed on employment status seems altogether too heavy for sociological purposes. Thus we find employers and managers (S.E.G.'s 1 and 2) grouped without any notice being taken of whether the 'manager' of a small business actually performs any of the work of that business himself. There is an obvious sociological distinction between the manager of a small business carrying on a manual trade (say electrician) who restricts himself to the running of the business, and the manager of such a business who is himself its leading skilled worker. The range of social class (as defined by the Registrar General) found within a single S.E.G. is also too wide. Thus S.E.G. 12, Own Account Workers (other than professional), contains a group of aircraft pilots, navigators and flight engineers and a group of self-employed fishermen, gardeners and chimney-sweeps. It seems quite improbable that people in these two groups of occupations are similar in social, cultural and recreational ways. Thus the theoretical justification for these groupings is very weak, nor is it possible to determine exactly how the various criteria of allocation are applied and whether they are applied with any consistency. The groups do however remain a useful guide for anyone attempting to create a classification of his own or wishing to modify the Registrar General's five social classes.

(c) *The Hall-Jones scale*

This is widely used in this country. It is based on the standard classification used in the Social Survey of Merseyside. The seven categories are:

1. Professional and high administrative.
2. Managerial and Executive.
3. Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual, higher grade.
4. Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual, lower grade.
5. Skilled manual and routine grades of non-manual.
6. Semi-skilled manual.
7. Unskilled manual.

In the original paper describing the scale,[11] and the empirical work used to verify it, it is shown that the scale is broadly comparable (by collapsing 1 and 2 into R-G I; 3 and 4 into R-G II) with the Registrar General's scale. It is also comparable, though rather less so, with that used by the Population Investigation Committee, and the Social Survey. For details the original article should be consulted. A weakness of the scale is that it fails to separate manual and non-manual occupations, and rural occupations cause some difficulty.

(d) *Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin*

In Appendix A, the classification used in Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* is presented as an example of a classification designated in America for a specialist purpose and with certain features not found in most classifications. The separation of the 'underworld' for instance is interesting. It will be noted that it has elements in it which are tending towards the 'local status' level (in groups 8/9) and are thus unacceptable as purely occupational elements.

(8) MODIFICATION OF EXISTING SCALES TO OVERCOME WEAKNESSES

The Institute of Community Studies has used the Registrar General's scales with one modification to avoid the manual/non-manual difficulty. They split his group III into two parts,

by means of the socio-economic groups. By removing the relevant S.E.G.s of non-manual occupations from class III (i.e. 5, 6, 7, in the 1960 classification), they obtain a category of 'Clerical and shop workers' and the rest of class III is then 'skilled manual'.

A good deal of work on occupational coding was done at Aberdeen and later by the Hull group. This provides an interesting system of classification based on the Registrar General's scales.[12]

In a study I have been connected with[13] we felt dissatisfied with the customary 'skilled' category and created two categories here. We reserved the skilled group for those strictly manual occupations generally recognized as skilled by virtue of an apprenticeship or equivalent. We then created a category of 'skilled by habituation' into which we placed those workers who have no formal qualification, but acquire a skill by long practice and carry out work which requires more than a few hours training (unlike most semi-skilled jobs) or has some additional responsibility. We called this group 'Other relatively skilled manual workers'. We also made a number of other modifications. The full classification, with examples, is as follows:

Occupational Status Level	*Examples* – giving range of occupations as well as typical ones.
1. (a) Higher professional, managerial and other white-collar employees	chartered accountant, business executive, senior civil servant,
(b) Large industrial or commercial employers, landed proprietors	graduate teacher.
2. (a) Intermediate professional, managerial and other white-collar employees	pharmacist, non-graduate teacher, departmental manager, bank cashier.

	(b) Medium industrial or commercial employers, substantial farmers	
3.	(a) Lower professional, managerial and other white-collar employees	chiropodist, bar manager, commercial traveller, draughtsman, accounts or wages clerk.
	(b) Small industrial or commercial employers, small proprietors, small farmers.	jobbing builder, taxi owner-driver, tobacconist.
4.	(a) Supervisory, inspectional, minor official and service employees	foreman, meter-reader, shop assistant, door-to-door salesman.
	(b) Self-employed men (no employees or expensive capital equipment)	window cleaner, jobbing gardener.
5.	(a) Skilled manual workers (with apprenticeship or equivalent)	
6.	(a) Other relatively skilled manual workers	unapprenticed mechanics and fitters, skilled miners, painters and decorators, p.s.v. drivers.
7.	(a) Semi-skilled manual workers	machine operator, assembler
8.	(a) Unskilled manual workers	storeman, farm labourer, builder's labourer, dustman.

If it is desired to separate out rural occupations this can easily be done by complicating the classification slightly and introducing 1(c) to take the landed proprietors from 1(b); 2(c) to take substantial farmers; 3(c) to take small farmers. It may also be necessary to split 8 into (a) and (b) if it is desirable to separate out agricultural workers.

This scheme has the advantage of being flexible. Categories 1, 2, and 3 form the white-collar groups, 4 is what we have called intermediate, and 5, 6, 7, 8 are clearly manual. It corresponds roughly to the Hall-Jones scale but there is of course a discrepancy at Hall-Jones class 5.

In conclusion, it is virtually impossible to make a firm recommendation in the field of classification by status. The difficulty of the problem is such that it seems a 'dual' classification should be employed. One system should be used which is comparable with one of the 'official' classifications and also one which is more or less tailor-made for the particular study. As far as the 'official' classification goes the Registrar General's five social classes, modified to avoid the manual/non-manual difficulty, seems best, although for a few purposes Hall-Jones may still be preferable. It should further be stressed that using tailor-made classifications does not relieve the research worker of trying to maintain comparability, and if classifications used previously seem adequate he should not add to the already over-large collection. A relevant consideration here will always be that of sample size, which will determine how many categories he can usefully handle.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The distinction between the definition of occupation and the uses to which occupational data may be put should be maintained. The Registrar General's definition is recommended.

There is a distinction between the data to be recorded, the method of classification, and the data to be published. It is stressed that as full data as possible, within the imposed time-cost limits, should be recorded in order that adequate classification may be made, even where a simple and minimal classification is all that is necessary for analysis and published work.

As to the data that should be recorded, the following summarizes some of the main recommendations:

(i) The occupation recorded should be the subject's present occupation, with the length of time he has done the particular job, and whether it is his more or less permanent employment.
(ii) Where possible and relevant, a job-history should be collected.
(iii) It is advisable to collect only the subject's main occupation unless a good deal of time can be spent on investigating possible secondary occupations.
(iv) The classification 'retired' is inadequate: some data about previous occupations should also be collected.
(v) The Registrar General's distinction between full-time and part-time working should be split, possibly using insurance regulations as a guide.
(vi) Distinctions between long- and short-term unemployed should be made.
(vii) For many sociological purposes noting merely the present occupation of an individual is inadequate; the occupation of all members of his domestic group should also be collected.

On classification the following recommendations are made:
(i) The Registrar General's classification of occupations, divided into his Social Classes I to V, with modifications for manual and non-manual categories, is probably the most satisfactory and will maximize comparability, though Hall-Jones remains a good alternative.
(ii) Researchers are advised not to add to the already existing plethora of classifications without very good reason. Any refined classification used should be collapsible to the Registrar General's. Where a particular study makes the use of a specific classification essential, researchers are asked to classify their data twice, by the Registrar General's classification and by their own specific classification. Both should be shown at least in summary form in their published work.

(iii) Males and females should be classified separately, at least initially, and particularly in classifications which imply status ranking.

These recommendations, and those that have appeared on previous pages, should not be taken as any attempt to legislate upon the precise categories or groupings any worker might use. In general, it seems more useful to indicate the factors a research-worker has to take into account in the classification of occupations and leave him to take his own decisions. The responsibility of the research-worker is therefore clear. It is incumbent upon him to see that he is sufficiently familiar with the literature and the body of previous research in his area to be able to maintain comparability.

The research-worker interested in occupation as a major variable will presumably be in a position to make the necessary decisions. The worker interested in occupation simply as a face-sheet variable may be aided by these remarks to anticipate the major pitfalls of data *collection* in this area and will probably be adequately served by one of the more standard *classification* systems already in use.

Chapter 4: APPENDIX

THE KINSEY, POMEROY, MARTIN CLASSIFICATION

(0) *Dependents.* If the subject is an adult who is dependent upon the State or upon a person other than a spouse for his or her support, the classification is 0. If the individual is a minor dependent upon his parents or other guardians, the classification is shown as a 0, with the classification of the parents shown in parenthesis, e.g. 0 (5) for a minor from a home which belongs to class 5. The classification of a dependent wife is that of her husband.

(1) *Underworld.* Deriving a significant portion of the income from illicit activities: e.g. bootleggers, con men, dope peddlers, gamblers, hold-up men, pimps, prostitutes, etc.

(2) *Day labor.* Persons employed by the hour for labor which does not require special training: e.g. construction labor, domestic help, factory labor, farm hands, junk and trash collectors, laundry help, maids, messenger boys, porters, railroad section hands, stevedores, WPA labor, etc.

(3) *Semi-skilled labor.* Persons employed by the hour or on other temporary bases for tasks involving some minimum of training; e.g. semi-skilled labor in factories or on construction jobs, bartenders, bell hops, blacksmiths, cooks (some), elevator operators, filling station attendants, firemen on railroads, firemen in cities, marines, miners, policemen, prize fighters, sailors, showmen, soldiers, stationary engineers, street car conductors, taxi drivers, truck drivers, ushers, etc.

(4) *Skilled labor.* Persons involved in manual activities which require training and experience. Employed either by the hour or more often for piece work, or on salary: e.g. skilled workmen as defined by labor unions, in factories or on construction jobs, athletes (professional), bakers, barbers, bricklayers (skilled), carpenters (skilled), cooks (skilled), dressmakers (skilled), electricians, farm owners (some), foremen in factories, linemen, machinists, masons, mechanics (skilled), plumbers, printers, radio technicians, tool and die makers, welders, etc.

(5) *Lower white collar group.* Persons involved in work which is not primarily manual but which more particularly depends upon their educational background and mental capacity: e.g. army officers (some), bank clerks, bookkeepers, clergymen (in smaller churches), clerks in offices, clerks in better stores, express and postal agents, salesmen (some), secretaries, small store owners, small business operators, stenographers, farmers (some), insurance agents, musicians (some), nurses, navy officers (some), political officers (some), railroad conductors, teachers in grade schools, laboratory technicians, etc.

(6) *Upper white collar group.* Including persons of some importance in the business group, army officer (some), bank officials, certified public accountants, clergymen (most), better store owners, better actors, artists, and musicians, navy officers (some), school teachers in high schools, school principals, farm and ranch owners (of better rank), management in construction and other businesses,

higher political officers, some lawyers, some dentists, most salesmen, welfare workers, etc.

(7) *Professional group.* Persons holding positions that depend upon professional training which is usually beyond the college level: e.g. college professors, trained lawyers, physicians, dentists (with better training), trained engineers; some actors, artists, musicians, and writers, some clergymen, etc.

(8) *Business executive group.* Primarily executive officers in larger businesses, and persons holding high social rank because of financial status or because of hereditary family position, including persons in the Social Register.

(9) *Extremely wealthy group.* Living primarily on income and occupying high social status because of their monied position and/or their family backgrounds.

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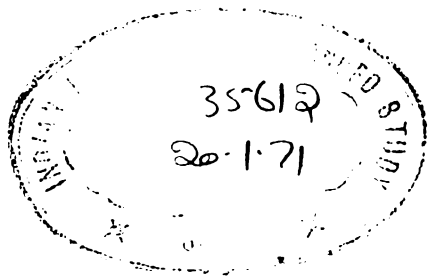

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