Class and status:

One or two forms of stratification?

Erik Bihagen, Stockholm University

Paul Lambert, Stirling University

NB. preliminary

Presentation for Social stratification research seminar, Cambridge, September 12-14, 2012

Introduction

Tak-Wing Chan and John H Goldthorpe (CG):

Theoretically and empirically sound to distinguish between class and status, as is done in the writings of Weber

Several publications:

Chan (Ed.) 2010, Chan & Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2004

The argument of CG

Class – closely linked to the labor market

Two basic relationships for employees:
service relationship (long term advantages to increase work incentives and keep staff that is expensive to train)
labor contract (opposite)
Measured by categorical class schemas (EGP, ESeC, NSeC)

Status – Weber's concept of status is cited

In CG text, described as: captures 'commensality': 'who eats with whom, who sleeps with whom: and further in lifestyles', preferences for interaction; Derived from friendship patterns and marriage patterns in between incumbents in different occupations – metric status scales

The argument of CG, contd

Hence, expectations that:

- a, class is more related to labor market outcomes (income, unemployment risks etc) than status
- b, status is more related to lifestyle outcomes (cultural consumption etc) than class

And proof of the pudding is in the eating – confirmatory results!

Our critisism

We beleive that CGs attempt to measure status is problematic and that CGs two measures of class and status rather measure the same underlying dimension

Rest of the presentation:

1. Is status one-dimensional?
2. Does the CG ’status’ scale indicate preferences for interaction?
3. Why is not employment status used in the measure of status?
4. Two forms of stratification or only one?
5. Why is the pudding tasty initially?
6. Results A: The large similarity in between CG:s two measures
7. Results B: The CG analyses replicated and the residuals analyzed
8. Conclusion

1. Is ’status’ one-dimensional?

- Back to Weber? Weber rather suggests that status is about status groups than a one-dimensional continuum from low to high status.

  ” In contrast to classes, *Stände* (status groups), are normally groups. They are, however, often of an amorphous kind. In contrast to the purely economically determined “class situation” we wish to designate as *status situation* every typical component of the life of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*. This *honor* may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality, and, of course, it can be knit to a class situation: class distinctions are linked in the most varied ways with status distinctions.” (Weber 1968, p.932)

  W. suggests that status relates to groups that can not always be ranked hierarchically

1. Is status one-dimensional? contd

- In terms of occupations, status groups would also feature closure: e.g. Medical doctors, monopoly of surgery, Organized and limit entrance, Limits in social circulation – kids to doctors become doctors

  David Grusky and colleagues' 'microclass' approach closer to Weber's status definition (Frank Parkin etc earlier)

- Sometimes there may exist intricate systems of negative and positive honour in between groups that can be described as a metric (caste system in India), but most of the times unlikely that such a system can be reduced to a single dimension

> We could be right or wrong about this, but the two ways of understanding status, as a continuum or as groups, deserves more attention

2. Does the CG scale indicate preferences for interaction?

- from interactional patterns (friendship/marriage) in between occupational units one dimension from a MDS is interpreted as status
- Does it tap typical patterns of interaction (who eats with whom etc) and preferences for interaction?
- (1), the map is at least two dimensional. Hence typical patterns of interaction can not be fully captured by a single dimension.
- (2), opportunity structure important for such patterns… maybe this dimension captures the opportunity structure -largely affected by education, class and income
  May reflect residential segregation (affected by income)
  May reflect educational homogamy (many find their future spouse at the university – educational homogamy is stronger than occupational Blossfeld 2009)
  May reflect the trace of stratification processes (Blackburn, Prandy, Bottero, Lambert)

3. Why is not employment status used in the measure of status?

- Class schemas: occupational units + employment statuses
- Status: occupational units (and relatively few)

Why?

- No good reason, quite likely that employment status matters for some kind of social honour/recognition from others
- There are other social interaction distance scales (SIDs) that use employment status (some CAMSIS scales)

(A related question:

- Why is class universal (same units go to the same classes over time and across countries) while status is country (and time?) specific?)

4. Two forms of stratification or only one?

- Our main point: Is it plausible that one categorization of occupational units tap one form of stratification and a metric scale of the same occupations tap another?
  (and the two are empirically distinguishable – c.f. Kraaykamp et al.)
- Educational attainment is the important sorting machine for social stratification (e.g. Hout & DiPrete 2006) & class is strongly associated with skills (Tåhlin 2007).
- At the same time marriage patterns and most probably friendship patterns are strongly associated with education.
- So, is it all about education and skills? Maybe not, maybe both concepts tap a general stratification order that does not just mirror skills (e.g. Stewart et. al. 1980, Prandy, Bottero, Lambert). In any case, likely to rather tap similar than different forms of stratification.

5. So, why is the pudding tasty initially?

- Main objection to our critique: The distinction of class and status works empirically!
  (Class better measures economic outcomes; status cultural consumption/lifestyles)

- Our position: CG scale and class do measure slightly different things, but it's wrong to presume they measure the difference between class and status

1. Measurement errors?
2. Differences in functional forms (but some tests of CG)
3. The strat. measures may tap other, theoretically irrelevant features of occupations. But also employment status ...

6. Results A: correlations using ESS (R^2)

(individual level measures of skill\assets\control)

	ESeC*	ICAM	ICAM _esec*	SIOPS	SIOPS _esec*	Skill req.	Educ	Asset spec.
ICAM	.89			.80	.78			
SIOPS	.84	.80	.80					
Skill	.28	.26	.26	.29	.28			
Educ	.27	.26	.28	.24	.26	.24		
Asset	.13	.11	.11	.13	.12	.06	.05	
Control	.13	.13	.13	.12	.12	.04	.06	.09

6. Results A: correlations using ESS, no variation within occs

(occupational level measures of skill\assets\control)

	ESeC*	ICAM	ICAM _esec*	SIOPS	SIOPS _esec*	Skill req.	Educ	Asset spec.
ICAM	.89			.80	.78			
SIOPS	.84	.80	.80					
Skill	*.81*	*.76*	*.74*	*.83*	*.78*			
Educ	*.84*	*.86*	*.87*	*.83*	*.80*	*.85*		
Asset	*.78*	*.66*	*.66*	*.73*	*.69*	*.70*	*.66*	
Control	*.70*	*.65*	*.70*	*.57*	*.60*	*.56*	*.61*	*.59*

6. Results A: Conclusions

- Strong associations between class and status measures
- Similar associations in between those and other measures

But, was the comparison fair?

All those were based on occs only
Status and class are both universal here
Analyses restricted to employees

7. Results B: replication of CG

BHPS-data

- Income (age 45-55)
- Unemployment risks
- Newspaper readership
- (Voraciousness)
- (summed consumption index)

I. R^2 increase (and BIC-reduction parsimony measure) of including strat measures in regression models
II. Analyses of residuals in predicting income and newspaper readership
III. (Analyses of residuals in predicting ’class’ with ’status’)

7. Results B: replication of CG I

M1: basic controls (gender, civil status, household composition, region and educational level) + *strat*

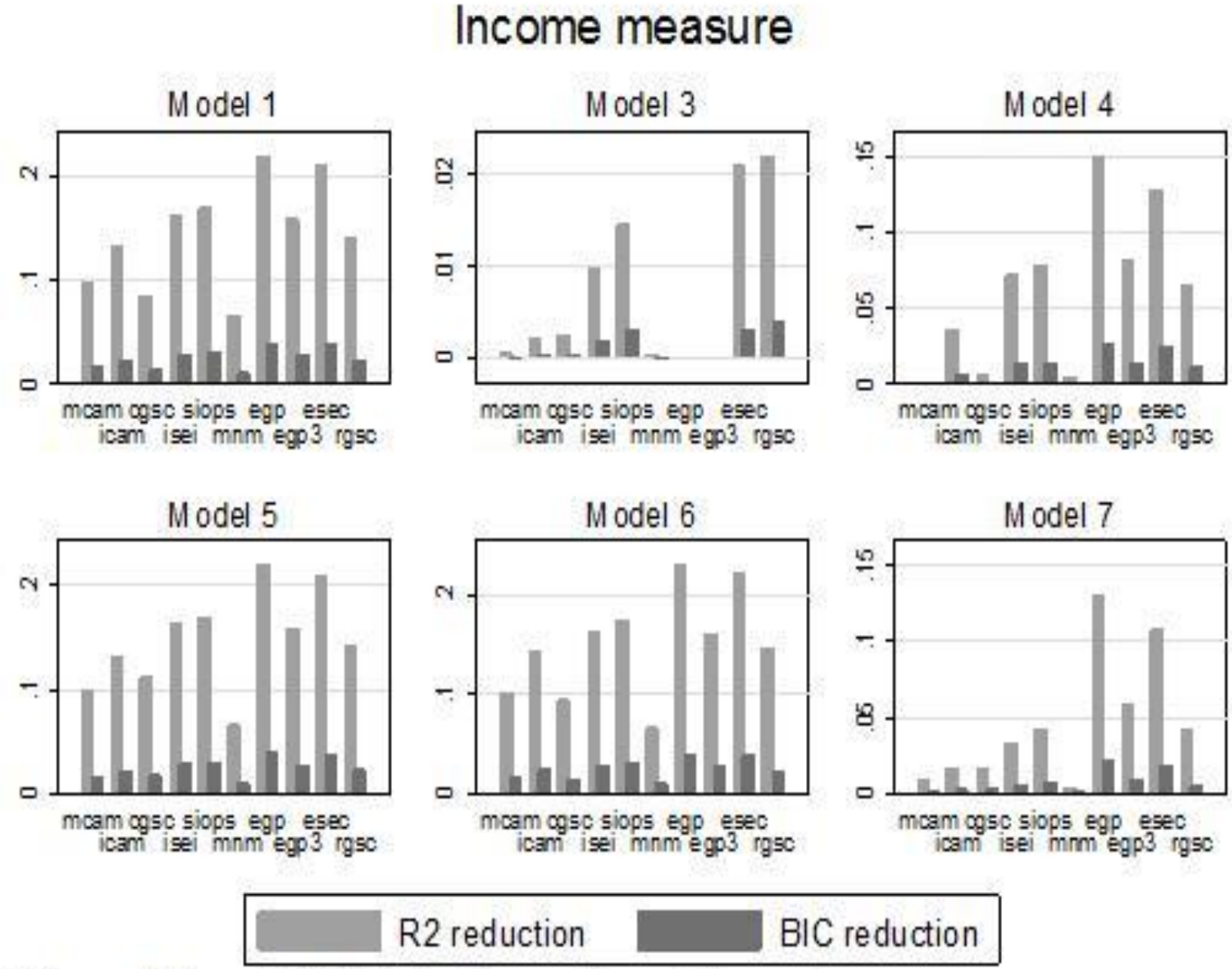
M2: basic controls + EGP + *strat*

M4: basic controls + MCAM + *strat*

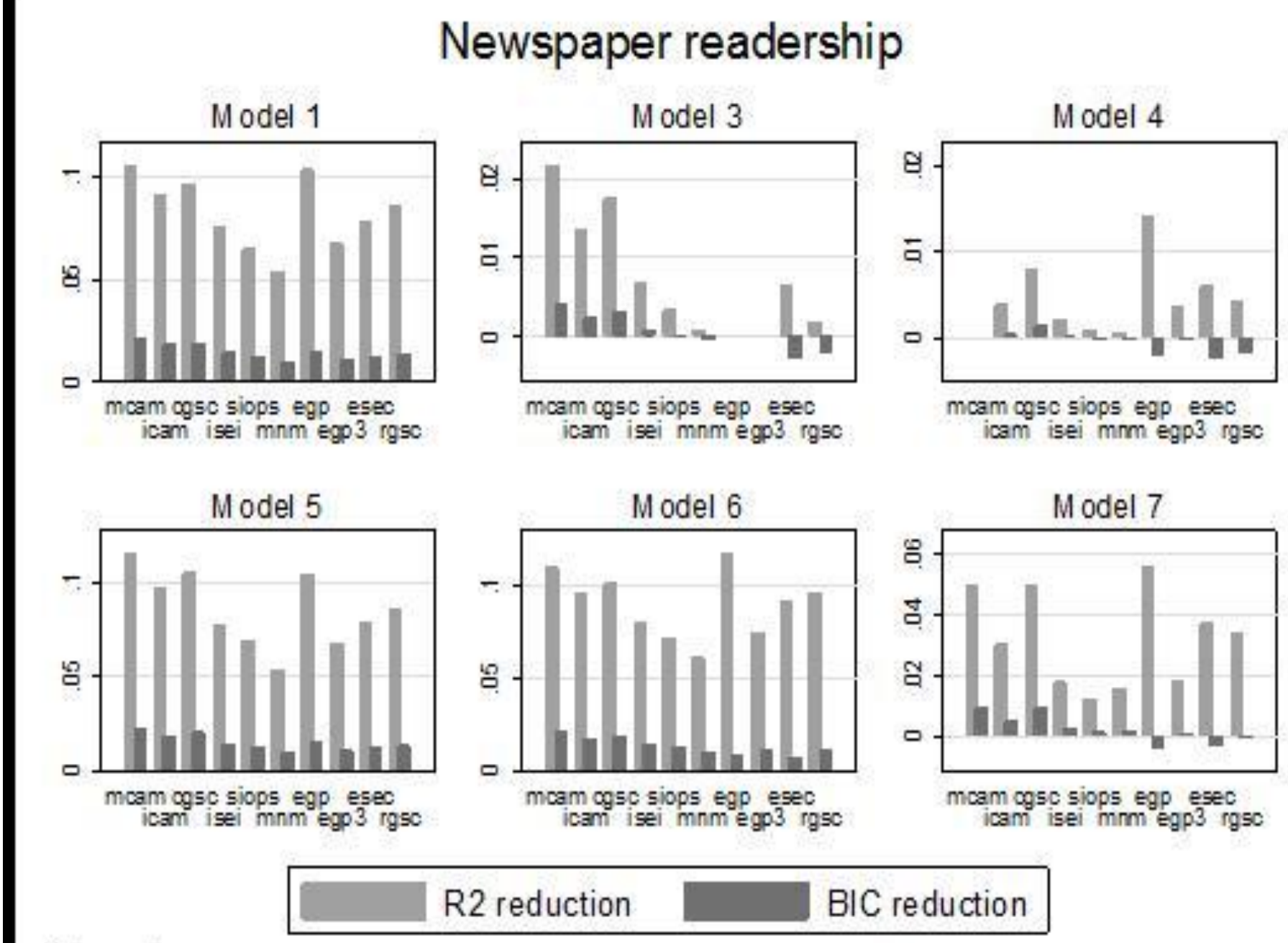
M5: M1 + $strat^2$ *[only for metric]*

M6: M1 + *strat*gender*

M7: M1 + skill level measure of occs



Adult respondents aged 45-55. Y is log of personal income (all sources).


Newspaper readership
Model 1
Model 3
Model 4
Model 5
Model 6
Model 7
0
.05
.1
0
.01
.02
0
.01
.02
0
.05
.1
0
.05
.1
0
.02
.04
.06
mcam ogsc siops egp esec
icam isei mnm egp3 rgsc
R2 reduction
BIC reduction
Notes go here

7. Results B: replication of CG I, conclusions

- Support to CG: class more important for income and unemployment risks, SIDs are more important for cultural consumption [also for the other measures mentioned].
- but (1); differences in predictive power not very large (SIDs vs EGP for newspaper readership)
- but (2); class schemas with few categories perform poorly.
- but (3); class + interactions with gender composition of occupations are almost equivalent in predictive power as SIDs for newspaper readership.
- but (4); The predictive power of all stratification measures are lowered substantially when including a measure of skill levels of occupations (cf. Tåhlin 2007).

7. Results B: replication of CG II, residuals

(Residuals – deviations between predicted (from regression models) and observed values for each individual.)

Correlations of residuals [strong correlations]:

Income:

	EGP	CGSC
CGSC	.95	
MCAM	.95	1.00

Newspaper readership:

	EGP	CGSC
CGSC	.99	
MCAM	.99	.99

7. Residuals contd. II

To what extent is it class relevant factors that make class a better predictor for income than status? (see next slide)

7. Residuals income contd II. Z-values (>2 = significant)

	mcam	cgss	egp
L employers	4,32	5,85	2,14
S employers	-8,57	-4,65	-9,62
Own account	-33,11	-28,84	-21,1
L Managers	25,49	27,82	0,97
S Managers	8,35	10,37	5,36
Supervisors	10,03	10,6	-7,41
mrj_asset	0,64	1,37	6
mrj_control	-5,99	-5,3	-2,51
mrj_edyr	3,85	6,9	-6,2
mrj_pcf	-24,29	-24,94	-7,33
mrj_pcfm	-3,17	-4,32	1,07
mrj_size	-1,01	-0,54	5,19
mrj_train	16,33	18,42	10,09
N	20121	20121	18058
r2	0,32	0,33	0,15

Overall, EGP smaller residuals since it captures employment status better

Theory doesn't matter very much, control in right direction

SID worse for female dominated jobs

7. Residuals II income diff in magnitude across measures contd.

	rd_mcam_cg	rd_mcam_egp	rd_cg_egp
L employers	-5,29	-1,03	0,81
S employers	-9,13	-6,43	-2,95
Own account	-3,14	-12,56	-10,52
L Managers	-15,17	32,87	35,15
S Managers	-8,98	-1,95	1,07
Supervisors	-2,68	11,36	11,34
mrj_asset	9,3	-0,69	-3,6
mrj_control	-17	-4,69	0,85
mrj_edyr	-10,3	8,1	10,05
mrj_pcf	-3,91	-11,85	-9,8
mrj_pcfm	-1,24	11,1	11,26
mrj_size	0,97	0,99	0,35
mrj_train	-6,41	-3,08	-0,89
N	20121	18058	18058
r2	0,11	0,13	0,13

Large differences in magnitude of residuals between SIDs and EGP regarding empl stat

Theory doesn't matter very much?

Some diffs for skills.

Gender distribution matters

NB. Explained variance similar between SIDs and SIDs and EGPs

7. Residuals II contd.

Why is status (SIDs) better in predicting newspaper readership than class?

Short answer; it only is to a limited degree and the remaining difference is not significant in our models. The R^2 is really small.

7. Residuals III.

Another way of studying the differences in between measures is to regress them on each other and then look at the residuals – is class for instance more related to factors associated with employment relationships?

7. Residuals III contd.

	cam_egp	cam_iegp	cg_egp	cg_iegp	cam_cg
age	10,63	0,12	18,52	8,6	-4,77
ed_sc	27,94	33,52	26,73	37,94	15,53
serpriv	33,27	26,2	49,31	48,7	-3,71
serpub	7,76	8,8	35,19	31,75	-12,14
r2	0,20	0,52	0,27	0,64	0,28
N	103775	103775	103775	103775	115406

7. Residuals III contd.

	cam_egp	cam_ieg	cg_egp	cg_iegp	cam_cg
L employers	-0,13	-8,78	-14,35	-24,22	22,22
S employers	-14,52	8,03	-16,8	-66,58	83,57
Own account	12,93	50,75	10,53	-17,32	82,38
L Managers	-106,55	-147,37	-101,76	-146,66	34,37
S Managers	-41,21	-12,53	-79,23	-47,59	44,27
Supervisors	-52,81	-66,96	-47,12	-89,82	29,31
r2	0,20	0,52	0,27	0,64	0,28
N	103775	103775	103775	103775	115406

7. Residuals III contd.

	cam_egp	cam_iegp	cg_egp	cg_iegp	cam_cg
mrj_edyr	19,43	-1,43	19,98	4,77	25,13
mrj_pcf	-6,71	83,13	33,37	141,17	-53,16
mrj_pcfm	-25,12	-26,11	-27,62	-33,15	-5,08
mrj_size	14,54	55,06	-15,83	35,01	15,09
mrj_asset	-1,35	40,54	-24,05	16,6	28,26
mrj_control	30,81	62,28	60,31	95,97	-26,5
mrj_train	19,57	35,6	10,12	37,62	14,43
r2	0,2	0,52	0,27	0,64	0,28
N	103775	103775	103775	103775	115406

7. Residuals III conclusions

Class gives considerably higher values to managers – indication that this is largely due to inclusion of employment status in the construction

SIDs give higher values to female dominated occs – especially CG

SIDs give higher values to occs with high typical educational level/skill

SIDs give higher values to occs with large degree of autonomy

Over-all conclusions:

1. Class and SIDs strongly correlated
2. Though class and SID perform slightly differently in models, the individuals who are better and worse predicted are much the same and the differences amongst them don't reflect the theory of class and status

Hence, more support for both mirroring the same dimension (in the Cambridge scale tradition or reductionist skill view)

Alternative ways of using status in strat research:

1. Look if some occs are status groups
2. Try other bases for status groups (any quality shared by a plurality) – education (prestigeous ones), industry, ethnicity...

Thanks for your attention!

Data and variables, *so far*

- ESS-data
- Skill requirements is based on a question (jbedyrs) about how many years of schooling that is required for doing the respondent's job well. Z-standardized within countries (mean 0, sd 1). The variable is only available in wave 2 and 5.
  Education is based on a question on the respondent's actual length of schooling (eduyrs). Since educational systems vary across countries it is Z-standardized within countries.
  Asset specificity is based on two questions about how replaceable the respondent is in his/her job (rpljbde) and how long time it takes to learn the job (jbrqlrn). These variables are only available in wave 2 and 5. Z-standardized in the full population.
  Control is based on a question on the respondent's autonomy at work (wkdcorg/a). Z-standardized in the full population.
  Authority measures the number of subordinates (njbspv and jbspv). Z-standardized in the full population.

Table 1: Associations (R2) between class (ESEC, EGP), status (ICAM), prestige (SIOPS), socio-economic index (ISEI) and measures of skill requirements, educational level, asset specificity, control and authority.

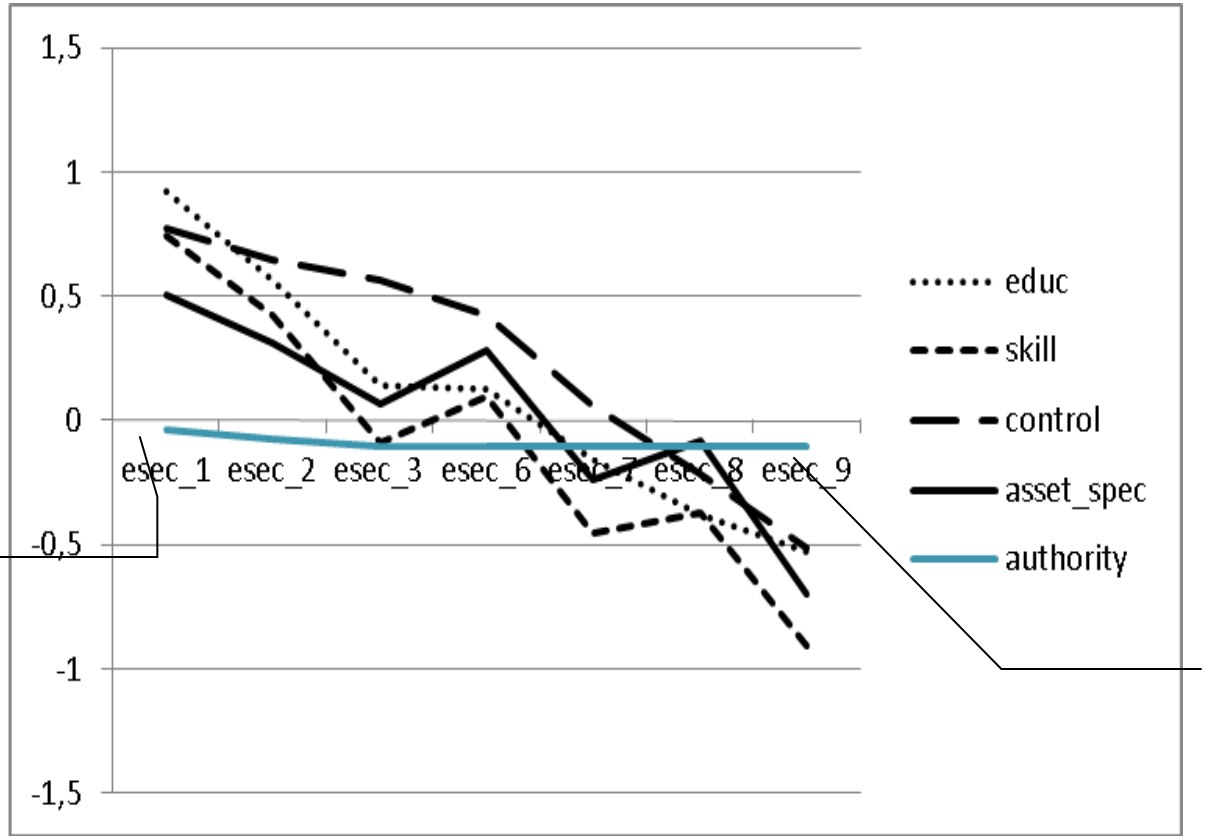
Class Status Prestige

b. With occupationally based measures of skill, education, asset spec, control and authority

	ESEC	EGP	ICAM	SIOPS	ISEI	Skill req	Typical education	Asset specificity	Control	Authority
ICAM	.89	.85		.80	.83	.76	.86	.66	.65	.09
SIOPS	.83	.81	.80		.84	.83	.83	.73	.57	.17
ISEI	.78	.79	.83	.84		.76	.86	.61	.52	.12
Skill	.80	.79	.76	.83	.76		.85	.76	.55	.10
Educ	.85	.81	.86	.83	.86	.85		.66	.61	.08
Asset	.77	.75	.66	.73	.61	.70	.66		.59	.10
Control	.70	.71	.65	.57	.52	.56	.61	.59		.14
Authority	.21	.42	.09	.17	.12	.10	.08	.10	.14	

Comment: All variables have one value per occupation, i.e. the median value for each occupation.

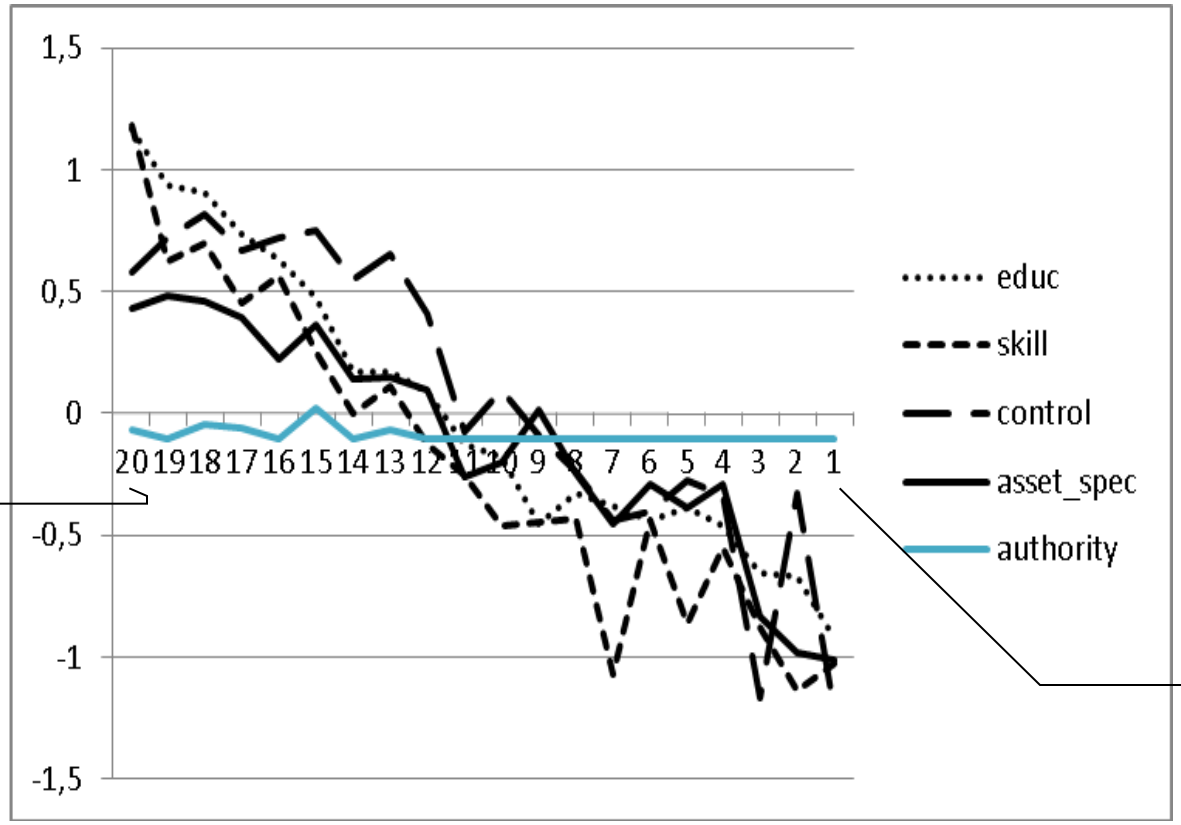
Diagram 1b. Predicted values of stratification relevant variables by ESEC



Service I

Unskilled workers

Diagram 1a. Predicted values of stratification relevant variables by ICAM



Highest wingtile

Lowest wingtile

Conclusions, *so far*

- Class and ‘status’ similarly associated with class relevant outcomes (Goldthorpe 2007), asset specificity and control. Unexpected from viewpoint of CG.
- Class and ‘status’ similarly associated with class relevant outcomes (Tåhlin 2007), skill requirements.
- ‘Status’ (ICAM) is relatively more ‘top-sensitive’ and to some degree class makes a better job in distinguishing disadvantaged groups.
  - Is this the reason why class measures (e.g. ESEC) do a better job in explaining “misery” – unemployment and ‘status’ (e.g. ICAM) a better job in explaining “luxury” – cultural consumption?

In short

Question: Class and status: One or two forms of stratification?

Answer: One form (but more analyses to come)