

**The Entrepreneurial Middle Class in Nova Scotia:  
An Economic and Social Profile (1984)**

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ABSTRACT

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL MIDDLE CLASS IN NOVA SCOTIA:  
AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROFILE (1984)

by

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## ABSTRACT

This examination has concentrated on a form of society that is defined by the mode of production: capitalism.

According to a theory formulated by Marx about such a society, the basic elements of scrutiny are categories or classes of people who are conceptualized in terms of the position(s) they occupy in the organization of production. In structural terms, analysis involves (principally) the examination of such positions, and only subsequently the individuals who are in them.

In most sociological examinations of class structure the elements of concentration have been the (economically) dependent working class, and the dominant class of capitalists. There has been almost no focus on the so-called middle class: people who are situated somewhere between the other two classes because they obtain income (profit) from assets they own personally, and use for purposes of production.

In the social relations of production, there are three dimensions of class: control over money capital; control over physical capital (plant) and control over labour. So, any capitalist society has two basic classes: the capitalist (bourgeois) and the working (proletarian) classes. These represent polar (class) locations of domination and subordination within each of the foregoing three dimensions.

There are, however, circumstances in which these (three) dimensions do not correspond exactly to the polar classes indicated above (capitalist, and working). These make up contradictory locations within those class relations because they are simultaneously in more than one class; they are the middle class.

Within this middle class, there are two major sources of cleavage. First, there is a dichotomy between the use of capital and labour as resources for determining conditions of social existence. This makes it possible to separate the middle class into entrepreneurial (employer) and salaried (employee) elements. The former exploits both capital and labour in pursuit of economic gain (profit) whereas the other functions within enterprises owned by others. The crucial difference between the entrepreneurial and the salaried middle class is that whereas the former are owners of capital and procurers of labour, the latter are sellers of labour (power).

Second, the entrepreneurial middle class can be divided into so-called established, and marginal categories. The difference between them is that whereas the established component is not characterized by the quantity of capital exploited, the marginal element is determined by the availability of relatively few capital assets. Thus capital is the differentiating resource of the established sector of the entrepreneurial middle class, and is the basis for such things as ideologies and values that differ markedly from

those of the salaried middle class.

The contribution of the entrepreneurial middle class in a modern capitalist economy has four dimensions. First, it serves to legitimate personally and privately owned property (albeit in varying amounts). Second, it supports the economy (capitalist) in that proprietors use their assets to produce commodities (goods and services) that are sold in a market. Third, small ventures sustains capitalist society by giving an opportunity for deprived echelons within the occupational structure to advance. And finally, the entrepreneurial middle class serves to legitimate capitalism by providing a material basis for certain systemic beliefs and values. That is, small business proprietors are inclined to emphasize the desirability of the market, and personal and private ownership and gain (profit) as the means whereby resources can be allocated rationally in (capitalist) society.

This thesis has concentrated on the small venture proprietor(s) of the entrepreneurial middle class in Nova Scotia because within the context of the capitalist relations of production, members of this class use both capital and (some) labour as resources that are exploited to determine and establish their conditions of economic and social existence.

A small business entrepreneur has been defined as one who independently (privately and personally) owns an enterprise, has fewer than fifty (50) employees, and has less than \$2 million in sales annually.

## CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER</b>		<b>PAGE</b>
One	INTRODUCTION	1
Two	THEORY	4
	a) CONCEPT OF CLASS	
	b) MIDDLE CLASS	
	c) ENTREPRENEURIAL MIDDLE CLASS	
Three	METHOD	22
Four	ANALYSIS	28
Five	CONCLUSIONS	39
	ANNEXES	43
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	57
	REFERENCES	66

## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION

Analysis by definition normally commences by arranging whatever the interest may be into constituent parts on the basis of and within the conceptual framework of a general theory.<sup>1</sup> In this study, analysis concentrates on a form of society that is defined by the mode of production: capitalism. According to a theory formulated by Marx about the organization of such a society (and economy) the elements of analysis that are fundamental are classes of individuals conceptualized in terms of the position(s) they occupy in the organization of production. In such (structural) terms, analysis involves principally an examination of those positions, and only thereafter of the individuals who occupy them.<sup>2</sup>

In most sociological examinations of class structure (the centre of reference for this study) emphasis has been placed on the economically dependent working class<sup>3</sup>, and on the economically dominant capitalist class<sup>4</sup>. There has been relatively little analysis of the so-called middle classes: people who are located or positioned somewhere between the capitalist and the working classes (or who fall outside the structure of this class relation altogether). Such research about this middle class as has been conducted in Canada<sup>5</sup>, England<sup>6</sup> and the United States<sup>7</sup> has concentrated on the lower grade non-manual occupational layers or strata: the so-called

white collar element.<sup>9</sup> When other groups or strata within the middle class have been studied, managers and professionals have received the most attention.<sup>9</sup> With this concentration on the salaried element of the middle class, almost no attention has been given to those who obtain income (profit) from property and other assets that are owned (personally) and used for purposes of production: the entrepreneurial or proprietorial (employer) middle class.<sup>10</sup> This is true for Canada generally, for the Maritime provinces in particular, and specifically for Nova Scotia which provides the context for this study.

Accordingly, the position taken here is that an entrepreneurial or proprietorial middle class does exist in Nova Scotia, and that it can be identified in structural terms. This primary thesis is argued in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Four, a second level of analysis describes the entrepreneurial middle class, not in structural terms which are less useful for developing a social portrait, but in terms of ad hoc, standard sociological categories.

Notes

<sup>1</sup>Veltmeyer, 1986: Introduction.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid: 13.

<sup>3</sup>Thompson, 1965 and Veltmeyer, 1979.

<sup>4</sup>Clement, 1983 and Niobe, 1978.

<sup>5</sup>Veltmeyer, 1986.

<sup>6</sup>Scase and Goffee, 1982.

<sup>7</sup>Wright, 1979 and 1985.

<sup>8</sup>Mills, 1951 and 1956.

<sup>9</sup>Arnowitz and Ehrenreich in Walker, 1979.

<sup>10</sup>Scase and Goffee, 1982:10.

## Chapter Two

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### THE CONCEPT OF CLASS

A concept is an idea or a general notion about something.<sup>1</sup> Concepts are never the genesis of reality but evolve through an intellectual process of formation.<sup>2</sup> For a concept to be useful requires the existence of a label or name identifying that concept. In tracing the evolution of a concept the selection of a word is necessary initially. Here, the word class as found in English is operative.<sup>3</sup>

To some sociologists, classes are defined as conflict groups that are determined by their position within authority or power structures.<sup>4</sup> To others, class refers to groups of people who occupy positions within hierarchies of occupational status<sup>5</sup>. Still others perceive class as groups of people having common life-chances.<sup>6</sup> And to Marxists, class is most often defined in terms of common structural positions within the social organization of production.<sup>7</sup>

This study will use a Marxist concept of class for analysis. Fundamental to this conception of class is historical materialism (Marx's general theory of social change or evolution) and Marx's theory of capitalism (the mode of production that provides the economic or material basis for the class structure in contemporary societies like Canada).

Marx's conception of historical materialism includes the general notion that producing anything requires some

combination of three factors or means of production: capital (buildings, equipment, materials, and money for investment) labour (the productive services of human physical effort, intellect, and skill) and land (natural resources of all kinds). What is produced, and how, varies from one society to another but the requirement for all three factors or means of production does not. The presence of two other important elements also does not vary: the forces of production (the physical and social technology used in economic activity) and the corresponding relations of production (the social organization for such activity based on property and the means of production). These two elements combine to make up the mode of production of a society. In the context of this study, the capitalist mode of production and the resulting class structure form the economic and social basis of society in Nova Scotia.

The capitalist mode of production is based on the exchange of labour power (capacity to work) for a wage. This exchange relation defines two adversarial classes: those who own the means of production (the bourgeoisie or capitalists) and those who, being dispossessed of the means of production, are compelled to sell their labour power for a wage (the proletariat or workers).

Such a class structure is fraught, intrinsically, with conflict and inequity. The working class has no access to the capital, land, and other means of production. The only way

they can realize even a basic or subsistence level of existence is to market (sell) their capacity to labour (work). In doing so, they become exploited by means of the difference between the amount of wealth they generate, and that returned to them as wages by capitalists. So, a capitalist society tends to be polarized between the capitalist (bourgeoisie) and the working (proletariat) classes. This is not entirely so, however, because a substantial number of people are not involved directly in this social relation. These include the so-called intermediate or middle classes: the petty bourgeoisie (artisans, farmers, and fishers) the independent (employee) professionals, the self-employed, and the small business proprietors, all of whom occupy positions somewhere between capital and labour, or who do not occupy any position in the structure between these two fundamental classes of capitalist society.<sup>8</sup> A study of this intermediate or middle class element is the point of this work.

Before proceeding, however, a number of issues about conceptions of class must be addressed. The first relates to the appropriate unit of analysis. In structural terms, a distinction has to be made between economic class positions and the individuals who occupy them, as well as the social circumstances of such individuals. The structural expression capitalist is defined and equated frequently in terms of the privileges, status, and wealth, or the power (both economic and political) associated with all of that. In similar

fashion, the label middle class is used often to establish, generally, the capacity of some people to sustain a certain standard of living. By way of contrast, the name working class is used to indicate conditions that are inferior or subordinate. In the abstract, economic class positions may be associated with their conditional environment, which is sometimes referred to as socio-economic status or social class.<sup>9</sup>

Classes are defined here in terms of the capitalist social relations of production. Ergo, classes are seen not as things, nor as concrete social groups, statistical aggregations of individuals, or social organizations. Rather, classes are viewed as having four essential dimensions: they represent objective common positions; such positions are relational; those relations are contradictory; and such contradictory relations are located within production. Moreover, these positions are independent of the individuals who occupy them. Individuals are concerned only in so far as they are the personifications of economic classifications, or the embodiments of particular class interests and class relations.<sup>10</sup>

Because classes are common positions within the social relations of production, they must always be understood in terms of their relationship to other classes. Analysis of positions and relations must occur simultaneously. Classes, however, are more than just positions within social

relations. They are positions within contradictory social relations that imply an intrinsic antagonism between the positions so determined. However, contradiction must not be confused with conflict. To say that two groups are in conflict with each other suggests they have opposing interests. By way of contrast, to say that two classes are in a contradictory relationship means that such a condition is a necessary consequence of the relationship that defines the classes. That is, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are definable only in terms of their relationship to each other: the existence of one class presupposes the existence of the other, and they are thus necessary conditions for each other. At the same time, however, the relationship that determines the bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes is one of domination and exploitation: the bourgeoisie class exists only by virtue of being in a position to dominate and exploit the proletariat. Accordingly, the class interests defined by this class relation are (conflictually) opposed to each other fundamentally, and so, in this sense, an essential antagonism between the classes exists.<sup>11</sup>

The contradictory social relations that determine classes are located within the social organization of production, which is not to be understood only as the production of physical commodities but includes the production of services as well. There are three salient interdependent dimensions (or processes) in the capitalist social relations of

production that constitute the criteria for defining various classes: the social relations of control over money capital (control over the accumulation process and the flow of investments, or control over how much and what is produced), the social relations of control over the physical means of production (control over how things are produced) and, the social relations of authority (control over the labour process). The first of these refers to real economic ownership, and the second and third constitute possession.<sup>12</sup> Annex A applies these criteria to the definition of various classes.

Use of the term control requires some elaboration. It does not refer to the relationship of individuals or people to things, but to social relations among individuals or people. Control means a capacity to make some kind of decision and, ergo, a capacity to dispose of some kind of resource. A social relation of control thus implies that such a capacity is a characteristic quality of a relation. Individuals per se do not exercise control over money capital, labour, or physical capital (plant). Such control exists in the social relation into which the individual enters. To say that capitalists control the means of production really is to say that the social relationship between capital and labour confers on the capitalist position the capacity to dispose of the means of production while simultaneously denying the working class position that capacity. In other words, the

social relation(s) between capital and labour defines a relationship between those positions and things and, therefore, between the incumbents (people) of those positions and things.<sup>13</sup>

This distinction between individuals and positions must be appreciated. Even in behavioral terms, individuals do not make decisions. When a single capitalist makes all the decisions regarding investments, deployment of labour, use of physical capital or whatever, the control manifest in such decisions must be understood to be an expression of the social relation between capital and labour and not simply a characteristic of the capitalist personified. Only by virtue of being in a definite or distinct position within social relations and not by virtue of being an individual do capitalists have this control. A person who vacates a capitalist position within the social relations of production and becomes a worker loses the capacity to dispose of the means of production (no longer has control over the means of production.)<sup>24</sup>

Among the three salient interdependent dimensions of control explained previously, there is a clear and logical hierarchy. Control over money capital (the accumulation process and the flow of investments) limits the range of possible decisions regarding use of the physical means of production (control over physical capital) and this in turn limits control of the labour process (relations of authority).

This means, in effect, that decisions of significance can be made regarding money capital that do not affect the control of either labour or physical capital. Alternatively, control over the labour process is possible without affecting directly in any significant way overall accumulation or investment.

What is crucial to an understanding of the social relations of production is a perception of class antagonism between capitalists and workers as the polarization of each of the three salient interdependent dimensions or processes explained previously. Capitalists have control over money capital, physical capital, and the social relations of authority. Otherwise, workers are excluded from control over any of these dimensions or processes.<sup>15</sup>

#### THE MIDDLE CLASS

When analyzing the capitalist system in terms of the most fundamental contradictions and determinations, the foregoing are the only class positions defined by the capitalist relations of production. When examining the system in more detail, however, other class positions can be identified. Real capitalist societies always have subordinate relations of production such as simple commodity production that is organized for the market by independent, self-employed producers who do not employ workers necessarily. These producers are the petty bourgeoisie who are defined as those having economic ownership and possession (control) of the

means of production, but having no control over labour power because almost none is employed.<sup>16</sup> See Annex B.

Moreover, the three dimensions or processes aforementioned that make up the capitalist social relations of production do not always coincide perfectly. This is central to an understanding of those relational positions that make up the so-called (new) middle class to distinguish it from the traditional petty bourgeoisie: independent artisans, farmers, fishers, and shopkeepers. This middle class is defined as those positions having contradictory locations within class relations. Whereas all class positions are contradictory, because all class relations are intrinsically antagonistic, these middle class positions occupy doubly contradictory locations because they are, in effect, positions divided between the principal contradictory class relations of capitalist society: capitalist and working class relations.<sup>17</sup>

Such a conception of the contradictory locations of the middle class has three dimensions: managers and supervisors occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; small employers occupy a contradictory location between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie; and so-called semiautonomous employees (those who exercise relatively high levels of control over their immediate labour process, or who design and plan significant aspects of their work and put their own ideas into practice on the job) occupy a contradictory location between the petty bourgeoisie and the

proletariate.<sup>18</sup> See Annex C.

The contradictory locations of the middle class are not, however, mid-points on a scale, the upper and lower extremes of which are defined as the capitalist and working class respectively. Contradictory locations are those within class relations, and the substance of their contradictory nature is definable only in relational terms. Positions that are in contradictory locations are contradictory precisely because they are simultaneously in more than one class. Thus, class interests of the middle class are not in any real sense half-way or mid-way between the interests of the capitalist and working classes.

Also, each of the various levels within specific contradictory middle class locations must be understood in exactly the same way. The different levels are not similar to the rungs of a ladder. They are defined, instead, by their social relationships with other levels. That is, to have partial control over the means of production implies a particular social relation with those positions having full control, as well as those having no control.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, there remains the problem of the class location of those positions in the social structure that cannot be defined immediately by the social relations of production: those positions occupied by housewives, students, and the permanently unemployed, for example.<sup>20</sup> This problem is approached in two ways. The first is to argue that such

positions have no class location because they are positions external to class relations altogether<sup>21</sup>. The second alternative is to maintain that the location of such positions is determined not only by the social relations of production but also by ideological relations, political relations, and so on.<sup>22</sup> The (theoretical) problem, thus, is to establish the relationship between these other relations and the social relations of production. In this sense, for example, the unemployed spouse of a worker may be considered part of the working class because she occupies a position that is tied to working class positions within the social relations of production.<sup>23</sup> By the same reasoning, a top level functionary in the state bureaucracy would be considered part of the bourgeoisie in that such an official fills a position within political relations which is tied to the capitalist class positions within the social relation of production. In all cases such as these, the task of analyzing the structure of class location is to comprehend the particular ways in which such positions are determined by and linked to the social relations of production, even if they are not determined immediately within these relations.<sup>24</sup>

To summarize the foregoing, in the social relations of production there are three essential underlying dimensions of class relations: the social relations of control over money capital (the accumulation process and investments) the social relations of control over physical capital (actual means of

production) and the social relations of authority (control over the labour process). The basic classes of capitalist society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, represent polar class locations of domination and subordination within each of these three dimensions. There are, however, circumstances in which these three processes do not correspond exactly to the basic classes within the capitalist mode of production. These constitute objectively contradictory locations within those class relations. They are contradictory because they are simultaneously in more than one class, and they make up the (new) middle class.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE ENTREPRENEURIAL MIDDLE CLASS

The entrepreneurial middle class, in general, consists of several different combinations that, nonetheless, have in common the ownership of capital assets. These assets, typically, are exploited for purposes of production by using the labour of the owners, and sometimes others. The relative combination of this capital and labour, however, is variable. There can be occasions when gain (income, profit, revenue) is acquired chiefly through property ownership (rentiers), or through labour (artisans), or through a combination of both labour and property. The entrepreneurial middle class is, ergo, a melange or mixture of proprietors who use their capital actively for various purposes within different sectors of the economy. The location of this class inside society is,

thus, conceptually problematic.<sup>26</sup>

So, the entrepreneurial middle class is composed of those who own property that is used along with their own labour, and sometimes other labour, for purposes of production (gain or profit). This class may, however, be divided into four constituent parts, each of which manifests a difference in the relative combination of capital and labour used, which in turn becomes associated with the functional contribution of proprietors to their enterprises. In these terms, the entrepreneurial middle class is comprised of four elements: the self-employed, small employers, owner-controllers, and owner-directors.<sup>27</sup>

The self-employed are the largest group of small business proprietors. They do not formally employ any labour but rely instead upon the unpaid services and support of family members and the use of domestic assets for their enterprise purposes.

Small employers labour along with their employees, and they also perform administrative/managerial duties. They both own and work for their means of production while simultaneously employing some labour but not extensively.

Owner-controllers do not work in direct association with their employees. Instead, they assume total responsibility for the administration/management of their businesses. They are the nearest contemporary approximation to the classical entrepreneur and so are more prone to cost-benefit and rational enterprise behaviour.

Owner-directors command businesses inside which the scale of enterprise activities is such that proprietors are unable to execute personally all the functions of control and supervision, thus making necessary the delegation of responsibility to others.<sup>28</sup>

These, essentially, are the four types of business proprietors that constitute the entrepreneurial middle class. However, this class has long been the subject of conceptual debate because it embraces such a diversity of occupational groups that manifest a range of attitudes, beliefs, and ways of life. Nevertheless, and regardless of the existence of these various forms of differentiation, two major sources of cleavage are identifiable.<sup>29</sup>

First, there is a dichotomy between the use of capital and labour as resources for determining conditions of social existence. This makes it possible to separate the middle class into entrepreneurial (employer) and salaried (employee) components. The former exploits both capital and labour in pursuit of economic gain whereas the latter are, in effect or fact, workers functioning within enterprises owned by others. The crucial difference between the entrepreneurial and salaried middle class is that while the former are owners of capital and (excluding the self-employed) buyers of labour, the latter are sellers of labour power.<sup>30</sup>

Second, the entrepreneurial middle class can be divided into so-called established and marginal categories. With

respect to the established component of the entrepreneurial sector, existence or not is characterized by the quantity of capital exploited. Alternatively, the marginal element is determined by the availability of relatively few capital assets. Thus capital is the determinant resource of the established sector of the entrepreneurial middle class, and is the basis for ideologies and values that differ markedly from those of the salaried middle class.<sup>31</sup>

In similar fashion, this latter category may also be separated into established and marginal parts. Credentialism (the possession of academic, professional, and technical qualifications) is the basis for this distinction, not the possession of capital. So, the established constituency of the salaried middle class is comprised of administrators, managers, and diverse professionals whereas the marginal segment includes a variety of routine minor professional, non-manual, supervisory, and technical employees.<sup>32</sup>

In the abstract, the crucial difference in property ownership relations is a major source of cleavage within the middle class. This cleavage has two dimensions: the entrepreneurial and the salaried, and the established and the marginal. Given this cleavage, it could be questioned as to whether or not the entrepreneurial and the salaried elements belong within the same class. Because both exercise control over production, however, and benefit from many common privileges, each may reasonably be considered as being middle

class.<sup>33</sup> See Annex D.

To summarize all of this, the contribution of the entrepreneurial middle class in a modern capitalist economy has four dimensions. First, the entrepreneurial middle class serves to legitimate privately owned property (albeit in varying amounts). Second, the entrepreneurial middle class supports the capitalist economy in that proprietors use their assets for purposes of producing commodities (goods and services) that are sold in a market. Third, small enterprise sustains capitalist society by providing opportunity for deprived groups within the occupational structure to advance. And finally, the entrepreneurial middle class serves to legitimate capitalism by providing a material basis for certain systemic values. That is, small enterprise proprietors are inclined to emphasize the desirability of the market, and personal and private ownership and profit as the means whereby resources can be allocated rationally in society.<sup>34</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Calvert, 1982:12

<sup>2</sup>Wright, 1985:20

<sup>3</sup>Calvert, 1982:12

<sup>4</sup>Dahrendorf, 1959; and Lenski, 1966 in Wright, 1979:3

<sup>5</sup>Parsons, 1970; Warner, 1949; and Williams, 1960 in Wright, 1979:3

<sup>6</sup>Giddens, 1973; Parkin, 1971; and Webber, 1922 in Wright, 1979:3

<sup>7</sup>Bukharin, 1921; and Lenin, 1914 in Wright, 1979:4

<sup>8</sup>Veltmeyer, 1986. Chap. One.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Wright, 1979:20-21.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid:21-22.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid:23-24.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid:24-25.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid:24-25.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid:25

<sup>16</sup>Ibid:25-26.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid:26.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid:27.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid:41.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid:53-54.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Scase and Goffee, 1982:10-11.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid:23

<sup>28</sup>Ibid:23-26.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid:185.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid:186.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid:187.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid:190-191.

## Chapter Three

### METHOD

As indicated previously, the constituent elements of the entrepreneurial middle class are those who own property that is used, along with their own labour (and sometimes other) for purposes of production (gain or profit). This class, however, can be divided into four parts each of which manifests a difference in the relative combination of capital and labour used which, in turn, becomes associated with the functional contribution of proprietors to their enterprises. Ergo, the entrepreneurial middle class amalgamates four components: the self-employed; small employers; owner-controllers; and owner-directors.<sup>1</sup>

This study concentrates on the small business proprietor(s) of the entrepreneurial middle class in Nova Scotia because, within the context of the capitalist relations of production, members of this class use both capital and (some) labour as resources that are exploited to determine and establish their conditions of economic and social existence. That is, these small enterprise owners not only labour alongside their employees, they also perform administrative/managerial tasks: they both own and work for their means of production while simultaneously employing labour, but not to any significant extent. They are involved directly in the production of goods and services and, in this way, contribute independently and personally to the creation

and generation of (gain) profit.<sup>2</sup>

For purposes of analysis here, a small business is defined as one having fewer than fifty (50) employees, and less than \$2 million in sales annually.<sup>3</sup>

The chief source of data used in drawing this economic and social profile of the small enterprise operator(s) in Nova Scotia was material collected previously (1984) by means of a series of interviews carried out by a research assistant using a comprehensive questionnaire designed by Professor John Chamard (Department of Management) and Professor Henry Veltmeyer (Department of Sociology) at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Some of these sessions were taped as well. The data so collected was analysed quantitatively (mostly) because of the nature and volume of the material obtained. A qualitative dimension was attempted wherever possible, however. The results of this analysis are presented abstractedly in the following Chapter.

The interviews were confined to the local Metropolitan Area of Nova Scotia (Bedford, Dartmouth, and Halifax) for reasons of convenience and expediency, and focused on the small business manufacturing sector, but in part only. See Annex E. The sample taken covered five (5) industries: baking (10) denturing (7) furniture repair and upholstering (6) machining (7) and commercial printing (15) for a total of forty-five (45) small manufacturing enterprises.

This total, however, after initial examination of

response data was reduced to thirty-two (32) responses (71% of total): baking (10) machining (7) and printing (15). But again, it was found necessary (for reasons to be explained) to reduce the sample further to ten (10) responses (22% of total): baking (3) machining (3) and printing (4). Annex F, Appendices 1 to 3 is germane.

The main reason for these reductions was that, given the data collected, not all respondents matched the precise definition of a small business entrepreneur indicated previously: that is, one who (independently and personally owns the enterprise), has fewer than fifty (50) employees, and has less than \$2 million in sales annually.

There were over 19,000 small enterprises in Nova Scotia in 1986, and these represented over 90% of all business ventures in the Province.<sup>5</sup>

About 41% of all employees in Nova Scotia, or 73,677 in a total workforce of 180,797 worked for small firms in 1980. This employment pattern was also representative of the Atlantic Provinces generally, where roughly 40% of all employees were in small enterprises.<sup>6</sup> See Annexes G and H.

The largest number (over 30%) of all small firms in Nova Scotia in 1984 were engaged in business, community, and personal services. In the retail trade, approximately 20% were small enterprises, while construction accounted for an estimated 12%. These three sectors made up the majority of small businesses by industry in Nova Scotia. The least number

were in communications, finance, insurance, manufacturing, real estate, and transportation.<sup>7</sup>

There were an estimated 1,226 manufacturing enterprises in Nova Scotia in mid-1984. Approximately 78% of these firms were small, yet manufacturing enterprises accounted for only 4% of all small businesses of whatever kind. This signifies the relatively small manufacturing presence in the Province.<sup>8</sup>

See Annex I.

Finally, and though perhaps of marginal interest only, but nevertheless germane to the small businesses (defined in part before as one having fewer than fifty (50) employees) there is presented in Annexes J and K a distribution of such enterprises throughout Nova Scotia.

#### STRUCTURE OF CLASS

From the definitions given previously in this chapter, the survey data collected with respect to independent and private ownership, the nature and number of workers employed, and the economic position of the enterprises sampled, it may be concluded that an entrepreneurial middle class does exist in Nova Scotia and can be identified in structural terms. Clearly, small business or enterprise proprietors are constituent elements of this class, occupying as they do an intermediate position somewhere between the capitalist and working classes. The capitalist (or bourgeois) class, through control and ownership of major capital assets is able (by

definition) to exercise sufficient economic and political influence to affect a local or regional economy<sup>9</sup>: the Irving, McCain, and Sobey empires are examples in Atlantic Canada. In contrast, the working (or proletariat) class is unable to affect local or regional economies because it neither controls nor owns sufficient capital assets: long-shoremen, miners and plant workers of whatever kind (the Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO), Michelin Tire, and National Sea Products) are further examples. Somewhere between these two extremes is located the entrepreneurial middle class, in Atlantic Canada generally, and in Nova Scotia more specifically.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Scase and Goffee, 1982:24

<sup>2</sup>Ibid:24. Also, see Veltmeyer, 1986:52.

<sup>3</sup>Ref. a.:3; Ref.b.:6 and 16; and Ref. c.:1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid:1.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid:5.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid:14

<sup>8</sup>Ibid:

<sup>9</sup>Veltmeyer, 1986:30

## Chapter Four

### ANALYSIS

What has been argued previously as a primary thesis (without any reference to the data collected in 1984) is that an entrepreneurial middle class does exist in Nova Scotia. Having established this thesis, it is useful to give a better picture of the entrepreneurial middle class as a real group in Nova Scotia. The social portrait of this class is best drawn, not in Marxist terms but using ad hoc, standard sociological categories such as age, place of birth, and political/religious connectedness. The sample is a small, but its representativeness is suggested by its commonalities with a much larger national survey carried out by the Royal Bank of Canada (1988)<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless this is an exploratory study only, a sketch if you will, of the class rather than a completed portrait.

To begin somewhat prosaically, the median age of all those proprietors selected for analysis was fifty-one (51) years, the range being from a high of seventy-six (76) to a low of twenty-eight (28). All of these entrepreneurs were of the male gender, and they were all married although the true nature of such relationship was not given (that is, common-law or formalized in conventional legal terms).

The most common place of birth was Nova Scotia (60%) with the other originating elsewhere in Canada (10%) Europe (10%)

and the United Kingdom (20%). The location of upbringing was the same.

The community type from which these small business operators originated was split almost evenly between a large urban (50,000+) and small rural (5,000+) environment, their common and principal economic activities being manufacturing and processing of whatever kind(s), large and small.

Education level(s) varied considerably. Assuming that grade-school completion was prerequisite to whatever followed thereafter (high school or vocational, and university) at the high-school level three (3) years was the average time spent, and this was the same for university. But, such information can be misleading because although 80% of those interviewed achieved the average high-school education level of three (3) years, only 10% (one entrepreneur) spent the same time at university. The remaining 10% obtained a grade-school education only. All of this is to suggest that in conventional academic terms, the small entrepreneur in Nova Scotia is not particularly well educated, but in more practical terms is very much so given the apparently enduring and stable nature of the ventures surveyed.

Also, no relevancy between current occupation and prior education (above) was found to exist. The skills necessary to operate satisfactorily the enterprises concerned here were acquired mostly through formal vocational schooling, and to a lesser extent through informal on-the-job training. In

addition, previous occupational experience was related directly to current ventures in the majority of cases.

The class position declared by the small business owner about himself, his parents, and his spouse is germane to this examination of the middle class in Nova Scotia. As indicated previously (Chapter One) there are various definitions about class, however a Marxist definition applies here. That is to say (in simplistic terms) in a capitalist society there are two adversarial classes: those who own the means of production (the bourgeoisie or capitalists) and those who, being deprived of the means of production are compelled to sell their labour power for a wage (the proletariat or workers).

This is not entirely so, however, because there exists a substantial number of people who are not involved directly in these social relations: the so-called intermediate or middle classes. They include among others, a salaried managerial, professional, and white-collar elements, and those who obtain income (profit) from property and other assets that are owned (personally) and exploited for purposes of production: the (employer) small business entrepreneurial and proprietorial elements.

All of this means that in analysing the class positions declared by the small business owners interviewed, only the criteria explained above were used (the existence of three (3) classes: capitalist, middle, and working). Not considered

were other criteria believed to have been used by those small business operators surveyed (class in terms of authority, education, occupation, power, and wealth). Accordingly, the data collected indicated that a majority of small business owners considered themselves now to be middle class. Nevertheless, their work history indicated their origins to be working class, and that of their parents and spouse to be the same (the spouse now also would be middle class by virtue of her attachment to the class position of her husband<sup>21</sup>).

The determinants of social class as perceived by those surveyed, was principally the nature of work (occupation) as being a major designator of social class and suggests that clarification of such may be helpful. Occupation designates a position within the technical division of labour, meaning a position that satisfies certain technically defined job description requirements (baker, machinist, printer). Class, however, designates a social relationship between people formed in the process of production.<sup>3</sup> This is not to suggest that occupational data cannot indicate class position because it can be used to approximate theoretical categories of the working class and, to some extent, the middle class.<sup>4</sup>

Important also is to distinguish between economic class positions and the social circumstances of people in such positions. For example, the structural category of capitalist is often defined in terms of the power, status, and wealth (both economic and political) associated with it. And, the

category of middle class is used somewhat loosely to indicate the capacity of people to sustain a certain standard of living (and this perhaps is the connection made by those entrepreneurs interviewed between declared middle class position and occupation). In contrast, the category working class is used often to designate inferior conditions of work. All of this is to say, that economic positions can be associated with their conditional aspects, which altogether often are referred to as socioeconomic status, although some Marxists prefer the term social class.<sup>5</sup>

The social profile given above, concludes in a somewhat banal vein (that dealing with political, religious, and trade affiliations) but may be of interest nevertheless. Political following quite obviously was not a major issue. Only half the respondents indicated a political party preference and that was Conservative. The remaining 50% indicated no affiliation of any kind. This was the declared position of their parents as well. Participation in political activities was non-existent. With respect to religion, the split was 70% Protestant and 30% Catholic, but again no active involvement with church affairs was declared. Concerning membership and participation in professional or trade activities, the division was about the same: 50% belonged but were not active necessarily, and 50% did not belong to any organization. No elaboration of the data provided above was given or required by the survey questionnaire.

The economic aspects of this analysis were made somewhat mundane for reasons similar to those explained above: that is to say, the data collected provided information that was, for the most part, quantitative in content and this restricted qualitative examination. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this latter dimension was attempted wherever possible.

The gross annual household income average was \$32,000.00, the range being from a low of \$15,000.00 to a high of \$75,000.00. This income was a combination of money taken from the business, and personal salary. Additional income came from dividends, interest, rent, and sources identified only as other. Such extra income made up 33% of total revenues on average. Current net worth, apart from equity in the business, was \$150,000.00 by amount stated. The range, however, was between a low of \$75,000.00 and highs (possibly distorted) of \$600,000.00 and \$1 million.

All respondents owned their own homes, with equity in them averaging \$105,000.00. Here again, however, the range was between a low of \$60,000.00 to a (questionable) high of \$850,000.00.

Ownership in the business was 100% by all those surveyed. The number of salaried employees averaged four (4) whereas the average number of wage employees was ten (10) this latter category including both full-time and part-time workers. 70% of all ventures employed family members although numbers were not conclusive. The number of hours worked by family members

averaged thirty-four (34) hours a week, and the number of hours put in by the enterprise owners averaged sixty (60). Here, the range was between a low of forty-five (45) to a high of ninety (90) hours. All time worked by all employees was remunerated.

Without exception, every business owner managed personally the manufacturing process. They also supervised their employees directly, and worked alongside them. The accounting function in 70% of all cases was carried out by a combination of self and spouse, the division being equal (the balance was done externally). Marketing and sales promotion also was an 80% self undertaking, with 20% being done elsewhere.

The personal qualifications required to establish and to operate successfully a small business were stated to be : ambition (desire for power<sup>6</sup>) drive (to control operations<sup>7</sup>) and skills of whatever kind (business, social, technical). The foregoing have been arranged in alphabetical order, and the definitions assumed. However, in terms of importance, drive, skills, and then ambition emerged in that priority.

Motivation for establishing and operating a personally and privately owned small business venture introduces an interesting dimension: independence. This was a dominant motivator, along with product quality, and security in all cases examined. Independence may, however, be more apparent than real.<sup>8</sup>

All of the enterprises reviewed in this analysis were financed by a combination of bank loans and personal savings with the division being about equal (the latter contribution including family and friend investment). So, thus can be established a form of dependency on others. In the same way, the firms surveyed were, in most instances, reliant upon certain or limited markets, and suppliers. That is to say: most of the baking enterprises served the hotel and restaurant industry exclusively; the machining ventures in two of three responses depended on Michelin Tire and off-shore drilling entirely; and in printing the corporate and legal sectors were the dominant market. Suppliers also seemed to follow a limited or restricted range for whatever reason (monopoly availability or material, or preferential choice of supplier by the user). Anyway, what is suggestive in all of this may be the dependency of independence.

As indicated above, the principal sources of revenue necessary to establish the enterprise(s) initially were bank loans, and personal savings (including family and friend investment). Preferred sources of additional capital were, overall, bank loans, and thereafter government grants. As with many answers to the questionnaire, no reasons were given for this priority. The amount of capital required to start a new venture was, generally, considered to be about \$205,000.00.

With respect to employee (worker) qualifications, there

were not initial minimum requirements. Preferred, however, was some (2 year) vocational training in the trades concerned (baking, machining, and printing). What did emerge as being salient to employee (worker) skill requirements satisfaction was on-the-job-training. That is to say, no previous background or experience in the trades germane to this study was necessary. Nevertheless, the most important consideration in recruiting new employees was previous experience. In no instance did colour, ethnicity, gender, or race enter the selection equation in response to a question concerning potential employee background: there was no bias expressed.

Annual payrolls totalled \$141,250.00 on average. This may be a distortion, however, because the average for 60% of all firms was \$82,500.00, and that for the remaining 40% was \$291,250.00. Although the reasons for this range may be the number of employees, of possible interest is that at the high end the division was equal between machining (20%) and printing (20%).

The most profitable scale or size of business operations for a single firm in each of the industries concerned was, in terms of efficiency in production, generally considered by respondents to be \$725,833.00.

There was a consensus that any price increase would affect product sales adversely.

The market area to which all product sales were made was the local (metro) area.

To abstract the responses to a number of questions: there was agreement that annual demand for all industry products was stable; the level of annual sales was stable; the economic prospects for each industry were good; and the economic prospects for each enterprise were also good.

The percentage and source of business revenues came principally from other businesses (70%) and thereafter from the general public (30%).

Total sales in 1984 averaged \$212,778.00 for all firms. With respect to the areas and percentages of revenues expended annually, labour and materials comprised the dominant costs, and were about equal.

To abstract several responses again: there was general (90%) agreement that government policies were (overall) not important to small business; and the cause of major national economic problems was considered to be a mix of the deficit, inflation, and government over-spending (meaning government mismanagement of the economy). This latter indicator was emphasised by the many views held that corporate price increases, government subsidies, union and other wage demands were contributing factors of significance. This appears to be somewhat contradictory, particularly when (in response to another question) there were equal and opposite views about intervention (of whatever kind) by government in the economy.

Finally, the most important determinators of success in establishing and operating a small business venture were

stated to be influential connections, personal drive  
(ambition, energy) and education in that order.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ref.d.

<sup>2</sup>Wright, 1979; 53-54.

<sup>3</sup>Veltmeyer, 1986; 18-19.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Nadel, 1978; 220.

## Chapter Five

### CONCLUSIONS

This examination has concentrated on a form of society that is defined by the mode of production: capitalism.

According to a theory formulated by Marx about such a society, the basic elements of scrutiny are categories or classes of people who are conceptualized in terms of the position(s) they occupy in the organization of production. In structural terms, analysis involves (principally) the examination of such positions, and only subsequently the individuals who are in them.

In most sociological examinations of class structure, the elements of concentration have been the (economically) dependent working class, and the dominant class of capitalists. There has been almost no focus on the so-called middle class: people who are situated somewhere between the other two classes because they obtain income (profit) from assets they own personally, and use for purposes of production.

In the social relations of production, there are three dimensions of class: control over money capital; control over physical capital (plant) and control over labour. So, any capitalist society has two basic classes: the capitalist (bourgeois) and the working (proletarian) classes. These represent polar (class) locations of domination and subordination within each of the foregoing three dimensions.

There are, however, circumstances in which these (three) dimensions do not correspond exactly to the polar classes indicated above (capitalist, and working). These make up contradictory locations within those class relations because they are simultaneously in more than one class; they are the middle class.

Within this middle class, there are two major sources of cleavage. First, there is a dichotomy between the use of capital and labour as resources for determining conditions of social existence. This makes it possible to separate the middle class into entrepreneurial (employer) and salaried (employee) elements. The former exploits both capital and labour in pursuit of economic gain (profit) whereas the other functions within enterprises owned by others. The crucial difference between the entrepreneurial and the salaried middle class is that whereas the former are owners of capital and procurers of labour, the latter are sellers of labour (power).

Second, the entrepreneurial middle class can be divided into so-called established, and marginal categories. The difference between them is that whereas the established component is not characterized by the quantity of capital exploited, the marginal element is determined by the availability of relatively few capital assets. Thus capital is the differentiating resource of the established sector of the entrepreneurial middle class, and is the basis for such

things as ideologies and values that differ markedly from those of the salaried middle class.

The contribution of the entrepreneurial middle class in a modern capitalist economy has four dimensions. First, it serves to legitimate personally and privately owned property (albeit in varying amounts). Second, it supports the economy (capitalist) in that proprietors use their assets to produce commodities (goods and services) that are sold in a market. Third, small ventures sustains capitalist society by giving an opportunity for deprived echelons within the occupational structure to advance. And finally, the entrepreneurial middle class serves to legitimate capitalism by providing a material basis for certain systemic beliefs and values. That is, small business proprietors are inclined to emphasize the desirability of the market, and personal and private ownership and gain (profit) as the means whereby resources can be allocated rationally in (capitalist) society.

This examination (thesis) has concentrated on the small venture proprietor(s) of the entrepreneurial middle class in Nova Scotia because within the context of the capitalist relations of production, members of this class use both capital and (some) labour as resources that are exploited to determine and establish their conditions of economic and social existence.

A small business entrepreneur has been defined as one who independently (privately and personally) owns an enterprise,

has fewer than fifty (50) employees, and has less than \$2 million in sales annually.

Given all herein, it has been concluded that an entrepreneurial middle class does exist in Nova Scotia, and that it can be identified in structural terms. Clearly, small venture owners are constituent elements of this class occupying as they do an intermediate position somewhere between the capitalist and working classes. The capitalist (bourgeois) class through control and ownership of major capital assets is (by definition) able to exercise sufficient economic and political influence to affect a local economy. The working (proletariat) class, in contrast, is unable to affect local (regional) economies because it neither controls nor owns sufficient capital assets. Somewhere between these two extremes is located the entrepreneurial middle class, in Atlantic Canada generally and in Nova Scotia precisely.

ANNEX A

Processes Underlying Class Relations

Class	Economic Ownership	Possession	
	Control over Investments and the Accumulation Process	Control Over Physical Means of Production	Control Over Labour Power of Others
Bourgeoisie	+	+	+
Proletariat	-	-	-
Petty bourgeoisie	+	+	-

+ Full control  
- No control

Source: Wright, 1979:27 (adapted)

ANNEX B

Expanded Marxist Criteria for Class

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Criteria for Class Position

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	Ownership of the Means of Production	Purchase of the Labour Power of Others	Control of the Labour Power of Others	Sells Own Labour Power
Capitalists	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Petty Bourgeoisie	Yes	No	No	No
Workers	No	No	No	Yes

---

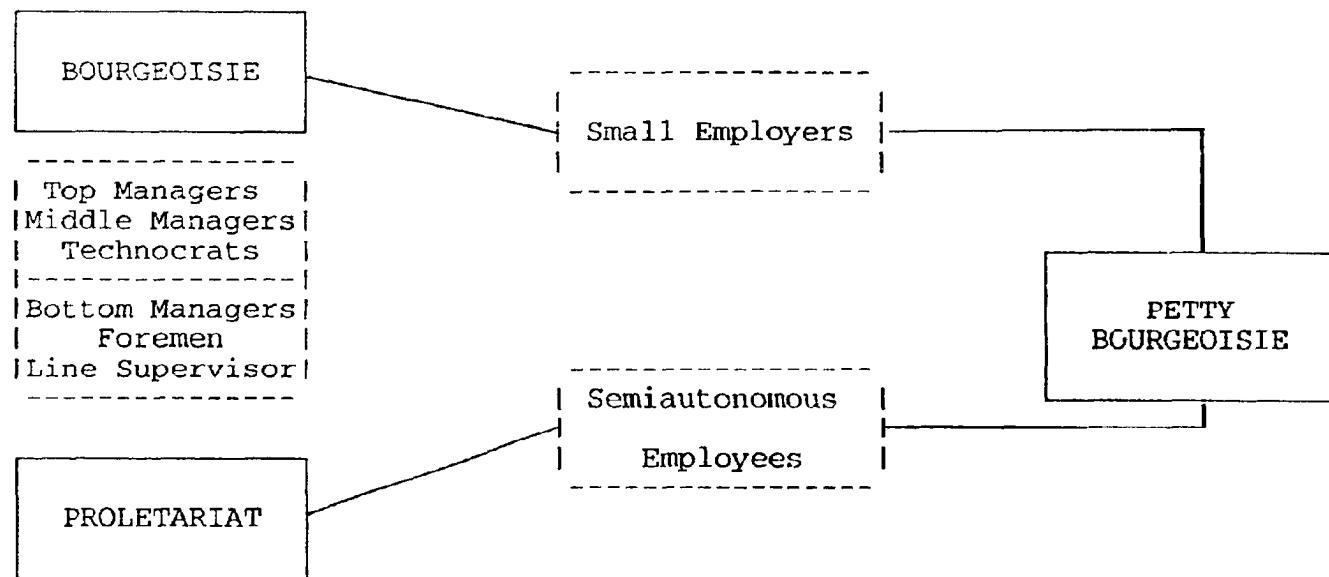
Source: Wright and Perrone, 1977:34 (adapted)

ANNEX C

The relationship of contradictory class locations to basic classes in capitalist society.

Capitalist Mode  
of Production

Simple Commodity  
Production



|                    | Contradictory Locations Within Class Relations

Source: Wright, 1979:42 (adapted)

#### ANNEX D

#### Typology of the Middle Class

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	Entrepreneurial	Salaried
Established	Active proprietors of productive assets, for example: (A) Owner-directors (B) Owner-controllers	Managers, professionals and highly-qualified technical employees
Marginal	Active proprietors of petty productive assets, for example: (A) Small employers (B) Self-employed	Lower-grade managerial, professional, technical and routine non-manual employees

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Source: Scase and Goffee, 1982:188 (adapted)

## ANNEX E

Halifax Manufacturing Industries by Number of Establishments,  
Capital Intensity, and Customer Base

	<u># of Establishments</u>	<u># of Employees</u>	<u>Concentration*</u>	<u>Capital Intensity**</u>	<u>Customer Base</u>
Bakeries	31	672	60.4%	High	Retail, some commercial
Furniture Repair and Re-upholstering	11	42	23.8%	Low	Retail
Commercial Printing	36	464	30-40.0%	Medium	Commercial, some retail
Machine Shops	10	153	22.9%	Medium	Industrial
Dental Laboratories	12	115	60.0%	Low	Professional
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>1 466</u>			

\* % of Employees in largest 10% of establishments

\*\* Relative to others in the group

---

Source: adapted from Chamard and Veltmeyer (1984)

## ANNEX F

### Survey Response: Enterprise Selection

01. Criteria:	small employer (Scase and Goffee, 1982:24)
02. Total number of responses (sample)	54
03. Number of responses screened	23
04. Number of responses analysed	01
05. Number of responses eliminated	3

ANNEX F  
Appendix 1

Baking Industry

Number of enterprises surveyed: 10

Constituency:	self-employed	0
	small employers	3*
	owner-controllers	0
	owner-directors	0
	managers	3
	part-owners	3
	supervisors	1

\*Identification      Canadian & European Pastry  
Leaven-Heaven Bakery  
Rockingham Home Bakery Limited

Number of enterprise responses analysed: 3\*

Criteria: Scase and Goffee, 1982:24

ANNEX F  
Appendix 2

Machining Industry

Number of enterprises surveyed: 7

Constituency:	self-employed	0
	small employers	3*
	owner-controllers	1
	owner-directors	0
	managers	2
	part-owners	1

\*Identification      Metro Machining  
Nova Auto Engine Rebuilding  
F. E. Veinot & Sons

Number of enterprise responses analysed: 3\*

Criteria: Scase and Goffee, 1982:24

ANNEX F  
Appendix 3

Printing Industry

Number of enterprises surveyed: 15

Constituency:	self-employed	0
	small employers	4*
	owner-controllers	0
	owner-directors	0
	managers	2
	part-owners	9

\*Identification      Bro-Mac Print & Litho Ltd.  
Mitchell Printing Services  
The Printing Shop  
Walker Print Ltd.

Number of enterprise responses analysed: 4\*

Criteria: Scase and Goffee, 1982:24

## ANNEX G

### Number of Employees by Employment Size of Firm for Canada, Nova Scotia and Atlantic Provinces - 1980

	Total Number of Employees	Total Number of Employees with Firms Having Less than 50 Employees
Canada	6 870 548	2 571 962
Nova Scotia	180 797	73 677
Atlantic Provinces	446 933	177 435

Source: adapted from Small Business Statistics, Statistics Canada; and from Ref. a. Table 2(a).

## ANNEX H

### % of Distribution of the Number of Employees\*

by

#### Employment Size of Firm - 1980

	% of Total Number of Employees	% of Total Number of Employees with Firms Having Less than 50 Employees
Canada	100%	37.4%
Nova Scotia	100%	40.7%
Atlantic Provinces	100%	39.7%

Source: adapted from Small Business Statistics, Statistics Canada; and from Ref. a.

\* Employment estimates are derived from the employment and wage rate survey conducted by Statistics Canada which excluded the working owners of unincorporated businesses. Total number of employees is an aggregate of eight commercial sectors, over three employment classes for 1980. Employment in agriculture and public administration are not included.

Source: adapted from Small Business Statistics Statistics Canada; and from Ref. a. Table 2(a).

## ANNEX I

**Distribution of Small Business Employers by Industry and Size**  
**Nova Scotia**  
**Mid-Year 1984**

	<u>Number of Employers</u>	<u>Number of Employers With 1-10 Employees</u>	<u>% of Total all Industries by Number of Employers with 1-10 Employees</u>	<u>% of Total Industry</u>	<u>Number of Employers with Less than 50 Employees</u>	<u>% of Total all Industries by Number of Employers with Less than 50 Employees</u>	<u>% of Total Industry</u>
Primary	3,707	2,770	12.9	74.7	3,097	12.9	83.5
Manufacturing	1,226	671	3.1	54.7	961	4.0	78.4
Construction	3,491	2,747	12.8	78.7	3,052	12.7	87.4
Transportation, Communications & Other Utilities	1,339	966	4.5	72.1	1,072	4.4	80.0
Wholesale Trade	1,448	1,017	4.8	70.2	1,226	5.1	84.7
Retail Trade	5,635	4,379	20.5	77.7	4,776	19.8	84.8
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	1,460	968	4.5	66.3	1,059	4.4	72.5
Community Business and Personal Services	10,565	7,906	36.9	74.8	8,828	36.7	83.6
TOTAL ALL INDUSTRIES	28,871	21,424	100.0	74.2	24,071	10.0	83.4

Source: Statistics Canada - Business Register  
 Adapted from Reference a. Table 9.

## ANNEX J

Distribution of Employers by Employee Size  
for all Industries and all Classifications  
(#)

Nova Scotia - Selected Areas

	Total Number of Employers	Total Number of Employers Known to have 1-49 Employees
Windsor	565	548
Kentville	1 083	1 048
Middleton Valley	489	485
Dartmouth	753	625
Halifax	1 296	1 031
Bedford	313	281
Metro	2 362	1 937
Port Hawkesbury	297	197
Inverness	321	166
Sydney	1 491	1 037
North Sydney	354	168
New Waterford	116	101
Glace Bay	445	176
Cape Breton	3 024	1 845
Chester	262	203
Lunenburg	313	250
Bridgewater	589	287
Liverpool	307	205
South Shore	1 471	945
Pictou County	1 218	1 192

Source: adapted from Ref. a. Table 20.

## ANNEX K

Distribution of Employee Size for all  
Industries and all Classifications

(%)

Total Employers Known to have  
1-49  
Employees

Windsor	96.9
Kentville	96.7
Middleton	99.2
Valley	97.5
Dartmouth	88.0
Halifax	86.9
Bedford	92.7
Metro	88.0
Port Hawkesbury	97.0
Inverness	97.6
Sydney	95.2
North Sydney	94.9
New Waterford	96.2
Glace Bay	98.3
Cape Breton	95.9
Chester	97.6
Lunenburg	95.8
Bridgewater	95.0
Liverpool	94.0
South Shore	95.5
Pictou County	97.9

Source: adapted from Ref. a. Table 21.

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