

Department of Sociology inaugural lecture

The Old New Politics of Class

Professor Mike Savage

Professor of Sociology, LSE

Professor Bev Skeggs

*Head of the Department of Sociology,
Goldsmiths*

Professor John Hills

Chair, LSE

Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEclass**

LSE events



The old new politics of class

Mike Savage

Reflections on...

The Great British Class Survey



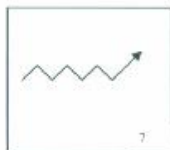
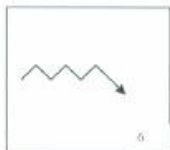
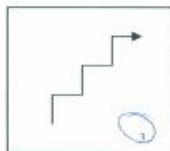
With Jane Elliott,
Andrew Miles and
Sam Parsons

With Fiona Devine, Niall Cunningham,
Mark Taylor, Johs Hjellbrekke, Brigitte Le
Roux, Sam Friedman, Andrew Miles,
Daniel Laurison, Paul Wakeling

Life Trajectories

Project specific serial number: 1307

Date: 13.1.10



1958 British Birth Cohort

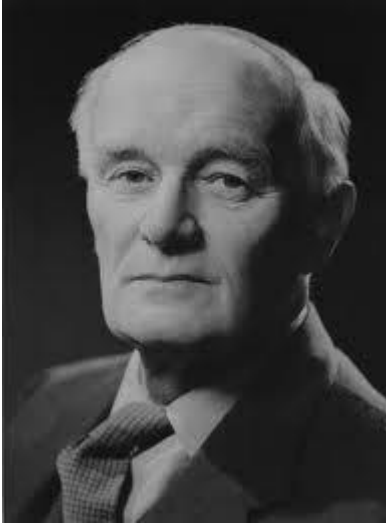
If you had to represent your life through a diagram, which of these would it be?

Plan

1. Class politics and the 'problematic of the proletariat'
2. Rethinking class, Bourdieu, and the GBCS
 1. The politics of selective reflexivity
 2. Dissecting the corporate elite
3. NCDS life stories and cultures of class domination

1: THE QUESTION OF CLASS POLITICS AND THE 'PROBLEMATIC OF THE PROLETARIAT'

T H Marshall 1949



‘The question’ said (economist Alfred Marshall)
'is not whether all men will ultimately be equal -
that they certainly will not - but whether progress
may not go on steadily, if slowly, till.... every man
is a gentleman.....

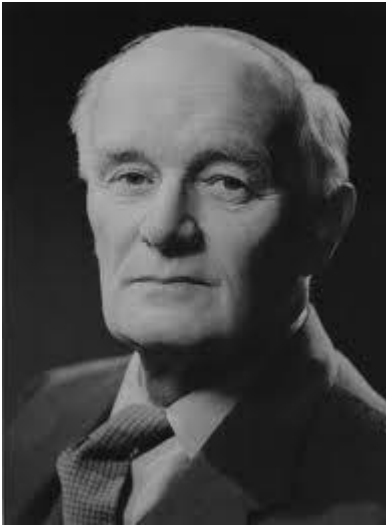
We can, I think, without doing violence to (Alfred) Marshall's meaning, replace the word 'gentleman' by the word 'civilised'. For it is clear that he was taking as the standard of civilised life the conditions regarded by his generation as appropriate to a gentleman.... The claim of all to enjoy these conditions is a claim to be admitted to a share in the social heritage, which in turn means a claim to be accepted as full members of the society, that is, as citizens

T.H. MARSHALL AND TOM BOTTOMORE
**CITIZENSHIP
AND
SOCIAL
CLASS**



PLUTO  CLASSIC

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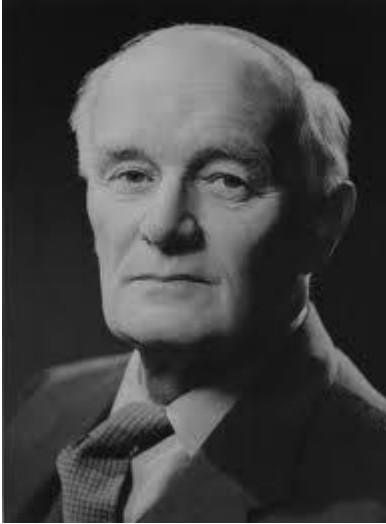
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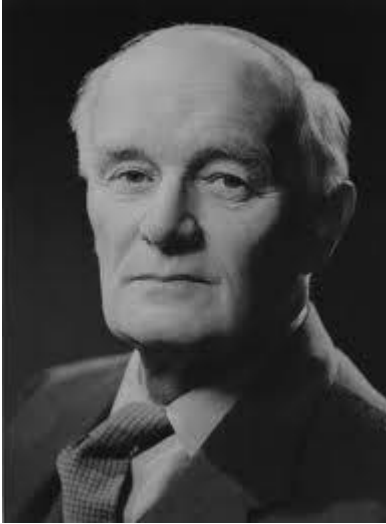
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T.H. MARSHALL AND TOM BOTTOMORE
**CITIZENSHIP
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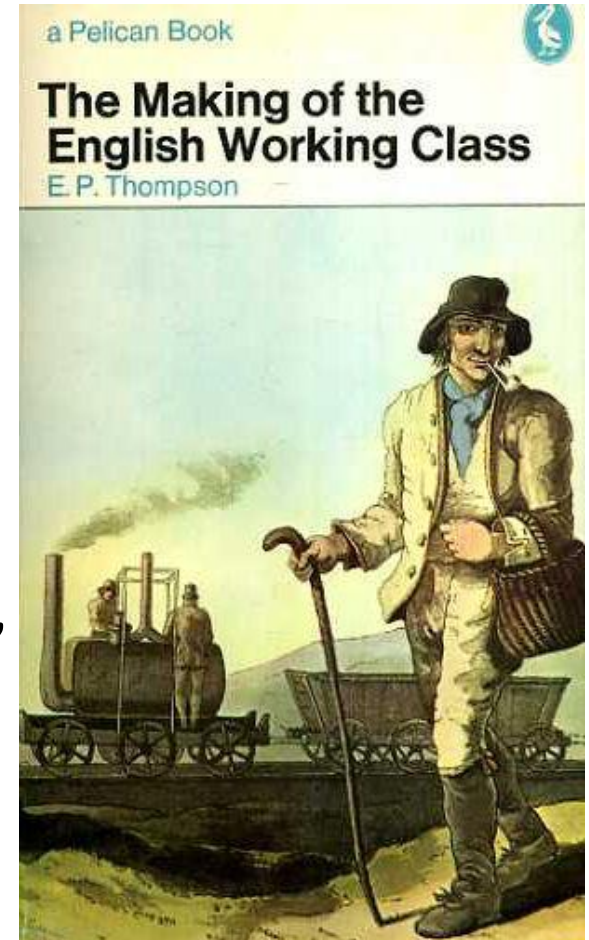


PLUTO  CLASSIC

E P Thompson 1963



Working people should not be seen only as the lost myriads of eternity. They had also nourished, for fifty years, and with incomparable fortitude, the Liberty Tree. We may thank them for these years of heroic culture.



The 'problematic of the proletariat'

‘(Marxist theory of class) thereby secures a one-dimensional social world, simply organized around the opposition between two blocs (and one of the major questions is then that of the boundary between these two blocs, with all the associated, endlessly debated, questions of the "labor aristocracy," the "embourgeoisement" of the working class, etc.’.

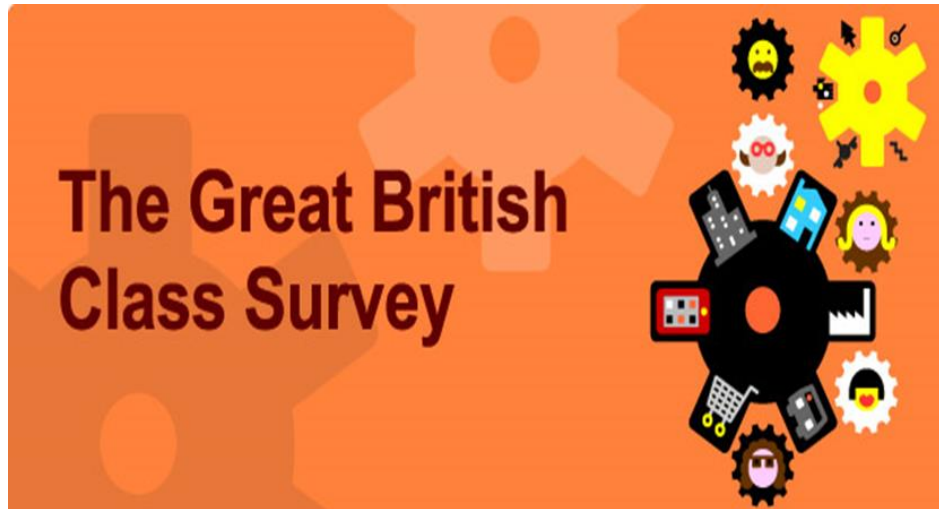
Pierre Bourdieu 1985

Class and political identification 1983-84

	Con	Labour	Alliance	Other
Managers	61	23	11	2
Owners	69	17	11	2
Prof/ intermediate	52	25	18	2
Junior non- man	50	23	18	0
Skilled manual	29	52	11	1
Semi/ unskilled	25	54	12	3
Managers – unskilled	+36	-31	-1	-1

Class and political identification 2011-12

	Con	Labour	Lib Dem	Other
Managers	40	32	6	6
Owners	33	30	4	16
Prof/ intermediate	29	38	10	10
Junior non- man	31	26	8	10
Skilled manual	24	40	3	12
Semi/ unskilled	17	41	4	8
Managers – unskilled	+23	-9	+2	-2



2: THE GREAT BRITISH CLASS SURVEY

Bourdieu.....?

- Sidesteps the centrality of the middle – working class divisions into a multi-dimensional interest in the potential of different capitals to accumulate, convert, and transmit advantage.
- Brings questions of culture and symbolic domination firmly back into view

	Elite	Established middle class	New affluent workers	Technical middle class	Traditional working class	Emergent service workers	Precariat
Household income	1	2	4	3	6	5	7
Household savings	1	3	5	2	4	6	7
House value	1	2	4	3	5	7	6
Social contact score	2	3	6	1	4	5	7
Social contact number	3	1	2	7	5	4	6
Highbrow cultural capital	1	2	6	5	3	4	7
Emerging cultural capital	4	3	2	5	7	1	6

Age

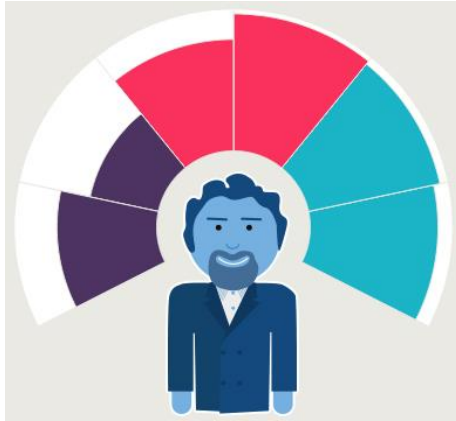
Elite



57

Established m c

46

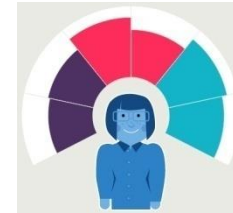


New affluent workers



44

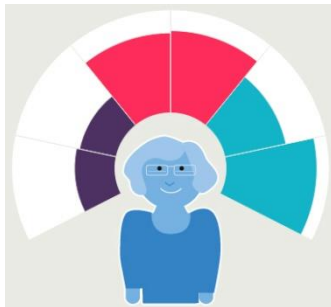
Technical mc



52

Traditional w c

66



Emerging service workers



32

Precariat



50

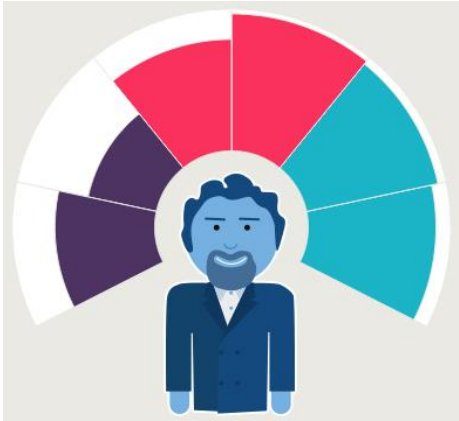
% ethnic min

Elite



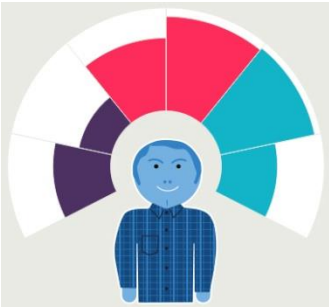
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Established m c



13

New affluent workers



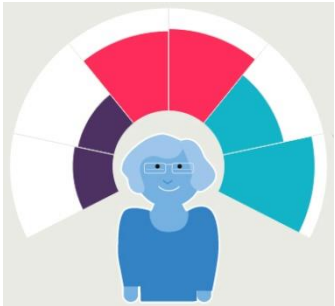
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Technical mc



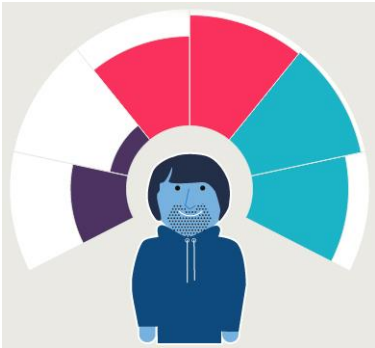
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Traditional w c



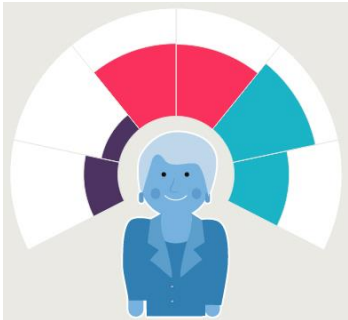
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Emerging service workers



21

Precariat



13

% female

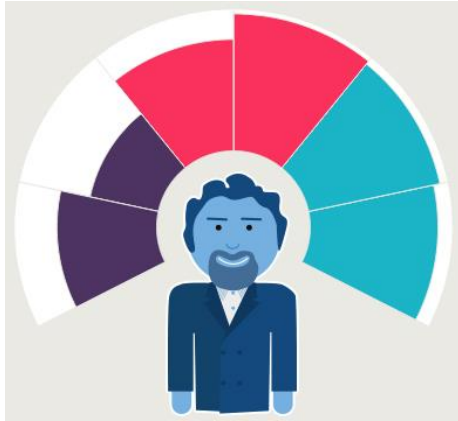
Elite



50

Established m c

54

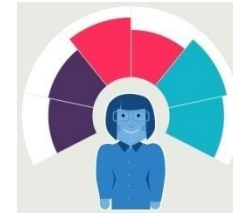


New affluent workers



43

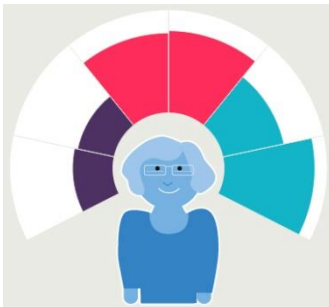
Technical mc



59

Traditional w c

62



Emerging service workers



55

Precariat

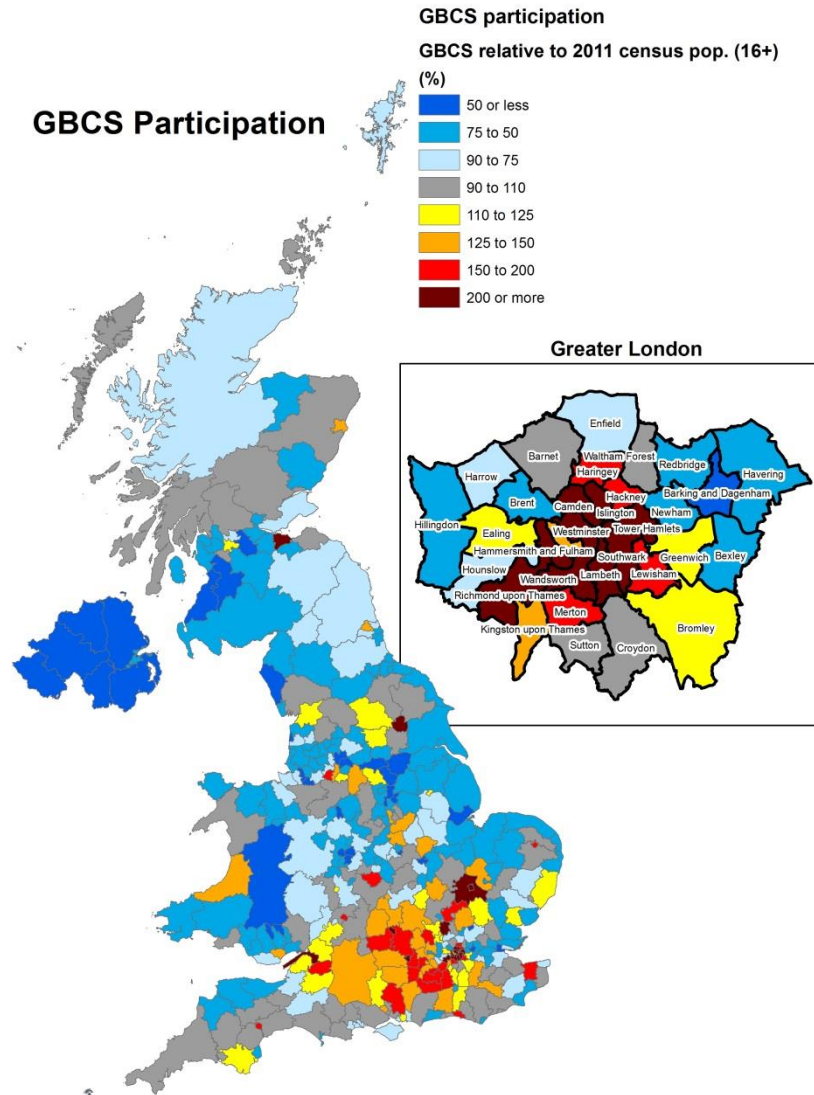


57

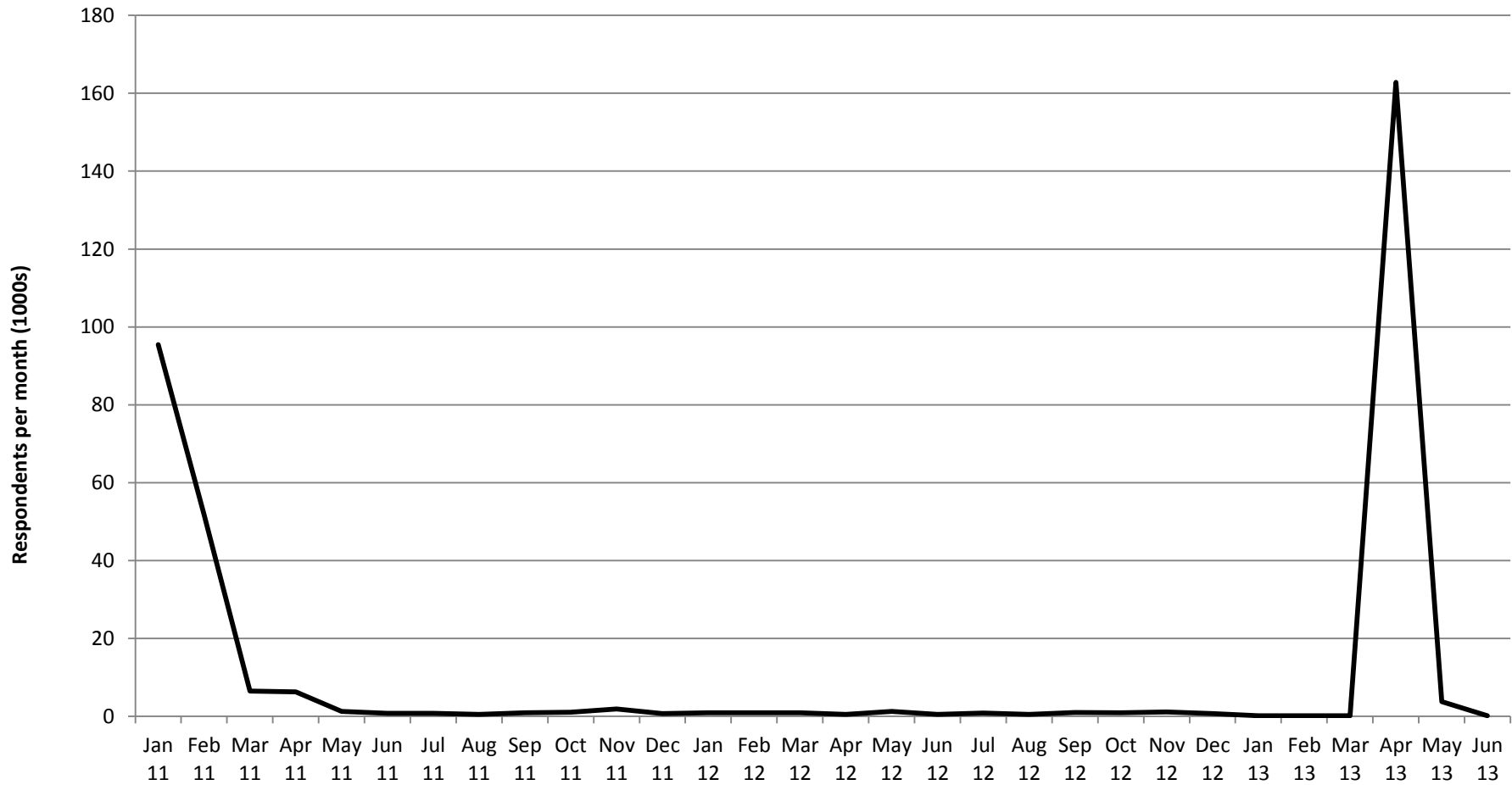
The GBCS sample skew...

- The web sample is highly clearly skewed towards the middle and upper classes.....
- BUT the sample skew is itself interesting for the debate on 'dis-identification' and should not be dismissed simply as a 'problem'

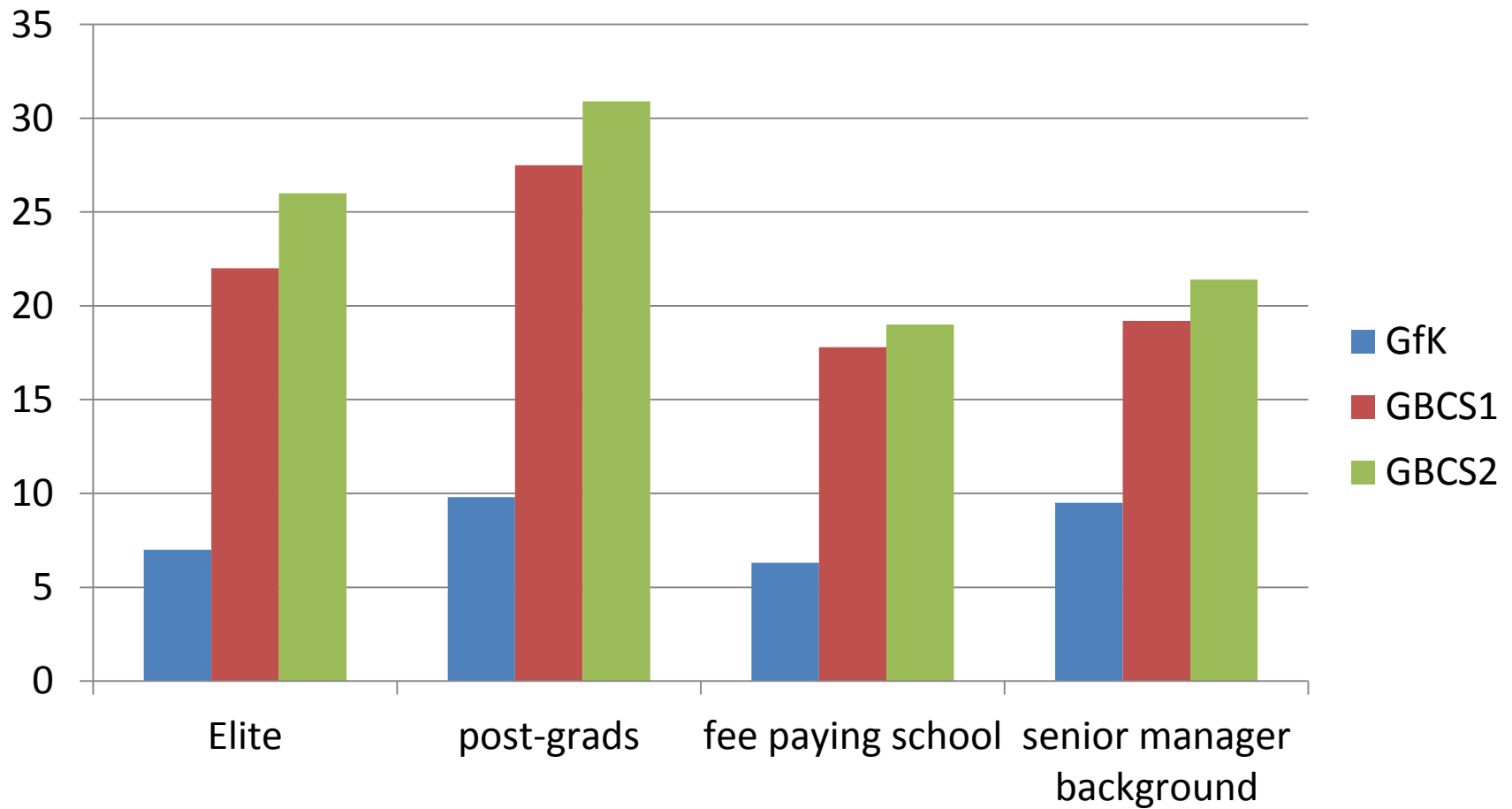
The geography of the GBCS



GBCS response times : Long-term distribution: 2 spikes



Elite reflexivity



The social space and the genesis of groups

‘this work of categorization, i.e., of making explicit and of classification, is performed incessantly, at every moment of ordinary existence, in the struggles in which agents clash over the meaning of the social world and of their position within it, the meaning of their social identity, through all the forms of benediction or malediction, eulogy, praise, congratulations, compliments, or insults, reproaches, criticisms, accusations, slanders, etc’.



Satirical takes
on the class
calculator – ‘a
knowing mode
of cultural
capital’

You

£

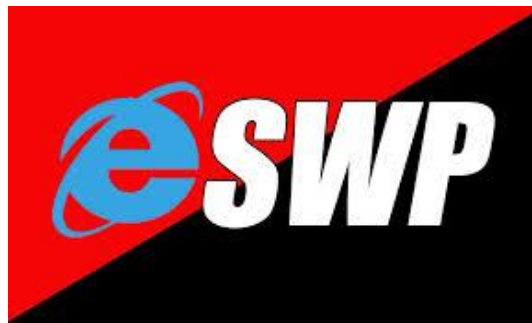
Which of these cultural activities do you take part in
Select all of the activities you do sometimes or often

<input type="checkbox"/> Eating hummus	<input type="checkbox"/> Buying shallots
<input type="checkbox"/> Enjoying Will.I.Am	<input type="checkbox"/> Saying "it's even better than The Wire"
<input type="checkbox"/> Ordering Flat Whites	<input type="checkbox"/> Sexting
<input type="checkbox"/> Vajazzling	<input type="checkbox"/> 'Pimping' natural yoghurt
<input type="checkbox"/> Intimidating people on buses	<input type="checkbox"/> Watching Miranda
<input type="checkbox"/> Buying Superdry	<input type="checkbox"/> Masturbating over Nigella
<input type="checkbox"/> Listening to Blackout Crew	<input type="checkbox"/> Saying 'Chorizo' correctly
<input type="checkbox"/> Nodding earnestly at Owen Jones' tweets	<input type="checkbox"/> Walking proudly with an Aldi bag

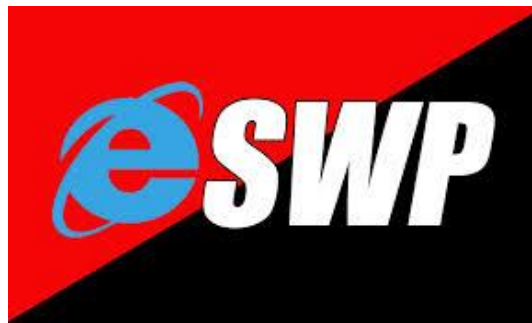
Coloured wedges represent your details, select icons to find out more.

< **NEXT** >

The festivities marked the establishment by the Hijackers of the Emergent Service Workers Party, borrowed from a term used in the recent Great British Class Survey. I discovered last week that I belonged to this class, so I'm happy that I now have a suitably tongue-in-cheek flag to wave. To quote from the survey: "This new class has low economic capital but has high levels of 'emerging' cultural capital and high social capital. This group are young and often found in urban areas." The internet is arguably essential to 'my' class, just as home-owning is to the established middle-classes. How else could my friends work their part-time, temporary service jobs, and run pop-up galleries, host blogs and write music in what they once thought of as their leisure time?



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Stigma and the creation of 'abject' categories



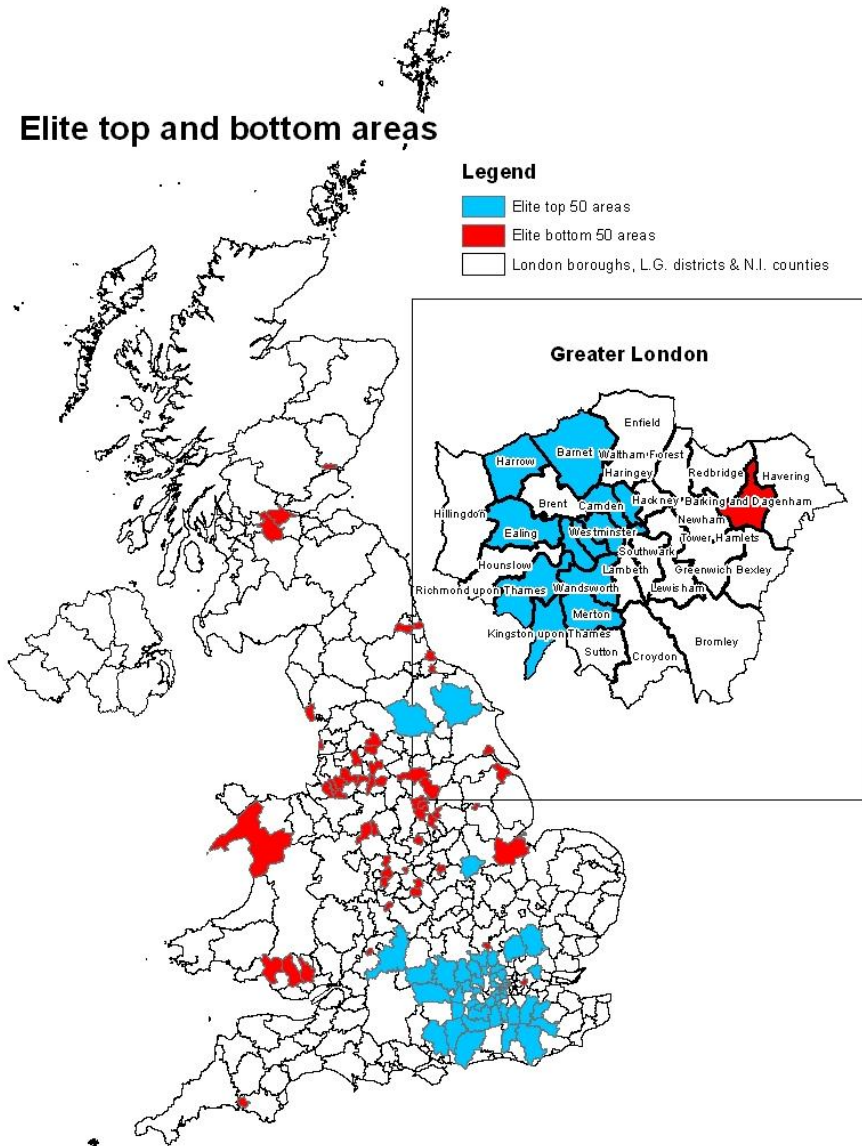
The politics of classification

- How do we turn the telescope back towards those at the top?

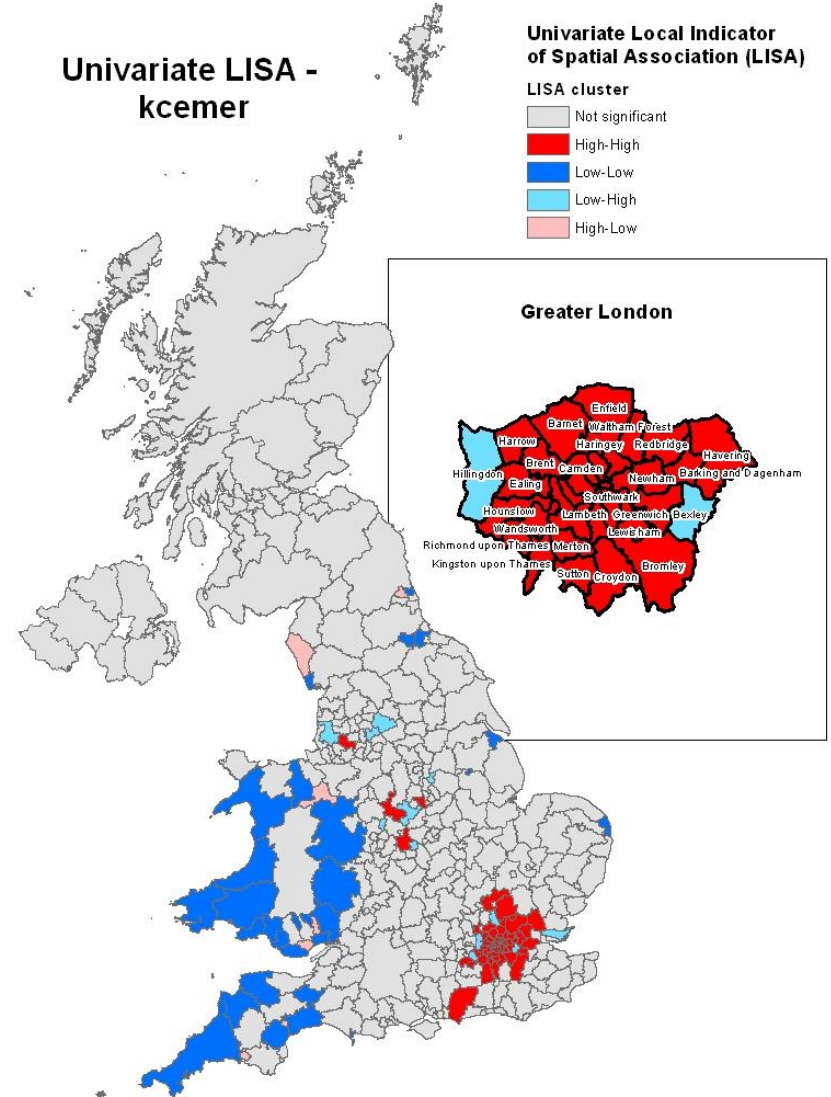
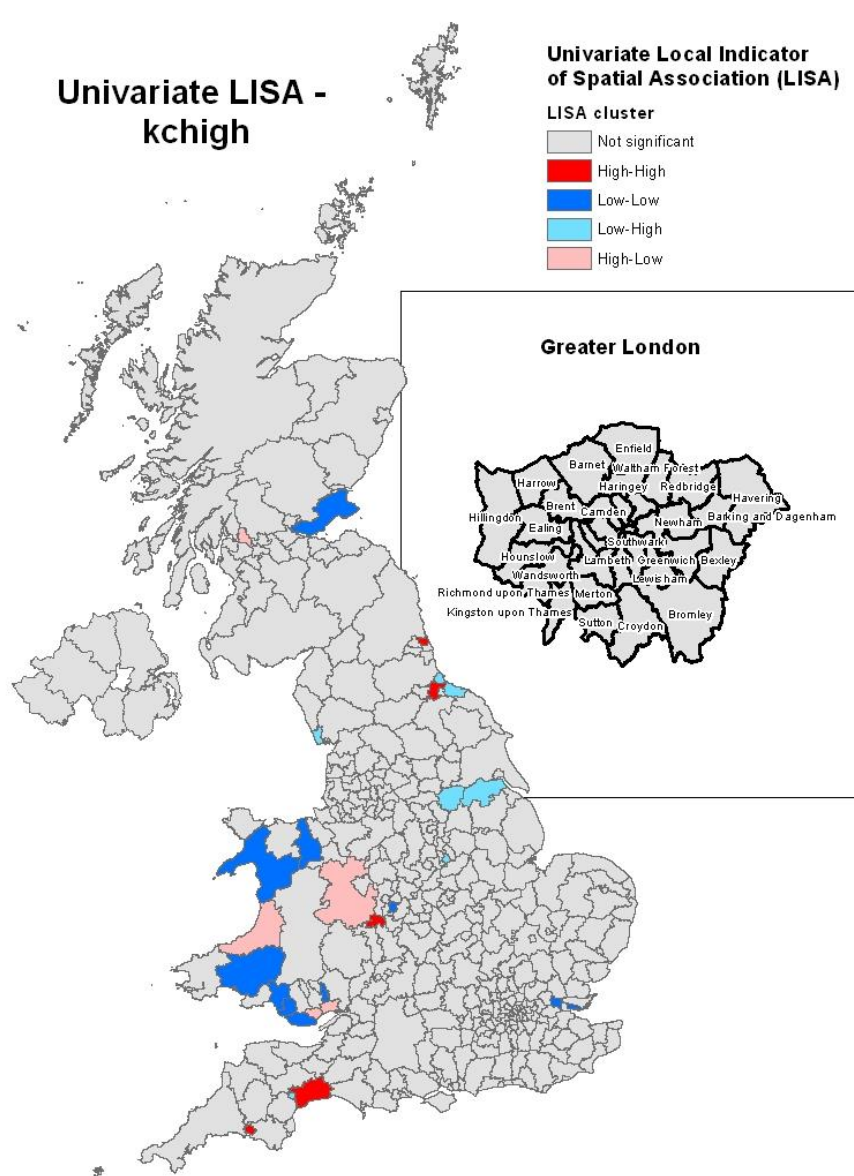
Occupational profile of elite

	% of occupation in elite	N=
CEOs	60.5	4953
Management consultants	37.8	2544
Financial manager	44.5	1167
Marketing/ sales manager	48.5	899
HR managers	35.5	536
Medical practitioners	38.3	1991
HE teachers	36.7	996
Barristers	45.1	532
All	21.8	150,184

'A metropolitan elite'

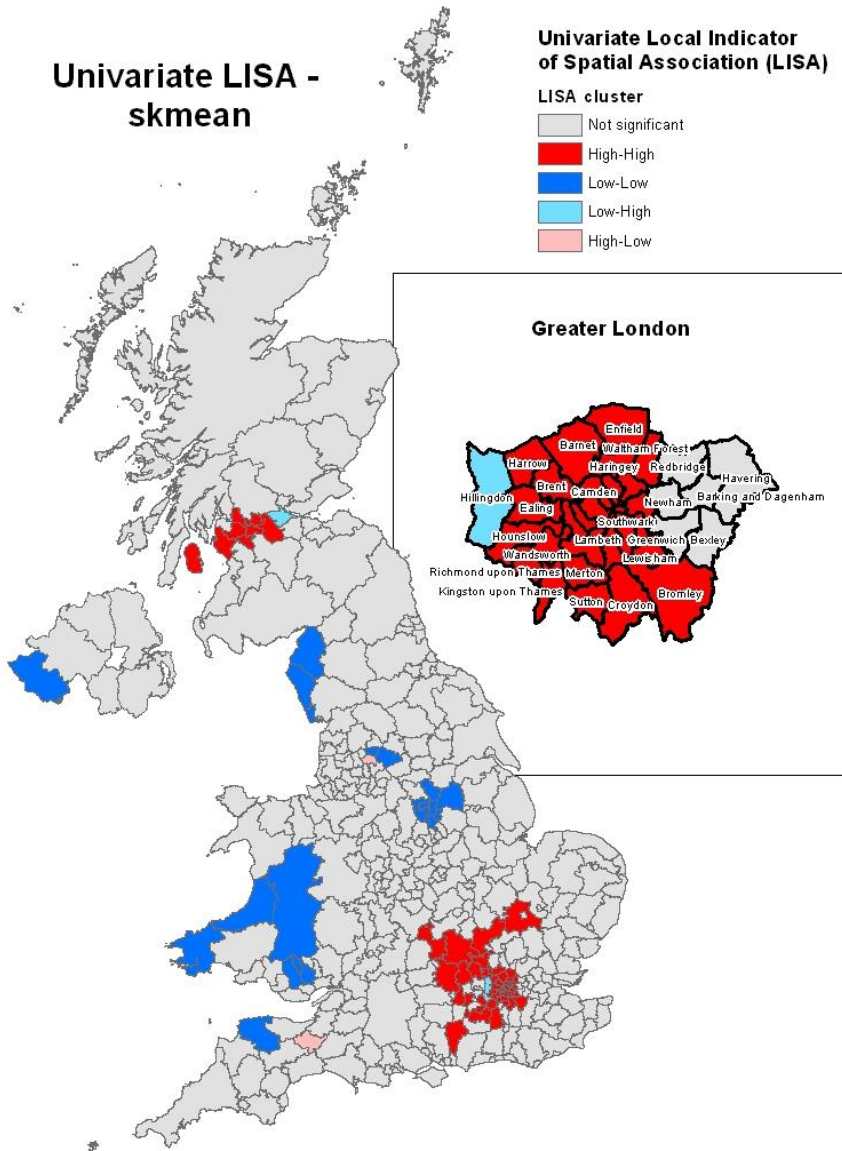


Elites & 'emerging' culture

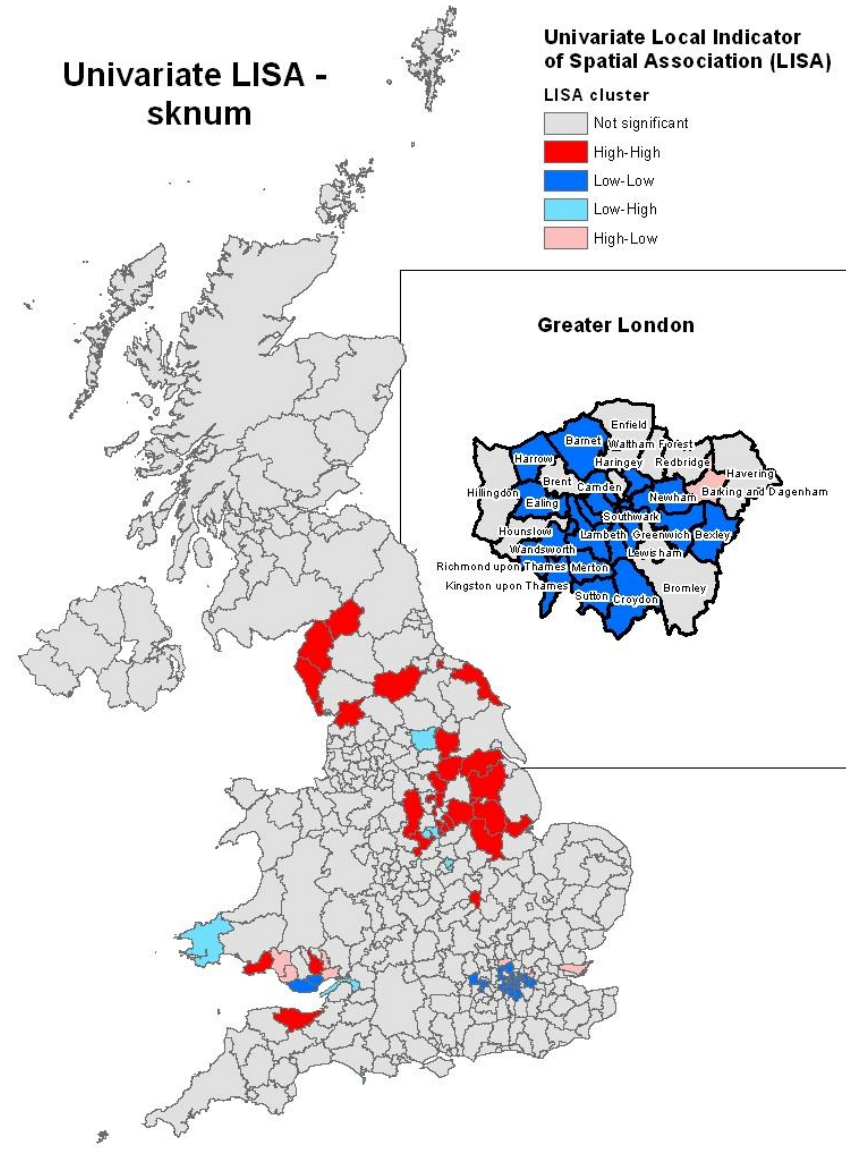


Elites & social networks

Univariate LISA -
skmean

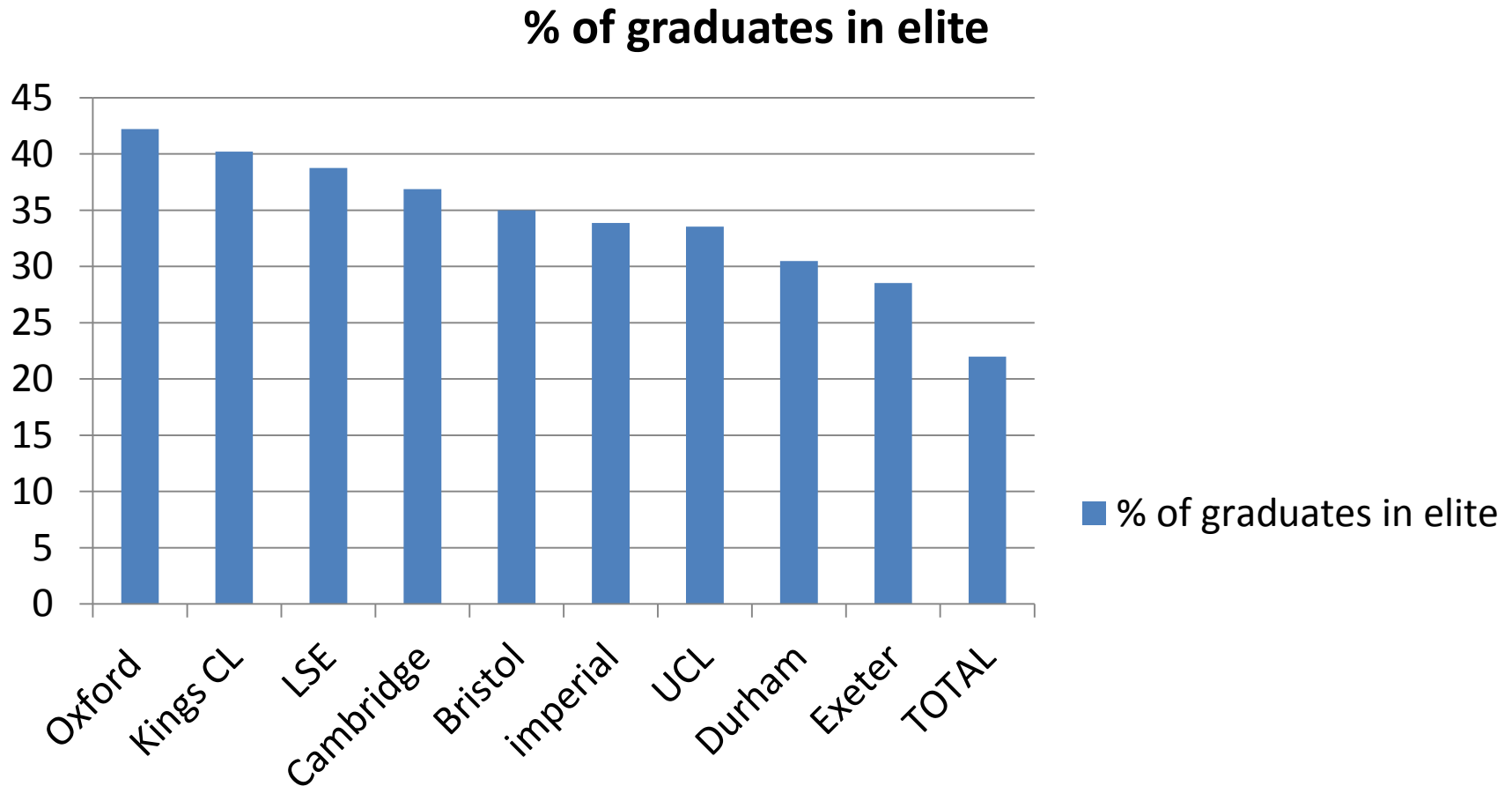


Univariate LISA -
sknum



Universities and elite recruitment

NB – based on provisional data

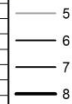


Oxford, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnley
4	Brent
5	Bromley
6	Camden
7	City of London
8	Croydon
9	Ealing
10	Enfield
11	Greenwich
12	Hackney
13	Hammersmith and Fulham
14	Haringey
15	Harrow
16	Havering
17	Hillingdon
18	Hounslow
19	Islington
20	Kensington and Chelsea
21	Kingston upon Thames
22	Lambeth
23	Lewisham
24	Merton
25	Newham
26	Redbridge
27	Richmond upon Thames
28	Southwark
29	Sutton
30	Tower Hamlets
31	Waltham Forest
32	Wandsworth
33	Westminster

Greater London
graduates per km²

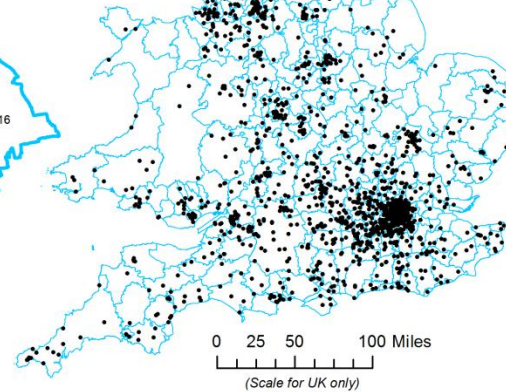
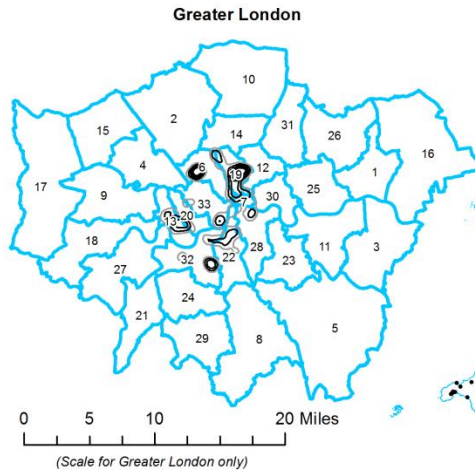


London boroughs



UK

• Oxford graduates

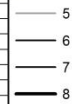


Cambridge, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
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4	Brent
5	Bromley
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7	City of London
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9	Ealing
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11	Greenwich
12	Hackney
13	Hammersmith and Fulham
14	Haringey
15	Harrow
16	Havering
17	Hillingdon
18	Hounslow
19	Islington
20	Kensington and Chelsea
21	Kingston upon Thames
22	Lambeth
23	Lewisham
24	Merton
25	Newham
26	Redbridge
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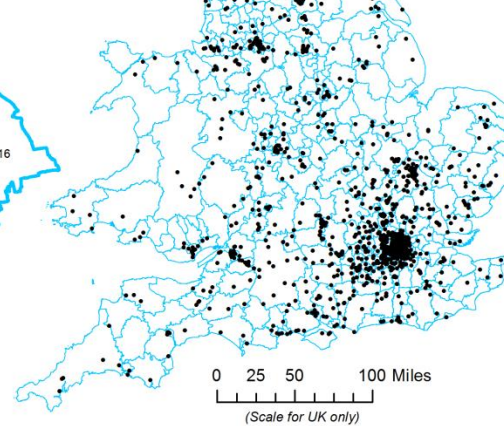
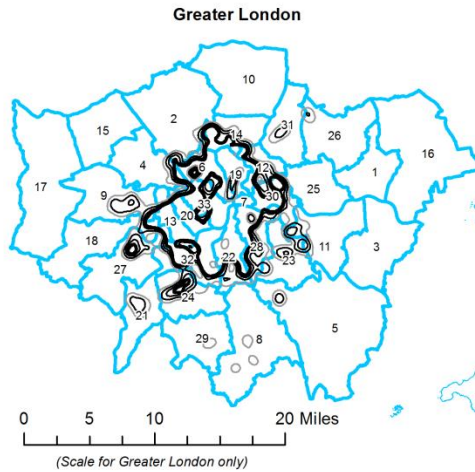


London boroughs



UK

• Cambridge graduates

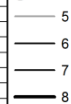


LSE, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnet
4	Brent
5	Bromley
6	Camden
7	City of London
8	Croydon
9	Ealing
10	Enfield
11	Greenwich
12	Hackney
13	Hammersmith and Fulham
14	Haringey
15	Harrow
16	Havering
17	Hillingdon
18	Hounslow
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24	Merton
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**Greater London
graduates per km²**



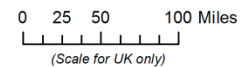
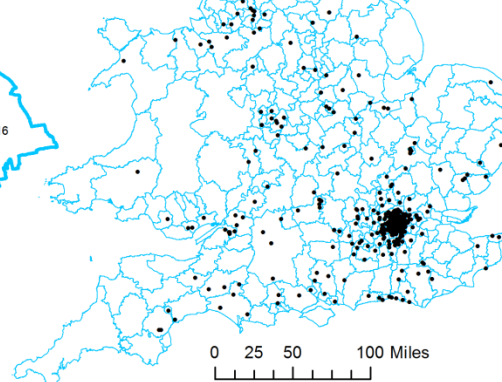
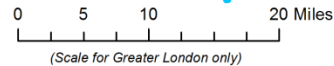
London boroughs



UK

• LSE graduates

Greater London



KCL, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Berkeley
4	Brent
5	Bromley
6	Camden
7	City of London
8	Croydon
9	Ealing
10	Enfield
11	Greenwich
12	Hackney
13	Hammersmith and Fulham
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29	Sutton
30	Tower Hamlets
31	Waltham Forest
32	Wandsworth
33	Westminster

Greater London
graduates per km²

1

London boroughs



UK

• KCL graduates

Greater London



0 5 10 20 Miles
(Scale for Greater London only)



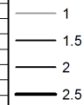
0 25 50 100 Miles
(Scale for UK only)

Goldsmiths, over 25



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1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnet
4	Brent
5	Bromley
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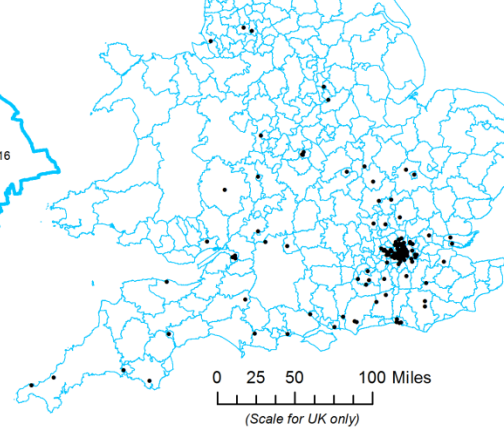


London boroughs



UK

• Goldsmiths graduates

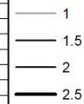


York, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnley
4	Brent
5	Bromley
6	Camden
7	City of London
8	Croydon
9	Ealing
10	Enfield
11	Greenwich
12	Hackney
13	Hammersmith and Fulham
14	Haringey
15	Harrow
16	Havering
17	Hillingdon
18	Hounslow
19	Islington
20	Kensington and Chelsea
21	Kingston upon Thames
22	Lambeth
23	Lewisham
24	Merton
25	Newham
26	Redbridge
27	Richmond upon Thames
28	Southwark
29	Sutton
30	Tower Hamlets
31	Waltham Forest
32	Wandsworth
33	Westminster

Greater London
graduates per km²



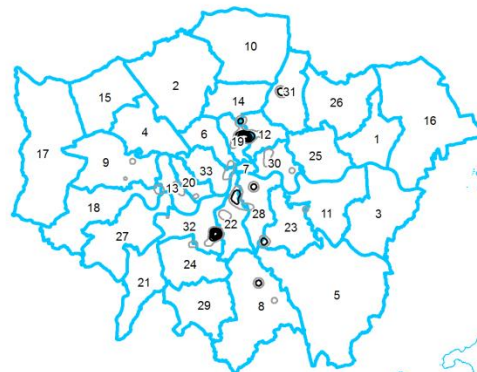
London boroughs



UK

• York graduates

Greater London



0 5 10 20 Miles
(Scale for Greater London only)



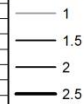
0 25 50 100 Miles
(Scale for UK only)

Durham, over 25

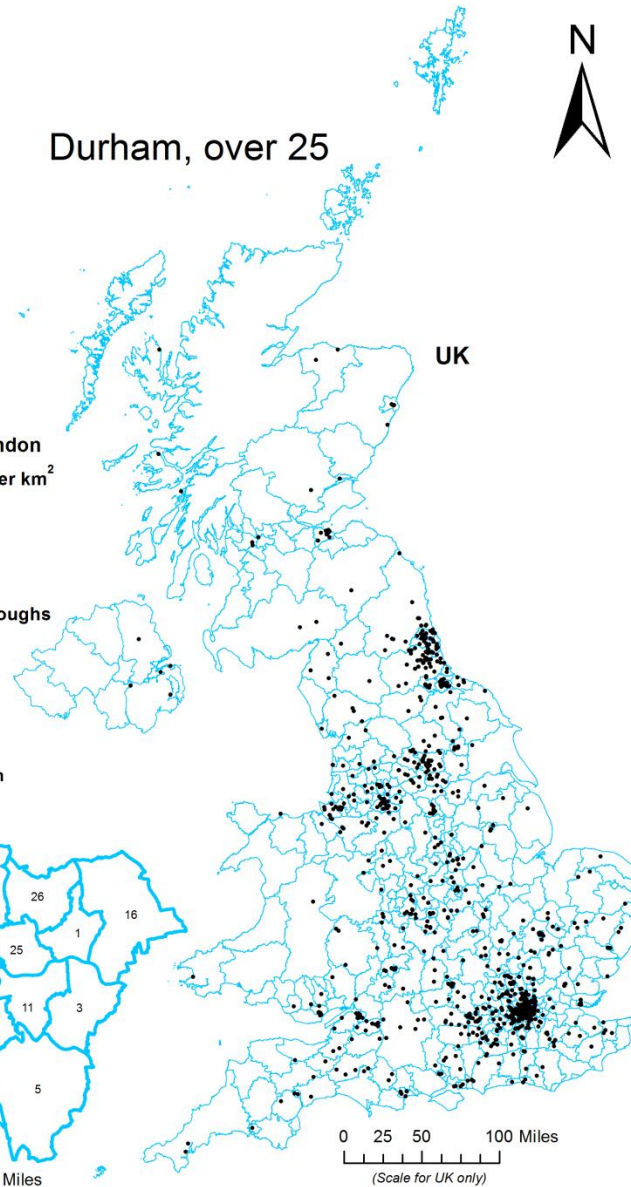
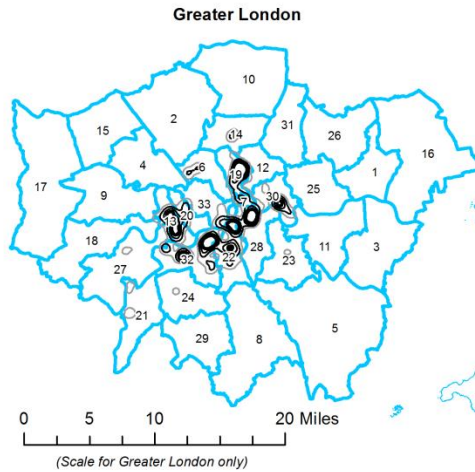


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33	Westminster

Greater London
graduates per km²



London boroughs

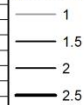


Manchester, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnley
4	Brent
5	Bromley
6	Camden
7	City of London
8	Croydon
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33	Westminster

Greater London
graduates per km²



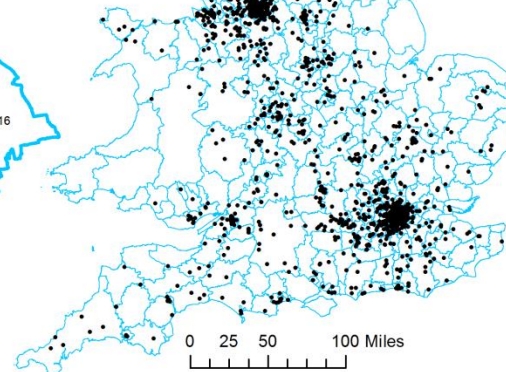
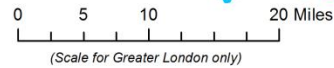
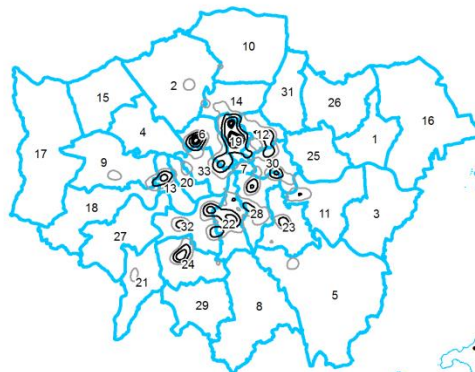
London boroughs



UK

• Manchester graduates

Greater London

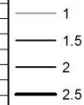


Edinburgh, over 25



ID	Borough
1	Barking and Dagenham
2	Barnet
3	Barnley
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Greater London
graduates per km²



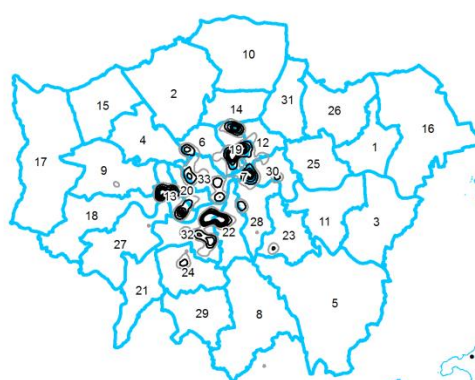
London boroughs



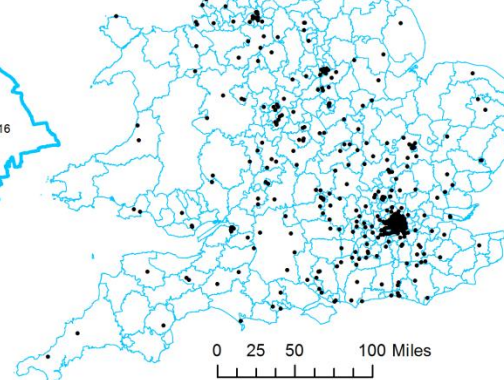
UK

• Edinburgh graduates

Greater London



0 5 10 20 Miles
(Scale for Greater London only)



0 25 50 100 Miles
(Scale for UK only)

Implications....

- The GBCS suggests the power of a ‘voracious’ and reflexive corporate elite, attuned to methodological novelty, for which London is a magnetic force and which is subject to (partial?) elite reproduction
- And within this framing, how are other voices heard?

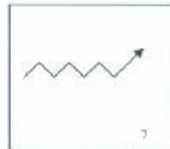
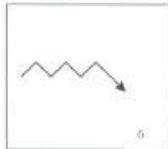
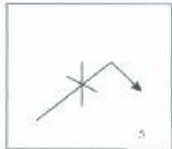
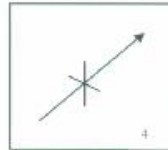
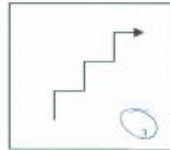


3. THE NCDS AND CULTURES OF CLASS DOMINATION

Life Trajectories

Project specific serial number: 1307

Date: 13.1.10



If you had to represent your life through a diagram, which of these would it be?

Modest 'elite' stories

I did a year's apprenticeship and then got the job as an assistant, and then within three years was offered a partnership, which wasn't all that uncommon then to do it that quickly, but it wouldn't be so common now, it'd be unlikely to happen now. But in those days that wasn't particularly meteoric. And... I never really liked change so I stayed there and was quite happy there. I wouldn't have gone to another firm. But then, about 2001, I got the chance to become a part time (senior partner in law firm)

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Elite modesty.....

‘A lot of people would probably say, ‘Cor, someone in your position you're . . . , you've got to be a bit like that’, it depends what you're after in life, doesn't it, to some extent? I've got a good job, good income and yet I'm still jealous of people that are earning a tenth of what I've got that are happily married with two kids, you know, or a . . . I haven't got that side of life’.

Elite modesty.....

‘A lot of people would probably say, ‘Cor, someone in your position you're . . . , you've got to be a bit like that’, it depends what you're after in life, doesn't it, to some extent? I've got a good job, good income and yet I'm still jealous of people that are earning a tenth of what I've got that are happily married with two kids, you know. . . I haven't got that side of life’.

Narratives of the 'precariat'

	Male	Female
Occupations	Administrative officer; archivist; electrician; decorator; road sweeper; no occupation	Bookkeeper; administrator; catering assistant; civil servant; courier; account executive; supervisor; no occupation (2)
Net pay per hour	Under £5; £5-7.50 (2); £10-12.50; missing (2)	Under £5 (2); £5-7.50; £7.50-10; £10-12.50; Over £20.
Highest educational qualifications	None (2); NVQ1; NVQ2; NVQ3 (2)	None; NVQ1 (3); NVQ2 (5).
Housing tenure	Owens outright; owns with mortgage (3); rent (2)	Own outright (5); own with mortgage (3); rent.

Telling an 'abject' story

- 13 of the 15 offer accounts of their lives which articulate dealing with 'trauma' which is known to be shaming
 - Unemployment
 - Dealing with criminality and living in disreputable area
 - Ill health and inability to work
 - Severe family/ relationship abuse
- Most of these accounts mobilise motifs of the 'sequestration' of shame through placing it into a narrative

The appeal of class identity

- definitely working class I think.
- Working class, [actually] somebody who actually goes to work
- I just class myself as a working class, get on with anybody, if I like them....
- Working class ain't it? [laughs] I'll never grow out of working class, I won't be middle class.
- I would say working middle..... I see myself as a working hard person, trying to provide for a family, because I come from a working background..... I would say that I'm--, definitely I'm working class, down to earth if I'm honest.

Conclusions

- Focus on outlying classes and move away from 'the problematic of the proletariat'
- Need to develop a new understanding of elites not as 'gentlemanly' status groups, but an expert, knowing and corporate class, fully implicated in 'Knowing Capitalism'.
- Need to recognise the significance of cultural politics for class analysis, where the stakes of engagement and visibility itself is central.

And finally....

- I am delighted to be involved – with colleagues from many Departments – in developing LSE initiative for an international centre on inequalities
- Watch this space!

Department of Sociology inaugural lecture

The Old New Politics of Class

Professor Mike Savage

Professor of Sociology, LSE

Professor Bev Skeggs

*Head of the Department of Sociology,
Goldsmiths*

Professor John Hills

Chair, LSE

Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEclass**

LSE events

