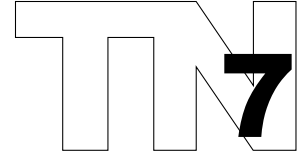




Topic 7



The relevance of class in the modern UK

This lesson explores various theoretical ideas on the nature of the class system in the UK today. It looks at who might have power, how and why they might have it, and what different theories say about the continued relevance, or otherwise, of class as a sociological tool.

This lesson comes with two extension activities, which could be completed for homework or used as a follow-up lesson.

Aims

- To revise what students already know about 11 key theoretical views and to see if they can apply these ideas to the issue of class and its relevance today.
- To explore and develop the important skills of identification and application.
- To encourage evaluation skills — students are asked to consider the validity of some statements about class from their own point of view.

Resources

- Photocopies of IS7 and WS7a
- Sociology textbooks, OHT7a and OHT7b (photocopied onto projector film) and photocopies of WS7b, WS7c and '*Class in a Capitalist Society: reviewing a classic*' by Paul Taylor, *SOCIOLOGY REVIEW*, April 2000 (if doing the extension activities)

Introduction

10 minutes

- 1 Brainstorm with the students why they might think sociology is interested in class, and what they think different theories might have to say about class. This brainstorm should be completed, whole-class, on a board or flip chart.
- 2 Set students on their work — to complete Activities 1 and 2 on WS7a in the time allowed. Alternatively, for revision, students might have been taught this information in a prior lesson, and be asked to recall it using the materials provided.

Main

30 minutes

- 3 Students to work through WS7a in pairs, although they will all need their own completed answers.

Conclusion

20 minutes

- 4 After 30 minutes, lead a whole-class debrief. Ask each pair to explain to the whole class their answers to a question from Activity 1. Move round the class one pair at a time, each taking the next question in order until all have been answered and everyone has had a chance at answering at least one question. Answers to Activity 1 are provided on AS7.



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- 5 A brief overview of the theoretical ideas needed for WS7a are provided on IS7. Distribute this to students after they have completed the exercise and the answers have been discussed. It should be kept for their revision notes.
- 6 Move onto the students' personal answers to Activity 2. In the light of their 'true and false' answers, ask students to think about which theory from IS7 they would most agree with and why.

Extension activity 7.1 (homework)

WS7b asks students to create a time line of sociological ideas on class and social change, drawing from a wide range of ideas and sources. Give students copies of WS7b and ask them to complete the task using their course textbook, for homework.

Extension activity 7.2 (follow-up lesson)

For a subsequent lesson students can complete WS7c, using the article from SOCIOLOGY REVIEW. WS7c asks students to read the article — which reviews the Marxist ideas of Westergaard and Resler on class inequality, in the light of modern-day society — and then to create a list of the evidence used in the argument. The article divides the ideas of Westergaard and Resler into six sections; WS7c takes these six sections and asks students to think about each one in turn.

- 1 Begin this follow-up lesson by revising some detail on the Marxist-influenced ideas of Westergaard and Resler. OHT7a and OHT7b provide a summary of Westergaard and Resler's ideas. OHT7a deals with the original ideas of Westergaard and Resler, whereas OHT7b looks at some more up-to-date ideas of Westergaard from his 1995 book *Who Gets What?*
- 2 Tell students to read the article and work through WS7c in pairs.
- 3 Go through students' answers in class once completed.





Topic 7

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Basic theoretical views

We can identify a number of theoretical views on class and its relevance to modern-day sociology. The key thinkers and these theoretical views are given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Theoretical views on class

Theoretical view	Associated key thinkers (if possible)	Basic argument
Marxism	Marx and Engels, Miliband, Westergaard	Class is the key source of power in society. The class system shapes every aspect of society — class is identified as one's relationship to the ownership or non-ownership of the means of production.
Weberian sociology	Weber, Parkin, Scott	Power — and those elite groups who rule society — comes from not just class, but also status and party. Elite groups operate a process of social closure to preserve rewards for themselves.
Neo-Marxism	Gramsci, Wright	A ruling class does have power, but its class-based power has changed: we have economic ownership of shares and multinational companies now. All these elites form a 'power bloc' much wider than the traditional Marxist idea of a ruling class. The state has a degree of relative autonomy from this group. Ownership and control have become separated and as a consequence the class system is more complex than that previously described by Marx.
Pluralism	Dahl	Society is largely meritocratic and the decisions made by government are open to public scrutiny. Class does exist, but those with power come from a wide variety of sources and compete with each other — in this way, all views are represented and all people's needs catered for. There has been a managerial revolution, which means that ownership and control have become separated: the middle classes have grown and as a result have more power than before. Class and voting no longer go hand in hand — there has been dealignment, opening up choice.
Marxism-feminism		The class system still exists and class and patriarchy combine to ensure that inequality continues. The upper class is a ruling class and its rule is supported by patriarchy, ensuring this rule is by men, rather than by upper-class women.



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IS7

Theoretical view	Associated key thinkers (if possible)	Basic argument
Dual systems theory	Segal	Class and gender both still exist as important sources of power and powerlessness, but they are as important as each other, and feed off each other.
Triple systems theory	Walby	Class, gender and racism are the three structures that permeate society. They combine to give a narrow elite group power and exist at every level of social life.
Elite theory	Pareto, Mosca	We need a strong elite to govern: those at the top of society are the most fit to be there.
Radical elite theory	Hunter, Mills	A narrow ruling elite has power in Western society, and uses this power in its own interest. There is an upper class, but it is not solely a ruling class. The ruling elite's power comes from more than simply economic ownership, i.e. knowledge, shares, labour, military power, etc.
The New Right	Saunders, Murray	We live in a classless society: we can do what we wish. The market allows us to purchase what we desire.
Post-modernism	Bradley, Baudrillard	Class has become 'decomposed' — it is a past structure that has become 'fragmented'. Class has lost its meaning — it is no longer the basis for political action. Instead, people are worried about lifestyle politics. Consumerism means we identify with what we buy, rather than where we come from.



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WS7^a

Activity 1

Use the spaces provided in Table 7.2 to identify which statement about the changing nature of the class system might be said by which of the theoretical views listed below. If you also know the name of a sociologist who might say this, you can include this information as well.

The 11 theories to consider for this activity are:

- 1 Marxism
- 2 Weberian sociology
- 3 Neo-Marxism
- 4 Pluralism
- 5 Marxism-feminism
- 6 Dual systems theory
- 7 Triple systems theory
- 8 Elite theory
- 9 Radical elite theory
- 10 The New Right
- 11 Postmodernism

Table 7.2 Theoretical views on the changing nature of the class system

	Statement to consider	What theory would think this?
1	Class is a decaying left-over from a past era.	
2	Elite rule is normal and natural.	
3	We do not have a ruling class but, rather, a ruling elite.	
4	Those in the upper class deserve to be there.	
5	Elite groups operate a process of elite self-recruitment.	
6	We have witnessed the separation of ownership and control in modern-day society.	
7	The state is still the puppet of the ruling class.	
8	Class no longer tells us 'who we are'.	
9	The state negotiates between all interests, making society fair.	
10	Class is much more complex today.	
11	Class is important, but so too are status and party as sources of power and inequality.	



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WS7^a

	Statement to consider	What theory would think this?
12	The ideas of Marx on class are too out-dated to be considered useful any more.	
13	Ownership of the means of production is still the absolute form of power in society today.	
14	The state has a degree of relative autonomy from the upper class.	
15	Class inequalities are now of global importance.	
16	We have seen a process of embourgeoisement in society.	
17	Class is no longer a source of political action for ordinary people.	
18	We live in a post-class society.	
19	We do not have a ruling class but, rather, a ruling power bloc.	
20	The middle class has grown in recent years, due to increased social mobility.	
21	Class is important, but no more important than gender.	
22	Class has global importance today as a source for the convergence of the globe.	
23	Modern-day society is classless.	
24	Class is no longer a source of conflict in society.	
25	Those who make up the ruling elite operate social closure to keep their power.	
26	Class needs patriarchy to allow society to stay as it is.	
27	We have witnessed a managerial revolution.	
28	Class has decomposed.	
29	Class is further strengthened in society — the rich are becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer.	
30	Class inequalities combine with patriarchy to create a wide range of inequalities in modern-day society.	



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WS7^a

Activity 2

Consider the statements in Table 7.3. Which do you think are true, and which false? You will be asked to explain your answer later.

Table 7.3 Personal views on class

	Statement to consider	Do you think this is true or false?
1	Society is a meritocracy today.	
2	Class has no relevance to my life.	
3	I think about other forms of inequality more than I think about class.	
4	Class is something that older people worry about more than my generation.	
5	Class is important, but gender and racism are more important.	
6	People who are in poverty should do something about it themselves.	
7	Class has nothing to do with politics.	
8	Class means nothing — anyone can achieve anything in society.	
9	Class does exist, but things are better than they were.	
10	Class still exists and this has a huge impact on my life.	



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Extension activity 7.1

- 1 In order to complete this activity you will need some A4 paper and a copy of a sociology textbook with chapters on stratification; power and politics; and wealth, poverty and/or welfare.
- 2 Create a time line of sociological ideas on the changing nature of the class structure in Western societies.
- 3 You will need to look up the ideas and theories listed in Table 7.4 in your textbook and put them in chronological order. This will show what sociologists have said about the changes made by class over time, and how sociology itself has changed its thinking about matters of class over time.

Table 7.4 Sociological ideas on the changing nature of class in Western societies

Theories to include	Ideas to include	Named examples to include
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Pluralism > Marxism > Neo-Marxism > Postmodernism > The New Right > The New Left > Radical elite theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Voting behaviour > The affluent worker > Power bloc > The power elite > Dealignment > Volatility > Fractured ideas > Decomposition > Political action > Life-politics > New social movements > Wealth > Inequality > Classless society > The end of history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Scott > Giddens > Featherstone > Westergaard > Bradley > Crompton > Marx > Gramsci > Braverman > Murray > Saunders > Dahrendorf > Fukuyama > Lash and Urry > Beck > Habermas > Bell

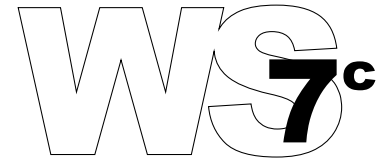
Note

- > Some of these named examples might not necessarily be in the particular sociology book you look at; each textbook uses a number of different examples to make the same points — use whatever ones you can find.
- > This list is not by any means exclusive — there are many other ideas, events, theories and studies that you can include. Use the index and contents pages in your textbook carefully in order to complete this task in as much depth as possible.
- > You might need to use the bibliography at the back of the textbook in order to find the date of studies done and books written by sociologists — this will help you to put these ideas in chronological order.
- > Don't forget — you are only interested in the above ideas in order to see what different sociologists say about class.



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Extension activity 7.2

In the article '*Class in a Capitalist Society: reviewing a classic*', Paul Taylor reviews the Marxist ideas of Westergaard and Resler, written originally in 1976. Use the article to complete this worksheet, summarising the modern-day evidence to support or disagree with these original ideas from the late 1970s. The article divides the argument into six sections — as identified in Table 7.5. Write in the spaces provided.

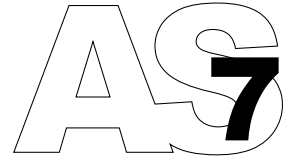
Table 7.5 Summary of arguments from Paul Taylor's article

Area of argument	What did Westergaard and Resler originally say about this?	What does Paul Taylor say now?
Economic inequalities		
Inequalities of power		
Inequalities of opportunity		
Gender and ethnicity		
Issues of culture and identity		
Globalisation		



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Answers to WS7a

Activity 1

	Statement to consider	What theory would support this?
1	Class is a decaying left-over from a past era.	<i>Postmodernism</i>
2	Elite rule is normal and natural.	<i>Elite theory</i>
3	We do not have a ruling class but, rather, a ruling elite.	<i>Weberian sociology; radical elite theory</i>
4	Those in the upper class deserve to be there.	<i>Pluralism; elite theory</i>
5	Elite groups operate a process of elite self-recruitment.	<i>Radical elite theory</i>
6	We have witnessed the separation of ownership and control in modern-day society.	<i>Pluralism; neo-Marxism</i>
7	The state is still the puppet of the ruling class.	<i>Marxism</i>
8	Class no longer tells us 'who we are'.	<i>Postmodernism; the New Right</i>
9	The state negotiates between all interests, making society fair.	<i>Pluralism</i>
10	Class is much more complex today.	<i>Neo-Marxism; triple systems theory</i>
11	Class is important, but so too are status and party as sources of power and inequality.	<i>Weberian sociology</i>
12	The ideas of Marx on class are too out-dated to be considered useful any more.	<i>Postmodernism; the New Right; pluralism</i>
13	Ownership of the means of production is still the absolute form of power in society today.	<i>Marxism</i>
14	The state has a degree of relative autonomy from the upper class.	<i>Neo-Marxism</i>
15	Class inequalities are now of global importance.	<i>Marxism; neo-Marxism</i>
16	We have seen a process of embourgeoisement in society.	<i>Pluralism; the New Right</i>
17	Class is no longer a source of political action for ordinary people.	<i>Pluralism; postmodernism</i>
18	We live in a post-class society.	<i>The New Right; postmodernism</i>



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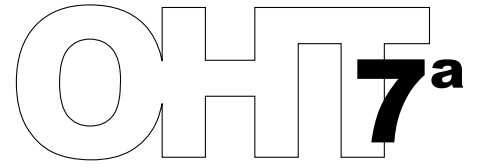
AS7

	Statement to consider	What theory would support this?
19	We do not have a ruling class but, rather, a ruling power bloc.	<i>Neo-Marxism</i>
20	The middle class has grown in recent years, due to increased social mobility.	<i>Pluralism; the New Right</i>
21	Class is important, but no more important than gender.	<i>Dual systems theory</i>
22	Class has global importance today as a source for the convergence of the globe.	<i>The New Right</i>
23	Modern-day society is classless.	<i>The New Right; postmodernism</i>
24	Class is no longer a source of conflict in society.	<i>The New Right; post-modernism; pluralism</i>
25	Those who make up the ruling elite operate social closure to keep their power.	<i>Weberian sociology; radical elite theory</i>
26	Class needs patriarchy to allow society to stay as it is.	<i>Marxism-feminism</i>
27	We have witnessed a managerial revolution.	<i>Pluralism; neo-Marxism</i>
28	Class has decomposed.	<i>The New Right; postmodernism</i>
29	Class is further strengthened in society — the rich are becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer.	<i>Marxism</i>
30	Class inequalities combine with patriarchy to create a wide range of inequalities in modern-day society.	<i>Marxism-feminism; dual systems theory</i>



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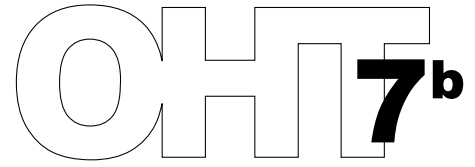
The ideas of John Westergaard and Henrietta Resler in *Class in a Capitalist Society* (1976)

- 1** Power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of the ruling class.
- 2** Economic ownership is the source of power in the UK.
- 3** The state serves the final interests of the ruling class through hegemony.
- 4** Inequalities of wealth, income and welfare are at the heart of all capitalist societies.



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The modern-day ideas of John Westergaard from *Who Gets What?* (1995)

- 1 Subjective definitions of inequality might help us to understand why people think as they do, but objective economic inequalities still exist, regardless of whether people are aware of them or not.
- 2 Power has not been dispersed from the top sections of the class system.
- 3 If anything, we have an increased concentration of power at the top — in the form of shareholding, which is global in nature.
- 4 There is no such thing as a 'managerial revolution'.
- 5 'Consumerism' is not the same thing as 'freedom', yet modern society implies that these are the same thing — while owners' profits continue to rise, the poor are becoming even poorer.



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Class in a Capitalist Society

Reviewing a classic

Westergaard and Resler's book on class, now over 20 years old, is a classic of sociological investigation. **Paul Taylor** shows that this combination of Marxist theory and empirical research still has much to offer

When I was a young undergraduate in the 1970s, one of the books which raised my awareness of class inequality in British society was *Class in a Capitalist Society* by John Westergaard and Henrietta Resler (1976). In the 1980s, as a newly qualified sociology lecturer, I doled out liberal chunks from the book to my A-level sociology students, not only to provoke discussion about issues of class but also to look at issues such as political power and the workings of the welfare state. I use the book much less today because many of the statistics on which the authors' argument is based are dated; however, I still refer to it in my teaching as a classic example of Marxist analysis of class in modern Britain.

Westergaard and Resler may seem dated in the allegedly 'classless' society of 1990s Britain.

Signposts

This article covers a central issue in the study of inequality and social stratification, and you will find that it is also relevant to power and politics. The discussion of Marxist theory should give you ideas for approaching a question on theory and methods. You will also find links with:

- gender and ethnicity;
- culture and identity;
- globalisation.

Key concepts

Make sure that you understand what is meant by:

- class;
- power;
- elite;
- capitalism.

Certainly, sociological debate seems to have moved on in the last 24 years since the book's original publication. Contemporary sociologists seem more concerned with issues of culture and consumption than the crude inequalities of wealth, income, power and opportunity highlighted by Westergaard and Resler — it seems increasingly unfashionable to admit that one is a Marxist in contemporary sociology. Many of the radicals of the 1970s, such as Jock Young and Stuart Hall, appear to have modified their positions since the fall of Communism in the East and the rise of New Labour in the West.

The rediscovery of class

Even so, much of what Westergaard and Resler were arguing in the 1970s holds good today, in some respects more so. The authors were concerned with dispelling the myth that had grown up that, as a result of the welfare state, increased social mobility and educational opportunities and increasing affluence in the working class, class had ceased to be of significance in postwar Britain. The study was part of a broader 'rediscovery' of class in British sociology, which could be seen in other studies such as Goldthorpe and Lockwood's famous *Affluent Worker* studies of Luton, which attacked the 'embourgeoisement thesis', and Coates and Silburn's *Poverty: The Forgotten Englishmen*, which revealed the persistence of poverty in an affluent society.

Unlike the authors of these studies, which adopted a broadly liberal or Weberian perspective, Westergaard and Resler were avowedly Marxist in their analysis of class in British society. Their argument was refreshingly straightforward and direct. Britain remains a capitalist society and the



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persistence of class inequalities can be directly traced to the workings of the economic system.

Economic inequalities

Westergaard and Resler divided their book into four main sections, each dealing with a different aspect of class inequality. In the first main section (Part Two of the book) they deal with 'Inequalities of condition and security', presenting a mass of statistical data to show the extent of inequalities in income and wealth. Their main conclusion is that these kinds of economic inequalities have hardly narrowed since the beginning of the century, despite apparent attempts to tax the rich and help the poor with welfare benefits and the nationalisation of key industries after the Second World War.

What is remarkable, looking back, is that not only have the economic inequalities documented by Westergaard and Resler not diminished in the last 20 years but all the evidence suggests they have grown. John Westergaard himself has argued this in his more recent work (1995). Numerous studies, including the influential *Inquiry into Income and Wealth* (1995) by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, have documented evidence that the incomes of the richest members of British society have increased rapidly in the last 20 years, those in the middle moderately, while those at the bottom have seen no increase at all in real terms.

Studies of poverty give the same message. J. Mack and S. Lansley's surveys in *Breadline Britain in the 1990s* (Routledge, 1998) showed an increase from 7.5 million to 11 million in the number of people they defined as 'in poverty' between 1983 and 1990. Official government statistics show an increase in those living on less than half the national average income (the EC's poverty line) from about 5% of the population in 1981 to over 11% in 1991.

Much of this can be explained by Conservative government policies between 1979 and 1997, which significantly shifted the tax burden from the well-off to those on middle and lower incomes. However, Westergaard and Resler's insistence that class inequalities are, in the last analysis, created by the workings of the capitalist economy remains relevant. Unemployment, created by the restructuring of the British economy, has been a major

factor in the growth of inequality, as has the growing inequality in the earnings of those in work. Media headlines about 'fatcat salaries' in the boardroom reflect a real statistical trend for certain company directors and top executives to receive salary increases and bonuses well in excess of the average increase in earnings. At the same time increasing numbers of workers have been forced into low-paid, often temporary or part-time jobs in what is often described as the 'peripheral sector' of the labour market.

Inequalities of power

Westergaard and Resler's second main area of discussion, 'Inequality of power', also has contemporary relevance. Their key argument is that in the long run the state in capitalist societies tends to serve the interests of the capitalist class. They question the pluralist claim that pressure groups, trade unions and other interest groups act as a check or balance on the power of capital. Their argument is that, while concessions may be made by the state to such groups, the state necessarily has to take decisions which ensure the long-term profitability of capitalist business interests.

In many respects, events of the last 25 years bear this out. Under Margaret Thatcher's leadership, groups which might provide some opposition to her policies, including trade unions and local authorities, were steadily stripped of power. In many areas of government democratically accountable bodies were replaced by quangos packed with government appointees or representatives of the 'business community'. Even under Tony Blair's Labour government, New Labour has distanced itself from its working-class and trade-union roots and has made strenuous efforts to cultivate the goodwill of the business sector.

Inequalities of opportunity

The last main section of *Class in a Capitalist Society* concerns 'Inequalities of opportunity' and shows that Britain remains a largely closed society with limited opportunity for those with talent to rise from the working class into the higher social classes. The book unfortunately predated the Oxford Mobility Study (Goldthorpe *et al.* 1980), which showed a fair degree of upward mobility from the working class into what was termed the



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service class (professional and managerial occupations). Nevertheless, studies of recruitment into the elite positions in British society still show a high degree of closure; the top ranks of the civil service, armed forces, judiciary and business remain dominated by white males from wealthy backgrounds who have typically attended public schools and/or Oxford or Cambridge University.

In many respects British society finds itself even more unequal and class-bound than it was 24 years ago, when the book first appeared. Does this mean that a *Class in a Capitalist Society 2000* would look little different from the 1976 edition? I would suggest that if the book were rewritten today it would need to take into account a number of important issues which were only touched on in 1976.

Gender and ethnicity

Westergaard and Resler have little to say on inequalities of gender and ethnicity, which most contemporary sociologists see as of considerable significance. In a chapter on 'Women in the labour market' Westergaard and Resler in effect argue that women simply suffer the same economic inequalities as men — but more so. Gender inequalities are blamed solely on the capitalist system. This, of course, ignores the extent to which women are oppressed and exploited by men as well as capitalists, for example in the domestic sphere.

Similarly, Westergaard and Resler underplay the significance of ethnic inequalities. They argue that researchers have been too preoccupied with what they rather quaintly refer to as 'the disabilities that attach to colour', ignoring that these are in reality class inequalities. They take no account of the extent to which black people suffer social disadvantages as a result of racism, for example racial attacks, unequal treatment by police and courts and institutional racism in education and housing policies.

Issues of culture and identity

The whole issue of culture and identity, which has risen to prominence in contemporary sociology, receives little attention from Westergaard and Resler. As orthodox Marxists, Westergaard and Resler see the cultural aspects of society, for

Exercise

Westergaard and Resler argued that class was the main form of inequality in British society and saw this inequality as directly attributable to Britain being a capitalist society. Using ideas from the article and information from elsewhere, evaluate this viewpoint.

First, you will need to summarise evidence to support Westergaard and Resler's arguments. You could, for example, consider it under the three headings of *Economic inequalities*, *Inequalities of power* and *Inequalities of opportunity*.

You will then need to consider opposing arguments — that class is of declining importance or that social classes have become fragmented by divisions based on other sources of identity. You could also consider evidence that other inequalities, such as gender and ethnicity, which are largely dismissed by Westergaard and Resler, are significant.

You could present your evaluation as an essay or you could organise a class debate, with two students presenting the view in favour and two arguing against. Other students could contribute their own views afterwards.

example mass media, music, fashion and the arts, as simply part of the superstructure of society, shaped or even determined by the economic base of the infrastructure of capitalism. For example, in their discussion of the mass media they argue that the media are largely an instrument of the ruling class, presenting only views which are favourable to the establishment. They ignore the extent to which anti-establishment groups have on occasions used the media most effectively to make their point, whether they be road protesters tunnelling under a proposed bypass or Greenpeace campaigning against the dumping by Shell of the Brent Spar oil platform in the Atlantic.

Globalisation

While the power of multi-national corporations is occasionally referred to, Westergaard and Resler's main focus is on class in British society. In the 1970s it was still just possible to see Britain as a distinct society; however, at the end of the century Britain has become part of the European



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continued

Union, a potential super-state, and is increasingly enmeshed in the global economy. Any discussion of class in Britain today needs to take place in the context of global capitalism; and, similarly, high levels of unemployment in Britain and the restructuring of the British economy need to be seen in the context of global restructuring. There are all too frequent announcements of redundancies of British workers as transnational corporations relocate investment to parts of the world which offer a higher rate of profit.

A major argument in the Conservatives' opposition to the European Union's social measures to protect workers with better employment rights, a minimum wage and so on was the need to be competitive with countries where workers were lower-paid and lacked these rights. Much of the responsibility for widening social inequalities in recent years can be attributed to this process of globalisation and the freeing up of the flow of capital and labour markets associated with it.

Class inequality now needs to be seen in the context of globalised capitalism. Westergaard would, no doubt, be the first to point out that the driving force behind both national and global class inequalities remains the capitalist system.

Big business's search for profitability and the tensions created by capital's need to constantly create new markets and exploit labour more effectively remain important factors in our sociological understanding of how modern societies work. Because of this, *Class in a Capitalist Society* should perhaps still be required bedtime reading for all those politicians who glibly talk of Britain as a 'classless society'.

References and further reading

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- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1995) *Inquiry into Income and Wealth*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
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- Westergaard, J. (1995) *Who Gets What? The Hardening of Class Inequalities in the Late Twentieth Century*, Polity Press.

Paul Taylor teaches sociology at Tresham Institute for Further Education in Northamptonshire. He is a co-author of *Sociology in Focus* (Causeway Press, 1995).