

## **In the eye of the beholder: What determines how people sort others into social classes?**

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### **Abstract**

Contrary to much conventional wisdom, this article shows that class is still used by people to sort others into groups, that this sorting is largely on the basis of income and occupation and that it occurs in conditions of both high and low income inequality. Uniquely, we use both open-ended survey questions and a factorial survey experiment to show that people from high (Britain) and low (Denmark) inequality countries are willing to define classes and they do so mainly in terms of job and income. Even though people in the two countries classify others using somewhat different class labels – with working class labels being used more frequently in Britain than in Denmark – we find a common underlying pattern to the classification. This indicates that class categorization takes place according to a strong underlying mental schema.

Few social science concepts have been subject to as much debate as social class. Although class played a pivotal role in analyses of social and political relations in the 1960s and 1970s the concept has been argued to be almost irrelevant for understanding contemporary advanced societies (Clark and Lipset 1991; 2001; Kingston 2000; Pakulski and Waters 1996a; 1996b). Most radical, perhaps, has been the position of Beck (1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 205) who has argued that ‘the dynamism of the labour market backed up by the welfare state has dissolved the social classes’. If correct, this dissolution of social class would have important implications for understanding social and political behaviour, particularly in an era of increasing income and wealth inequality. Yet, in recent years several contributions have demonstrated how social class is still relevant for many outcomes such as lifestyle choices, income attainment and political behaviour (Dodd et al 2017; Flemmen et al. 2018; Friedman and Laurison 2016; Jennings and Stoker 2017; Evans and Tilley 2017). The dismissal of social class as a relevant feature of advanced democracies may have been premature.

If class is still a useful explanation of political and social behaviour, we need to understand how people conceptualise class relations and how they see themselves, and others, in class terms. Yet, while there has been recent research on class *self* identification (Andersen and Curtis 2012; Curtis 2013; 2016), the question of how individuals classify *others* into social classes has received little attention since the mid-1980s (Bell and Robinson 1980; Centers 1949; Coleman and Rainwater 1979; Goldthorpe et al 1969; Grabb and Lambert 1982; Jackman 1979; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Lambert et al 1986; Marshall et al 1988; Moorhouse 1976; for recent exceptions see Harrits and Pedersen 2018; Robison and Stubager 2017). This means that we do not know how people currently categorize others into social classes. It could be that the class sceptics are right and people today hold only weak conceptions of class and are not able to categorise others meaningfully into social classes. Or, it could be that people continue

to hold consistent conceptions of class as before. Or, it could be that conceptions are still consistent, but the basis of those conceptions has changed. After all, ideas of what class is come in different varieties. While the Marxist literature would expect ownership and control over the relations of production to shape conceptions of class, those in the Weberian tradition would expect the distribution of market positions and life chances to be more salient. Our first research question is thus: how do individuals today conceive of social class and how do they place others into class categories?

Second, we are interested in the question of variation in conceptions of class across countries. In the class identification literature, scholars have argued that class self-identities are affected by levels of societal inequality (Curtis 2013, 2016; Andersen and Curtis 2012; Lindemann and Saar 2014). In more unequal societies, class identities are more polarised and people connect income more closely to their own class: ‘as inequality grows, the rich are more likely to identify with the upper classes, and the poor ... with the lower and working class’ (Curtis 2016, 110). In line with this, we investigate whether national differences in inequality and redistribution significantly shape the ways in which people perceive others’ social class. To do so, we utilize evidence from Britain and Denmark, which represent different types of economic structure and different levels of social inequality.

We examine our two research questions using a two-step analytical strategy. First, we update earlier work (Centers 1949; Moorhouse 1976; Bell and Robinson 1980; Lambert et al. 1986; Marshall et al. 1988) by asking national samples of individuals in both Britain and Denmark about the characteristics they associate with the working, middle, and upper classes. This method enables us to map the considerations that come to people’s minds without imposing a structure on their thinking. Second, we use factorial vignette experiments, which allows us to

give more causally valid estimates of how people weigh various characteristics when categorizing others. Besides providing a more precise answer to our research question, this use of factorial vignettes is also an important methodological contribution to the study of class identities.

We find that people hold and use class categories in a consistent manner, and that these class categories are primarily related to differences in income and occupation, although education and class background (i.e. the class positions of previous generations) are also relevant. We also find that, in accordance with results from the class identification literature, Danes tend to categorize other people as belonging to the middle class whereas the British are more likely to see other people as working class. While there is also some country variation in the weight attached to the various characteristics, there is also an underlying similarity when we look beneath the surface. British and Danish views of what underpins who is at the ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ of society are remarkably similar. Since people in both countries readily classify others in accordance with a common underlying logic, we challenge accounts of the reduced relevance and influence of class in social perceptions.

The rest of the paper follows a three part structure. First, we discuss the theoretical framework for studying class categories and develop our hypotheses. Second, we use two methods to reveal the underlying dimensions in the class categories that people hold and use to place others in social classes. These are open-ended questions about class membership and the experimental factorial survey method. Finally we discuss what our findings tell us about class in modern societies.

### **What determines people’s conceptions of class?**

In traditional class analyses, the question of how people conceive of social class has typically been subordinate to the more elaborate question of class consciousness, including both awareness of class, identification with a specific class, identification of a shared class interest, and the idea that class relations are conflictual (Giddens 1973; Harrits and Pedersen 2018; Mann 1973; Pérez-Ahumada 2014; Robison and Stubager 2017). However, much criticism has been directed at some of the assumptions underpinning studies of class consciousness. It is not clear that people need to have very specific notions of class, or ideological class interests, in order to qualify as having class consciousness (Geiger 2006; Ossowski 1963; Savage 2000). Instead of relying on the complex, and contested, concept of class consciousness, we therefore focus on the simpler concept of class categories. These categories are how people position themselves and others in class relations (Ossowski 1963; Harrits and Pedersen 2018).

Previous empirical research on conceptions of class suggests that income and wealth constitute the primary dimensions of people's classification of others (Bell and Robinson 1980; Centers 1949; Coleman and Rainwater 1979; Goldthorpe et al 1969; Grabb and Lambert 1982; Jackman 1979; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Lambert et al 1986; Marshall et al 1988; Moorhouse 1976). These studies, as well as others that do not directly include such material measures (Butler and Stokes 1969; Evans 1993; Meudell 1982; Nock 1982; Nock and Rossi 1979; Rossi 1979; Rossi et al 1974), also find that occupation and education are important in the class conceptions that people hold.<sup>1</sup> People that have better occupations, higher incomes and higher levels of

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the literature on class self-identification also shows large effects of income, occupation and education on individuals' class self-identification (Centers 1949; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Vanneman and Pampel 1977; Yamuguchi and Wang 2002; Surridge 2007; Hout 2008; Speer 2015) while there is a consistent absence of effects flowing from ownership of the means of production (Davis and Robinson 1998; Hodge and Treiman 1968; Jackman and Jackman 1973; 1983; Kluegel et al 1977; Surridge 2007; Pérez-Ahumada 2014). In addition, some

education are typically categorized higher up the class hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> All of this work was conducted over three decades ago however. What should we expect today?

First, if Beck and others are right then we should see little consistent structuring of how people view classes now. If classes have disappeared or become irrelevant for people's lived experiences (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 2007), it should be difficult to consistently categorize others in social classes. This expectation is supported by recent work which suggests that ties between people's own class identity and economic characteristics have weakened. Specifically, while people's circumstances continue to matter, there is a general trend in richer societies for everybody to see themselves as middle class (Kelley and Evans 1995, Evans and Kelley 2004; Oddsson 2010).

Others have argued that this dismissal of class is wrong (Hout et al. 1993; Hout 2008; Brooks 1994; Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992; Sosnaud et al. 2013). In this case, we should expect that people still hold quite consistent conceptions of class. But how might such consistent conceptions be structured? There are a number of possibilities.

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have shown effects of various other variables such as class background (Jackman and Jackman 1983; Curtis 2016; Pérez-Ahumada 2014), life style and perceived power (Kluegel et al 1977), and the social status of individuals' social contacts (Hodge and Treiman 1968; Jackman and Jackman 1973). In the US context race also appears to be important (Speer 2015). These effects tend to be smaller however.

<sup>2</sup> Some have found other factors which have smaller effects on perceptions of others: class background (Centers 1949; Coleman and Rainwater 1979; Evans 1993; Jackman 1979; Jackman and Jackman 1983); perceived personality characteristics and beliefs (Jackman 1979; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Lambert et al. 1986); and exercise of authority and ownership of the means of production (Vanneman and Cannon 1987).

The Marxist approach emphasizes ownership of (or control over) the relations of production as a key indication of class position. The neo-Marxist literature would add to this other dimensions related to more ambiguous relations to the means of production and the distribution of profit, such as the distinction between manual and non-manual labour (Poulantzas 1973, 1978), or the possession of authority or educational qualifications (Wright 1985, 1997). The Weberian approach suggests that conceptions of class will be related to the distribution of market positions and life chances, most likely including distributions of income, wealth and educational attainment (Goldthorpe 1996; Weber 1978), and some neo-Weberians would also include the possession of authority (Dahrendorf 1959). Finally, more recent class theories such as that formulated by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1985, 1987) would suggest that class categories are structured by both economic and cultural possessions, as well as the class history and family background of the individual.

Of course, we would not expect most people to present exact or ‘correct’ theoretical conceptions of class, but instead to hold working conceptions. Nor would we expect people to hold very specific dichotomous conceptions of class or conceptions with clear boundaries. Nonetheless, we might expect people to hold working conceptions of class hierarchies (Ossowski 1963), with dimensions reflecting some of the characteristics mentioned above (i.e. ownership, manual/non-manual labour, occupational differences, authority, income, educational skills and class background). In summary, based on the existing empirical and theoretical literature, we propose the following hypothesis to guide our empirical analysis.

H1: People in advanced democracies hold consistent conceptions of social class structured by (some of) the following characteristics: ownership, manual/non-manual labour, occupational differences, authority, income, educational attainment or class background.

Our second research question concerns national differences in the structuring of class conceptions. Here, cross-national accounts of class self-perceptions, especially recent papers by Josh Curtis and others (Curtis and Andersen 2012; Curtis 2013, 2016; Lindemann and Saar 2014), have claimed that national level income inequality is a crucial determinant of how class perceptions are formed. The direction of this is not entirely clear. Curtis and Andersen (2012) and Curtis (2013) argue that there is a stronger relationship between individual income and class identity in less equal societies. Yet Curtis (2016) shows that occupational class is a better predictor of class identity in more equal societies. This ambiguity notwithstanding, and in accordance with the thrust of Hout's (2008) analysis, current research seems to suggest that class categorization in countries with higher levels of inequality will tend to be more informed by income (and possibly wealth).

Similarly, following Beck's thesis on the dissolution of class relations, the impact of the welfare state may be important for how people conceptualise class. Both the literature on varieties of capitalism (Hall and Soskice 2001) and the literature on welfare state regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990) suggest important differences across societies that depend on the level of economic coordination by the state and the degree of redistribution by the welfare state. Following the same line of reasoning as the studies focusing on the effects of national differences in income inequality, one could thus reasonably expect the distribution of economic resources (i.e. income and ownership) to be more important in shaping class conceptions in countries with liberal market economies and a liberal welfare state, compared to countries with a more hybrid economy and a more universalist welfare state. In summary, based on existing research on national differences, we propose the following hypothesis:



H2: In societies with more liberal market economies and more liberal welfare states, with correspondingly higher levels of income inequality, income and ownership will be more important in shaping people's conceptions of class.

To test the hypotheses, we take two developed countries that typify two different economic structures: Britain and Denmark. While both countries are advanced industrial societies with stable democracies and limited conflict over such issues as religion and ethnicity (Hobolt 2013; Oskarson 2005, 88-9; Clark 2012; Evans and Tilley 2017), Britain has a liberal market economy with a liberal welfare state whereas Denmark has a hybrid economy and a universal welfare state. That affects levels of inequality. In 2013, Britain had a Gini coefficient of 0.53 before taxes and transfers and 0.36 post taxes and transfers, whereas the comparable figures for Denmark were 0.44 and 0.25.<sup>3</sup> As shown by other research (Evans and Tilley 2017; Robison and Stubager 2017), these differences in economic structure and inequality are reflected in differences in class self-identity between the two countries. In Britain people are most likely to self-identify as working class, whereas in Denmark people are most likely to self-identify as middle class.

Replicating our study in Britain and Denmark enables us to say something about class conceptions in advanced democracies in general, as well as to examine how class conceptions are shaped by differences in national economic structure. In the next section, we use two different methods to establish the structuring of class conceptions in these two countries. First, we look at people's own verbalization of what it means to be in a class, and second we use the

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<sup>3</sup> The only OECD countries with higher levels of post-tax and transfer income inequality than Britain were Chile, Turkey, Mexico, the United States and Israel. Only Iceland had a lower level of income inequality than Denmark in the OECD.

factorial survey method to see how people categorize specific types of people into different classes given information on a few key characteristics.

## **Analysis**

### *How people describe classes*

The first part of our analysis looks at how people themselves describe classes. This replicates classic studies that used direct, open-ended questions to try and establish what class means to people (Moorhouse 1976; Bell and Robinson 1980; Butler and Stokes 1969; Centers 1949; Goldthorpe et al. 1969; Grabb and Lambert 1982; Lambert et al. 1986; Marshall et al. 1988). Table 1 shows the answers to three questions that were asked of representative samples of people in Britain and Denmark in 2015: ‘what sort of people would you say belong to the working class?’, ‘what sort of people would you say belong to the middle class?’ and ‘what sort of people would you say belong to the upper class?’. These questions were included on the 2015 British Social Attitudes survey in Britain. This is a high quality, clustered probability face to face sample with a response rate of 51 per cent. In Denmark, we used a postal survey of a random, register based sample of citizens which was conducted in the spring of 2015, also with a response rate of 51 per cent.

These are the same questions that Marshall et al. (1988, 145) used in Britain 30 years ago. The response options for these questions are completely open-ended. Respondents provide their own answers which are recorded verbatim and then coded.<sup>4</sup> This allows us to see how people

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<sup>4</sup> For each response we coded up to four characteristics. We used two coders to code the BSA data, and they coded 135 of the same cases in order to test coder reliability. This turned out to be high. The value of Krippendorff’s alpha averaged across the classification of the first and second characteristic (which is where the vast majority of

define working, middle, and upper class without constraining their options. Table 1 presents the main categories of responses that respondents gave: occupation, income, education, background, other objective social characteristics, personality attributes, and responses that either rejected class terminology or considered the class to consist of most people or ‘ordinary people’. As respondents could mention more than one characteristic (someone could answer a ‘rich person who went to university’ for example), the percentages are the proportion of all responses.<sup>5</sup>

#### TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

What Table 1 first shows is that most people are willing to associate classes with some characteristics. Only a few per cent of people in both countries reject class as an idea or are unable to characterise the classes in some way or another. Moreover, while there is variation depending on which class is asked about, the characteristics that dominate in both countries are primarily to do with income, occupation, and, to a lesser extent, education and background.<sup>6</sup> Despite people being able to mention multiple traits, 60 per cent of all characteristics mentioned in Britain, and 74 per cent in Denmark, stem from just these four categories. There appears to

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responses are concentrated) for each of the three classes is .79. In Denmark a similar exercise conducted on 123 cases coded by three coders produced an average alpha of .97.

<sup>5</sup> Tables that weight responses by the number of characteristics that someone mentioned show almost exactly the same pattern.

<sup>6</sup> If we dig into these characteristics further we also see a sensible relationship between class categorisation and levels of income, education, occupation and background. That is people are more likely to talk about people with high incomes, high levels of education and white-collar jobs when talking about the upper and middle class. Likewise, an advantageous background is more likely to be mentioned for the upper class. Table A1 in the appendix shows this in more detail.

be general support for hypothesis 1 in that most people continue to understand the world in class terms. With regard to the dimensions structuring people's class conceptions, income and occupation (including characteristics related to manual vs. non-manual labour) seem to be most important, followed by education and class background.<sup>7</sup> Overall, our findings seem to be quite similar to those of Marshall et al. (1988). Few people are unable to describe different classes and most people mention income, occupation and education as the key markers of class.<sup>8</sup>

The table also reveals some differences between the countries that would at first glance seem in accordance with hypothesis 2. In particular, occupation is used more often in Denmark than in Britain, and income is used slightly more often in Britain than it is in Denmark. However, it is interesting that the percentages of people that use income and occupation to define the working class in Britain are very similar to the percentages that define the middle class in Denmark. Moreover, the percentages that use occupation and income to define the middle class in Britain are very similar to the percentages that use those characteristics to define the upper class in Denmark. We know from previous research (Evans and Tilley 2017; Robison and Stubager 2017) that Danes are more likely to use upper middle and middle class labels to describe themselves whereas the British are more likely to use working class labels to describe themselves. One way of interpreting what we see in Table 1, therefore, is that we see the same

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<sup>7</sup> Ownership and authority do not seem to be very salient. These factors are subsumed in the categories in Table 1, but if we code them separately, as Marshall et al. (1988) do, we find that they make up less than 4 per cent of all characteristics mentioned in both Britain and Denmark.

<sup>8</sup> There are some differences. In the 1988 British study, classes were more likely to be described in relational terms, referring to the market or system of production. Marshall et al also found a greater emphasis on lifestyle characteristics (which they label as status characteristics, including also home ownership) than we do. Instead, we tend to find greater reference to personality traits and class background.

patterns of characteristics used to describe types of people, but the labels that those characteristics are attached to vary. There are differences, but those differences may be more about the label than the underlying structure. As we shall see, this pattern of results also appears in the second part of our study.

### *How people use dimensions of class to categorise people*

The method of using open-ended questions to investigate people's perceptions of others clearly tells us something, but it is far from ideal. Open-ended questions clearly leave room for respondents' interpretations of the meaning of the question to vary. But perhaps more importantly, open-ended questions rely on the assumption that respondents can articulate their perceptions – something that might not always be the case, particularly for complex topics like class (Vanneman and Cannon 1987, 101-8). Closed-ended questions are not necessarily any better. They force thoughts and perceptions on respondents, especially regarding the number and labels of the classes offered to people as well as the attributes listed.

One alternative is a more indirect approach that reveals people's classification schemes by showing them in action. Specifically, we use the factorial survey method developed by Rossi and associates (Auspurg and Hinz 2015; Jasso 2006; Nock and Rossi 1979; Rossi 1979; Rossi et al. 1974; Wallander 2009), which is part of a family of experimental procedures comprising such techniques as conjoint analysis and discrete choice experiments (Hainmueller et al 2014; Jackson and Cox 2013). The basic idea is to randomly present respondents with several vignettes containing descriptions that vary on a set of predetermined dimensions. Ideally, the combinations vary at random between vignettes. Respondents are then asked to rate each vignette on an outcome variable, which in our case concerns the class of the individual

described in the vignette. Subsequently, the causal effect of each of the dimensions on the outcome variable can be assessed using basic regression methods.

This technique allows respondents to make the same use of the information about the vignette characters as they would in a real-life encounter. There are multiple advantages to this type of approach. First, the task is structured and thus hopefully less open to interpretation by the respondent. Second, it does not require respondents to engage in introspection – they just have to classify a number of occupations or vignette characters. Third, it works well when there are multiple underlying dimensions. Finally, this method enables us to discern the relative weight given to various potential criteria in a way that open-ended data precludes.

Our factorial survey design involved four of the dimensions that we saw dominated in most people's open-ended responses about class: occupation, income, education and background. Further, using different occupations, we include both authority, manual vs. non-manual labour and ownership. We introduced the task to our survey respondents in the following way: 'Below, you can see a list of different people who are all around 40 years old. For each person, we would like you to indicate which class you think he belongs to.' Then followed eight vignettes of the following form (with italics indicating the information that varies across vignettes): '*Peter left school at 18 after doing A-Levels. He now works as a cashier in a bank and earns £20,000 a year (before taxes). His father left school at 16 with no qualifications and worked as a manager in an engineering firm.*' After each vignette, respondents were asked 'Which class do you think *Peter* belongs to?' with the response categories being upper class, upper middle

class, middle class, lower middle class, upper working class, working class, lower class or don't know.<sup>9</sup>

Each vignette contained a different combination of levels on four dimensions: occupation, education, income and class background. On all dimensions, the levels were chosen to span reasonable real-life variation. For income, we designed the levels around the median income in each country which we multiplied by the following factors: 0.5, 0.75, 1, 1.5 and 3. The figures were subsequently rounded giving the following five levels (for Britain/ Denmark): £13,500/ 200,000 kr.; £20,000/ 300,000 kr.; £27,000/ 400,000 kr.; £40,000/ 600,000 kr.; £80,000/ 1,200,000 kr. For occupation we used the same eight descriptions in the two countries: bus driver, plumber, self-employed plumber, bank cashier, primary school teacher, solicitor/ lawyer, bank manager, owner and manager of a company with 25 employees. These eight levels not only span occupations across the range of most common occupational class schema, they also include manual occupations (the bus driver and the two plumbers), two owners of the means of production (the self-employed plumber and the business owner) as well as two occupations involving the exercise of authority (the bank manager and the business owner). Class background was operationalized using the following four descriptions of the vignette character's father: had a degree and worked as a manager, left school at 16 with no qualifications<sup>10</sup> and worked as a manager, had a degree and worked on the assembly line in a factory or left school at 16 with no qualifications and worked on the assembly line in a factory.

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<sup>9</sup> Very few respondents used the upper and lower class categories, so these have been combined with the upper middle and working class categories respectively.

<sup>10</sup> In Denmark we used 'left school after 9<sup>th</sup> grade' instead of 'left school at 16 with no qualifications'.

The comparative design was slightly more difficult for the education dimension as the educational systems of Denmark and Britain are somewhat different. We used functional equivalents across the two contexts which resulted in the following five educational levels (for Britain/ Denmark): left school at 16 with no qualifications/ left school after 9th grade, left school at 16 with 5 good GCSEs/ has a vocational education, left school at 18 after doing A-Levels/ has a high school diploma, did a degree at the University of Derby/ has a teaching qualification, did a degree at the University of Oxford/ has a university degree. Finally, to keep the influence of factors related to age, ethnicity and gender constant, respondents were told that all vignette characters were about 40 years old and all vignette characters were given stereotypically English and Danish male names. The names were randomly assigned to the vignettes.<sup>11</sup>

The randomized combination of levels from each of the four dimensions to form the vignette descriptions is pivotal to the method. However, it was necessary to exclude a range of combinations of the levels – such as a solicitor without formal education or a bus driver making three times the median income – that would be impossible in the real world (Auspurg and Hinz 2015, 41). This meant that the original universe of  $(5*8*5*4)$  800 possible vignettes was reduced to 516. As mentioned, each respondent rated eight vignettes. As we wanted ten ratings of each vignette, we used the algorithm suggested by Auspurg and Hinz (2015) to construct 50 sets (or decks) of eight vignettes that were each presented to 10 randomly selected respondents.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See the supplementary material for more information about the design including the full wording of all vignette dimensions in Danish and English.

<sup>12</sup> The algorithm gave a design with a D-efficiency score of 93.2 which is well above the cut-point of 90 suggested as acceptable (Auspurg and Hinz 2015).



The design was implemented in identical form in surveys in each of the two countries by YouGov using representative samples of the adult populations aged 18-74.<sup>13</sup> We use multinomial logistic regression on the stacked (i.e. with an entry for each respondent/ vignette combination) data matrix to estimate the relationships. We also used clustered (at the level of each respondent) standard errors to account for the dependencies in the data, and include as controls in the models the age, gender, household income, occupational class (coded into the EGP-schema) and education of the respondent.<sup>14</sup>

### *The four dimensions of class*

The factorial design allows us to directly analyse what weight people assign to the different dimensions of class. Table 2 gives an overview of the influence of the four dimensions and Table 3 shows predicted probabilities of classification into a given class for each level of the dimensions when the other variables in the models have been left at their values in the samples. The full models are in the appendix.

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<sup>13</sup> The surveys were conducted in two rounds in 2015 and 2016. The first round was during July 2015 and included 501 Danish participants and 509 British participants. Upon inspection of the resulting data file, we suspected a possible randomization error in the execution of the design which prompted us to rerun the entire study – correcting the potential error – in 2016. The second round was between June and August 2016 and included a further 501 British participants and another 505 Danish participants. Having analysed both rounds separately, we found the results indistinguishable and have opted to present results based on the combined 2015-16 data. However, analyses conducted on the separate data sets are presented in the supplementary material.

<sup>14</sup> To examine the possibility that the relationships might vary across different types of respondents, we have included interactions between all of the individual level control variables and our four dimensions in the model. While a fair number of these interactions attain statistical significance, none of them produce patterns of results that deviate substantively from those presented below.

The figures in the first two columns of Table 2 are values of ‘absolute kappa’. This coefficient is a development of the kappa coefficient first suggested by Hout et al (1995) as a measure of the strength of a categorical variable. The coefficient can be thought of as a form of standard deviation of the predicted probabilities across all levels on a given dimension and all of the five outcomes (the upper middle, middle, lower middle, upper working or working class) as defined by Lachat (2007). As such, it serves as a convenient summary statistic of the relationships.

#### TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

There are two clear messages. First, while all four dimensions influence class categorizations in the two countries, the influence of the dimensions varies across the two countries. This is most obvious for income which has a larger effect in Denmark than in Britain. From the perspective of hypothesis 2 and the reasoning behind it, this difference is surprising. In fact, the expectation ran in the opposite direction: income should matter more in the (relatively) unequal liberal economy of Britain than in the egalitarian, hybrid economy of Denmark. This contradicts our findings in Table 1 and suggests a rejection of hypothesis 2.

Second, even though significantly different in a statistical sense (as revealed by the tests in the third column of the table), for the remaining three dimensions there is a fairly high degree of parallelism between Britain and Denmark. The effects for education, occupation and background do not differ much between the two countries. In fact, the table shows the same ordering of the strength of the four dimensions across the two countries. Income comes out as most important, followed by occupation and with a clear step down to education and

background that are at about the same level of influence. In relative – and for three out of four dimensions also substantive – terms the dimensions are equally important in the two countries.

Table 3 presents the effects in more detail. Two points are worth noting. First, since the coefficients in Table 2 are based on the contents of Table 3, it comes as no surprise that the table also reveals occupation and income to be most important. That is, we can clearly see how the differences in class classification between the lowest and highest categories of each are greater than those for education and background. The table also reveals the direction of the effects. Lower incomes mean classification into working and lower middle class categories; higher incomes mean classification into middle, and upper middle class categories. Equally as we work our way up the occupational scale, people are more likely to be seen as middle, and upper middle, class. Plumbers and bus drivers are generally characterized as working class, and solicitors, bank managers and company owners as middle, and upper middle, class. These patterns seem to suggest that the traditional manual/non-manual distinction continues to influence class categorizations (Vanneman and Pampel 1977). We find little evidence for the importance of other factors central to Marxist class theory: ownership of the means of production and exercise of authority. On the first, respondents placed self-employed plumbers and employed plumbers into similar categories, and owners and managers of companies were also placed into similar categories to employed (bank) managers. Equally, the exercise of authority seems fairly irrelevant. The two explicitly managerial occupations, the bank manager and the company owner (and manager), are classified in the same way as the solicitor. Overall there is again general support for hypothesis 1 here. People are willing to classify others into classes, and they do so primarily using their income and occupation.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The second message from Table 3 is about levels. For any given vignette, Danes are more likely to use the middle class categories, and British people are more likely to use the working class categories. As discussed earlier, this is the same pattern that other work has found for class self-identity. For example, holding everything else constant, in Britain a bus driver has a 65 per cent chance of being classified as working class or upper working class. Yet, in Denmark bus drivers only have a 25 per cent chance of being classified as working, or upper working, class. Equally, while bank managers had nearly 50 per cent chance of being classified as upper middle class in Denmark, the figure is only 10 per cent in Britain. British bank managers were more likely to be seen as middle or lower middle class. As before, what this suggests is that British and Danish people appear to be using the class terms differently. To put it simply, the terms used to describe the those labelled ‘working class’ in Britain resemble those labelled ‘middle class’ in Denmark. People in the two countries may have the same conceptions of class, but are using the labels ‘working class’ and ‘middle class’ differently. To see those underlying similarities in class conceptions we have to look beneath the surface of the responses presented in Table 3. We can do this by collapsing some of the categories on the response variable, i.e. the class labels, to arrive at a simpler picture.

In order to do so, however, it is necessary to make sure that we do not suppress the very effects we are attempting to illustrate. Hence, we can only collapse class categories that are related to the four dimensions in roughly the same way. For example, we can only collapse two categories if the probability of classification into both of them increases as we move from one end of the income dimension to the other. Looking at the effect of income in the UK in Table 3, there is a positive, monotonic relationship between income and classification into both the upper middle and middle class. The higher the income, the higher the probability that a vignette is

categorized in one of the two classes. For the lower middle and upper working class, however, we find a curvilinear relationship where the categories are used more for vignettes at middle levels of income rather than high or low. And for the working class we see a strong, negative and monotonic relationship – high earning vignette characters are not seen as working class. In short, we see three distinguishable patterns of relationship between income and classification into the five classes. To simplify the results in Table 3, we can – without suppressing effects – combine the upper middle and middle class categories into one. We can do the same for the lower middle and upper working class categories and leave the working class as is. Without going into the details (including some differences in strength and a few borderline cases), similar patterns can be found for the three remaining dimensions and so the results for Britain in Table 3 can be simplified by collapsing the five response categories in this way.

For Denmark, on the other hand, the relationships between the four dimensions and the class categorizations differ. Thus, across all four dimensions (but with varying strength), we find that higher values are associated with a higher chance of vignette characters being categorized as upper middle class. For the middle class we find a curvilinear relationship so that the chance of categorization in this class first rises and then falls as we move from one end of a dimension to the other. For the three remaining classes, we find a negative relationship such that the likelihood of classification into one of these classes falls as vignettes move from low to high on the dimensions. To achieve the same simplification in Denmark as we have for Britain, therefore, we have to collapse the class categories differently.

In return for this nominal difference across the two countries, we achieve functional equivalence in that we form, in both countries, three categories on the class variable – an upper, middle and lower group – that are related to the dimensions in parallel fashion. Further, those

groupings are used to the same extent. In Britain, 33 per cent of classifications are in the upper group, 40 per cent in the middle group and 23 in the lower group. In Denmark, the upper group is used 32 per cent of the time, the middle group 36 per cent of the time and the lower group 29 per cent of the time. It is important to note that we have done nothing but aggregate the results in Table 3.

We present the relationship between each of our four dimensions and the three collapsed categories in Figure 1.<sup>15</sup> The figure shows the predicted probability of classification into each of the three combined class groupings at each level of the dimensions (keeping the control variables at their values in the sample). It provides a succinct illustration of the relationships between the dimensions and classification of the vignettes and reveals a substantial degree of parallelism between the two countries. Thus, we can clearly see how income and occupation exert the strongest influence on the categorization of the vignette characters as the curves are steeper for these two dimensions. By comparison, the effects of class background and education are weaker and largely limited to the extremes (the person with an Oxford degree or whose father was a manager and had a degree). And while the figure shows the stronger influence of income in Denmark, it equally reveals a high degree of similarity of most of the effects across both countries.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

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<sup>15</sup> In order to produce the appropriate confidence intervals, the figures are based on a separate multinomial logistic regression with the three-category class variable as the dependent variable (see the underlying coefficients in the appendix). The point estimates shown by the curves could, however, have been derived directly by collapsing the estimates in Table 3 in the way described.

With respect to the role of social class in contemporary society this similarity is important. By taking into account the fact that class labels are used differently in Denmark and Britain, we find that the underlying structure of conceptions and categorization principles is rather similar. The differences that exist are substantively small for all dimensions except income and the rank ordering of the effects is the same in both countries: income and occupation are most important, just as they were 30 or 40 years ago (Jackman 1979; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Lambert et al. 1986; Marshall et al. 1988). Figure 1 shows that, beneath the surface, there is a high degree of substantive similarity between the two countries despite different economic and welfare state arrangements and consequent levels of inequality.

## **Conclusion**

Despite talk of the death of class, our analysis has shown that people can relate to and use social class to categorize other people (cf. our first research question). And although people do not necessarily hold precise theoretical knowledge of class hierarchies, the ways in which people use class categories is quite recognizable to most social scientists. Using both traditional and more novel methods, we find that when making such categorizations people are guided mainly by income and occupation, although education and background have some effect. These results are remarkable for two reasons. First, they closely resemble those of previous studies conducted mainly in the US several decades ago (Moorhouse 1976; Coleman and Rainwater 1979; Jackman 1979; Bell and Robinson 1980; Grabb and Lambert 1982; Jackman and Jackman 1983; Lambert et al 1986; Marshall et al 1988), although with the possible difference of ownership not being as salient as it has previously been. Second, and in the context of our second research question, the results are substantively similar in Denmark and Britain despite stark differences in type of economies, welfare state regimes, income inequality and redistribution. These two points together indicate that class categorization takes place

according to a strong and stable mental schema that is replicated across time and space. Class continues to be of relevance to people in advanced industrial countries – and on a similar basis to before. In that sense, our findings bolster arguments about the persistence of class in modern societies (Hout et al. 1993; Hout 2008; Brooks 1994; Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992; Sosnaud et al. 2013).

While the results on key points are substantively similar across the two countries, we do detect some variation mostly with respect to the weight of income to people's class categorizations. At least in the vignette analysis, this factor seems to be more important in perception formation in the more equal of our two cases, Denmark. This could itself be a consequence of long-term inequality. Given that Britain has been substantially more unequal in terms of income than Denmark for several decades, its effects may have spread beyond the immediate economic level. For example, inequality may have translated into a more unequal educational system producing larger differences between educational groups than in Denmark. It could be also an effect of greater political mobilization by trade unions and social movements in Denmark, or of different class compromises institutionalized in the welfare state (Korpi, 1983). These possible interpretations are worth pursuing in future research. Clearly, such research will also need to go beyond our simple two country design in order to make firmer claims about cross-national variation, and also move beyond the survey method to include historical studies of political mobilization.

Our study also highlights something else: the large differences in the meaning attached to class terms in the two countries. The words 'middle class' and 'working class' do not seem to mean the same thing in these countries. While the processes underlying class classifications seem to be the same, the exact meaning of a specific class label may differ greatly from one country to



another. This means that comparative studies will have to exercise great caution when comparing results across borders – not to mention when responses from several countries are pooled together. In this we agree with the assessment of Evans et al. (1992, 477) that class identifications may ‘be heavily contaminated by the respondent’s image of his or her society’. Their suggestion is a measure of class that focuses less on value laden terms like ‘working class’ and ‘middle class’, but an alternative is to do as we have here and focus more on the underlying structure of responses and less on the labels that they are attached to.

Future studies may also dig deeper into that underlying structure. Four obvious future directions for research come to mind. First, our experiment used examples of men with different objective characteristics and described background only in terms of father’s job and education. Yet, we know that class self-identities are themselves gendered (SurrIDGE 2007) and it seems likely that gender might matter for views of others as well. It would therefore be very interesting to see the degree to which judgements about class are gendered and whether different factors matter more for men than women.<sup>16</sup>

Second, the family situation of our vignette characters is not described. In particular, this leaves open a question about the influence of the characteristics of possible spouses. With our design we cannot, thus, address the interesting question about how much weight the situation of spouses might have in the assignment of others to classes. Some of the older studies using the factorial survey method quoted above did look into this question finding a lower weight of

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<sup>16</sup> In addition, our vignettes focused on cases with stereotypical Danish and English names. However, both countries have seen an increase in cultural diversity over the preceding several decades and class categorization may be affected by ethnic stereotypes. Given the increasing levels of cultural diversity within Western societies, this question is also an important one for future research.

wives' characteristics compared to that of husbands (see also Sobel et al. 2004), but this might naturally have changed over the intervening decades and is, therefore, an obvious question for follow-up work.

Third, we do not include wealth as part of the factorial design. Although this was not readily mentioned in the open-ended responses, there are good theoretical reasons to think that it might matter. Since most previous work has tended to either ignore wealth, or operationalise it in an imprecise manner, this may well be another fruitful avenue of future research.

Finally, the responses to the open-ended items showed that it might have been advantageous to include a life-style, or possibly personality, dimension. Testing the impact of this extra dimension is perhaps the most obvious direction for future research; not least because such a dimension would tap into theoretical discussions arising in response to the work of Bourdieu (1984) and the focus therein on factors such as cultural capital and differences in life styles and consumption choices (Crompton et al. 2000). Without rejecting the relevance of such factors, we should however note that research within this tradition (Priour and Savage 2011) shows that behavioural factors like life-style and consumption choices are rooted in structural economic factors. Even if our factorial design does not capture life-style as a categorization criterion, it plausibly captures the structural basis for such behaviours. While this may be a point of contention for some, we look forward to a debate about how and on what basis people make class categorizations rather than whether they do so at all. As we have shown, they do, and in meaningful ways mainly on the basis of income and occupation.

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TABLE 1: *Types of characteristics associated with classes*

a) Britain

	<i>Upper class</i>	<i>Middle class</i>	<i>Working class</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Income</i>	25%	16%	12%	18%
<i>Occupation</i>	9%	32%	39%	26%
<i>Education</i>	9%	7%	5%	7%
<i>Background</i>	20%	3%	1%	8%
<i>Home ownership</i>	0%	4%	2%	2%
<i>Welfare</i>	0%	0%	3%	1%
<i>Lifestyle</i>	7%	10%	9%	9%
<i>Personality traits</i>	22%	11%	14%	15%
<i>Other (political or societal ranking)</i>	5%	3%	1%	3%
<i>'Ordinary people'</i>	0%	8%	7%	5%
<i>Unwilling/ unable to describe class</i>	2%	6%	7%	5%
<i>N</i>	1,891	1,728	1,678	5,297

b) Denmark

	<i>Upper class</i>	<i>Middle class</i>	<i>Working class</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Income</i>	18%	10%	7%	12%
<i>Occupation</i>	34%	44%	59%	46%
<i>Education</i>	11%	18%	11%	13%
<i>Background</i>	8%	0%	1%	3%
<i>Home ownership</i>	2%	3%	1%	2%
<i>Welfare</i>	0%	0%	1%	0%
<i>Lifestyle</i>	10%	9%	3%	8%
<i>Personality traits</i>	9%	7%	8%	8%
<i>Other (political or societal ranking)</i>	5%	2%	4%	4%
<i>'Ordinary people'</i>	0%	4%	2%	2%
<i>Unwilling/ unable to describe class</i>	2%	3%	4%	3%
	2,099	2,017	2,091	6,207

Note: The numbers here are percentages of the total number of characteristics that respondents mentioned when describing people in the upper, middle and working classes.

Source: British Social Attitudes Survey 2015 and Danish postal survey.

TABLE 2: *Summary of influence of different dimensions of class on vignette classifications*

	Britain Absolute kappa	Denmark Absolute kappa	Difference $\chi^2$
Education	0.03***	0.02***	34.41***
Occupation	0.06***	0.05***	66.01***
Income	0.07***	0.15***	127.39***
Background	0.04***	0.02***	19.18*

Note: \*\*\*:  $p < .001$ ; \*:  $p < .05$ . Entries in columns one and two are values of the absolute kappa coefficient. Entries in the third column are  $\chi^2$ -test values from tests of the equality of the underlying coefficients. Significance tests for the effect of each dimension are based on the underlying coefficients.

TABLE 3: *Influence of different dimensions of class on vignette classifications. Predicted probabilities*

	Britain					Denmark				
	Working	Upper working	Lower middle	Middle	Upper middle	Working	Upper working	Lower middle	Middle	Upper middle
<i>Income</i>										
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.46	.17	.20	.15	.03	.26	.08	.32	.28	.05
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.34	.20	.23	.20	.02	.11	.08	.22	.50	.09
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.23	.23	.25	.24	.04	.04	.08	.11	.58	.19
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.17	.23	.21	.32	.07	.02	.05	.05	.42	.46
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.13	.21	.16	.32	.18	.02	.04	.02	.17	.75
<i>Occupation</i>										
Bus driver	.41	.24	.16	.15	.04	.16	.09	.15	.37	.23
Plumber	.33	.25	.18	.20	.04	.13	.12	.12	.40	.21
Self-employed plumber	.33	.25	.18	.19	.04	.09	.09	.13	.41	.27
Bank cashier	.22	.23	.26	.23	.07	.06	.05	.15	.42	.32
Primary school teacher	.17	.18	.25	.32	.07	.08	.04	.13	.45	.30
Solicitor/ lawyer	.20	.14	.21	.33	.13	.03	.02	.14	.36	.45
Bank manager	.17	.15	.24	.35	.10	.03	.03	.11	.39	.44
Owner and manager of company	.13	.15	.24	.36	.12	.03	.02	.15	.35	.45
<i>Education</i>										
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.35	.22	.20	.20	.04	.11	.07	.12	.37	.33
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.28	.20	.21	.24	.07	.11	.07	.14	.35	.34
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.28	.20	.21	.24	.07	.10	.06	.13	.39	.32
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.23	.22	.21	.25	.08	.08	.07	.14	.41	.29
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.20	.18	.20	.31	.11	.10	.06	.12	.36	.37
<i>Class background</i>										
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.36	.19	.19	.20	.06	.14	.08	.13	.37	.28
Worked on assembly line, degree	.24	.21	.21	.26	.08	.10	.06	.13	.40	.31
Manager, left school at 16	.27	.23	.21	.22	.07	.09	.07	.14	.36	.34
Manager, degree	.20	.17	.20	.32	.10	.07	.06	.12	.36	.39

Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients as well as confidence intervals for the predictions.

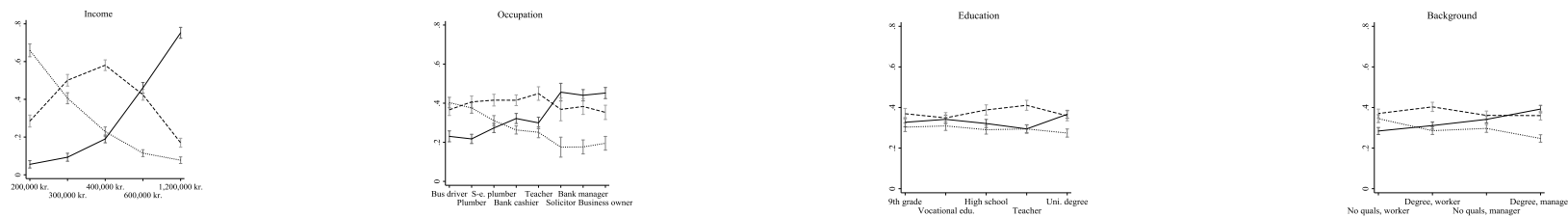


FIGURE 1: *Influence of different dimensions of class on vignette classifications – three group class measure*

Panel A: Britain



Panel B: Denmark



— Upper group    - - - - Middle group    ..... Lower group

Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the control variables left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients. Bars indicate 95 per cent confidence band.

## Supplementary material intended for online publication

This supplementary material contains the following information:

1. The full wording of all levels of the four dimensions in the factorial survey experiment in both English and Danish
2. The full wording in both English and Danish of all survey items used
3. Detailed break-down of the open-ended responses from Table 1
4. The estimated coefficients from the logistic regression models
5. Confidence intervals for the predicted probabilities
6. All analyses conducted separately for the 2015 and 2016 rounds of the data

### *Full wording of the levels of the four dimensions*

#### Education

Britain	Denmark
left school at 16 with no qualifications	forlod skolen efter 9. klasse
left school at 16 with 5 good GCSEs	er faglært fra teknisk skole
left school at 18 after doing A-Levels	har en studentereksamen
did a degree at the University of Derby	er uddannet lærer
did a degree at the University of Oxford	er uddannet på universitetet

#### Occupation

Britain	Denmark
now works as a bus driver	arbejder nu som buschauffør
now works as a plumber	arbejder nu som blikkenslager
now works for himself as a plumber	arbejder nu som blikkenslager i sit eget firma
now works as a cashier in a bank	arbejder nu som bankassistent
now works as an elementary school teacher	arbejder nu som skolelærer
now works as a solicitor	arbejder nu som advokat
now works as a bank manager	arbejder nu som direktør for en bankfilial
is now the owner and manager of a company with 25 employees	er nu direktør i sit eget firma med 25 ansatte

#### Income

Britain	Denmark
£13,500	200.000 kr.
£20,000	300.000 kr.
£27,000	400.000 kr.
£40,000	600.000 kr.
£80,000	1.200.000 kr.

#### Class background

Britain	Denmark
had a degree in engineering and worked as a manager in an engineering firm	var uddannet ingeniør og arbejdede som direktør i et ingeniørfirma
left school at 16 with no qualifications and worked as a manager in an engineering firm	forlod skolen efter 9. klasse og arbejdede som direktør i et ingeniørfirma
had a degree in engineering and worked at the assembly line in a factory	var uddannet ingeniør og arbejdede ved samlebåndet på en fabrik
left school at 16 with no qualifications and worked at the assembly line in a factory	forlod skolen efter 9. klasse og arbejdede ved samlebåndet på en fabrik

#### Names

Britain	Denmark
Peter	Peter
John	Jens
Jack	Michael
Steve	Jan
Tom	Lars
Chris	Thomas
Paul	Henrik
James	Søren

### *Full wording of all survey items*

#### Britain

Thank you for agreeing to complete this survey about different people's views of society. This survey is conducted by researchers at the University of Oxford.

We're interested in hearing as many different views as possible. Therefore, it is important for the survey that you answer all the questions. All responses will be treated anonymously.

---

Below, you can see a list of different people who are all around 40 years old. For each person, we would like you to indicate which class you think he belongs to.

Q1 [Name] [education]. He [occupation] and earns [income] a year (before taxes). His father [class origin].

Which class do you think [Name] belongs to?

Upper class

Upper middle class

Middle class

Lower middle class

Upper working class

Working class

Lower class

Don't know

This question type is repeated eight times

Q12 When you hear someone described as 'upper class' what sort of person do you think of?

Open-ended response

Q13 When you hear someone described as 'middle class' what sort of person do you think of?

Open-ended response

Q14 When you hear someone described as 'working class' what sort of person do you think of?

Open-ended response

Finally, we have some questions about yourself.

Q15 Which of these descriptions applied to what you were doing last week, that is the seven days ending last Sunday?

1 Employed in the private sector

2 Employed in the public sector

3 Self-employed

4 Waiting to take up work

5 Unemployed

6 Retired

7 Looking after the home

8 In full-time education

9 Other

Answers 1-3: Go to Q16



Answers 4-6, 9: Go to Q17

Q16 What precisely is your occupation? Please write down your occupation in as much detail as possible.

Open-ended response

Go to Q18

Q17 What precisely was your latest occupation? Please write down your previous occupation in as much detail as possible.

Open-ended response

Q18 Which of the categories below represents the total annual income of your household from all sources before tax – including benefits, savings and so on?

	<b>WEEKLY earnings BEFORE tax</b>	<b>MONTHLY earnings BEFORE tax</b>	<b>ANNUAL earnings BEFORE tax</b>
1	Less than £140	Less than £590	Less than £7,100
2	£141-180	£591-770	£7,101-9,300
3	£181-210	£771-910	£9,301-10,900
4	£211-240	£911-1,000	£10,901-12,600
5	£241-270	£1,001-1,200	£12,601-14,300
6	£271-310	£1,201-1,300	£14,301-16,200
7	£311-350	£1,301-1,500	£16,201-18,300
8	£351-400	£1,501-1,700	£18,301-20,600
9	£401-440	£1,701-1,900	£20,601-23,000
10	£441-500	£1,901-2,200	£23,001-26,000
11	£501-560	£2,201-2,400	£26,001-29,000
12	£561-620	£2,401-2,700	£29,001-32,100
13	£621-680	£2,701-3,000	£32,101-35,700
14	£681-760	£3,001-3,300	£35,701-39,600
15	£761-850	£3,301-3,700	£39,601-44,200
16	£851-960	£3,701-4,200	£44,201-49,900
17	£961-1,100	£4,201-4,800	£49,901-57,200
18	£1,101-1,300	£4,801-5,600	£57,201-67,200
19	£1,301-1,700	£5,601-7,200	£67,201-86,600
20	£1,701 or more	£7,201 or more	£86,601 or more
21	Don't know		

Q 22 Which class would you say you belong to?

Response scale as Q1

Denmark

Velkommen til en undersøgelse af danskernes syn på samfundet. Undersøgelsen gennemføres af forskere ved Aarhus Universitet.

Vi er interesserede i at høre så mange forskellige meninger som muligt. Det er derfor vigtigt for undersøgelsen, at du svarer på spørgsmålene. Alle svar behandles anonymt.

Nedenfor ser du en liste med forskellige personer, som alle er omkring 40 år gamle. For hver person vil vi bede dig angive, hvilken klasse, du mener, han tilhører.

Q1 [Navn] [uddannelse]. Han [beskæftigelse] og tjener [indkomst] om året (før skat). Hans far [klassebaggrund].

Hvilken klasse mener du, [Navn] tilhører?

Overklassen

Den højere middelklasse

Middelklassen

Den lavere middelklasse

Den højere arbejderklasse

Arbejderklassen

Underklassen

Ved ikke

This question type is repeated eight times

Q12 Når du hører, at nogen kommer fra arbejderklassen, hvilken slags person tænker du så på?

Åbent svar

Q13 Når du hører, at nogen kommer fra middelklassen, hvilken slags person tænker du så på?

Åbent svar

Q14 Når du hører, at nogen kommer fra overklassen, hvilken slags person tænker du så på?

Åbent svar

Til sidst har vi nogle spørgsmål om dig selv.

Q15 Hvilken af disse beskrivelser passer bedst med hvad, du lavede sidste uge, dvs. de syv dage, der sluttede sidste søndag?

1 Lønmodtager i den private sektor

2 Lønmodtager i den offentlige sektor

3 Selvstændig

4 Vented på at påbegynde arbejde

5 Arbejdsløs

6 Pensioneret eller på efterløn

7 Husmor/-far

8 Under uddannelse

9 Andet

1-3: Gå til Q16

4-6, 9: Gå til Q17

Q16 Hvad er din stilling helt nøjagtigt? Beskriv venligst din stilling så detaljeret som muligt.

Åbent svar

Q17 Hvad var din tidligere stilling helt nøjagtigt? Beskriv venligst din stilling så detaljeret som muligt.

Åbent svar

Q18 Hvad er din husstands samlede årsindkomst før skat – inklusiv fra offentlige ydelser, opsparing osv.?

Under 100.000 kr.  
100.000-149.999 kr.  
150.000-199.999 kr.  
200.000-249.999 kr.  
250.000-299.999 kr.  
300.000-349.999 kr.  
350.000-399.999 kr.  
400.000-449.999 kr.  
450.000-499.999 kr.  
500.000-599.999 kr.  
600.000-699.999 kr.  
700.000-799.999 kr.  
800.000-899.999 kr.  
900.000-999.999 kr.  
1.000.000- 1.099.999 kr.  
1.100.000-1.199.999 kr.  
1.200.000-1.299.999 kr.  
1.300.000-1.399.999 kr.  
1.400.000-1.499.999 kr.  
1.500.000 kr. og derover  
Ved ikke

Q 22 Hvilken klasse tilhører du selv?  
Svarskala som Q1

*Detailed break-down of the open-ended responses from Table 1*

Table A1. Detailed break-down of characteristics associated with classes

a) Britain

	<i>Upper class</i>	<i>Middle class</i>	<i>Working class</i>
<i>Income – low</i>	0%	0%	10%
<i>Income - high</i>	25%	15%	1%
<i>Income - unspecified</i>	0%	0%	0%
<i>Occupation – blue-collar</i>	0%	4%	32%
<i>Occupation – white-collar or business</i>	9%	25%	6%
<i>Occupational sector or unspecified</i>	1%	2%	5%
<i>Education - low</i>	0%	0%	4%
<i>Education - high</i>	8%	5%	1%
<i>Education – unspecified</i>	1%	2%	0%
<i>Background - bad</i>	0%	1%	1%
<i>Background - good</i>	19%	2%	0%
<i>Home ownership</i>	0%	4%	2%
<i>Welfare</i>	0%	0%	3%
<i>Lifestyle or other</i>	7%	10%	9%
<i>Positive personality traits (hard working, etc.)</i>	3%	8%	12%
<i>Negative personality traits (snobbish, posh, etc.)</i>	19%	3%	2%
<i>Political or societal ranking</i>	5%	4%	1%
<i>‘Ordinary people’</i>	0%	8%	7%
<i>Unwilling/ unable to describe class</i>	2%	6%	7%
<i>N</i>	1,891	1,728	1,678

b) Denmark

	<i>Upper class</i>	<i>Middle class</i>	<i>Working class</i>
<i>Income - low</i>	0%	0%	6%
<i>Income - high</i>	17%	9%	1%
<i>Income - unspecified</i>	0%	1%	0%
<i>Occupation - blue collar</i>	0%	13%	52%
<i>Occupation - white collar or business</i>	32%	27%	3%
<i>Occupational sector or unspecified</i>	1%	4%	3%
<i>Education - low</i>	0%	1%	10%
<i>Education - high</i>	11%	12%	0%
<i>Education – unspecified</i>	0%	4%	0%
<i>Background - bad</i>	0%	0%	1%
<i>Background - good</i>	8%	0%	0%
<i>Home ownership</i>	2%	3%	1%
<i>Welfare</i>	0%	0%	1%
<i>Lifestyle or other</i>	10%	9%	3%
<i>Positive personality traits (hard working, etc.)</i>	3%	5%	6%
<i>Negative personality traits (snobbish, posh, etc.)</i>	6%	2%	2%
<i>Political or societal ranking</i>	5%	2%	4%
<i>‘Ordinary people’</i>	0%	4%	2%
<i>Unwilling or unable to describe class</i>	2%	3%	4%
<i>N</i>	2,099	2,017	2,091

Note: The numbers here are percentages of the total number of characteristics that people mentioned when describing people in the upper, middle and working middle classes.

Source: British Social Attitudes Survey 2015 and Danish postal survey.

*The estimated coefficients from the logistic regression models*

Table A2. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	1.061*** (0.229)	0.665*** (0.129)	0.411*** (0.117)	0.247* (0.110)
A-Levels	1.188*** (0.233)	0.698*** (0.131)	0.455*** (0.121)	0.264* (0.114)
Derby degree	1.673*** (0.227)	1.103*** (0.140)	0.750*** (0.122)	0.648*** (0.116)
Oxford degree	2.448*** (0.243)	1.650*** (0.153)	0.927*** (0.138)	0.633*** (0.126)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.567 (0.318)	0.750*** (0.144)	0.433*** (0.130)	0.343** (0.117)
S-e. plumber	0.637* (0.315)	0.702*** (0.142)	0.437*** (0.122)	0.356** (0.116)
Bank cashier	1.809*** (0.343)	1.563*** (0.156)	1.398*** (0.129)	0.831*** (0.124)
Teacher	2.360*** (0.325)	2.343*** (0.169)	1.730*** (0.154)	0.905*** (0.157)
Solicitor	2.946*** (0.371)	2.290*** (0.259)	1.385*** (0.255)	0.472 (0.266)
Bank manager	2.841*** (0.324)	2.508*** (0.188)	1.701*** (0.176)	0.697*** (0.178)
Business owner	3.454*** (0.325)	2.902*** (0.196)	2.031*** (0.179)	1.032*** (0.179)
Income				
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.421 (0.386)	0.807*** (0.136)	0.636*** (0.107)	0.555*** (0.106)
£27,000	1.735*** (0.332)	1.632*** (0.154)	1.262*** (0.129)	1.158*** (0.126)
£40,000	2.722*** (0.332)	2.428*** (0.165)	1.521*** (0.136)	1.537*** (0.131)
£80,000	4.418*** (0.346)	3.021*** (0.183)	1.688*** (0.159)	1.842*** (0.146)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-1.299*** (0.150)	-1.078*** (0.108)	-0.488*** (0.104)	-0.122 (0.109)
Degree, worker	-0.682***	-0.561***	-0.244*	-0.00484

	(0.140)	(0.0989)	(0.0996)	(0.103)
No quals, worker	-1.977***	-1.717***	-1.020***	-0.702***
	(0.164)	(0.111)	(0.107)	(0.108)
<hr/>				
Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Middle class	-0.437	0.143	-0.370	-0.217
	(0.480)	(0.358)	(0.344)	(0.341)
Lower middle class	-0.891	-0.721	-0.0659	0.0562
	(0.518)	(0.378)	(0.359)	(0.353)
Upper working class	-2.389***	-1.989***	-0.994**	-0.0802
	(0.537)	(0.393)	(0.362)	(0.354)
Working class	-3.886***	-3.007***	-2.167***	-1.202***
	(0.506)	(0.379)	(0.362)	(0.343)
Don't know	-2.546**	-1.764**	-1.061*	-0.684
	(0.798)	(0.627)	(0.541)	(0.447)
Age				
18-34 years	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
35-49 years	-0.825**	-0.199	-0.0606	0.0399
	(0.257)	(0.193)	(0.174)	(0.155)
50-64 years	-0.525	-0.0416	0.0946	0.0881
	(0.270)	(0.200)	(0.172)	(0.156)
65+ years	-0.362	0.118	0.427*	0.703***
	(0.329)	(0.236)	(0.213)	(0.188)
Household income				
-£14,300	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
£14,301-23,000	-0.183	-0.0548	-0.122	0.0765
	(0.339)	(0.244)	(0.217)	(0.178)
£23,001-35,700	-0.422	-0.644**	-0.508*	-0.245
	(0.322)	(0.249)	(0.219)	(0.188)
£35,701-57,200	-1.087**	-0.893***	-0.551*	-0.214
	(0.353)	(0.251)	(0.220)	(0.199)
£57,201+	-1.257***	-1.136***	-0.772**	-0.479*
	(0.374)	(0.282)	(0.245)	(0.217)
Don't know	-0.863*	-0.606*	-0.316	-0.142
	(0.377)	(0.287)	(0.245)	(0.202)
Gender				
Male	0.229	-0.0564	-0.0161	-0.129
	(0.205)	(0.147)	(0.131)	(0.113)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Lower controllers	0.231	-0.0418	0.0747	-0.0644
	(0.289)	(0.197)	(0.176)	(0.156)
Routine nonmanual	1.146***	0.303	0.350	0.216
	(0.311)	(0.214)	(0.184)	(0.167)
Self employed	0.581	0.403	0.417	0.0556
	(0.551)	(0.355)	(0.305)	(0.285)
Skilled manual	0.710	-0.0262	0.00604	0.106

	(0.565)	(0.382)	(0.320)	(0.265)
Semi-/unskilled manual	1.499***	0.669*	0.512*	0.159
Education	(0.392)	(0.286)	(0.234)	(0.215)
No formal - CSE grade 2-5	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 + Scottish ordinary	0.502	0.360	0.408*	0.254
	(0.331)	(0.241)	(0.203)	(0.168)
GCE A-Level + Scottish higher	0.383	0.531*	0.558**	0.472**
	(0.348)	(0.250)	(0.210)	(0.176)
Teaching qual, diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	-0.160	0.101	0.324	0.256
	(0.363)	(0.267)	(0.228)	(0.194)
Higher degree	-0.244	0.188	0.589	0.410
	(0.479)	(0.367)	(0.326)	(0.290)
Constant	-3.239***	-1.134*	-1.028*	-1.253**
	(0.797)	(0.537)	(0.484)	(0.460)
Observations	6902			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.193			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.



Table A3. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Denmark, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.0817 (0.165)	-0.0543 (0.148)	0.118 (0.160)	-0.101 (0.198)
High school	0.0814 (0.176)	0.159 (0.147)	0.169 (0.162)	-0.117 (0.202)
Teacher	0.128 (0.188)	0.431** (0.157)	0.432* (0.171)	0.325 (0.188)
Uni. degree	0.481** (0.185)	0.199 (0.161)	0.107 (0.166)	-0.0376 (0.190)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.246 (0.181)	0.395** (0.123)	0.0645 (0.143)	0.566** (0.172)
S-e. plumber	1.147*** (0.187)	0.933*** (0.141)	0.521*** (0.152)	0.697*** (0.189)
Bank cashier	2.084*** (0.197)	1.576*** (0.152)	1.222*** (0.161)	0.742*** (0.214)
Teacher	1.605*** (0.244)	1.305*** (0.205)	0.747** (0.234)	0.169 (0.289)
Solicitor	3.744*** (0.746)	2.414*** (0.729)	1.953* (0.779)	0.551 (0.886)
Bank manager	3.770*** (0.619)	2.548*** (0.606)	1.783** (0.642)	1.198 (0.676)
Business owner	3.773*** (0.556)	2.432*** (0.537)	2.105*** (0.566)	0.838 (0.619)
Income				
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.772*** (0.233)	1.725*** (0.115)	0.683*** (0.126)	0.992*** (0.164)
400,000 kr.	3.703*** (0.265)	2.974*** (0.186)	0.987*** (0.202)	1.888*** (0.225)
600,000 kr.	5.901*** (0.308)	3.774*** (0.240)	1.231*** (0.257)	2.430*** (0.285)
1,200,000 kr.	6.538*** (0.362)	2.840*** (0.308)	0.148 (0.388)	2.056*** (0.327)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.697*** (0.162)	-0.363* (0.144)	-0.0399 (0.157)	-0.143 (0.182)
Degree, worker	-0.992*** (0.157)	-0.362** (0.139)	-0.232 (0.154)	-0.342 (0.188)
No quals, worker	-1.814*** (0.170)	-1.049*** (0.147)	-0.674*** (0.157)	-0.626*** (0.186)

Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.206 (0.263)	0.366 (0.219)	-0.104 (0.188)	0.0144 (0.210)
Lower middle class	-1.261*** (0.369)	-0.945** (0.305)	-0.503* (0.247)	-0.193 (0.279)
Upper working class	-1.421** (0.451)	-1.007** (0.365)	-0.428 (0.357)	0.574 (0.391)
Working class	-2.731*** (0.370)	-1.986*** (0.293)	-1.538*** (0.261)	-0.556 (0.290)
Don't know	0.541 (0.992)	0.980 (0.785)	1.150 (0.611)	1.460 (0.746)
Age				
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	0.0567 (0.259)	0.276 (0.218)	0.0840 (0.202)	0.151 (0.207)
50-64 years	-0.0642 (0.271)	0.214 (0.226)	0.132 (0.206)	0.138 (0.211)
65+ years	-0.467 (0.302)	0.308 (0.261)	0.0665 (0.240)	0.207 (0.239)
Household income				
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.572 (0.351)	-0.136 (0.301)	0.173 (0.265)	-0.464 (0.268)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.602 (0.352)	-0.336 (0.298)	-0.0722 (0.277)	-0.157 (0.271)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-1.111** (0.357)	-0.642* (0.311)	-0.221 (0.277)	-0.420 (0.300)
800,000 kr. +	-1.656*** (0.385)	-0.972** (0.325)	-0.292 (0.286)	-0.433 (0.301)
Don't know	-0.512 (0.372)	-0.189 (0.323)	-0.123 (0.287)	-0.284 (0.312)
Gender				
Male	0.0149 (0.174)	0.00481 (0.146)	-0.101 (0.133)	0.207 (0.141)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.351 (0.275)	0.240 (0.242)	0.306 (0.206)	0.0134 (0.236)
Routine nonmanual	0.372 (0.318)	0.0945 (0.272)	0.0599 (0.237)	0.103 (0.261)
Self employed	0.470 (0.433)	0.330 (0.388)	-0.0955 (0.339)	-0.0835 (0.378)
Skilled manual	0.652 (0.400)	0.515 (0.355)	0.423 (0.312)	-0.236 (0.334)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.523 (0.355)	0.0699 (0.302)	0.174 (0.258)	0.138 (0.282)

Education				
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.467	-0.282	-0.284	0.0420
	(0.331)	(0.270)	(0.238)	(0.258)
Short tertiary	-0.675	-0.587	-0.489	0.368
	(0.394)	(0.322)	(0.303)	(0.313)
Medium tertiary	-0.846*	-0.419	-0.346	0.0928
	(0.378)	(0.309)	(0.281)	(0.309)
Long tertiary	-1.385**	-0.646	-0.503	0.181
	(0.427)	(0.355)	(0.316)	(0.344)
Constant	-1.026	-0.106	0.285	-1.572**
	(0.656)	(0.545)	(0.504)	(0.512)
Observations	6749			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.278			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.

Table A4. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Britain, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	0.704*** (0.124)	0.318*** (0.0952)
A-Levels	0.754*** (0.127)	0.344*** (0.1000)
Derby degree	1.176*** (0.134)	0.689*** (0.102)
Oxford degree	1.747*** (0.147)	0.759*** (0.115)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.693*** (0.137)	0.390*** (0.0997)
S-e. plumber	0.660*** (0.136)	0.399*** (0.0978)
Bank cashier	1.559*** (0.150)	1.087*** (0.106)
Teacher	2.297*** (0.162)	1.299*** (0.132)
Solicitor	2.413*** (0.249)	0.904*** (0.230)
Bank manager	2.513*** (0.181)	1.177*** (0.152)
Business owner	2.943*** (0.188)	1.497*** (0.156)
Income		
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.761*** (0.130)	0.595*** (0.0863)
£27,000	1.607*** (0.150)	1.218*** (0.109)
£40,000	2.449*** (0.160)	1.537*** (0.117)
£80,000	3.312*** (0.178)	1.772*** (0.133)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-1.087*** (0.105)	-0.290** (0.0904)
Degree, worker	-0.562*** (0.0949)	-0.117 (0.0863)
No quals, worker	-1.732*** (0.109)	-0.850*** (0.0915)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	0.0726 (0.362)	-0.289 (0.312)
Lower middle class	-0.738 (0.383)	0.00186 (0.323)
Upper working class	-1.977*** (0.395)	-0.510 (0.326)
Working class	-3.095*** (0.381)	-1.654*** (0.320)
Don't know	-1.872** (0.620)	-0.863 (0.444)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.304 (0.191)	-0.000854 (0.149)
50-64 years	-0.128 (0.200)	0.0966 (0.150)
65+ years	0.0516 (0.236)	0.585** (0.183)
Household income		
-£14,300	0 (.)	0 (.)
£14,301-23,000	-0.0646 (0.245)	-0.0116 (0.176)
£23,001-35,700	-0.577* (0.246)	-0.366* (0.183)
£35,701-57,200	-0.901*** (0.251)	-0.366 (0.190)
£57,201+	-1.136*** (0.281)	-0.612** (0.210)
Don't know	-0.641* (0.283)	-0.220 (0.201)
Gender		
Male	0.0134 (0.147)	0.0800 (0.110)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	-0.0187 (0.197)	-0.00126 (0.148)
Routine nonmanual	0.435* (0.216)	0.269 (0.157)
Self employed	0.399 (0.357)	0.226 (0.265)
Skilled manual	0.108 (0.389)	0.0574 (0.255)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.784** (0.286)	0.311 (0.200)

Education		
No formal - CSE	0	0
grade 2-5	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 +	0.382	0.320
Scottish ordinary	(0.240)	(0.164)
GCE A-Level +	0.507*	0.510**
Scottish higher	(0.253)	(0.173)
Teaching qual,	0.0620	0.286
diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	(0.268)	(0.189)
Higher degree	0.110	0.499
	(0.365)	(0.287)
Constant	-1.021	-0.581
	(0.565)	(0.469)
Observations	6902	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.237	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.

Table A5. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Denmark, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.0624 (0.130)	-0.0778 (0.107)
High school	0.0336 (0.144)	0.112 (0.107)
Teacher	-0.177 (0.146)	0.131 (0.106)
Uni. degree	0.439** (0.144)	0.157 (0.113)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.0175 (0.163)	0.204* (0.0961)
S-e. plumber	0.712*** (0.162)	0.521*** (0.104)
Bank cashier	1.276*** (0.161)	0.778*** (0.101)
Teacher	1.206*** (0.179)	0.910*** (0.123)
Solicitor	2.597*** (0.286)	1.272*** (0.261)
Bank manager	2.510*** (0.211)	1.295*** (0.191)
Business owner	2.425*** (0.207)	1.087*** (0.179)
Income		
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.235*** (0.220)	1.200*** (0.0878)
400,000 kr.	2.751*** (0.219)	2.042*** (0.115)
600,000 kr.	4.646*** (0.228)	2.536*** (0.135)
1,200,000 kr.	5.776*** (0.255)	2.080*** (0.171)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.649*** (0.120)	-0.316** (0.0961)
Degree, worker	-0.792*** (0.115)	-0.167 (0.0953)
No quals, worker	-1.324*** (0.129)	-0.569*** (0.0972)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.154 (0.200)	0.419** (0.148)
Lower middle class	-0.953*** (0.285)	-0.639** (0.203)
Upper working class	-1.432*** (0.350)	-0.999*** (0.257)
Working class	-1.867*** (0.283)	-1.129*** (0.197)
Don't know	-0.546 (0.709)	-0.0896 (0.467)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.0289 (0.199)	0.192 (0.141)
50-64 years	-0.168 (0.207)	0.111 (0.147)
65+ years	-0.558* (0.231)	0.221 (0.171)
Household income		
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.526 (0.271)	-0.101 (0.199)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.515 (0.269)	-0.251 (0.196)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-0.877** (0.267)	-0.414* (0.202)
800,000 kr. +	-1.382*** (0.296)	-0.704*** (0.212)
Don't know	-0.366 (0.293)	-0.0483 (0.221)
Gender		
Male	0.0124 (0.132)	0.00876 (0.0956)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.196 (0.216)	0.0844 (0.162)
Routine nonmanual	0.303 (0.253)	0.0291 (0.181)
Self employed	0.530 (0.352)	0.389 (0.276)
Skilled manual	0.486 (0.309)	0.343 (0.230)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.385 (0.287)	-0.0638 (0.208)



Education		
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0
	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.345	-0.157
	(0.245)	(0.178)
Short tertiary	-0.570	-0.469*
	(0.301)	(0.212)
Medium tertiary	-0.712*	-0.281
	(0.279)	(0.200)
Long tertiary	-1.199***	-0.452
	(0.313)	(0.231)
Constant	-1.906***	-1.018**
	(0.513)	(0.370)
Observations	6749	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.324	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.

*Confidence intervals for the predicted probabilities*

Table A6. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain and Denmark, 95 per cent confidence intervals for pred. probabilities.

	Britain										Denmark									
	Upper middle		Middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working		Middle		Upper middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working	
	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB
<i>Occupation</i>																				
Bus driver	.02	.05	.12	.17	.14	.19	.22	.27	.38	.44	.20	.26	.34	.40	.13	.17	.08	.11	.14	.18
Plumber	.03	.05	.18	.23	.15	.20	.22	.28	.30	.35	.19	.24	.37	.43	.10	.14	.10	.15	.11	.15
Self-employed plumber	.03	.06	.17	.22	.16	.20	.23	.28	.30	.35	.25	.30	.38	.44	.11	.15	.07	.11	.08	.11
Cashier in a bank	.04	.09	.20	.25	.23	.29	.21	.26	.19	.24	.30	.35	.39	.44	.13	.17	.04	.07	.05	.07
Elementary school teacher	.05	.09	.29	.35	.22	.29	.16	.21	.15	.20	.27	.33	.41	.48	.10	.16	.03	.06	.06	.10
Solicitor/ lawyer	.10	.15	.28	.38	.16	.25	.10	.18	.15	.25	.41	.50	.30	.42	.08	.20	.00	.04	-.01	.06
Bank manager	.08	.12	.31	.38	.21	.27	.12	.17	.14	.20	.41	.47	.34	.43	.07	.15	.02	.05	.00	.06
Owner and manager of company	.10	.14	.32	.39	.21	.27	.12	.18	.11	.16	.42	.48	.31	.39	.11	.19	.01	.04	.00	.05
<i>Income</i>																				
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.01	.04	.12	.18	.17	.22	.15	.19	.43	.48	.04	.07	.25	.32	.29	.36	.07	.10	.22	.29
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.01	.03	.18	.22	.21	.26	.18	.22	.32	.36	.07	.11	.47	.53	.19	.25	.07	.10	.09	.12
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.03	.05	.22	.26	.23	.28	.21	.25	.21	.26	.17	.21	.55	.61	.09	.12	.06	.10	.03	.06
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.05	.08	.30	.34	.19	.23	.21	.25	.15	.19	.43	.49	.39	.45	.04	.06	.04	.06	.01	.02
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.16	.21	.30	.35	.13	.18	.18	.23	.11	.15	.72	.78	.15	.20	.01	.02	.03	.05	.01	.03
<i>Education</i>																				
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.03	.05	.17	.22	.18	.22	.19	.24	.32	.37	.30	.35	.34	.40	.11	.14	.06	.09	.09	.12
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.05	.08	.22	.26	.19	.23	.18	.22	.26	.31	.32	.36	.32	.37	.12	.16	.05	.08	.09	.12
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.06	.09	.22	.26	.19	.23	.18	.22	.26	.30	.30	.34	.36	.41	.11	.15	.05	.07	.08	.11
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.06	.09	.23	.28	.19	.23	.20	.25	.21	.25	.27	.31	.39	.44	.12	.16	.06	.09	.07	.10
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.09	.13	.29	.33	.18	.22	.16	.20	.18	.22	.35	.39	.34	.38	.10	.13	.05	.07	.08	.11
<i>Class background</i>																				
Manager, degree	.09	.12	.30	.34	.18	.22	.15	.19	.19	.22	.37	.41	.34	.38	.10	.13	.05	.07	.06	.09
Manager, left school at 16	.06	.08	.20	.24	.19	.23	.21	.25	.25	.29	.32	.36	.34	.38	.13	.16	.06	.08	.07	.10
Worked on assembly line, degree	.07	.10	.24	.28	.19	.23	.19	.23	.22	.25	.29	.33	.38	.43	.11	.14	.05	.07	.08	.11
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.05	.07	.18	.21	.17	.21	.17	.21	.34	.38	.27	.30	.35	.39	.12	.15	.06	.09	.12	.15

Note: LB: Lower bound, UB: Upper bound. Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients.

All analyses conducted separately for the 2015 and 2016 rounds of the data

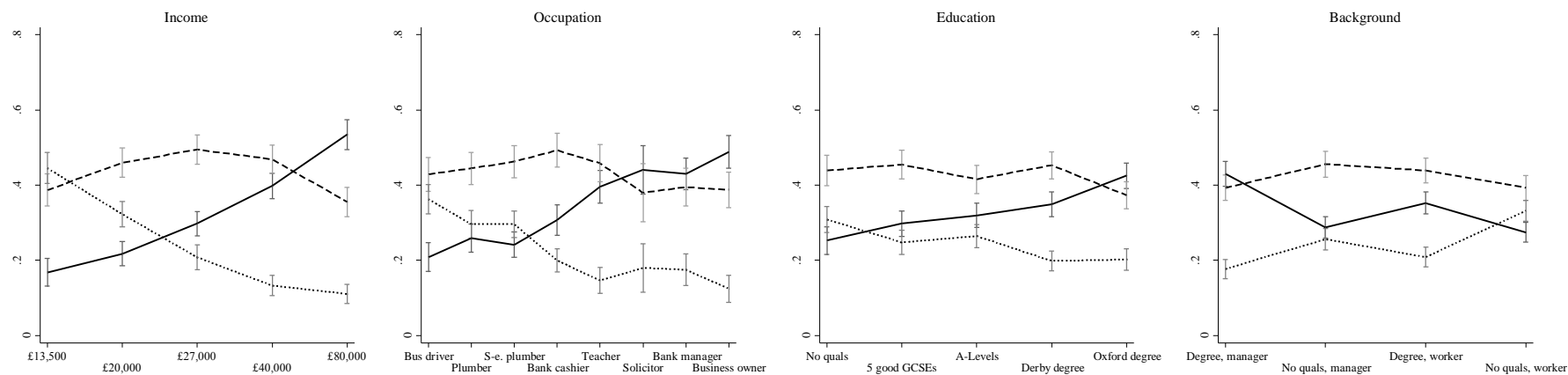
Table A7. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain and Denmark, 2015. Predicted probabilities.

	Britain					Denmark				
	Upper middle	Middle	Lower middle	Upper working	Working	Upper middle	Middle	Lower middle	Upper working	Working
<i>Occupation</i>										
Bus driver	.05	.16	.16	.27	.36	.23	.38	.13	.09	.17
Plumber	.05	.21	.19	.25	.30	.21	.42	.13	.11	.14
Self-employed plumber	.05	.19	.20	.26	.30	.29	.40	.13	.07	.10
Cashier in a bank	.07	.23	.26	.23	.20	.32	.41	.17	.04	.06
Elementary school teacher	.08	.32	.26	.20	.15	.29	.47	.12	.04	.08
Solicitor/ lawyer	.13	.30	.25	.14	.18	.45	.35	.16	.02	.02
Bank manager	.10	.32	.25	.15	.18	.44	.39	.10	.04	.03
Owner and manager of company	.14	.35	.25	.14	.12	.45	.35	.14	.02	.04
<i>Income</i>										
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.03	.14	.20	.19	.45	.05	.30	.30	.08	.26
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.03	.19	.26	.21	.32	.10	.49	.22	.07	.12
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.05	.25	.27	.23	.21	.19	.58	.11	.07	.05
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.07	.33	.23	.24	.13	.48	.41	.05	.05	.02
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.21	.32	.15	.21	.11	.74	.19	.02	.03	.02
<i>Education</i>										
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.04	.21	.21	.23	.31	.34	.38	.11	.07	.11
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.08	.22	.23	.22	.25	.35	.36	.13	.06	.10
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.08	.24	.23	.19	.26	.33	.38	.14	.05	.10
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.10	.25	.22	.23	.20	.27	.43	.14	.07	.09
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.12	.31	.19	.18	.20	.36	.35	.13	.05	.11
<i>Class background</i>										
Manager, degree	.11	.32	.21	.18	.18	.40	.36	.12	.06	.07
Manager, left school at 16	.07	.22	.22	.23	.26	.34	.36	.13	.07	.09
Worked on assembly line, degree	.09	.26	.22	.22	.21	.30	.41	.13	.05	.11
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.07	.20	.20	.20	.33	.28	.38	.13	.06	.14

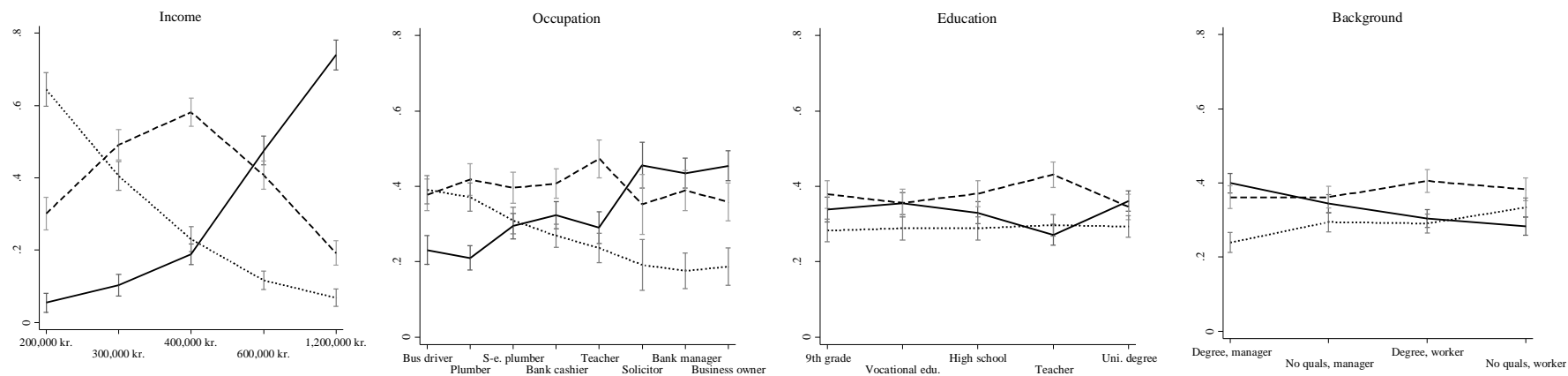
Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models using only data from the 2015 round. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients as well as confidence intervals for the predictions.

Figure A1. Influence of different dimensions of class on vignette classifications, three group class measure, 2015

Panel A: Britain



Panel B: Denmark



— Upper group    - - - - Middle group    ..... Lower group

Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the control variables left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients. Bars indicate 95 per cent confidence bands

Table A8. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain, 2015, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	1.204*** (0.292)	0.507** (0.184)	0.467** (0.167)	0.295 (0.151)
A-Levels	1.128*** (0.305)	0.559** (0.185)	0.377* (0.168)	0.0653 (0.162)
Derby degree	1.879*** (0.313)	1.075*** (0.201)	0.771*** (0.173)	0.644*** (0.165)
Oxford degree	2.237*** (0.329)	1.401*** (0.227)	0.680*** (0.199)	0.400* (0.180)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.341 (0.375)	0.704*** (0.212)	0.524** (0.186)	0.183 (0.164)
S-e. plumber	0.432 (0.378)	0.571** (0.202)	0.556** (0.171)	0.216 (0.161)
Bank cashier	1.425** (0.454)	1.446*** (0.217)	1.371*** (0.178)	0.637*** (0.167)
Teacher	2.025*** (0.401)	2.275*** (0.241)	1.777*** (0.222)	0.879*** (0.226)
Solicitor	2.486*** (0.488)	2.006*** (0.362)	1.525*** (0.354)	0.244 (0.375)
Bank manager	2.222*** (0.383)	2.133*** (0.253)	1.552*** (0.238)	0.401 (0.251)
Business owner	3.119*** (0.408)	2.730*** (0.287)	2.018*** (0.256)	0.792** (0.264)
Income				
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.402 (0.500)	0.883*** (0.206)	0.742*** (0.152)	0.507*** (0.144)
£27,000	1.811*** (0.445)	1.893*** (0.240)	1.391*** (0.191)	1.133*** (0.179)
£40,000	2.965*** (0.434)	2.832*** (0.258)	1.829*** (0.198)	1.715*** (0.189)
£80,000	4.495*** (0.455)	3.206*** (0.282)	1.722*** (0.228)	1.797*** (0.211)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-1.472*** (0.212)	-1.224*** (0.162)	-0.592*** (0.151)	-0.296 (0.153)
Degree, worker	-0.668** (0.203)	-0.598*** (0.152)	-0.243 (0.151)	-0.0662 (0.151)
No quals, worker	-1.931*** (0.230)	-1.723*** (0.167)	-1.108*** (0.164)	-0.823*** (0.159)

Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	0.250 (0.666)	0.195 (0.588)	-0.215 (0.554)	0.326 (0.531)
Lower middle class	0.142 (0.710)	-0.568 (0.622)	0.357 (0.585)	0.978 (0.551)
Upper working class	-1.801* (0.731)	-1.986** (0.615)	-0.619 (0.564)	0.617 (0.534)
Working class	-3.021*** (0.690)	-2.838*** (0.606)	-1.679** (0.568)	-0.503 (0.527)
Don't know	-0.709 (1.196)	-1.134 (1.034)	-0.211 (0.949)	0.801 (0.764)
Age				
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.649 (0.391)	-0.0416 (0.291)	-0.0877 (0.266)	0.203 (0.251)
50-64 years	-0.232 (0.400)	0.168 (0.302)	0.106 (0.266)	0.0281 (0.242)
65+ years	-0.579 (0.510)	0.0643 (0.354)	0.359 (0.331)	0.734* (0.286)
Household income				
-£14,300	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
£14,301-23,000	0.144 (0.473)	0.301 (0.353)	0.156 (0.306)	0.274 (0.256)
£23,001-35,700	0.0203 (0.420)	-0.130 (0.332)	-0.126 (0.302)	-0.0117 (0.259)
£35,701-57,200	-0.767 (0.484)	-0.674 (0.350)	-0.432 (0.311)	-0.139 (0.273)
£57,201+	-0.687 (0.517)	-0.828* (0.391)	-0.490 (0.351)	-0.124 (0.308)
Don't know	-0.553 (0.526)	-0.227 (0.399)	-0.209 (0.367)	-0.284 (0.290)
Gender				
Male	-0.0305 (0.296)	-0.163 (0.210)	-0.325 (0.194)	-0.251 (0.162)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.450 (0.428)	0.291 (0.298)	0.275 (0.264)	-0.0570 (0.235)
Routine nonmanual	0.845 (0.451)	-0.0154 (0.299)	0.0619 (0.259)	0.112 (0.236)
Self employed	0.0950 (0.760)	0.238 (0.471)	0.411 (0.402)	-0.302 (0.439)
Skilled manual	1.208 (0.708)	0.143 (0.519)	-0.120 (0.447)	0.0666 (0.409)
Semi-/unskilled manual	1.381* (0.556)	0.285 (0.398)	0.218 (0.339)	-0.0346 (0.312)

Education				
No formal - CSE	0	0	0	0
grade 2-5	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 +	0.132	0.0795	0.446	0.0998
Scottish ordinary	(0.462)	(0.351)	(0.320)	(0.246)
GCE A-Level +	0.0257	0.300	0.445	0.266
Scottish higher	(0.499)	(0.363)	(0.329)	(0.255)
Teaching qual,	-0.274	0.0366	0.334	0.0704
diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	(0.511)	(0.378)	(0.344)	(0.277)
Higher degree	-0.993	-0.336	0.434	0.0564
	(0.726)	(0.567)	(0.500)	(0.445)
Constant	-3.536**	-1.170	-1.236	-1.414*
	(1.094)	(0.770)	(0.722)	(0.669)
Observations	3459			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.197			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.

Table A9. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Denmark, 2015, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.130 (0.236)	-0.0237 (0.217)	0.213 (0.239)	-0.143 (0.297)
High school	0.0602 (0.266)	0.123 (0.217)	0.433 (0.244)	-0.204 (0.298)
Teacher	-0.312 (0.278)	0.260 (0.228)	0.458 (0.243)	0.133 (0.267)
Uni. degree	0.0763 (0.265)	-0.137 (0.222)	0.144 (0.233)	-0.299 (0.266)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.179 (0.247)	0.399* (0.172)	0.258 (0.210)	0.485* (0.236)
S-e. plumber	1.239*** (0.266)	0.837*** (0.197)	0.672** (0.217)	0.527* (0.260)
Bank cashier	2.151*** (0.276)	1.595*** (0.221)	1.530*** (0.236)	0.628* (0.312)
Teacher	1.700*** (0.343)	1.475*** (0.295)	0.901** (0.350)	0.284 (0.425)
Solicitor	4.092*** (1.097)	2.697* (1.063)	2.563* (1.109)	0.914 (1.276)
Bank manager	3.741*** (0.783)	2.529*** (0.758)	1.835* (0.816)	1.291 (0.853)
Business owner	3.579*** (0.673)	2.207*** (0.640)	1.915** (0.689)	0.514 (0.798)
Income				
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.874*** (0.321)	1.620*** (0.164)	0.732*** (0.181)	0.719** (0.225)
400,000 kr.	3.691*** (0.384)	2.894*** (0.267)	1.069*** (0.291)	1.662*** (0.310)
600,000 kr.	5.838*** (0.447)	3.512*** (0.342)	1.117** (0.373)	2.147*** (0.420)
1,200,000 kr.	6.708*** (0.541)	2.988*** (0.456)	0.335 (0.539)	1.774*** (0.488)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.949*** (0.243)	-0.586** (0.215)	-0.322 (0.226)	-0.267 (0.264)
Degree, worker	-1.445*** (0.233)	-0.707*** (0.204)	-0.525* (0.223)	-0.839** (0.281)
No quals, worker	-2.108*** (0.258)	-1.262*** (0.223)	-0.975*** (0.239)	-0.983*** (0.286)



Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.193 (0.355)	0.410 (0.308)	-0.282 (0.254)	0.201 (0.312)
Lower middle class	-0.826 (0.481)	-0.707 (0.418)	-0.462 (0.330)	0.0902 (0.407)
Upper working class	-0.879 (0.708)	-0.500 (0.634)	0.215 (0.592)	1.078 (0.687)
Working class	-3.009*** (0.506)	-2.398*** (0.403)	-1.771*** (0.350)	-0.518 (0.423)
Don't know	0.403 (1.480)	0.884 (1.186)	0.926 (0.780)	1.412 (1.222)
Age				
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.491 (0.342)	0.167 (0.280)	0.0530 (0.263)	-0.109 (0.280)
50-64 years	-0.993** (0.371)	-0.167 (0.304)	-0.231 (0.281)	-0.242 (0.306)
65+ years	-1.484*** (0.383)	-0.272 (0.341)	-0.412 (0.317)	-0.180 (0.339)
Household income				
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.777 (0.456)	-0.360 (0.397)	0.0578 (0.365)	-0.933* (0.386)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.531 (0.456)	-0.390 (0.404)	0.00238 (0.394)	-0.520 (0.385)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-1.488*** (0.448)	-0.942* (0.403)	-0.325 (0.365)	-0.553 (0.417)
800,000 kr. +	-1.619** (0.510)	-1.017* (0.449)	-0.449 (0.400)	-0.569 (0.463)
Don't know	-0.619 (0.485)	-0.347 (0.439)	0.132 (0.399)	-0.781 (0.474)
Gender				
Male	0.267 (0.270)	0.391 (0.222)	0.183 (0.198)	0.552* (0.219)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.360 (0.364)	0.240 (0.327)	0.174 (0.284)	-0.518 (0.316)
Routine nonmanual	0.442 (0.442)	0.214 (0.386)	0.143 (0.340)	-0.369 (0.361)
Self employed	1.132* (0.513)	1.272** (0.460)	0.818 (0.478)	0.0982 (0.643)
Skilled manual	1.380** (0.519)	0.914* (0.456)	0.549 (0.424)	-0.487 (0.517)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.402 (0.467)	0.300 (0.409)	0.266 (0.366)	-0.356 (0.371)

Education				
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.706	-0.369	-0.179	0.224
	(0.466)	(0.352)	(0.311)	(0.342)
Short tertiary	-0.945	-0.855*	-0.443	0.260
	(0.581)	(0.434)	(0.412)	(0.437)
Medium tertiary	-0.927	-0.416	-0.208	0.141
	(0.537)	(0.414)	(0.377)	(0.417)
Long tertiary	-1.444*	-0.678	-0.310	0.123
	(0.580)	(0.459)	(0.401)	(0.440)
Constant	-0.197	0.0831	0.0350	-0.923
	(0.885)	(0.747)	(0.706)	(0.721)
Observations	3372			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.289			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.

Table A10. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Britain, 2015, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	0.601*** (0.172)	0.368** (0.136)
A-Levels	0.619*** (0.177)	0.200 (0.142)
Derby degree	1.192*** (0.190)	0.695*** (0.145)
Oxford degree	1.511*** (0.214)	0.517** (0.166)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.610** (0.199)	0.332* (0.143)
S-e. plumber	0.508** (0.188)	0.363** (0.136)
Bank cashier	1.405*** (0.207)	0.959*** (0.143)
Teacher	2.199*** (0.228)	1.302*** (0.193)
Solicitor	2.110*** (0.341)	0.882** (0.321)
Bank manager	2.106*** (0.238)	0.951*** (0.209)
Business owner	2.756*** (0.274)	1.371*** (0.227)
Income		
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.811*** (0.190)	0.615*** (0.118)
£27,000	1.835*** (0.231)	1.261*** (0.160)
£40,000	2.826*** (0.245)	1.769*** (0.173)
£80,000	3.523*** (0.270)	1.748*** (0.193)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-1.247*** (0.155)	-0.431** (0.131)
Degree, worker	-0.595*** (0.146)	-0.150 (0.133)
No quals, worker	-1.733*** (0.163)	-0.955*** (0.140)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	0.249 (0.574)	0.00803 (0.499)
Lower middle class	-0.394 (0.609)	0.612 (0.524)
Upper working class	-1.870** (0.606)	-0.0271 (0.505)
Working class	-2.819*** (0.592)	-1.125* (0.503)
Don't know	-1.005 (0.998)	0.251 (0.798)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.141 (0.291)	0.0728 (0.234)
50-64 years	0.0754 (0.304)	0.0678 (0.235)
65+ years	-0.0339 (0.358)	0.568* (0.280)
Household income		
-£14,300	0 (.)	0 (.)
£14,301-23,000	0.272 (0.355)	0.227 (0.250)
£23,001-35,700	-0.0868 (0.324)	-0.0606 (0.255)
£35,701-57,200	-0.667 (0.352)	-0.271 (0.268)
£57,201+	-0.780* (0.389)	-0.298 (0.301)
Don't know	-0.301 (0.398)	-0.240 (0.302)
Gender		
Male	0.131 (0.211)	0.285 (0.162)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.290 (0.301)	0.103 (0.225)
Routine nonmanual	0.153 (0.306)	0.0811 (0.222)
Self employed	0.170 (0.480)	0.0670 (0.374)
Skilled manual	0.382 (0.523)	-0.0150 (0.379)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.499 (0.403)	0.0647 (0.289)

Education		
No formal - CSE	0	0
grade 2-5	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 +	0.0707	0.251
Scottish ordinary	(0.348)	(0.249)
GCE A-Level +	0.238	0.342
Scottish higher	(0.368)	(0.259)
Teaching qual,	-0.0425	0.180
diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	(0.380)	(0.275)
Higher degree	-0.477	0.241
	(0.569)	(0.437)
Constant	-1.332	-1.080
	(0.805)	(0.695)
<hr/>		
Observations	3459	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.238	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.

Table A11. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Denmark, 2015, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.0703 (0.189)	-0.0854 (0.161)
High school	-0.0974 (0.213)	-0.0363 (0.156)
Teacher	-0.574* (0.226)	0.00256 (0.158)
Uni. degree	0.0826 (0.214)	-0.135 (0.167)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	-0.0722 (0.226)	0.171 (0.140)
S-e. plumber	0.815*** (0.231)	0.422** (0.148)
Bank cashier	1.218*** (0.222)	0.668*** (0.152)
Teacher	1.206*** (0.261)	0.983*** (0.182)
Solicitor	2.450*** (0.379)	1.056** (0.349)
Bank manager	2.467*** (0.295)	1.260*** (0.257)
Business owner	2.478*** (0.300)	1.107*** (0.263)
Income		
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.356*** (0.305)	1.116*** (0.128)
400,000 kr.	2.761*** (0.309)	1.984*** (0.166)
600,000 kr.	4.741*** (0.329)	2.432*** (0.193)
1,200,000 kr.	5.992*** (0.383)	2.280*** (0.256)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.728*** (0.177)	-0.366** (0.142)
Degree, worker	-0.984*** (0.173)	-0.257 (0.138)
No quals, worker	-1.387*** (0.195)	-0.553*** (0.146)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.0835 (0.276)	0.523* (0.210)
Lower middle class	-0.588 (0.370)	-0.469 (0.280)
Upper working class	-1.338* (0.526)	-0.939* (0.368)
Working class	-2.005*** (0.387)	-1.405*** (0.264)
Don't know	-0.497 (1.007)	0.00211 (0.709)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.497 (0.264)	0.157 (0.178)
50-64 years	-0.814** (0.283)	0.00644 (0.195)
65+ years	-1.232*** (0.300)	-0.0228 (0.226)
Household income		
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.566 (0.362)	-0.166 (0.267)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.383 (0.357)	-0.252 (0.268)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-1.156** (0.353)	-0.622* (0.272)
800,000 kr. +	-1.219** (0.393)	-0.627* (0.297)
Don't know	-0.486 (0.389)	-0.228 (0.293)
Gender		
Male	0.0375 (0.200)	0.171 (0.142)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.410 (0.286)	0.282 (0.219)
Routine nonmanual	0.465 (0.347)	0.230 (0.252)
Self employed	0.687 (0.422)	0.826* (0.338)
Skilled manual	1.188** (0.422)	0.714* (0.296)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.367 (0.390)	0.257 (0.292)

Education		
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0
	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.669	-0.328
	(0.365)	(0.241)
Short tertiary	-0.794	-0.697*
	(0.459)	(0.292)
Medium tertiary	-0.857*	-0.346
	(0.403)	(0.268)
Long tertiary	-1.313**	-0.546
	(0.442)	(0.312)
Constant	-1.206	-0.934
	(0.692)	(0.505)
<hr/>		
Observations	3372	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.332	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.



Table A12. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain and Denmark, 2015, 95 per cent confidence intervals for pred. probabilities.

	Britain										Denmark									
	Upper middle		Middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working		Middle		Upper middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working	
	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB
<i>Occupation</i>																				
Bus driver	.03	.08	.12	.19	.12	.19	.23	.31	.32	.40	.19	.27	.34	.42	.10	.16	.06	.11	.15	.20
Plumber	.03	.07	.18	.25	.16	.23	.21	.29	.26	.33	.18	.24	.38	.46	.10	.16	.08	.13	.11	.16
Self-employed plumber	.04	.07	.16	.22	.17	.24	.22	.30	.26	.33	.26	.33	.35	.44	.11	.16	.05	.10	.08	.12
Cashier in a bank	.04	.11	.20	.27	.22	.30	.20	.27	.17	.23	.29	.36	.37	.45	.14	.19	.03	.06	.04	.07
Elementary school teacher	.04	.11	.27	.36	.21	.30	.16	.24	.11	.18	.25	.33	.42	.52	.08	.15	.02	.06	.05	.11
Solicitor/ lawyer	.09	.17	.23	.36	.18	.32	.08	.19	.12	.25	.39	.51	.27	.43	.08	.24	-.01	.04	-.02	.07
Bank manager	.08	.13	.28	.37	.20	.29	.11	.19	.13	.22	.40	.48	.34	.45	.06	.15	.01	.06	-.01	.07
Owner and manager of company	.11	.17	.30	.39	.20	.29	.11	.18	.09	.16	.41	.49	.30	.41	.08	.19	.00	.04	.00	.07
<i>Income</i>																				
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.01	.05	.10	.17	.16	.23	.16	.22	.41	.49	.03	.08	.26	.35	.25	.35	.06	.11	.21	.30
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.01	.04	.16	.22	.22	.29	.18	.24	.29	.36	.07	.13	.45	.53	.19	.26	.05	.09	.09	.14
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.03	.06	.22	.28	.23	.30	.19	.26	.18	.24	.16	.22	.54	.62	.09	.14	.05	.09	.03	.07
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.06	.09	.29	.36	.20	.26	.21	.27	.11	.16	.44	.52	.37	.45	.03	.06	.03	.06	.01	.04
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.17	.25	.28	.36	.12	.18	.17	.24	.08	.14	.70	.78	.16	.23	.01	.03	.01	.04	.01	.04
<i>Education</i>																				
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.02	.06	.17	.24	.18	.24	.20	.26	.28	.34	.31	.37	.34	.42	.09	.13	.05	.08	.09	.13
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.06	.10	.19	.25	.20	.26	.19	.26	.22	.28	.33	.38	.32	.39	.10	.15	.04	.07	.08	.13
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.06	.10	.21	.27	.20	.26	.16	.22	.23	.30	.30	.36	.35	.41	.12	.17	.03	.07	.08	.12
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.07	.12	.22	.28	.19	.25	.20	.26	.17	.22	.24	.30	.40	.47	.12	.16	.05	.08	.07	.11
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.09	.14	.28	.34	.16	.22	.15	.21	.17	.23	.33	.39	.31	.38	.11	.15	.04	.07	.09	.13
<i>Class background</i>																				
Manager, degree	.09	.14	.28	.35	.18	.24	.16	.21	.15	.20	.37	.43	.33	.39	.10	.14	.04	.07	.05	.08
Manager, left school at 16	.06	.09	.19	.24	.19	.25	.20	.26	.23	.28	.32	.37	.33	.39	.11	.16	.05	.08	.07	.11
Worked on assembly line, degree	.07	.11	.23	.29	.19	.25	.19	.25	.18	.23	.28	.33	.38	.44	.11	.16	.03	.06	.09	.13
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.05	.09	.18	.23	.17	.22	.17	.22	.30	.36	.26	.31	.35	.41	.11	.15	.05	.08	.12	.17

Note: LB: Lower bound, UB: Upper bound. Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients.

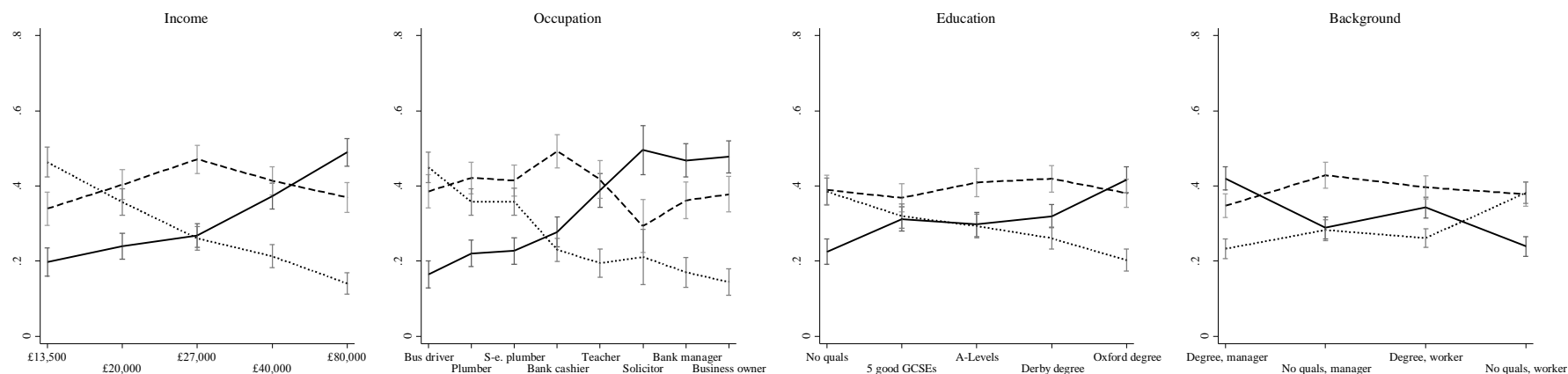
Table A13. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain and Denmark, 2016. Predicted probabilities.

	Britain					Denmark				
	Upper middle	Middle	Lower middle	Upper working	Working	Upper middle	Middle	Lower middle	Upper working	Working
<i>Occupation</i>										
Bus driver	.02	.14	.17	.21	.45	.23	.36	.16	.10	.15
Plumber	.03	.19	.17	.25	.36	.23	.39	.12	.14	.12
Self-employed plumber	.03	.20	.16	.25	.36	.25	.43	.13	.11	.08
Cashier in a bank	.06	.22	.26	.23	.23	.32	.42	.14	.06	.05
Elementary school teacher	.07	.32	.25	.17	.19	.31	.42	.14	.04	.08
Solicitor/ lawyer	.12	.36	.16	.14	.21	.46	.37	.11	.02	.04
Bank manager	.10	.37	.23	.14	.17	.45	.38	.12	.03	.02
Owner and manager of company	.11	.37	.23	.16	.14	.45	.34	.17	.03	.02
<i>Income</i>										
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.03	.17	.19	.15	.46	.06	.27	.34	.08	.26
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.02	.21	.21	.20	.36	.08	.51	.21	.10	.10
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.04	.23	.24	.23	.26	.19	.58	.10	.09	.04
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.06	.32	.20	.22	.20	.45	.44	.05	.05	.01
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.16	.33	.16	.21	.14	.77	.15	.02	.05	.02
<i>Education</i>										
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.04	.19	.19	.20	.39	.32	.36	.14	.08	.11
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.05	.26	.19	.18	.32	.33	.34	.15	.07	.11
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.06	.23	.20	.21	.29	.32	.39	.12	.07	.10
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.06	.26	.20	.22	.26	.29	.39	.14	.07	.07
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.11	.31	.20	.18	.20	.37	.37	.11	.07	.08
<i>Class background</i>										
Manager, degree	.09	.33	.19	.16	.23	.38	.36	.11	.06	.08
Manager, left school at 16	.06	.23	.20	.23	.28	.34	.36	.15	.07	.08
Worked on assembly line, degree	.07	.27	.19	.22	.26	.32	.40	.12	.08	.08
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.05	.19	.19	.19	.38	.29	.36	.14	.09	.13

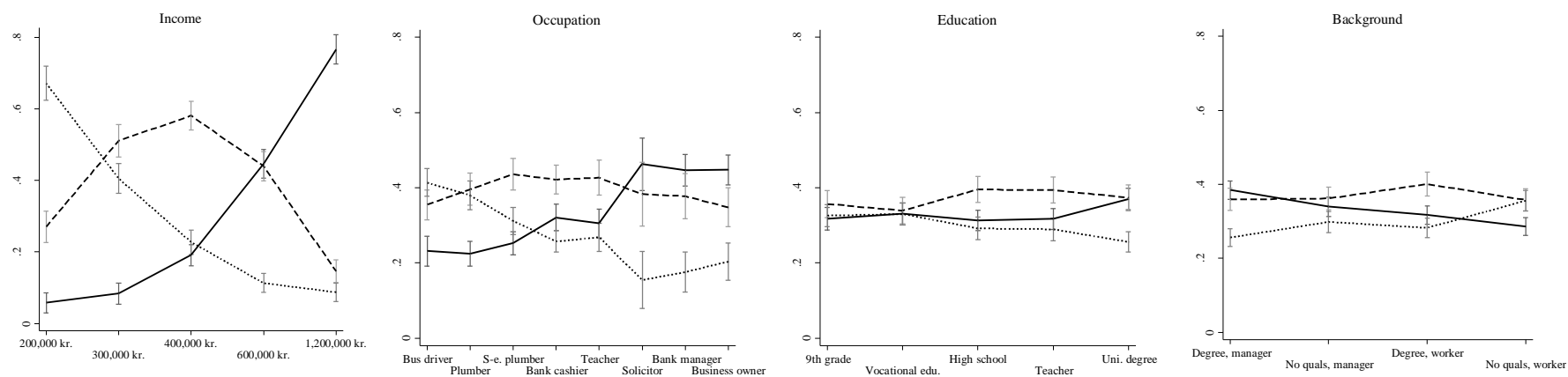
Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models using only data from the 2016 round. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients as well as confidence intervals for the predictions.

Figure A2. Influence of different dimensions of class on vignette classifications, three group class measure, 2016

Panel A: Britain



Panel B: Denmark



— Upper group    - - - - Middle group    ..... Lower group

Note: Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the control variables left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients. Bars indicate 95 per cent confidence bands

Table A14. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain, 2016, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	0.937* (0.369)	0.841*** (0.189)	0.368* (0.168)	0.210 (0.165)
A-Levels	1.282*** (0.373)	0.858*** (0.194)	0.552** (0.178)	0.473** (0.163)
Derby degree	1.465*** (0.341)	1.183*** (0.201)	0.748*** (0.177)	0.685*** (0.169)
Oxford degree	2.819*** (0.363)	1.985*** (0.211)	1.216*** (0.194)	0.892*** (0.181)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.853 (0.622)	0.794*** (0.200)	0.338 (0.187)	0.525** (0.171)
S-e. plumber	0.926 (0.608)	0.824*** (0.206)	0.304 (0.180)	0.516** (0.172)
Bank cashier	2.375*** (0.572)	1.728*** (0.230)	1.456*** (0.191)	1.063*** (0.189)
Teacher	2.952*** (0.612)	2.510*** (0.249)	1.742*** (0.225)	0.988*** (0.226)
Solicitor	3.620*** (0.639)	2.629*** (0.383)	1.226*** (0.372)	0.735 (0.384)
Bank manager	3.699*** (0.625)	2.944*** (0.287)	1.869*** (0.259)	1.008*** (0.254)
Business owner	4.050*** (0.607)	3.166*** (0.279)	2.083*** (0.257)	1.317*** (0.245)
Income				
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.375 (0.628)	0.734*** (0.183)	0.517*** (0.156)	0.615*** (0.160)
£27,000	1.596** (0.516)	1.357*** (0.204)	1.136*** (0.178)	1.190*** (0.182)
£40,000	2.503*** (0.529)	2.125*** (0.220)	1.285*** (0.195)	1.422*** (0.191)
£80,000	4.408*** (0.546)	2.921*** (0.245)	1.705*** (0.225)	1.928*** (0.206)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-1.175*** (0.220)	-0.990*** (0.149)	-0.402** (0.145)	0.0419 (0.157)
Degree, worker	-0.691*** (0.201)	-0.558*** (0.133)	-0.245 (0.137)	0.0551 (0.147)
No quals, worker	-2.134*** (0.249)	-1.796*** (0.155)	-0.975*** (0.146)	-0.620*** (0.152)

Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-1.151 (0.625)	-0.0530 (0.448)	-0.580 (0.451)	-0.538 (0.443)
Lower middle class	-2.379*** (0.677)	-1.093* (0.480)	-0.511 (0.470)	-0.689 (0.446)
Upper working class	-3.154*** (0.727)	-2.164*** (0.507)	-1.476** (0.476)	-0.585 (0.467)
Working class	-5.115*** (0.680)	-3.430*** (0.483)	-2.790*** (0.475)	-1.752*** (0.450)
Don't know	-4.145*** (0.994)	-2.311** (0.847)	-1.711* (0.715)	-1.480** (0.565)
Age				
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-1.056** (0.362)	-0.292 (0.262)	0.0180 (0.229)	-0.115 (0.191)
50-64 years	-1.132** (0.385)	-0.286 (0.271)	0.108 (0.229)	0.0893 (0.207)
65+ years	-0.385 (0.436)	0.126 (0.309)	0.536* (0.271)	0.695** (0.250)
Household income				
£14,300	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
£14,301-23,000	-0.338 (0.520)	-0.379 (0.353)	-0.359 (0.307)	0.0322 (0.252)
£23,001-35,700	-0.760 (0.508)	-1.080** (0.383)	-0.854** (0.324)	-0.354 (0.274)
£35,701-57,200	-1.456** (0.536)	-1.170** (0.383)	-0.755* (0.322)	-0.230 (0.294)
£57,201+	-1.879** (0.581)	-1.508*** (0.417)	-1.136** (0.347)	-0.766* (0.307)
Don't know	-1.332* (0.578)	-1.169** (0.413)	-0.655* (0.329)	-0.0420 (0.289)
Gender				
Male	0.478 (0.297)	0.0250 (0.214)	0.284 (0.182)	-0.0548 (0.159)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	0.376 (0.392)	-0.212 (0.281)	0.00940 (0.239)	0.0744 (0.215)
Routine nonmanual	1.677*** (0.414)	0.613 (0.316)	0.638* (0.259)	0.363 (0.235)
Self employed	1.366 (0.817)	0.491 (0.545)	0.430 (0.494)	0.505 (0.370)
Skilled manual	-0.295 (0.836)	-0.210 (0.559)	0.242 (0.464)	0.220 (0.356)
Semi-/unskilled manual	1.939*** (0.538)	1.071** (0.406)	0.916** (0.320)	0.446 (0.283)

Education				
No formal - CSE	0	0	0	0
grade 2-5	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 +	0.688	0.478	0.262	0.248
Scottish ordinary	(0.474)	(0.324)	(0.271)	(0.225)
GCE A-Level +	0.472	0.552	0.559*	0.571*
Scottish higher	(0.491)	(0.342)	(0.272)	(0.242)
Teaching qual,	-0.266	0.0954	0.316	0.370
diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	(0.527)	(0.383)	(0.312)	(0.271)
Higher degree	0.233	0.459	0.641	0.627
	(0.626)	(0.449)	(0.409)	(0.363)
Constant	-2.853*	-0.794	-0.701	-1.312*
	(1.177)	(0.758)	(0.660)	(0.631)
Observations	3443			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.213			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.

Table A15. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Denmark, 2016, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Upper Working
Vignette characteristics				
Education				
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.0667 (0.234)	-0.0592 (0.205)	0.0599 (0.223)	-0.0495 (0.269)
High school	0.143 (0.240)	0.247 (0.204)	-0.0484 (0.219)	-0.0279 (0.285)
Teacher	0.671* (0.265)	0.737** (0.224)	0.516* (0.250)	0.627* (0.277)
Uni. degree	0.965*** (0.270)	0.629* (0.244)	0.162 (0.247)	0.288 (0.283)
Occupation				
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.338 (0.273)	0.436* (0.184)	-0.0811 (0.205)	0.708** (0.258)
S-e. plumber	1.102*** (0.277)	1.094*** (0.206)	0.459* (0.218)	0.877** (0.282)
Bank cashier	2.175*** (0.296)	1.702*** (0.228)	1.064*** (0.234)	0.930** (0.313)
Teacher	1.492*** (0.354)	1.139*** (0.288)	0.598 (0.311)	0.0286 (0.402)
Solicitor	3.470*** (0.949)	2.139* (0.935)	1.190 (1.066)	0.190 (1.198)
Bank manager	4.059*** (1.054)	2.793** (1.041)	1.944 (1.079)	1.314 (1.131)
Business owner	4.314*** (1.086)	2.981** (1.070)	2.591* (1.089)	1.424 (1.150)
Income				
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.794*** (0.348)	1.955*** (0.170)	0.735*** (0.182)	1.291*** (0.239)
400,000 kr.	3.993*** (0.385)	3.308*** (0.280)	1.116*** (0.300)	2.278*** (0.344)
600,000 kr.	6.284*** (0.444)	4.268*** (0.356)	1.505*** (0.371)	2.842*** (0.404)
1,200,000 kr.	6.722*** (0.495)	2.873*** (0.426)	0.0980 (0.563)	2.377*** (0.447)
Background				
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.481* (0.223)	-0.167 (0.199)	0.199 (0.221)	-0.0387 (0.254)
Degree, worker	-0.576* (0.225)	-0.0321 (0.203)	0.0568 (0.224)	0.105 (0.265)
No quals, worker	-1.586*** (0.241)	-0.896*** (0.212)	-0.428 (0.220)	-0.332 (0.261)

Individual characteristics				
Class identification				
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.0523 (0.399)	0.345 (0.322)	0.0967 (0.296)	-0.179 (0.304)
Lower middle class	-1.735** (0.586)	-1.345** (0.461)	-0.616 (0.384)	-0.515 (0.395)
Upper working class	-1.738** (0.602)	-1.421** (0.478)	-0.819 (0.471)	0.0410 (0.488)
Working class	-2.422*** (0.577)	-1.630*** (0.460)	-1.306** (0.425)	-0.540 (0.426)
Don't know	1.391 (1.284)	1.755 (1.106)	1.934 (1.178)	2.159* (0.930)
Age				
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	0.957* (0.383)	0.626 (0.335)	0.388 (0.312)	0.483 (0.302)
50-64 years	0.991* (0.401)	0.658 (0.340)	0.590 (0.305)	0.503 (0.301)
65+ years	0.856 (0.474)	1.122** (0.419)	0.742 (0.383)	0.742* (0.375)
Household income				
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.229 (0.554)	0.400 (0.478)	0.545 (0.397)	0.204 (0.383)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.458 (0.571)	0.0731 (0.472)	0.144 (0.413)	0.304 (0.396)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-0.530 (0.582)	0.0119 (0.505)	0.219 (0.452)	-0.0452 (0.445)
800,000 kr. +	-1.649** (0.594)	-0.713 (0.500)	-0.0160 (0.432)	-0.0940 (0.421)
Don't know	-0.407 (0.587)	0.0609 (0.509)	-0.265 (0.427)	0.213 (0.427)
Gender				
Male	-0.444 (0.274)	-0.644** (0.233)	-0.629** (0.221)	-0.0722 (0.214)
Occupation				
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	-0.00560 (0.461)	-0.118 (0.389)	0.135 (0.316)	0.452 (0.390)
Routine nonmanual	-0.255 (0.530)	-0.678 (0.438)	-0.508 (0.380)	0.324 (0.429)
Self employed	-0.217 (0.693)	-0.568 (0.574)	-0.904* (0.459)	-0.232 (0.507)
Skilled manual	0.0916 (0.647)	0.119 (0.561)	0.262 (0.466)	0.0910 (0.492)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.240 (0.604)	-0.482 (0.495)	-0.200 (0.400)	0.496 (0.469)



Education				
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.242	-0.197	-0.352	-0.0667
	(0.477)	(0.404)	(0.350)	(0.394)
Short tertiary	-0.592	-0.610	-0.695	0.333
	(0.582)	(0.492)	(0.457)	(0.452)
Medium tertiary	-0.712	-0.553	-0.517	0.00380
	(0.554)	(0.468)	(0.421)	(0.462)
Long tertiary	-1.657*	-1.012	-0.910	0.193
	(0.687)	(0.574)	(0.516)	(0.560)
Constant	-1.782	0.0981	0.737	-2.454**
	(1.030)	(0.861)	(0.763)	(0.778)
Observations	3377			
Pseudo $R^2$	0.294			

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Working class is reference category.

Table A16. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Britain, 2016, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
No quals	0 (.)	0 (.)
5 good GCSEs	0.839*** (0.186)	0.280* (0.138)
A-Levels	0.907*** (0.191)	0.507*** (0.144)
Derby degree	1.212*** (0.196)	0.713*** (0.148)
Oxford degree	2.066*** (0.205)	1.033*** (0.161)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.775*** (0.194)	0.458** (0.143)
S-e. plumber	0.809*** (0.202)	0.439** (0.145)
Bank cashier	1.759*** (0.224)	1.244*** (0.158)
Teacher	2.493*** (0.242)	1.345*** (0.190)
Solicitor	2.781*** (0.373)	0.939** (0.335)
Bank manager	2.977*** (0.280)	1.409*** (0.221)
Business owner	3.225*** (0.269)	1.661*** (0.219)
Income		
£13,500	0 (.)	0 (.)
£20,000	0.713*** (0.182)	0.578*** (0.130)
£27,000	1.357*** (0.198)	1.180*** (0.154)
£40,000	2.158*** (0.217)	1.369*** (0.165)
£80,000	3.174*** (0.241)	1.835*** (0.187)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.982*** (0.146)	-0.159 (0.127)
Degree, worker	-0.558*** (0.127)	-0.0849 (0.116)
No quals, worker	-1.817*** (0.153)	-0.782*** (0.124)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.219 (0.461)	-0.533 (0.411)
Lower middle class	-1.304** (0.493)	-0.543 (0.418)
Upper working class	-2.239*** (0.515)	-0.975* (0.433)
Working class	-3.613*** (0.491)	-2.196*** (0.421)
Don't know	-2.560** (0.842)	-1.547** (0.570)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	-0.419 (0.261)	-0.0466 (0.189)
50-64 years	-0.411 (0.272)	0.107 (0.197)
65+ years	0.0565 (0.310)	0.631** (0.240)
Household income		
≤£14,300	0 (.)	0 (.)
£14,301-23,000	-0.342 (0.357)	-0.152 (0.250)
£23,001-35,700	-0.985** (0.381)	-0.583* (0.269)
£35,701-57,200	-1.168** (0.382)	-0.470 (0.279)
£57,201+	-1.534*** (0.417)	-0.933** (0.296)
Don't know	-1.149** (0.409)	-0.328 (0.277)
Gender		
Male	-0.0670 (0.213)	-0.0967 (0.152)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	-0.143 (0.276)	0.0366 (0.205)
Routine nonmanual	0.728* (0.313)	0.477* (0.221)
Self employed	0.594 (0.543)	0.464 (0.382)
Skilled manual	-0.241 (0.569)	0.223 (0.368)
Semi-/unskilled manual	1.144** (0.403)	0.646* (0.270)

Education		
No formal - CSE	0	0
grade 2-5	(.)	(.)
CSE grade 1 +	0.519	0.251
Scottish ordinary	(0.325)	(0.219)
GCE A-Level +	0.555	0.567*
Scottish higher	(0.343)	(0.230)
Teaching qual,	0.0704	0.347
diploma + 1 <sup>st</sup> degr.	(0.384)	(0.265)
Higher degree	0.440	0.635
	(0.445)	(0.358)
Constant	-0.487	-0.141
	(0.793)	(0.635)
<hr/>		
Observations	3443	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.256	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.

Table A17. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization (three-category measure) in Denmark, 2016, logistic regression coefficients and standard errors

	Upper	Middle
Vignette characteristics		
Education		
9th grade	0 (.)	0 (.)
Vocational edu.	0.0667 (0.181)	-0.0647 (0.143)
High school	0.166 (0.199)	0.276 (0.149)
Teacher	0.210 (0.192)	0.287* (0.146)
Uni. degree	0.794*** (0.199)	0.465** (0.154)
Occupation		
Bus driver	0 (.)	0 (.)
Plumber	0.0880 (0.242)	0.240 (0.135)
S-e. plumber	0.609** (0.236)	0.636*** (0.149)
Bank cashier	1.369*** (0.238)	0.907*** (0.139)
Teacher	1.204*** (0.254)	0.852*** (0.171)
Solicitor	2.895*** (0.453)	1.569*** (0.409)
Bank manager	2.640*** (0.313)	1.381*** (0.288)
Business owner	2.432*** (0.296)	1.100*** (0.252)
Income		
200,000 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
300,000 kr.	1.147*** (0.322)	1.318*** (0.123)
400,000 kr.	2.829*** (0.318)	2.168*** (0.162)
600,000 kr.	4.719*** (0.329)	2.724*** (0.193)
1,200,000 kr.	5.800*** (0.361)	1.950*** (0.240)
Background		
Degree, manager	0 (.)	0 (.)
No quals, manager	-0.579*** (0.171)	-0.267* (0.134)
Degree, worker	-0.641*** (0.159)	-0.0934 (0.135)
No quals, worker	-1.290*** (0.176)	-0.601*** (0.133)

Individual characteristics		
Class identification		
Upper middle class	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middle class	-0.0400 (0.288)	0.352 (0.209)
Lower middle class	-1.264** (0.436)	-0.883** (0.298)
Upper working class	-1.444** (0.462)	-1.117** (0.374)
Working class	-1.678*** (0.421)	-0.890** (0.294)
Don't know	-0.391 (1.017)	-0.0114 (0.635)
Age		
18-34 years	0 (.)	0 (.)
35-49 years	0.617* (0.293)	0.296 (0.219)
50-64 years	0.558 (0.301)	0.230 (0.222)
65+ years	0.274 (0.346)	0.551* (0.262)
Household income		
-249,999 kr.	0 (.)	0 (.)
250,000-399,999 kr.	-0.551 (0.420)	0.0757 (0.311)
400,000-599,999 kr.	-0.620 (0.421)	-0.0827 (0.297)
600,000-799,999 kr.	-0.626 (0.419)	-0.0854 (0.314)
800,000 kr. +	-1.605*** (0.446)	-0.674* (0.312)
Don't know	-0.387 (0.445)	0.0909 (0.346)
Gender		
Male	-0.113 (0.204)	-0.304* (0.151)
Occupation		
Higher controllers	0 (.)	0 (.)
Lower controllers	-0.209 (0.349)	-0.313 (0.247)
Routine nonmanual	-0.114 (0.408)	-0.521 (0.277)
Self employed	0.243 (0.563)	-0.109 (0.405)
Skilled manual	-0.0583 (0.476)	-0.0343 (0.357)
Semi-/unskilled manual	0.155 (0.455)	-0.551 (0.313)

Education		
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	0	0
	(.)	(.)
Vocational	-0.0646	-0.0157
	(0.331)	(0.249)
Short tertiary	-0.399	-0.397
	(0.417)	(0.305)
Medium tertiary	-0.489	-0.324
	(0.391)	(0.291)
Long tertiary	-1.291**	-0.630
	(0.460)	(0.330)
Constant	-2.574***	-0.762
	(0.770)	(0.552)
<hr/>		
Observations	3377	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.337	

Note: Standard errors statistics in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower group is reference category.

Table A18. Influence of vignette characteristics on class categorization in Britain and Denmark, 2016, 95 per cent confidence intervals for predicted probabilities.

	Britain										Denmark									
	Upper middle		Middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working		Middle		Upper middle		Lower middle		Upper working		Working	
	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB	LB	UB
<i>Occupation</i>																				
Bus driver	.00	.05	.10	.17	.14	.21	.17	.25	.41	.49	.19	.27	.32	.40	.14	.19	.07	.13	.12	.18
Plumber	.01	.05	.16	.22	.13	.20	.21	.29	.32	.39	.19	.26	.35	.43	.09	.14	.11	.18	.10	.15
Self-employed plumber	.02	.05	.16	.23	.13	.19	.21	.29	.32	.39	.22	.28	.39	.47	.10	.15	.08	.13	.06	.10
Cashier in a bank	.03	.09	.18	.26	.22	.30	.20	.27	.20	.26	.29	.36	.39	.46	.11	.16	.04	.08	.04	.07
Elementary school teacher	.04	.10	.27	.37	.20	.30	.13	.21	.16	.23	.27	.34	.38	.47	.11	.18	.02	.07	.05	.12
Solicitor/ lawyer	.08	.15	.30	.43	.11	.22	.09	.20	.14	.29	.39	.53	.28	.46	.02	.20	-.01	.05	-.02	.10
Bank manager	.07	.12	.32	.41	.18	.27	.11	.18	.13	.21	.40	.49	.32	.44	.06	.18	.01	.06	-.02	.06
Owner and manager of company	.08	.13	.32	.41	.19	.27	.12	.19	.11	.18	.41	.49	.29	.40	.11	.22	.01	.04	-.01	.05
<i>Income</i>																				
£13,500/ 200,000 kr.	.00	.05	.13	.20	.16	.23	.12	.18	.42	.50	.03	.08	.22	.31	.28	.39	.06	.10	.21	.30
£20,000/ 300,000 kr.	.01	.04	.18	.25	.18	.24	.17	.23	.32	.39	.05	.11	.46	.55	.18	.25	.08	.12	.07	.12
£27,000/ 400,000 kr.	.03	.05	.20	.26	.21	.27	.20	.26	.23	.29	.16	.22	.54	.62	.08	.12	.07	.12	.02	.05
£40,000/ 600,000 kr.	.04	.07	.28	.35	.17	.23	.19	.25	.18	.24	.41	.49	.40	.48	.03	.06	.04	.07	.00	.02
£80,000/ 1,200,000 kr.	.13	.19	.29	.37	.13	.19	.18	.25	.11	.17	.73	.81	.12	.18	.00	.03	.03	.07	.01	.03
<i>Education</i>																				
Left at 16 no quals/ left after 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	.02	.05	.15	.22	.16	.22	.17	.23	.35	.42	.29	.35	.32	.39	.11	.16	.06	.10	.09	.13
5 good GCSEs/ vocational education	.03	.07	.23	.29	.16	.22	.15	.21	.29	.35	.30	.36	.30	.37	.12	.18	.05	.10	.09	.13
A-Levels/ high school diploma	.04	.08	.20	.27	.17	.23	.18	.24	.26	.33	.29	.34	.36	.43	.10	.15	.05	.09	.08	.12
Degree from Derby/ teaching qualification	.04	.08	.23	.29	.17	.23	.19	.25	.23	.29	.29	.35	.36	.43	.11	.16	.06	.10	.05	.09
Degree from Oxford/ university degree	.08	.13	.28	.35	.17	.23	.15	.21	.17	.23	.34	.40	.34	.41	.09	.13	.05	.08	.06	.10
<i>Class background</i>																				
Manager, degree	.08	.11	.30	.36	.16	.22	.13	.18	.21	.26	.36	.41	.33	.39	.09	.13	.05	.08	.06	.10
Manager, left school at 16	.05	.08	.20	.25	.17	.22	.20	.26	.26	.31	.31	.37	.33	.39	.12	.17	.05	.08	.07	.10
Worked on assembly line, degree	.06	.09	.24	.30	.17	.22	.17	.23	.24	.29	.29	.34	.37	.43	.10	.15	.06	.09	.07	.10
Worked on assembly line, left school at 16	.04	.06	.16	.21	.16	.21	.16	.22	.35	.41	.26	.31	.33	.39	.11	.16	.07	.11	.11	.15

Note: LB: Lower bound, UB: Upper bound. Predictions are based on multinomial logistic regression models. The predictions are calculated with the other variables in the models left at their actual values in the samples. See the supplementary material for the estimated coefficients.



