

25-7/2/93

Spain

Bottomore Classes in Modern Society

- 15) Social class (or more broadly social stratification) = any hierarchical ordering social groups.
- caste
 - estate
 - social class
 - status group

- 16) Rousseau Emile ed p 160 in 2 kinds inequality,
Marshall Civilization & Social Class 1960
Docton Some Aspects of Inequality income 1920 - Inheritance more
imp. than talent

"Indeed, it would be a more accurate description of the social class system to say that it operates, largely through the inheritance of property, to ensure that each individual maintains a certain social position, determined by his birth and irrespective of his particular abilities. This state of affairs is only mitigated, not abolished, by various social influences which we shall consider later."

- 17) ^{social} Largely economic, in contrast with caste or feudal estates less stable than other forms

Marxist theory analyzed for sake of its econ. basis & that it has, relating class divisions to rise division of labour outside family;

- 19) Marxist Engels' fourfold system of principal historical forms of society;

- 1) Primitive communism
- 2) Ancient society (slavery)
- 3) feudal society (serfdom)
- 4) modern capitalism (wage labour)

19) One of Marx's problems is "whether the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the development of capitalist society, [is] to be regarded as special cases, or whether, and in what manner, they could be incorporated in a general account of the development of human society from its beginnings."

20) For Marx class consciousness indispensable for w.c. revolution, for history does not use people (Hegel) but history is nothing but the activity of men in pursuit of their ends [The Holy Family, 1945] and this must be conscious action.

[Here perhaps the great flaw of Marx, that deliberate & willful & knowing acts are the great determinants of historical change.]

21) Criticism Marxist Theory on three grounds

a) preeminence of class conflict. This led to under-

22) estimating nationalism & imperialism. True perhaps (says Bottomore) but these ^{represent a} ~~are~~ "diffusions of ruling class ideas" but still they were tolerated by growing lower classes.

b) After failure class antagonisms in face nationalism - WW I

23) c) "Class" useful only in modern society, not older ones, and cannot be used for it.

24) c) Bourgeois - proletariat gap has not widened; wealth has been redistributed somewhat; social service state; a new kind of m.c., unforced by Marx, has arisen (white collar, professional, etc.)

25) Max Weber's 'prestige' strata modifies class strata in two ways:

- 26) 1) interposes a range of status groups to connect top & bottom
2) a social hierarchy not polarized by g. of property holdings but covering a continuum on scale which denied class struggle possible. Emulation, not conflict, is rule. (Tunton & Lewis, Davis & Moore fit here)

27) Dahrendorf's Class & Class Conflict in Industrial Society and her critique, but less forceful: industrial & political spheres are separated (as they were not, in Marx's hands) in post-capitalist time (such as our own); recent studies show that they're linked very much (esp in Europe, less in USA).

28) Pro, bourgeoisie neither so closed nor so dominant as Marx believed it to be

and proletariat even less "Marxlike" -- highly differentiated in skills, high standard living for some.

29) "Embourgeoisment of working class" a much disputed theme, criticized by Gold Thorpe & Forwood in Soc. Rev. XI (1963)

34) a few statistics on England ca 1900 ca 1890 30% lived in poverty.

ca 1910 1% owned 68% private property

ca 1945 1% " 50%

(34) "The attack upon economic inequality is of very recent date. An estate duty was first imposed towards the end of the nineteenth century, and only in 1949 did it reach the substantial rate of 80% per cent on estates above £1 million." So, Be Honore Thinks first - almost exclusively - of estate tax as the route to equalizing economic status - which puts him in a class all by himself at this time among sociologists.

A. Sampson Anatomy of Britain for wealthy staying wealthy.
R. Titmuss Income Distribution imp for statistics

35) Summary of situation in 50% (based on income tax returns)
1900-1939 little or no redistribution income in favor wage earners
1939 10% of population received 1/2 of national income
1939-1949 perhaps 10% national income shifted from property owners to wage earners
1949 ff growing inequality again.

37 Gains have been due to rising GNP, ^(national income) not redistribution

38 Copeman on high family advantage of leaders big big corporations.

39 Kellwell on " " " ^{of admin level of} Civil servants, even

39 Education, since Educ Act 1944, supposedly helping social mobility, has not worked ff towards that end, but now? "public" schools give upper classes great advantages: proportion of Univ. students from working class the same (about 25%) between 1928-47 and 1961. — "The vast majority of people still remain in their class of origin."

41) ... ~~There are no~~ "great" There is no general sense of 'classlessness', nor of great opportunities for the individual to choose and create his way of life regardless of inherited wealth or social position.

41-2) How USA moved from relative equality to inequality in 19th - 20th cc. Emergence of Social Register is conscious realization of new American "aristocracy" - unions formed at same time.

Early 19th c 80% whites self-employed
1870 41%
1940 18%

but, as Mills says, ideology of small capitalism survives.

43) USA has promoted idea of classlessness since 1930's class propaganda, but in that time its social mobility no greater than in ^{some} other industrial societies.

44) Kuznets - Holko opposing views of inequality.

47) Dissociating of socialism & egalitarianism in Soviet ideology connected broadly with change policy early 1930's which involved increasing wage & salary differentials. By 1953

48) the range salary unskilled to managerial in USSR was 1:30 - less than in Brit & USA, but considering progressive taxes in latter perhaps even greater than theirs. But since 1956 wage differentials decreasing in USSR.

48)

But inequality does not mean growth of a new class system.

49)

W. classes have no true equivalent in USSR - "upper classes ^{or abundantly} ex. gen to members of the lower classes" says Gordon, Visa to Moscow (1962) - which shows how he's locked into the terminology - but this simple way of explaining classes as diachronic and therefore impossible ^(at least) (but ~~was~~ inherited wealth forbidden) in USSR, is not hit upon.

50)

No good study social mobility in USSR to prove ~~its~~ happening [various bibliog on Soviet econ & labour power.]

50)

"It seems clear from the experience of Western countries

51)

that the social distinctions based upon property ownership and inheritance are more strongly felt, and are more divisive in their effects, than those which arise from differences in earned income."

51)

[Bibliog on separation between manual & non-manual workers in W. countries in leisure-time activities.]

51)

Still USSR has elite; Dykes, etc. R Aron's articles in Pr Jour Soc. 7, 142 (1950) imp. for showing Soviet unfed elite's control much greater than in democracy because pol. & econ. power both controlled.

54)

Common features Soviet & Capitalist societies:

- 1) rapid progress industrialization
- 2) growing size of organizations (esp. econ.)
- 3) increasing role govt. in shaping econ & social life.

55)

- 1) industrialization is fluid in terms of rank, making for unprecedented opportunities for social mobility, besides raising minimum conditions of life.
- 2) Size ^{due to industrialization} societal ~~creates~~ helps diffusion egalitarian ideas (Boyle, Les idées Egalitaires, 1925).

56)

- 3) Backward countries, elite keep money in conspicuous consumption, but they lose out to new talent when industrialization gets underway.
- 4) But fact of equality does not follow inductively from industrialization; but even of accentuating the elite managers

57)

- 5) In Soviet Union econ inequalities do not come from diff. in wealth, but of income; in capitalist countries the reverse
- "This circumstance is connected with the fact that the distinctions between whole social groups are less obvious and less emphasized in the Soviet societies. Income differences produce ~~less~~ some separation of groups, but it is probably the case that social intercourse between individuals in different occupations and income levels is a great deal easier than in capitalist countries."

58)

- 6) Soviet elite unified, capitalist divided — a fashionable *travis vox*, but early overdone says Bottomore. ~~both~~

— Took at discontent, even revolt, in Soviet world, and great development of repressive devices, even tho no formal opposition exists.

59)

So, when classes still exist, or class conflict is not the only kind of conflict possible

~~7) ... from Capitalist~~

60)

7) In capitalist countries, if social classes have been source of open dissent & democratic vitality, their abolition ~~could~~ & ~~end in control~~ by creation of a mass society could end in unbridled power of the political élite.

61)

Throughout its 19th century up to present, the "driving force [of the egalitarian movement] ^{retained the} has been ~~the~~ opposition to the hierarchy of social classes."

62-3)

On attractiveness of Marxist theory vs clear amelioration i.e. in 20th century, but how come property holders still dominate politically, & economically?

64)

- Its power may be less commanding, but the same group rules

65)

Marx's ringing 1844 description of proletariat as redeeming human values - but in fact, this class has not been the 'animator of a revolutionary movement' acc. to mod. sociological studies of its self-image. Working classes do not seek collective action of any kind, let alone revolutionary acts.

66)

67)

(Zweig The Worker in an Affluent Society Shows This
Coudreau & Legoux L'ouvrier d'aujourd'hui same for France
H. Popitz et al Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters Ruhr workers
K. Bednaruk Der jung. Arbeiter von heute - same
Boedeker & Lakwood ... [embourgeoisement of working class]

68)

70-71)

Mallet's laborer as free consumer but dominated producer seeing better hours & vacations

72-3)

More on Marx's failure (not his fault) to see what working class would really be like.

74)

But still, says Bottomore, "egalitarian & collectivist ideas have spread widely ^{during} ~~the~~ this century." The question is whether they have

[74]

Already peaked or are still growing.
Lipset says ended Political Men, but
Bottomore says wait & watch when social inequality grows again

- Stresses very high salaries of the professional class, compared to workers [heh! does not here mention hereditary wealth]
- Workers now know leisure pleasures, & hate work - almost as many predicted, No infinitely better off in fact than Marx's time.

[75]

76)

a 2 - sentence meritocratic statement - see separate notes

~~77~~

~~78~~