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COMMUNITY AND OCCUPATION IN
THE HULL FISHING INDUSTRY

G.W. HOROBIN

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the clubs and at the polls. The provision and improvement of the football ground is of the greatest interest to villagers and has been an important campaign issue in a number of villages throughout the island.

La Vallée has no youth clubs. Many of its inhabitants go to a neighbouring village to attend matches on Sunday. There was until very recently no football ground in La Vallée though there had been agitation for one for some time.

Youth clubs can be seen as alignments of the younger inhabitants of the village many of whom are Western educated. The clubs cut across many of the traditional village alignments and enjoy great popular support. They have played an important part in village politics, particularly in the north of the island.

NOTES

¹ I should like to thank Mr. S. Bunnware, Mr. D. K. Janke, Major K. J. W. Lane, Mr. B. Mahadoo, and Mr. R. Naitk for helpful comments and criticisms. They are, however, in no way responsible for the interpretations found in this article.

² Harold D. Lasswell, 'Faction', *Encyclopaedia of Social Science*, vol. III, p. 49. New York, 1931.

³ This field work was made possible by a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

⁴ The percentages for Europeans and those of mixed descent are approximations as the Mauritian census of 1952 does not distinguish between the two categories. Throughout the paper figures for the whole island derive from the census of 1952. Figures for 'Beaumont' and 'La Vallée' derive from my own field census.

⁵ Oscar Lewis, *Group Dynamics in a North Indian Village*, Delhi, 1954.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

RAYMOND FIRTH is Professor of Anthropology in the University of London, London School of Economics and Political Science.

DAVID POCCOCK is a Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford.

H. S. MORRIS is Assistant Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

ADRIAN C. MAYER is Lecturer in Asian Anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

BURTON BENEDICT was Sociological Research Officer in Mauritius, and is a Fellow of the Colonial Social Science Research Council. REINHARD BENDIX is Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley.

G. W. HOROBIN is Research Assistant in the Department of Social Studies, University of Hull.

ELY CHINOVY is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

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G. W. Horobin

INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE is concerned with some of the interrelationships of community and occupation in the fishing industry at Hull, and in particular their relevance to the practical problems of recruitment and planned urban redevelopment as well as to the wider theoretical issues in these fields of industrial and urban sociology. Industrial sociologists have so far confined their attention to the more 'basic' industries, notably coal-mining and steel, and fishing has remained sociologically unexplored. By comparison with the industries mentioned above, fishing occupies only a minor part of the economy. Thus in 1951, fishermen accounted for only 0.1 per cent of the total male working population of England and Wales.¹ Even in Hull, the port which lands the most fish, the proportion of the working force so engaged was only 2.8 per cent,² though fishing is the largest single industry in the city.

Partly in an attempt to fill in this gap in our monographic knowledge of British industry, a research project was initiated, in April 1954, by the Social Studies Department of the University of Hull, with the present writer as research assistant.³ The project was broadly conceived as a community study, rather than as a study in industrial sociology. This conception of the project was based on what is common knowledge in Hull—that the fisherman inhabit a particular area of the city, and that they constitute to some extent a separate community. From the beginning, we heard such comments as, 'Fishermen are a group apart' and 'Hesse Road is a world in itself'.⁴ Accordingly, this community aspect was the first to be investigated, but, as the work proceeded, it became clear that other aspects would have to be given attention at the same time. A full understanding of the community seemed impossible without some knowledge of fishing as an occupation, different in kind and degree from shore occupations and even from other sea-going ones. Since little or no work had been done in this field on which the present project could build, the writer felt it necessary to build up gradually an understanding of the whole field, rather than investigate the specific

question of residence and community relationships to the exclusion of other aspects of the total situation.

THE CATEGORIES AND NUMBERS OF WORKERS ENGAGED

It is extremely difficult to make a reliable estimate of the numbers employed in the fishing industry at Hull. This is due firstly to the existence of several ancillary industries, such as rope, net and box-making, part of whose employees are working almost solely for the fishing industry, and secondly, to the essentially casual nature of fishing as an occupation.

The industry proper at Hull can be divided into two parts, the catching and the distribution, although there is considerable interlocking between these two main sections. The latter section also includes for the present purpose the processing of fish. The present study is concerned mainly with the catching side, the fishermen themselves, although a full account of the fishing industry and community must include the other sections too.

At the time of writing (April 1956), there are 145 trawlers sailing out of Hull. This figure changes frequently, however, as vessels are sold, scrapped or lost, and others are built or bought. Each vessel carries a crew of 20 (rarely 19 or 21) consisting of 1 Skipper, 1 Mate, 1 Bosun, 1 3rd Hand, from 6 to 8 deck- or spare-hands, 1 or 2 deck-hand learners, 1 Chief-Engineer, 1 2nd Engineer, 2 Firemen trimmers, 1 Cook, 1 Cook's Assistant and 1 Wireless Operator. Thus the total fleet requirement at the present time is 2,900 men, i.e. the number required if all vessels and all men were to be regularly employed. Since fishing is not a regular job, however, there are more than this number who can be considered as regular fishermen. For the purposes of this study, fishermen are defined as all men who sailed during the period January to September 1955. There were 3,564 men within this category.

The other two groups which, together with the fishermen, form the working force of the industry proper are the employees of the wholesale fish merchants (filleters, 'barrow-lads', etc.), numbering about 2,500, and the 'bobbers',⁵ numbering about 650 regulars and a further 150 casuals.

THE FISHING COMMUNITY

It has already been mentioned that the employees in the fishing industry tend to be concentrated in a particular area of the city. This area lies in the south-west of Hull in a semicircle centred upon the fish-dock (St. Andrew's Dock) with a radius of about a mile. This area⁶ houses about 20 per cent of the total population of Hull, and 57 per cent

of all fishermen. There are, however, differences between the various grades of fishermen in respect of the degree of residential concentration. The following table shows this difference quite clearly. It will be noted that one group, the Wireless Operators, are actually less concentrated in this area than the population as a whole.

TABLE 1

Number and Percentage of Fishermen by rating (grade), living within 1 mile of St. Andrew's Dock; rank order of concentration, and rank order of earnings*

Rating	No. living within 1 mile	Total no.	Percentage living within 1 mile	Rank Order [†] of Concentration	Rank Order of Earnings
Deck-hand learners and Cook's Assistants	226	306	73.8	1	10
Spare and 3 rd Hands	1019	1547	65.8	2	6
Firemen-trimmers	227	365	62.2	3	9
Chief Engineers	101	196	51.2	4	4
2 nd Engineers	92	174	52.9	5	8
Bosuns	96	199	48.2	6	3
Cooks	197	197	47.2	7	6
Mates	91	203	44.8	8	2
Skippers	45	200	22.5	9	1
Wireless Operators	35	183	19.1	10	6
All Ratings	2025	3564	56.8	—	—

* Data derived from records held by the Hull Fishing Vessel Owners' Association Ltd.

As might be expected from recent research in urban ecology, the higher income groups tend to live further away from their places of work.⁷ But the correlation is not high ($\rho = 0.624$) and is not quite significant at the 0.05 level. Especially striking as exceptions to the general tendency are the Wireless Operator and Cook groups, ranking 10 and 7 respectively, yet having the same average income as the Spare-hands who rank 2nd. If, however, account is taken only of those rating groups who constitute the fishermen proper, the Skippers, Mates, Bosuns, Spare-hands and Deckhand-learner/Cook's Assistants,⁸ then the correlation is perfect. These five groups represent the normal order of promotion and all perform at different levels the tasks of finding and handling fish. The other groups, on the other hand, are outside the normal channel of promotion, and perform their own specific tasks, not as such connected with the job of fishing.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the 'non-fishing' group, the engine-room staff, cooks and wireless operators, are not regarded as fishermen. Cooks are sometimes recruited from the Merchant Navy,

signed off, he may have to visit the dock again to obtain a berth in another vessel. He may also want to meet friends or relatives arriving on other trawlers. With such a limited amount of leisure time available, the time taken in these movements would be considered of some importance, and this would be an additional incentive to live in the area. Even when he lives near to the dock, the fisherman will probably travel there and back by taxi. If he calls at his pub or club for an hour on his way to or from the dock, he will normally keep the taxi on hire—a further manifestation of his desire to waste no time, as well as of what is now virtually a tradition in the industry, conformity with which is part of the occupational role. Undoubtedly these elements are of some importance to the fishermen, but the journey to work as such is probably not as important to them as to such groups as the bobbers, who, of course, have to make the journey every night at an hour when there is no available public transport. In this respect, it is worth noting that whereas 57 per cent of fishermen live within the mile radius of the fish-dock, 72 per cent of bobbers do so. Yet, as was noted above, another group of workers at the fish-dock—the B.T.C. employees—are much less concentrated in the area.

Thus it would appear that the journey to work and the pull of low rents are not the only factors in the residential and occupational structure of this area of Hull. There is, in addition, the pull of the community itself.

In this area, there lives a group of people, united not only by the bonds of spatial contiguity, but by a common dependence upon one industry; an industry which, moreover, is essentially different from any other, and which by its nature affects the whole social life of its workers. This occupational bond is often reinforced by the bonds of biological and social kinship, so that the whole area appears very closely knit. Although fishermen do not form a very high proportion of the population even in this area (about 11 per cent of the male working force), they are the key group in the industry, and the industry dominates the area. Thus practically the whole of the population of this area, including the shopkeepers, are 'geared' to the rhythm of fishing. It is said, for example, that prices in some shops on the Hessele Road vary from day to day in accordance with the state of the market for fish. This occupational bond is a characteristic feature of single industry towns and villages (mining villages, for instance), but is probably found more rarely in districts of cities of the size of Hull. The high degree of dependence upon the industry also helps to foster a high degree of interdependence between the members of the community. This interdependence is in turn manifested in, and is reinforced by, the mutual help which is given to neighbours in times of hardship or disaster. When a vessel is lost, the whole community 'draws together', as it were, for the bell tolls for everyone, and everyone knows it.

The expression, 'fishermen are a race apart', is often to be heard in Hull, and it does convey quite well the nature of the fishing community as a sub-cultural group. In this respect the community is analogous to an immigrant 'ghetto', although, of course, there is no ethnic distinction between the fishing people and the population as a whole. Frey says, 'for residence within the ghetto is more than a matter of spatial placement; it generally signifies acceptance of immigrant values and participation in immigrant institutions'.¹¹ Here too it seems likely that residence in this area implies acceptance of the values of the area, which appear to be somewhat different from the values of the city as a whole. The institution of the social-club is deeply rooted in neighbourhood tradition, for example, and there are certain clubs which are thought of as specifically fishermen's clubs. But it is not the clubs themselves, not indeed any of the other amenities to be found in the area, which constitute this particular attraction of the district. It is rather the whole concatenation of amenities, institutions, and ways of behaviour which together symbolize a way of life, and which exert an influence on the people who live there, to such a degree that some people who have left the area for the housing estates have returned to what would inevitably be much inferior physical conditions. On this point it is, of course, extremely difficult to disentangle what is supposed to be a pull of the neighbourhood itself, and the pull of specific social or other ties with the area. There is evidence, for example, that fishing families tend towards matrilocality, a tendency which is also noted in mining.¹² This would be a logical result of the nature of the job—the wives of fishermen being separated from their men-folk for longish periods, and consequently liking to live near to, if not with, their own families. This tendency is reinforced at the present time, of course, by the housing shortage, which is acute in this area. But this overcrowding itself may be further evidence of the sentimental pull of the neighbourhood.

Taken together, the factors discussed above help to illustrate certain aspects of the tendency towards residential concentration, but they do not tell the whole of the story. For not only do fishermen tend to live in the area because of its advantages over physically more desirable, though more isolated, areas, but the area itself tends to produce fishermen. Fishing, again like mining, is very much a matter of family and neighbourhood tradition. Recruitment from outside is rather rare. Thus, of 121 fishermen living in two streets near the fish-dock, 61 have fathers who are or were fishermen, 40 have brothers who are fishermen, and a further 30 have other close relatives who are or were fishermen. Only 13 of the 121 (11 per cent) have no family connection with the industry. These figures almost certainly understate the extent of family connections in fishing, since information was only specifically sought on the occupation of the fathers of the householders in these streets.¹³

Seen from another point of view, that of the neighbourhood, the following information is of interest. Of 201 'deckle-learners' and cook's assistants (i.e. the recruits) about whom sufficient information was available, there were 72 cases (36 per cent) of recruits living in the same house as at least one other fisherman and a further 122 cases (61 per cent), living not more than 10 houses away from, or opposite to, another fisherman. Again, as noted above (Table 1) nearly 74 per cent of the learners and assistant cooks live within a mile of the dock—showing a higher degree of concentration than any other group. In other words, since these recruits are for the most part below the age of twenty-two, and are therefore mostly living with their parents, residence in the fishing area is prior in time to becoming a fisherman. They do not go to live in the area after joining the industry in order to be near their work, they are recruited from the area, and from the families having a fishing tradition. Again, as was shown in Table 1, concentration in the fishing area decreases with movement up the occupational scale, which serves to underline the point that fishermen are for the most part indigenous to the fishing area when they first enter the industry, and that later some tend to move away from the area as their earnings increase, and their aspirations reach new levels. In this connection it should be mentioned that the fishing industry has been established at St. Andrew's Dock, its present site, since 1883 and the present fishing area was built up mainly before 1900. Fishermen undoubtedly lived in the area then to an even greater degree than now, so that there is strong historical justification for speaking of a neighbourhood tradition.

All this tends to point to a rather close connection between recruitment to the industry and both family and neighbourhood tradition. It is not intended to mean that the sons of fishermen are persuaded by their parents to enter the occupation of fishing. Indeed many parents try to dissuade them. As one fisherman told us: 'If I had a son, I'd chop his legs off rather than let him go fishing.' Nor is there a lack of alternative employment in the area. Just how family and neighbourhood tradition operates will, of course, depend on the individual circumstances. A fairly accurate generalization may have been made, however, by an informant who said, 'Lads go fishing in spite of their parents. They see their dads or their brothers, or their pals' brothers, 'flush' when they come ashore. They see them drinking, having a good time, and they think "that's the job for me". So they go fishing, and then, when they're older they see what mugs they've been, there's nothing else for them to do, *they know nothing else but fishing*. So they go on.' (Writer's emphases.) In the fishing area, the fisherman ashore is a common sight. He has good clothes, he has money in his pocket, he goes about in a taxi, and he is popular. It is in this 'ready cash' aspect of the job that the romance lies (as implied in the above quotation) rather than in 'the call of the

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sea? The important point here is that the fisherman ashore is seen and known by the potential recruits; hence the importance of the family and neighbourhood tradition in recruitment.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CONCENTRATION

Thus there would seem to be a close interdependence between fishing and the community. The community is the recruiting ground for the industry, and once in the industry, the fishermen tend to stay in the community because of personal, social and occupational ties, and because of the amenities offered there. If it be agreed that this much is established, however tentatively, what are the implications? There seem to be implications for the general theory of Town Planning, and for the application of that theory in the specific circumstances exhibited by South-West Hull; and also there are practical implications for the industry itself, and especially in regard to its recruitment policy. To deal with the practical issues raised first, what can be said about recruitment to the industry?

Mr. R. P. Ross, President of the Hull Fishing Vessel Owners' Association Ltd., has observed¹⁴ that there are signs of a forthcoming shortage of fishermen. He writes, 'Some concern has been felt regarding the man-power situation, particularly as incipient signs of a forthcoming shortage in this direction have recently become apparent. The annual intake of young men who decide to take up fishing as a career has shown a distinct decline during the past few years. . . . As a consequence of this decline in recruitment, a new training scheme has been inaugurated, under which there is to be payment at basic rates while fishermen are attending initial and up-grading courses at the Hull Nautical College. The industry hopes that this will induce men to join the industry in greater numbers, and once having joined, to remain in it.'

There are several reasons for this decline in recruitment, chief among which was probably the depression encountered by the industry in 1950 and the first half of 1951, which followed the post-war boom. Also in recent years, the Trawler Owners have agreed to lay up a number of vessels in the summer months to prevent glutting the market at a time when catches are heavy and demand is low. As a result of this policy, fishermen have sought temporary jobs during the summer, and some have inevitably stayed in those jobs. Recruitment may also have been adversely affected by this seasonal laying off of fishermen. A third factor affecting recruitment has probably been National Service, which, among its other effects, introduces young men to other trades, and, perhaps more interesting for our purpose here, removes them from the fishing community. Certainly, the industry's recruitment policy may be successful in reducing the impact of the factors noted above. But what of the importance of the community itself?

The Town Planning Officer of Hull estimates that the population of the fishing area¹⁵ will decline by about 30 per cent by 1971, through the redevelopment of the area. If fishermen are to be dealt with in the same way as other occupational groups in the area, then some 30 per cent of their number, i.e. 540, will be rehoused outside the fishing area, mostly in North and East Hull, during the next 15 years. Assuming that those fishermen who are displaced remain in the industry, itself not entirely unquestionable, will family tradition be strong enough to induce their sons to enter the industry when both neighbourhood tradition is missing, and other opportunities become apparent? Conclusive evidence is at present lacking on this point, but it seems unlikely.

If these suppositions are true, then the industry's current recruitment policy based on financial incentives, may in the long run be inadequate. Although the town planner cannot discriminate in favour of one industry at the expense of others; or one group of people as against others, nevertheless, this probable connection between place of residence and choice of occupation should be taken into account when the redevelopment plan is carried out in its concrete detail.

On the theoretical level, problems are raised here which are of interest to the urban sociologist and to the industrial sociologist, as well as to the planning theorist. For, to generalize from the apparent connection between community and industry in South-West Hull, the application in certain circumstances of the concept of the 'balanced neighbourhood' may have unanticipated results. The exponents of this doctrine hold that a neighbourhood, balanced in respect of social class and occupation, gives a 'fuller social life' than a one-class, one-occupation neighbourhood. The mere spatial juxtaposition of people of different social strata and diverse occupations does not in itself ensure social interaction between them. Indeed, far from leading to a 'fuller social life', however that is defined, the social effects of such a juxtaposition may be the reverse of what is intended. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the problem of planned mixed-class neighbourhoods, but something might be said about the mixing of occupational groups. There is, at the present time, a widely held theory that people like to 'get away from their work' in their off duty hours. This may be true of certain groups, but it is by no means universal. Indeed, both fishermen and miners¹⁶ talk incessantly about their work. There appears to be a strongly felt need in fishermen to seek out members of the same occupation, and this need, it is suggested, is a need for communication with others having experience of the same (alien) environment in which the greater part of their lives are spent. Put in another way, it is a need for understanding. It seems quite likely that this generalization holds true for other occupational groups, although there are clearly some groups of occupations, particularly factory and office occupations, which are broadly similar over a wide range of industries, such as, for

example, machine operators and filing clerks. But there is no other occupation quite like fishing, or like mining. The employees in these industries experience different work conditions from any other group of workers, and thus common experience, a strong element in social ties, would be lacking in intercourse outside the occupational group. Here then, there would seem to be limitations to the applicability of the balanced neighbourhood concept. Of course, the fishermen, and any other workers who feel the need for communication with co-workers, would no doubt be able to find such contacts within a balanced community. But the point is that the object of the balanced neighbourhood, which is, namely, to make possible a 'fuller social life', would probably be defeated, simply because the range of contacts would be narrowed. We are constantly hearing in Hull about the 'clannishness' of fishermen. Would the balanced neighbourhood break down this clannishness? More important, do we want to break it down? Surely not. The statement is commonly made that the town-dweller is typically impersonal in his relationships, and if this is true, the impersonality may itself be a result, in part, of the lack of common or like experience among urbanites. It is one of the professed aims of town planning to foster 'neighbourliness', moreover, so that there would seem little point in trying to break it down when it is found already in existence, simply for the sake of 'balance'.

There is always the danger, of course, of turning existing needs into future conditions by planned endorsement, and it is no easy matter, as every practising planner knows, to balance the one against the other and arrive at an unequivocally 'right' decision. Nevertheless, it is equally dangerous to carry out planned redevelopment on doctrinaire principles, and without regard to the special circumstances which exist. It is one of the urban sociologist's main tasks to carry out research into these special circumstances, as well as to carry out research of wider applicability and theoretical relevance, although, of course, these two aims are by no means opposed.

The above discussion may prove of some interest, also, to those who are currently engaged on research in the field of industrial sociology. Space does not permit any extended discussion of these problems but a few remarks might be made about security and continuity of employment in relation to earnings.

As noted above, the method of payment in the fishing industry is the traditional one of basing earnings on a share of the proceeds of the voyage, together with a basic wage, which is paid to all except the skippers and mates. This method does provide a certain degree of security of income, and combines it with an attractive chance of a fairly high 'wind-fall' share. By the nature of this method of payment, earnings are generally high, but tend to fluctuate quite widely. Fishermen appear to prefer this high, fluctuating income to the lower, secure

incomes to be obtained from some shore jobs, in spite of the fact that their earnings per hour, on even the best paying trips, are relatively low. Moreover, the fisherman is 'at work' (i.e. the work-place) even when he is off-duty, and, in comparison with most shore jobs, there is discomfort throughout the voyage during the winter months. The job itself is hard, dangerous, and frequently means working on the exposed deck for 18 hours at a stretch. From this point of view rates of pay are low, but they appear high because they are paid in a lump sum.

In fishing at Hull, not even the job is regular. The question of high personnel turnover is a central one in any discussion of the fishing industry, and labour relations in it. It is not uncommon for anything up to half the crew to leave a vessel at the end of a three-week voyage, though turnover is perhaps lower now than it was a few years ago. At the other end of the scale, there are ships whose crews have sailed together for several years, almost without change. Yet the mere fact that men do in the main change ships frequently ensures that a fisherman will have sailed with, and therefore know quite well, a high proportion of the total group of fishermen. Here again is another social bond which serves to draw the fishing community together. Precisely what factors do influence the rate of turnover are not at this stage known. There is almost certainly a different rate for different ships—the 'best' ships, judged from the standpoint of earnings, having lower rates of turnover than the poor ships. There is probably quite intense competition to get a berth in one of the best ships, and on the other hand, a skipper who has got together a good crew will try to keep it. Further investigation is necessary, however, before a full analysis of this aspect of the fishing industry, and its effects on human relations both ashore and afloat, can be attempted. Such an analysis may make a useful contribution to the growing body of knowledge about the structure and functioning of small groups in industry.

CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to analyse, within the limits of the available material on what is virtually an unexplored industry, some of the interrelationships between community and occupation. Particular emphasis has been placed on some of the consequences for future recruitment to the industry if this interrelatedness should be ignored in carrying out planned redevelopment in the fishing area of Hull. It seems to the writer that there has been an unfortunate tendency on the part of some town-planners to overlook the occupational structure of the area being planned. Alternative patterns of dwellings and amenities are considered in isolation, or, if industry is taken into account at all, it is in the narrow terms of the problem of the journey to work. Recently some sociologists have gone some way towards restoring the balance

by studying communities which appear to be dependant on particular industries. It is hoped that the present article has shown that, for the Hull fishing industry at least, the connection is one of interdependence. This may well be the case in other industries and places.

NOTES

¹ Registrar General, Census England and Wales, 1951, 1 per cent Sample Tables.

² Registrar General, Census 1951, County Reports, Yorkshire North and East Ridings.

³ I should here acknowledge with thanks the help and advice given to me by R. W. Drinkwater, P. M. Worsley and the late F. D. Klingender, all of this University; and Walter Crawley, M.B.E., Secretary of the Fishing Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union for Hull and Fleetwood.

⁴ Hessel Road is the most southerly of the main roads from Hull to the west. It bisects what is here called 'the fishing area'.

⁵ The 'bobbers' are employed by the Hull Fishing Vessel Owners' Association Ltd., for the task of discharging the trawler's catch. Their equivalent in Grimby and Fleetwood are called 'lumpers', and there they are employed by the National Dock Labour Board.

⁶ Defined for the present purpose as that lying within two overlapping semi-circles of 1 mile radius, whose centres are the two points of access to the fish-dock.

⁷ See for example B. Duncan, 'Factors in Work-Residence Separation: Wages and Salary Workers, Chicago 1951', *American Sociological Review*, 21, No. 1, Feb. 1956, pp. 48-56; and the other works cited therein.

⁸ Deckhand-learners and Cook's Assistants are here treated as one group. The latter are theoretically training to be cooks. In fact many transfer to the rating of deckhand-learner after a few trips. Thus, they form together the new recruits to the deck crew, and will normally become fishermen proper. While deckhand-learners tend to be more concentrated in the fishing area than the cook's assistants, the difference is not statistically significant.

⁹ Commenting on the railway strike just then ended, the *Manchester Guardian* editorial of June 21st, 1955, said: 'The gap between wage rates and real earn-

ings confuses and bedevils a large part of British industry. It has also unhealthy social effects. Many a man regards his wage packet as containing two distinct kinds of money—what he is paid for doing his job (his basic rate) and what he has worked for—his overtime, allowances, bonuses, and the like. This separation is inclined to produce two living standards—that of the "wage" which goes into the home, and that of the "spending money" which is available for entertainment. And it is this separatism which makes many families feel poor; the rent of a new council house may be a large slice of "wages", although it may be a rent that "earnings" could readily afford.' It is not the intention to suggest that this two-part element in the fisherman's earnings is necessarily a social evil, but rather to suggest that the spending habits of fishermen can be explained at least partly in terms of the nature of their earnings (together with the nature of the job itself). Again, Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter found a similar 'gap' between wages and earnings in the coal-mining industry (*Coal is Our Life*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1956, pp. 137-41).

¹⁰ The morning of landing in its local usage is the morning when the vessel 'lands' its catch. The catch is normally discharged in the early morning (after 2 a.m.) and is auctioned between approximately 8 a.m. and 10 a.m. The fisherman can collect his poundage and oil-money as soon after the sales as these shares have been calculated.

¹¹ W. Firey, 'Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables', *American Sociological Review*, 10, No. 2, April, 1945, p. 146.

¹² Dennis, *et al.*, op. cit., pp. 204-5. There is probably a tendency towards maritimity in most, if not all, long established working class neighbourhoods.

¹³ This information is derived from a house-to-house survey of overcrowding undertaken by the Sanitary Department of the Health Department of Hull, in

response to a request by the writer. A number of questions were included in the interview schedule which would not normally have been asked in a survey of this kind, and it is from the answers to these questions that the data here presented are drawn. Thanks are due to the Medical Officer of Health and his staff for their generous help in this connection.

¹⁴ The Trade of Hull and the Hummer Ports, *Hull Daily Mail*, January 26th, 1956, p. 27.

¹⁵ In the notation devised by the Town

Planning Department, dividing the city into ²³ neighbourhood units and ²⁰ industrial areas, these are areas B, D, ¹⁷ and 18. Together they form a large part of what has been called in this paper the 'fishing area', and contain 1,771 (approximately 50 per cent of all) fishermen.

¹⁸ 'The topic which surpasses all others in frequency is work—the difficulties which have been encountered in the course of the day's shift, the way in which a particular task was accomplished, and so on,' Dennis, *et al.*, op. cit., p. 144.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND THE AMERICAN BUSINESS ELITE—1*

Reinhard Bendix and Frank W. Howton

THE MEANING OF 'ELITE'

THE COMPOSITION of the American business elite has been studied repeatedly during the last twenty years. As in studies of other 'power-wielding elites', the purpose has been to tabulate the social origin, age distribution, marital status, educational background, career patterns, and to show changes in proportion over time. The members of an elite are in this view simply indexes of excellence, for if these persons were not excellent in some way, they would not be members of an elite, and since they are, there is usually no interest to inquire further into the nature of the excellence which has made them prominent. This approach is usually associated with Vilfredo Pareto's theory of the elite, but it was given a striking formulation almost two centuries earlier, by Bernard Mandeville.

Human nature is everywhere the same: Genius, Wit and Natural Parts are always sharpened by application, and may be as much improv'd in the Practice of the meanest Villany, as they can in the Exercise of Industry or the most Heroic Virtue. There is no Station of Life, where Pride, Emulation, and the Love of Glory may not be displayed. A young Pickpocket, that makes a Jest of his Angry Prosecutor, and dextrously wheedles the old Justice into an Opinion of his Innocence, is envied by his Equals and admired by all the Fraternity. Rogues have the same passions to gratify as other Men and value themselves on their Honour and Faithfulness to one another, their Courage, Intrepidity, and other Manly Virtues, as well as People of better Professions; and in daring Enterprises, the Resolution of a Robber may be as much supported by his Pride, as that of an honest Soldier, who fights for his Country.¹

The degree of excellence, not its nature, is worthy of note, according to Mandeville, and scholars who have adopted this view, have defended it on the ground that they were studying society as it really operates,

* This is the first of two articles. In the second will be found the continuation of this

