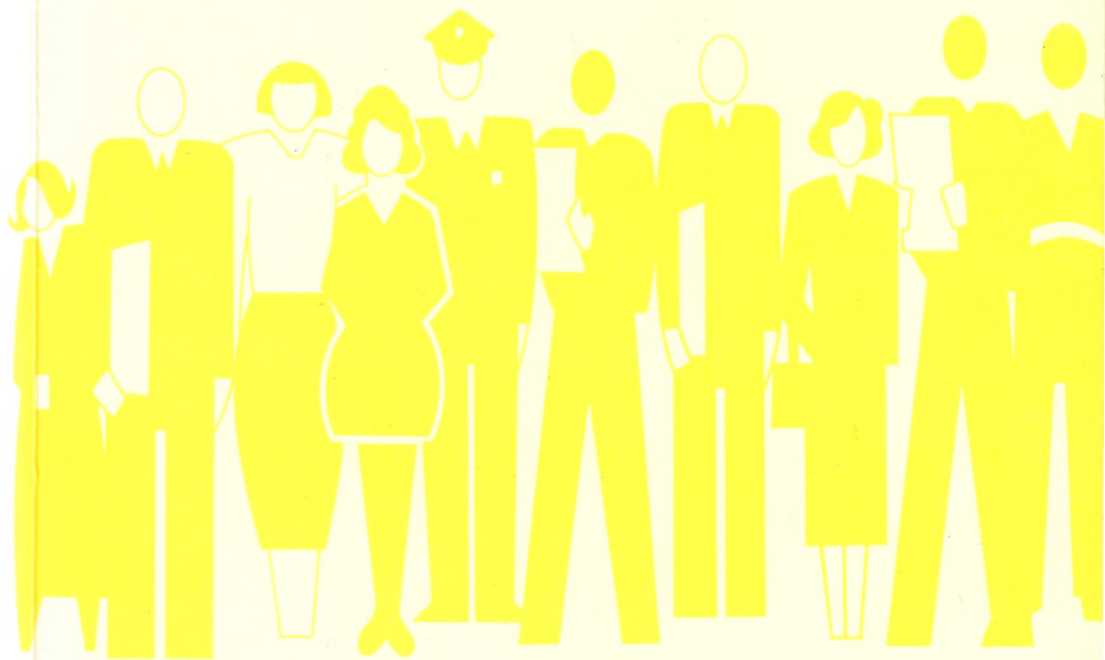


Social *in* Class SINGAPORE

*Stella R. Quah • Chiew Seen Kong • Ko Yiu Chung
Sharon Mengchee Lee*



Centre for Advanced Studies
National University of Singapore

TIMES ACADEMIC PRESS

© Centre for Advanced Studies, 1991

First Published 1991 by
Times Academic Press
An imprint of Federal Publications (S) Pte Ltd
(A member of the Times Publishing Group)
Times Centre
1 New Industrial Road
Singapore 1953

for the Centre for Advanced Studies
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Reprinted 1993

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publishers.

ISBN 981 210 003 2

Printed by Mentor Printers Pte Ltd, Singapore

All orders for this book should be addressed to:

Federal Publications (S) Pte Ltd
1 New Industrial Road
Singapore 1953

CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures	vii
Preface	xv
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION <i>Stella R. Quah</i>	1
CHAPTER 2 SOCIAL CLASS IN SINGAPORE: AN OVERVIEW <i>Sharon Mengchee Lee</i>	23
CHAPTER 3 EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CLASS IN SINGAPORE <i>Stella R. Quah</i>	38
CHAPTER 4 OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE <i>Chiew Seen Kong, Ko Yiu Chung and Stella R. Quah</i>	74
CHAPTER 5 THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION <i>Chiew Seen Kong and Ko Yiu Chung</i>	116
CHAPTER 6 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION <i>Chiew Seen Kong</i>	138
CHAPTER 7 SOCIAL MOBILITY IN SINGAPORE <i>Chiew Seen Kong</i>	183
CHAPTER 8 STATUS ATTAINMENT <i>Ko Yiu Chung</i>	220
CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION: THE REALITIES OF SOCIAL CLASS <i>Stella R. Quah</i>	244
APPENDIX 1 NOTES ON RESEARCH PROCEDURE <i>Ko Yiu Chung, Chiew Seen Kong and Stella R. Quah</i>	271
APPENDIX 2 OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES SOPS AND SNORC, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION AND SAMPLE SIZE FOR 109 OCCUPATIONS, SINGAPORE, 1983-1984 <i>Stella R. Quah, Ko Yiu Chung and Chiew Seen Kong</i>	281
About the Authors	285

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table	Title	Page
1.1	Basic Indicators of Economic Development and Standards of Living, Singapore, 1970, 1983 and 1988	4
2.1	Subjective Class Identification	27
2.2	Most Important Characteristic for Subjective Social Class Identification	28
2.3	Most Important Characteristic for Subjective Class Identification by Subjective Class (In Percentages)	29
2.4	Highest Level of Education Completed	30
2.5	Distribution by Occupational Category	31
2.6	Distribution of Reported Self-Income Per Month	32
2.7	Occupational Category by Education (In Percentages)	33
2.8	Income Per Month by Education (In Percentages)	33
2.9	Income Per Month by Occupation (In Percentages)	34
3.1	General Literacy Rates Per Thousand Population Aged 10 Years and Over, by Ethnic Group and Sex, 1970 and 1980	43
3.2	Highest Educational Qualification of Population Aged 10 Years and Over, by Sex, 1980	44
3.3	Average Years of Formal Education of Male Respondents from Different Ethnic Groups and Age Cohorts	45
3.4	Average Years of Formal Education of Female Respondents from Different Ethnic Groups and Age Cohorts	46
3.5	Perception of Social Class Symbols by Ethnic Group and Years of Formal Education (In Percentages)	48

Table	Title	Page
3.6	Graduates from Universities and Colleges, 1950-1988	50
3.7	Male and Female Opinions on Least Amount of Schooling Needed by Young Men and Women in Singapore (In Percentages)	52
3.8	Respondents' Attitudes Toward Self and the Community by Their Number of Years of Formal Education (In Percentages)	55
3.9	Years of Formal Education of Male and Female Respondents by Their Parents' Years of Formal Education (In Percentages)	63
3.10	Years of Formal Education of Ever-Married Male and Female Respondents by Their Spouses' Years of Formal Education (In Percentages)	66
3.11	Years of Formal Education of the Respondents' Parents (In Percentages)	67
3.12	Years of Formal Education of Male and Female Respondents by Years of Formal Education of Their Best Friend (In Percentages)	69
4.1	Occupations by Mean Monthly Income, Singapore, 1966, 1975 and 1980	76
4.2	Employed Persons Aged 10 Years and Over, Singapore, 1966, 1970 and 1980	77
4.3	Citizens as Per Cent of All Employed Persons Aged 10 Years and Over, Singapore, 1970 and 1980	79
4.4	Employed Persons Aged 20 Years and Over, Singapore, 1970 and 1980	80
4.5	Estimated Number and Propotion of Employed Citizens Aged 20 Years and Over, by Occupational Group, Singapore, 1970 and 1980	81
4.6	Consistency of Respondents' Ratings	87
4.7	Reliability of Occupational Ratings	88
4.8	Occupational Prestige Scores in Singapore (SNORC) and Standard Deviations of Selected Occupations	89

Table	Title	Page
4.9	Respondents' Reasons for Rating an Occupation as "Excellent" (In Percentages)	91
4.10	Respondents' Reasons for Rating an Occupation as "Average" (In Percentages)	91
4.11	Respondents Reasons for Rating an Occupation as "Poor" (In Percentages)	92
4.12	Occupational Prestige Rating (SOPS), Education and Income of Working Respondents	92
4.13	Occupational Prestige Rating (SNORC), Education and Income of Working Respondents	93
4.14	Subjective Class Identification and Occupational Prestige Scores (SOPS) (In Percentages)	96
4.15	Beliefs About Power by Occupational Prestige Scores(SOPS) (In Percentages)	98
4.16	Self-Direction by Occupational Prestige Scores (SOPS) (In Percentages)	100
4.17	Social Participation and Occupational Prestige (SOPS) (In Percentages)	102
4.18	Per Cent of Respondents Indicating Membership in Organizations by their Occupational Prestige Score	103
4.19	Level of Social Participation and Occupational Prestige (SOPS) (In Percentages)	104
4.20	Leisure and Occupational Prestige Scores (SOPS) (In Percentages)	106
4.21	Perceived Attributes of the Ideal Job by the Respondents' Occupational Prestige Scores (SOPS)(In Percentages)	108
5.1	Working Persons Aged 10 Years and Over, Singapore, 1957-85	117
5.2	Employers and Own Account Workers to Employees, Singapore, 1957-85	118
5.3	Working Persons Aged 10 Years and Over, Singapore, 1970 and 1980	119

Table	Title	Page
5.4	Type of House by Employment Status of Head of Household, Singapore, 1980	123
5.5	Economically Inactive Persons Aged 10 Years and Over, Singapore, 1970-80	124
5.6	Economically Inactive Persons Aged 10 Years and Over by Citizenship, Singapore, 1970-80	125
5.7	Compared with Your Dad, You Are	126
5.8	Compared with Your Mum, You Are (For Female Respondents Only)	127
5.9	Personal Monthly Income and Self-Evaluation	127
5.10	Personal Monthly Income and Comparison with Best Friend	128
5.11	Perceiving Future Economic Changes	129
5.12	Gini Ratios of Personal Income Distribution	130
5.13	Distribution of Gross Personal Monthly Income	131
5.14	Distribution of Household Monthly Income	132
5.15	Financial Support in the Past One Year	134
5.16	Sex, Marital Status and Financial Support in the Past One Year	135
6.1	Population by Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1824-1980	139
6.2	Population Growth and Growth Components, Singapore, 1901-1980	140
6.3	Ethnic and Sub-Ethnic Groups, Singapore, 1980	142
6.4	Industry by Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1931	144
6.5	Working Persons Aged 10 Years and Over by Ethnic Group and Employment Status, Singapore, 1970-80	149
6.6	Persons Aged 5 or 6 Years and Over by Highest Qualification Attained and Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1970-80	152
6.7	Working Persons Aged 10 Years and Over by Ethnic Group and Occupation, Singapore, 1957-80	154

Table	Title	Page
6.8	Ethnic Group by Highest Qualification, Singapore, 1984	158
6.9	Persons Aged 21-80 Years by Ethnic Group and Occupation, Singapore, 1984	159
6.10	Singapore Occupational Prestige Scale (SOPS) by Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1984	160
6.11	Singapore NORC Scale by Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1984	161
6.12	Gross Monthly Income by Ethnic Group, Singapore, 1984	162
6.13	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Subjective Class Identification, Singapore, 1984	164
6.14	Ethnicity, Occupation and Subjective Class Identification, Singapore, 1984	167
6.15	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Ethnicity of Best Friend, Singapore, 1984	169
6.16	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Highest Education Attained by Best Friend, Singapore, 1984	171
6.17	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Attitudes Toward Rich People, Singapore, 1984	174
6.18	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Attitudes Toward Success, Singapore, 1984	176
6.19	Ethnicity, Highest Education Attained and Attitudes Toward Planning Ahead, Singapore, 1984	177
7.1	Working Persons by Age and Employment Status, Singapore, 1957-86	191
7.2	Working Persons by Year of Birth and Employment Status, Singapore, 195-86	194
7.3	Persons by Age and Completed Education, Singapore, 1966-86	197
7.4	Working Persons by Year of Birth and Highest Educational Attainment, Singapore, 1966-86	200

Table	Title	Page
7.5	Working Persons by Age Group and Occupation, Singapore, 1966-86	203
7.6	Working Persons by Occupation and Year of Birth, Singapore, 1966-86	207
8.1	Zero-Order Correlation, Mean and Standard Deviation of Status Variables for Women and Men	224
8.2	Partial Regression Coefficients of Models of Educational and Occupational Attainment for Singapore Women and Men (Standard Errors in Parentheses)	225
8.3	Direct and Indirect Effects of the Background Variables on First Job Attainment	228
8.4	Zero-Order Correlation, Mean and Standard Deviation of Status Variables for Sub-Samples of Respondents in Three Age Cohorts	230
8.5	Partial Regression Coefficient of Models of Educational and Occupational Attainment for Sub-Samples of Respondents in Three Age Cohorts (Standard Errors in Parentheses)	232
8.6	Direct and Indirect Effect of Background Variables on First Job Attainment (Percentages in Parentheses)	235
9.1	Correlation Among Occupational Prestige Scales in the Total, Male and Female Working Sub-Samples (Based on Respondents' Current Occupation)	247
9.2	Occupational Prestige Scores SOPS and SNORC of Selected Occupations and Their Respective Mean and Standard Deviations	249
9.3	Occupational Prestige Scores (SOPS), Mean Number of Years of Education and Average Income for Abbreviated Occupational Categories	254
9.4	Distribution of Social Class (SES) Scores for All Economically Active Male and Female Respondents Including Average Personal Income and Average Years of Formal Education	261

Table	Title	Page
9.5	Distribution of Social Class (SES) Scores for All Economically Active Respondents Including Average Personal Income, Average Years of Formal Education and Occupational Prestige (SNORC)	262
9.6	Five Intervals of Social Class (SES) Scores for All Economically Active Respondents Including Average Personal Income, Average Years of Formal Education and Occupational Prestige (SNORC)	263
9.7	Type of Housing of Working Respondents by Their Social Class (SES) Scores (In Percentages)	265
9.8	Working Respondents' Ethnicity and Social Class (SES) Scores (In Percentages)	266
9.9	Matrix of Pearson Zero-Order Correlation Coefficients for Economically Active Respondents	267

Figures	Title	Page
6.1	Ethnic Stratification in Netherlands India (circa 1900)	145
6.2	Ethnic Stratification in Singapore	179
7.1	A Social Mobility Model	189
8.1	Model of Education and Occupational Attainment	222
8.2	Path Diagrams	239

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Stella R. Quah

Social class is a phenomenon that has been the subject of close sociological scrutiny over the past five decades. It is imperative then to begin by highlighting the three main features that distinguish this volume from other books on the subject.

The main distinguishing feature of our study is its setting; this is the first published sociological study of social class in Singapore. This attention on Singapore has permitted us to concentrate on the search for answers to questions of importance to both Singaporeans and the international community of social scientists. It is important for Singaporeans to explore the effects of the principles of meritocracy to attain social rewards within the socio-economic system (followed since the 1960s) and to see whether the current level of economic development justifies labelling Singapore as a "middle class" society. On the other hand, there is a growing number of international social scientists for whom Singapore's high rate of economic development represents an analytical challenge. Among other things, scholars want to know how this fast pace of development has been attained and how it has affected individual members of society.

Our study explores these and other pertinent questions. The outcome of our analysis is presented in the next eight chapters as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the basic characteristics of social stratification in Singapore and hence serves as

an appropriate background to the other chapters. Chapters 3, 4 and 5, respectively, concentrate on the three principal components of social class, namely education, occupational prestige, and income. Chapter 3 addresses the question of the importance of education in the context of modern Singapore. In Chapter 4, we focus on occupations and introduce the scales we used to ascertain occupational prestige as perceived by Singaporeans. Chapter 5 deals with the economic dimension of social class and presents the pattern of change in income distribution in Singapore. Chapter 6 deals with the significance of the ethnic dimension in the study of Singapore's social stratification. Chapter 7 addresses the question of social mobility, that is, the level of openness of the stratification systems that allows the movement of people across social classes over time. Chapter 8, on status attainment, looks in detail into the process whereby people in Singapore are able to improve their social status. Finally, Chapter 9 reviews and summarizes the main findings of our study in order to provide a realistic or empirically-based picture of social class in Singapore.

The second distinguishing feature of this study is its empirical orientation. This book does not attempt to test grand theories or pretend to contribute to the existing body of general theories on social stratification. Our aim is modest: we present empirical evidence on some "middle-range" conceptual propositions in the sociological literature that we consider relevant to the study of Singapore's social class system. More specifically, there is no one main theoretical framework followed throughout the study. On the contrary, we look at social class from a variety of perspectives. Thus, different but relevant concepts are introduced and discussed in the following chapters as we move from the question of the role of formal education to the importance of the social prestige attached to one's occupation and to his or her income level. Various conceptual perspectives are also brought up in the analysis of the role of ethnicity and of the influence of parental background in the attainment of social status.

The third distinguishing feature of this book is related to the first two: we present in this study our replication of the main American occupational prestige scales used in sociological

studies of social class worldwide. Considering that Singapore, as the setting of this study, is a multi-cultural nation in South-east Asia, the replicated scales constitute an improved instrument for the assessment of occupational prestige in Asian communities. At the same time, the replicated scales facilitate the comparative analysis of the social class system in Singapore with social class systems in other nations.

Having pinpointed the three main features that differentiate this book from other social class studies, I turn now to the other objectives of this chapter. These other objectives are: to familiarize the reader with relevant features of Singapore; to provide a brief outline of the current international trends in the study of social stratification highlighting a few conceptual and methodological considerations applicable to this study; to review the main contributions to the study of social class in Singapore to date; and to describe the main concepts and approaches found in this study. Each of these objectives will be dealt with in a separate section.

RELEVANT FEATURES OF SINGAPORE

Today, the island republic of Singapore, with a population of 3,002,800 people, and with a little more than half the land size of Hong Kong, and about the size of Chicago, enjoys the fruits of the considerable improvement in economic development and standard of living (see Table 1.1) which has been attained over the past two decades. Symbols of prosperity such as impressive skyscrapers, modern shopping complexes, smooth, wide highways, a large number of "latest model" private cars, and a high rate of home ownership are increasingly obvious to Singaporeans and visitors alike. Impressed by these manifestations of affluence, the casual observer may conclude that Singapore has become a "middle-class" society, where social class distinctions have weakened and economic rewards are both high and evenly distributed.

This general deduction brings to mind the assumption put forth by Clark Kerr, Alex Inkelex and W.E. Moore in the late 1950s and early 1960s whereby the process of industrialization was seen as reshaping the stratification hierarchy from pyrami-

TABLE 1.1
Basic Indicators of Economic Development and Standards of Living,
Singapore, 1970, 1983 and 1988*

BASIC INDICATORS	1970	1983	1988
Per capita indigenous Gross National Product (at current market prices, S\$)	2,904	12,608	15,999
Electricity consumption per person per year (kilowatt hours)	936.0	3,054.7	4,433.3
Water consumption per person per year (cubic metres)	72.6	102.7	112.2
Per cent of homes owned by occupants	26.0	70.0	82.0
Persons per private car	15	12	12
Persons per telephone	13	3	2
Persons per television set	13	5	5
Persons per public bus	-	313	297
Persons per taxi	-	234	253

*Source: Ministry of Communication and Information (1988) *Singapore Facts and Pictures 1988*. Singapore: Information Division, Ministry of Communication and Information, p. 38; and Department of Statistics Singapore (1989) *Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 1988*. Singapore: Department of Statistics, pp. 8, 33, 101; Tan Han Hoe, ed. (1989) *Singapore 1989*. Singapore: Information Division, Ministry of Communications and Information, pp. 158-159; Ministry of Culture (1972) *Singapore Facts and Pictures*. Singapore: Ministry of Culture, pp. 54, 85-86.

dal to "a pentagon or even a diamond" (Goldthorpe, 1966:649). The logic behind this assumption was that increasing levels of industrialization would create the need for more complex jobs requiring more specialized training, providing higher salaries and the corresponding higher status. The overall effect of this process was thought to be "that the middle of the stratification hierarchy become considerably expanded" (1966:649).

Much has passed during the subsequent three decades. Studies of transformations in the social class systems of industrialized societies and the emergence of "new industrialized countries" or NICs (Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore), provide good reasons for caution in accepting generalised assumptions without further empirical testing. The sociological

analysis of the social stratification system in Singapore, or in any society for that matter, requires one to go beyond superficial signs and search for answers to some important questions on more specific and detailed social class phenomena in the population. Some of these questions are: the prevailing income and educational attainment differences in the population; the pattern of differential prestige people give to diverse occupations; the subjective perception of social class in the minds of people; the pattern of social class in different ethnic communities; and the process of attaining or losing social prestige or status in society. These are the basic aspects explored in this study of social stratification and mobility in Singapore.

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The inclination to compare stratification systems across cultures took off in the United States after the Second World War and has become a consistent, strong, and enriching trend in international sociology ever since. Indeed, classical studies such as the 1959 book *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* by S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix made use of data not only from different regions in the United States but also from various European countries; their earlier collaboration, *Class, Status and Power* which was first published in 1953, is a good illustration of this trend. The authors indicated in the preface to the second edition, published thirteen years later, that "American sociology has shed its earlier, parochial orientation" (1967:xv). That edition included new chapters on Japan, India, Africa, Australia, Great Britain, China and Poland, among others. But Bendix and Lipset were fully aware of one main problem of comparative research that we still face in the 1990s. That problem is the need to use universally applicable concepts and the imperative of preserving the everyday meaning of those concepts since it is that kind of meaning that affects people's behaviour. Bendix and Lipset saw the problem accurately; social scientists have to:

tread an uneasy path between the construction of generally applicable concepts and the use of everyday terms in scientific discourse, frequently turning from one

level to the other in order to minimize the twin dilemmas of excessive abstraction or empiricism (1967:xvi).

Another classical example of the same principle that social stratification is a universal social phenomenon transcending geographical and political boundaries, is Gerhard Lenski's *Power and Privilege. A Theory of Social Stratification*, published in 1966. Lenski incorporated in his general theory of stratification a set of "constants" and a set of variables classified as "primary", "secondary" or "minor" in terms of their impact upon the "nature of the distributive system". The "constants" included the selfish character of human nature and the expected variations in values and customs in different communities. Among the variables, the only one Lenski assumed to have a "primary" influence upon the nature of the distributive system was the "level and mode of technology" which determines the type of economy prevailing in a given society.

This assumption may be seen as an elaboration of the industrialization hypothesis put forth by Kerr, Inkeles and Moore some years earlier. Yet, Lenski was aiming at a greater goal. In the preface of his book, he expressed the hope of bringing together the perspectives of "Marx, Spencer, Gumpłowicz, Summer, Veblen, Mosca, Pareto, Michels, Sorokin, Parsons, Davis, Dahrendorf, and Mills" into "a single, unified framework" and presented his theory as a step in that direction. But, more important to this discussion, is Lenski's position on his own theory two decades later. Having contributed to and followed closely the developments in social stratification theory during the intervening twenty years, Lenski asserted in the preface to the second edition of *Power and Privilege*, published in 1984:

While there are materials I would add and details I would alter if I were starting afresh today, I have not seen anything that persuades me that the basic theory is unsound... (1984: vii). The one change of theoretical importance that I would make would be the addition of a discussion of the ways in which capitalism, socialism and communism coexist in modern soci-

ety and how variations in the mix of these three elements account for many of the differences among industrial societies... (1984: x).

Pursuing the implications of Lenski's latest position, one may argue that, while the level of technology and the corresponding level of industrialization play a significant role in the nature of the stratification system, industrialization might not have the same effect in all nations. Not all industrializing nations experience a significant expansion of the middle ranks in their stratification hierarchy. Among the factors responsible for variations in the impact of industrialization are the particular socio-cultural and political suprastructures of every industrial or newly industrializing nation.

The above trends, namely, the emphasis on comparative research to test conceptual models of social stratification; the increasing awareness of national and cultural variations in the shape of the stratification hierarchy; and the variations in and importance of the everyday meaning of social class differences, are clearly reflected in the fast growth of the body of sociological literature. The 1980s witnessed an abundance of journal articles on specific aspects of social class in countries from all corners of the globe. For example, just between 1981 and 1988, there were published studies on rather diverse aspects of social stratification and mobility from the Netherlands, Harijan in India, Denmark, Mexico, Sweden, rural Hungary, Zambia, Finland, rural Trinidad, Nepal, Hong Kong and Cameroon, to mention but a few (cf. Braam, 1984; Gupta, 1984; Levy 1984; Winn, 1984; Harcsa, 1983; Scarritt, 1983; Jarvela, 1983; Nevadomsky, 1983; Vir, 1982; Lau, 1984; Lau and Kuan, 1988; Cooksey, 1981). Moreover, there has also been an increase in the number of full book-length studies providing extensive discussions and data on a wider range of aspects of social stratification systems in individual countries (see for example: Wild, 1978; Western, 1983; Boyd, Goyder, Jones, McRoberts, Pinec and Porter, 1985; Snodgrass, 1980; Slomczynski and Krauze, 1986).

Two main features of these country studies deserve special mention. One is the reference to common theoretical models,

hypotheses and concepts in sociology. This feature is a healthy sign of the continued commitment to sociological theory testing. The other feature is the valuable documentation of the rich variety of social stratification and mobility systems found today, even in industrialized nations formerly expected to reach an identical or very similar mode of social class structure. However, although authors of country studies do refer to well-known conceptual models in addition to their own theoretical assumptions, there is one limitation. Since each country study approaches empirical testing in its own fashion, subsequent comparability of findings is, of course, restricted.

A final trend of relevance to this discussion (but, by no means the last or least important trend in the field), is the continuation of the classical controversies among different schools of thought in social stratification. Among contemporary sociologists, one finds functionalist explanations of social inequality and opportunities for social mobility expressed just as enthusiastically as the explanations suggested by exponents of theories such as social exchange, conflict theory, symbolic interaction, phenomenology and even sociobiology. A brief but interesting illustration of such a diversity of conceptual interpretations applied to educational attainment is discussed by Wallace and Wolf (1986:5-8). Their sensible view of this plethora of approaches is worth repeating:

Overall, what sociological theory provides is a number of different but complementary ways of looking at our day-by-day experiences. All are useful, but none can provide us with all the answers. In fishing, someone who is interested in catching minnows or soft-shell crabs uses very different equipment from someone in pursuit of shark... A fishing boat built to handle one sort of quarry is not "better" than one designed for a different sort of fish... Similarly, each sociological perspective sheds light on some parts of our world and provides some answers; while for others we have to look elsewhere (1986:8).

One word of caution is in order. The underlying assumption of Wallace and Wolf's position is that, whatever their theoretical perspective, sociologists would be searching for objective empirical evidence of their conceptual premises with the aim of improving the respective theoretical frameworks from which they set off. Wallace and Wolf's implicit advice to follow a multiple perspective approach in the study of social stratification and mobility is effective if and when this positive assumption applies. But there are at least two possible drawbacks. One is that a sociologist may fail to distinguish between a theoretical perspective and his or her political ideology. The other one is that a multiple perspective approach must still retain a certain theoretical consistency; if different approaches are used to explain a given social phenomenon, those approaches must be compared and some basic conclusions that contribute to the growth of the sociological body of theory must be drawn.

LITERATURE ON SOCIAL CLASS IN SINGAPORE

The study of Singapore's social stratification system and mobility patterns has been both modest and relatively productive, depending upon the point of reference used. Compared to the numerous and detailed studies covering the United States, Canada, England and Australia, for example, the available information on Singapore when this study began, was inadequate and outdated. On the other hand, the social class system in Singapore has been a subject of keener study, compared to the social class systems of some countries in the region.

Available studies dealing with aspects of social class and social mobility in Singapore could be classified into two basic categories, namely specific and general, according to their main objectives and to how closely they deal with the subject matter. Each category deserves special mention.

Specific Studies

With few exceptions, most of the specific sociological studies of social stratification in Singapore have been conducted by researchers linked to the University of Singapore, particularly its Department of Sociology, established in 1965. Five years earlier

an interesting and informative study of a poor urban neighbourhood (Kaye, 1960) called attention to the appalling living conditions in Singapore's Chinatown. The other significant study on social conditions in Singapore that was not linked to the university was Buchanan's economic and political appraisal of Singapore (1972), which presented a rather bleak picture. According to Buchanan's calculations about seven out of every ten people belonged to the lower class and had very slim hope of improving their situation.

One of the first specific studies conducted by researchers at the University of Singapore was Tham Seong Chee's Ph.D. dissertation on *Occupational Patterns in Malay Society. A historical and cultural enquiry into their nature and problems* (1972). Tham interviewed a group of Malay entrepreneurs and discussed their values, motivations, backgrounds and attitudes, thus collecting relevant data on the business leaders of one of the two significant ethnic minorities in Singapore. There is a problem of data accessibility, however. This dissertation remains unpublished and was written in Malay.

Another source of relevant data is illustrated by Peter Chen's studies conducted in 1971 and 1972 and compiled in his "*Social Stratification in Singapore*" (1973), a Department of Sociology Working Paper comprising 99 pages of tables with "preliminary" data from three surveys. In the one-page introductory note, Chen listed these surveys as the "Survey on social stratification in Singapore" involving a sample of 922 people; the "national sample survey of husband-wife communication and family planning in Singapore sponsored by ECAFE, United Nations"; and "a survey on environmental problems in Singapore" (1973). He added that the data were preliminary because he was planning to incorporate them into a book. Unfortunately, Chen has not yet published such a book which could have been a significant contribution to the study of social class in Singapore.¹ Nevertheless, the following year, Chen published a more formal discussion on *Growth and income distribution in Singapore* (1974) where he discussed the link between economic growth and income inequality; usual measurements of income distribution in populations; and income redistribution instruments in Singapore. Chen's most recent papers on the subject of

social class deal with *The professional and intellectual elites in Singapore* (1975, 1978) where he draws from his 1973 findings to conclude that Singapore is a middle class society.

Another well-known contributor to specific studies on social stratification has been Riaz Hassan. One of his first papers on the subject dealt with *Class, ethnicity and occupational structure in Singapore* (1971) where he discussed, among other things, the consequences of social class distinctions for the social integration of the main ethnic communities in Singapore. His findings were based on educational and occupational data. Some years later he wrote a more detailed study on a group of lower income families living in public housing apartments (1977), and described their living conditions and struggles.

Two M.Soc.Sc. theses have focused specifically on social stratification themes. They are the study by Li Hsiao Yuan (1974) on higher education and occupational choice of post-secondary education students, and the detailed study of poverty in Singapore completed by Cheah Hock Beng as his M.Soc.Sc. thesis in 1978. Based on secondary and other type of data, Cheah discussed the significance of poverty and the constraints faced by the poor in reaching and utilizing social services.

Interestingly, by documenting the pervasive presence of poverty, Cheah's (1978) data cast doubts on the interpretation of Singapore as a middle class society. But the latter is precisely the message conveyed by Chen (1978) based on his 1973 survey findings. Perhaps one of the reasons for this contradiction is the interpretation of the term "middle class society". Chen based his conclusion that Singapore was a middle class society on the fact that, when the "upper-middle", "middle", and "lower-middle" categories of the socio-economic status scale in his Table I.1 (Chen, 1973:1) were combined, 56.5 per cent of the respondents in the ECAFE survey were classified as middle class in terms of a socio-economic status (SES) scale comprising their income, educational level, occupational status and housing type. However, this proportion differs from his social stratification study survey whereby 51.4 per cent of the respondents identified themselves as middle class but only 36.0 per cent were classified as members of the middle class based on Chen's SES scale.

As it will be appreciated in the following chapters of this study, there are various ways of determining the cutting points in the SES scale, that is, the boundaries between classes. More importantly, the magnitude of the "middle class" group depends entirely on the procedure applied to determine such boundaries and on the validity and reliability of the measurement of the components of the SES scale. An even more controversial aspect is the question of how large a society's middle class group should be in order to conclude that that society is "middle class". It appears that some researchers would say 50 per cent or more of the sampled individuals. A more cogent perspective is that, even in societies where the top and bottom of the stratification hierarchy are narrower than the middle, those upper and lower class minorities cannot be dismissed. Their social and economic significance is as important as that of ethnic minorities. This is true of Third World countries and the NICs in general, and of Singapore in particular.

Further information on how the poor lived in the early 1970s may be found in Kuo's (1975) study on *Families under Economic Stress* based on a survey of 209 families, 55 of whom were families on welfare. Kuo documented the main differences between the welfare and non-welfare families in his sample, in terms of their economic and social activities, attitudes, values, education and occupation, among other aspects.

Another specific study was conducted by Chiew Seen Kong on the *Educational and Occupational Attainment of Singapore's Chinese Women and Men* (1977). Chiew applied a path model to predict the occupational attainment of a sample of 990 Chinese in Singapore interviewed in 1970 and found that educational attainment is the best predictor for all, but particularly for women. His most recent contribution is an analysis of census data on *Ethnicity, Economic Development and Occupational Change in Singapore* (Chiew, 1988). Dealing with the same theme of ethnicity and social stratification, is A. Mani's M. Soc. Sc. thesis on *The Changing Caste Stratification among the Singapore Indians* (1978). This study documents the strong influence of motherland values, beliefs and customs that create rigid strata among the Indian community, the second largest ethnic minority in Singapore after the Malays.

These are the main specific studies in the local sociological literature dealing with social stratification and mobility. Chen (1986:53) mentioned a "second nationwide survey" on social stratification that he conducted in 1980, but added that "results of the second survey are yet to be produced" (1986:53). No publication on that second survey has appeared at the time of this book. Our study, then, represents the second sociological national study on social stratification after Chen's (1973), and the first one to be extensively documented and published.

General Studies

There is a large number of studies from various perspectives and with objectives other than the specific study of social stratification which touch upon aspects of social class in Singapore relevant to our discussion. The largest proportion of these studies cover analyses by sociology students of local ethnic, dialect, and religious groups. A good review of these unpublished academic exercises, theses and other studies may be found in Chen (1986:34-42). One of the best known studies in this category is Chiew's M.Soc.Sc. thesis on ethnicity and national identity (1971) where he discusses the perceived and actual stratification of the population primarily in terms of ethnic and linguistic background. Another thesis on "Business ideologies of Chinese managers" was written by Wan Pek Yuet (1978); she found significant differences in the values and approaches of Chinese business managers compared to their Western counterparts. Mani's (1975) concept of the "Singaporean model of caste" documents interesting aspects of caste stratification in the Indian community, where high educational and occupational status may balance the weaknesses of an inferior caste status. An ethnographic study of the joys and tribulations of a fishing village relocation, conducted by Chew Soo Beng (1982), offers interesting insights into the occupational and status changes undergone by the villagers when they moved into modern, high-rise, public housing apartments.

Some of the work by political scientists on elites in Singapore is also relevant; for example, the problems of elite cohesion as perceived by the Malay community (Kassim, 1974); Chan's (1977) study of the intellectual elite, its characteristics and

ideology, and the political roles they play as “intellectual politician”, “legitimiser”, “mandarin” or “independent”; and her work on Singapore’s legislators where she provides social background data on members of Cabinet and Parliament (1985).

A few economists have also contributed informative papers, adding to the body of data on income distribution, the occupational structure of the labour force and educational enrolment. Among the most relevant of these studies is the work of V.V.B. Rao and M. Ramakrishnan (1980) on *Income Inequality in Singapore* in which they demonstrate a decline in income inequality from 1966 to 1975 attributable, in their view, to an increase in the employment rate, among other things.

Two other relevant contributions from the field of economics are the work of Pang Eng Fong. One of his contributions is “Growth, inequality and race in Singapore” (Pang, 1975) where he compares the three main ethnic groups and documents the differences in their economic gains. This paper appears as Chapter 5 of his more detailed study *Education, Manpower and Development in Singapore* (Pang, 1982). In this book, Pang provides a discussion of the positive link between education and earnings and, more importantly, the link between earnings and supply of skilled manpower. He concurs with sociological studies of occupational structures that increases in the supply of highly skilled or educated people will produce a decline in “the net benefits of a university education”. He adds that “if this decline continues for an extended period of time, it may reduce the demand for higher education as a passport to good jobs” (Pang, 1982:110). The latest contributions from economics are a joint monograph by Linda Lim and Pang Eng Fong (1986) on *Trade, Employment and Industrialization in Singapore* which dedicates one chapter to the discussion of employment, earnings and labour mobility, and the study on “Singapore’s new education system” by Soon Teck Wong (1988), who explains the changes implemented in the late 1970s and feels optimistic about the effectiveness of the restructured educational system.

Outside the academic setting, government bodies have been particularly active in the compilation of population statistics useful in the study of social stratification. The earliest of these

studies and one of high historical significance, was Goh Keng Swee’s (1956) official report on urban incomes and housing which began a trend in the government’s collection of empirical data for policy making. The Housing and Development Board collects systematic data on incomes of public housing dwellers, among other things. The Department of Statistics’ publication of the census data include income, educational qualifications, broad occupation groups and type of housing for the total population, although the published data do not permit the correlation of these components of social class. The Ministry of Labour publishes statistics from its labour force survey periodically including wages, broad and specific occupational categories and other relevant data on Singapore’s labour force.

Finally, a slightly outdated but still useful publication for researchers is *Singapore Standard Occupational Classification 1978*, published by the Department of Statistics to provide “a common framework for the compilation and classification of the occupations in Singapore’s workforce” (1980:3). Although these sources are useful, there is no official Singapore source on occupations comparable to the detailed and comprehensive *Occupational Outlook Handbook* published by the United States Department of Labour (1987). On a much smaller scale, two slim books describe occupations in Singapore. One has been prepared by the Singapore Professional Centre (1985) and covers 25 occupations that the Centre considers as “professions”, describes briefly the basic areas of endeavour in each occupation and provides additional information on training, employment opportunities and other matters. The other one is an even briefer booklet on jobs and careers in Singapore’s information processing industry published by the Singapore Federation of the Computer Industry (1987).

THE SINGAPORE STUDY: MAIN CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Our main aim when we first came together to work on this project in 1983, was to provide a reliable data base on the current system of social stratification and social mobility in Singapore. It was evident to us that information on important aspects such as the population’s perception of occupational

prestige, the shape of the social stratification hierarchy, and the social and cultural values of different social classes, were either not available or incomplete or, at best, outdated.

Thus, we set out to plan the study from scratch pursuing three principal goals: to replicate well-known occupational prestige scales in the context of Singapore; to provide empirical information on Singapore's stratification hierarchy and pattern of social mobility; and to document our findings as precisely as possible in order to provide the bases for future periodic comparisons. The study was to be fundamentally descriptive considering the need to fill in the serious information gaps mentioned earlier. Once the descriptive task is accomplished in this book, further analysis of the data from different conceptual perspectives will be our next goal.

Concerning our first goal, occupational prestige scales represent one of the few crucial instruments used in the study of social stratification to ascertain the relative importance of a person's occupation. Such relative importance is, in turn, one of the crucial components in the assessment of a person's social class. The other most common components are level of formal education and income. Answering the important question "What do prestige scales scale?", Hauser and Featherman (1977:5-6) reported that, according to their review of cross-national data, people perceive the prestige of a given occupation on the basis of a variety of real or assumed attributes of that occupation, including power over resources and people. But, they added,

For most capitalist and industrial nations, this occupational power would manifest itself in the conjunction of income, authority relationships within, and between occupation groups, and education, to fashion the observed socioeconomic nature of occupational status ("desirability" or "prestige"). In other systems, occupational power may fashion other configurations such that occupational status is truly nonsocioeconomic, *but instances of these conditions are too under-researched to*

bring us to disclaim our initial (albeit provisional) assertion (1977:6) [emphasis added].

As Hauser and Featherman imply, the testing of the socio-economic nature of occupational prestige must be pursued in non-Western countries as there may be "small social systems and some nations (perhaps such as Israel, Cuba, and China) in which this postulate may not hold" (1977:5). Indeed, cultural, political and economic features of people's working conditions and jobs in Third World countries or in newly industrializing nations may alter the ways their people rate occupations and the reasons they want to keep or change their jobs. Consequently, replicating and probing the validity of the most common occupational prestige scales in the context of Singapore is one of the main contributions of this study. Similarly, with the rapid economic change that Singapore has undergone during the past twenty years, our second and third goals are well justified. An analysis of the stratification hierarchy and mobility patterns will indicate the effects of rapid economic development upon the distribution of rewards; and this analysis needs to be replicated periodically to monitor such distribution.

In terms of the procedures we followed to implement our study, the nature of the sample and the preparation of the questionnaire were two of our main concerns. Although the methodological details may be found in Appendix 1 on research design, some significant features of the procedure may be mentioned at this juncture. Every effort was made to assure that the sample was representative to allow us to make inferences to the total population. A random sample design was used whereby random samples were drawn from the four ethnic sub-populations of Singapore citizens, i.e., Chinese, Malays, Indians and Others. In this manner, the sampling unit was the individual citizen, while the total sample was representative and took into account ethnic differences that could provide revealing information on social class and mobility patterns. The focus on individuals as the unit of analysis was the only way in which we could assure a standardized source of information on the occupational history, educational attainment, income, parental background and other key variables for every one of the subjects in our study.

A great deal of care went into the designing of the questionnaire in accordance with the type of data we needed. In addition to regular background data, we collected information on the basic components of social class such as education, income and occupation not only for each individual respondent but also for the respondent's parents, spouse and best friend, in order to document the influence of family, kinship and social networks upon the social class and social mobility of the respondent; the occupational history of the respondent; and the respondents' attitudes and perceptions on the importance of education, on their relative power in the community, and on their personal social mobility and that of their children, among other things. A combination of open- and closed-ended questions and attitude scales were used to permit the recording of systematic as well as reliable data.

Another important part of the questionnaire comprised the questions on occupational prestige. We needed to ascertain the population's rating of the prestige of occupations available in Singapore and the occupational prestige of the occupations of the respondent himself or herself, his or her spouse, father, mother and best friend.

The principle we followed concerning occupational data was "the more the better". Thus, our approach was twofold. We extended our net as widely as possible both in the actual recording of information and the comparison of occupational prestige scales. In addition to covering the occupations held by the respondent in his first, current and last jobs, and the occupations of four or five individuals in each questionnaire, we applied three occupational prestige scales to all these occupations. A detailed description of these scales may be found in Chapter 4 and in Appendix 1.

Finally, some chapters make extensive references to data collected from other studies and from the past Singapore censuses. We hope that this feature enhances rather than hinders the reporting of our findings, by putting them in the context of the accumulated body of relevant information.

NOTE

1. Although it would be desirable to make comparisons between Chen's 1970s data and our data, this was not possible because there appear to be differences in the methods used by Chen to arrive at the socio-economic status scales and to ascertain respondents' self-identification of class position, occupational prestige and other measurements of social class.

REFERENCES

- Bendix, R. and Lipset, S.M. eds. (1953) *Class, Status and Power. Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bendix, R. and Lipset, S.M. eds. (1967) *Class, Status and Power. Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. Revised and reset 2nd Edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Boyd, M., Goyder, J., Jones, F.E., McRoberts, H.A., Pineo, P.C., and Porter, J. (1985) *Ascription and Achievement: Studies in Mobility and Status Attainment in Canada*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Braam, G.P.A. (1984) "Social stratification and the aged in the Netherlands — The aged as a minority category". *Netherlands Journal of Sociology*, 20, 2, 98-114.
- Buchanan, I. (1972) *Singapore in Southeast Asia: An Economic and Political Appraisal*. London: G. Bell & Sons.
- Chan, H.C. (1977) "The role of intellectuals in Singapore politics". In T.B. Wee, ed., *The Future of Singapore — The Global City*. Singapore: University Education Press, 39-47.
- Chan, H.C. (1985) "Legislature and legislators", In J.S.T. Quah, H.C. Chan and C.M. Seah, eds., *Government and Politics of Singapore*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 71-91.
- Cheah, H.B. (1978) "A study of poverty in Singapore". Unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis. Singapore: Department of Sociology, University of Singapore.
- Chen, P.S.J. (1973) "Social stratification in Singapore". Sociology Working Paper No. 12. Singapore: Department of Sociology, University of Singapore.
- Chen, P.S.J. (1974) "Growth and income distribution in Singapore". *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2, 1-2, 119-130.
- Chen, P.S.J. (1975) "Elites and National Development in Singapore". In A. Wehmhoerner, ed., *Elites and Development*. Bangkok: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 71-82.
- Chen, P.S.J. (1978) "The professional and intellectual elites in Singapore". In P.S.J. Chen and H.D. Evers, eds., *Studies in ASEAN Sociology: Urban Society and Social Change*. Singapore: Chopman Publications, 27-37. Also appearing in K.E. Shaw et al., eds., (1978) *Elites and National Development in Singapore*. Tokyo: Institute of Development Economics, 61-72.
- Chen, P.S.J. (1986) "Sociological studies on Singapore society". In B. Kapur, ed. *Singapore Studies. Critical Surveys of the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 33-64.
- Chew, S.B. (1982) *Fishermen in Flats*. Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 9.
- Chiew, S.K. (1971) "Singaporean national identity". Unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis. Singapore: University of Singapore.

- Chiew, S.K. (1977) "Educational and occupational attainment of Singapore's Chinese women and men". Sociology Working Paper No. 59. Singapore: Department of Sociology, University of Singapore.
- Chiew, S.K. (1988) "Ethnicity, economic development and occupational change in Singapore" *Akademika*, January.
- Cooksey, B. (1981) "Social class and academic performance — A Cameroon case study". *Comparative Education Review*, 25, 3, 403-418.
- Department of Statistics (1980) *Singapore Standard Occupational Classification*. Singapore: Department of Statistics.
- Department of Statistics Singapore (1988) *Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 1987*. Singapore: Department of Statistics.
- Goh, K.S. (1956) *Urban Income and Housing*. Singapore: Government Printing Office.
- Goldthorpe, J.H. (1967) "Social stratification in industrial society". In R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, eds., *Class, Status and Power. Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. Revised and reset 2nd Edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul., 648-659.
- Gupta, S.K. (1984) "The significance of social stratification in Harijan Community". *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 45, 2, 175-187.
- Harcza, I. (1983) "Social mobility in rural Hungary". *East European Quarterly*, 17, 4, 493-502.
- Hassan, R. (1971) "Class, ethnicity and occupational structure in Singapore". *Civilizations*, 21, 1, 496-514.
- Hassan, R. (1977) *Families In Flats: A Study of Low Income Families in Public Housing*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Hauser, R.M. and Featherman, D.L. (1977) *The Process of Stratification. Trends and Analyses*. New York: Academic Press.
- Jarvella, M. (1983) "The permanency of social classes and intergenerational mobility in Finland". *Acta Sociologica*, 26, 3, 287-298.
- Kaye, B. (1960) *Upper Nankin Street, Singapore. A Sociological Study of Chinese Households Living in a Densely Populated Area*. Singapore: University of Malaya Press.
- Kassim, I. (1974) *Problems of Elite Cohesion: A Perspective from a Minority Community*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Kuo, E.C.Y. (1975) *Families under Economic Stress: The Singapore Experience*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Lau, S.K. (1984) *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Lau, S.K. and Kuan, H.C. (1988) *The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Lenski, G.E. (1984) *Power and Privilege. A Theory of Social Stratification*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Levy, D.C. (1984) "The state, education and social class in Mexico". *Latin American Research Review*, 19, 3, 153-171.
- Li, H.Y. (1974) "Higher education and occupational choice: A comparison of four institutes in Singapore". Unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis. Singapore: University of Singapore.

- Lim, L. and Pang, E.F. (1986) *Trade, Employment and Industrialization in Singapore*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R., eds. (1959) *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R., eds. (1967) *Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*. Revised and reset 2nd Edition. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mani, A. (1975) "The relevance of caste in the study of Singapore Indians". *Review of Southeast Asian Studies*, 5, 1, 29-48.
- Mani, A. (1977) "The changing caste structure amongst the Singapore Indians". Unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis. Singapore: Department of Sociology, University of Singapore.
- Ministry of Communication and Information (1988) *Singapore Facts and Pictures 1988*. Singapore: Information Division, Ministry of Communication and Information.
- Nevadomsky, J. (1983) "Economic organization, social mobility and changing social status among East Indians in rural Trinidad". *Ethnology*, 22, 1, 63-7.
- Pang, E.F. (1975) "Growth, inequality and race in Singapore". *International Labour Review*, 111, 15-28.
- Pang, E.F. (1982) *Education, Manpower and Development in Singapore*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Rao, V.V.B and Ramakrishnan, M. (1980) *Income Inequality in Singapore. Impact of Economic Growth and Structural Change 1966-1975*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Scarritt, J.R. (1983) "The analysis of social class, political participation and public policy in Zambia". *Africa Today*, 30, 3, 5-22.
- Singapore Federation of the Computer Industry (1987) *A Guide to Jobs and Careers. The Information Processing Industry in Singapore*. Singapore: Singapore Federation of the Computer Industry.
- Singapore Professional Centre (1985) *The Big Decision for a Better Future in your Career*. 2nd Edition. Singapore: Federal Publications.
- Slomczynski, K. and Krauze, T. eds. (1986) *Social Stratification in Poland. Eight Empirical Studies*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Snodgrass, D.R. (1980) *Inequality and Economic Development in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Soon Teck Wong (1988) *Singapore's New Educational System: Education Reform for National Development*. Singapore: ISEAS.
- Tan, H.H. ed. (1989) *Singapore 1989*. Singapore: Information Division, Ministry of Communications and Information.
- Tham, S.C. (1972) "Occupational patterns in Malay Society". Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Singapore: University of Singapore.
- United States Department of Labor (1987) *Occupational Outlook Handbook*. Washington: U.S. Department of Labor.
- Vir, D. (1982) "Education and social stratification in Nepal". *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 43, 3, 321-326.
- Wallace, R. and Wolf, A. (1986) *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Continuing the Classical Tradition*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

- Wan, P.Y. (1978) "Business ideologies of Chinese managers in Singapore", Unpublished M.Soc.Sc. thesis. Singapore: University of Singapore.
- Western, J.S. (1983) *Social Inequality in Australian Society*. Melbourne: The MacMillan Company of Australia.
- Wild, R.A. (1978) *Social Stratification in Australia*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Winn, S.V. (1984) "Social class and income returns to education in Sweden—A research note", *Social Forces*, 62,4, 1026–1034.