

Social Stratification Research Seminar 2018

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PAPER ABSTRACTS AND LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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PAPER ABSTRACTS

Katherin Barg* & Will Baker (University of Exeter/Cardiff University)	
<i>The social stratification of parenting values in the UK</i>	
	<p>Parents care about the sort of person their child is - they want them to have certain qualities - they take a stance on the sort of person they want them to be. That is, they hold parenting values. In this paper, we draw on data from the Millennium Cohort Study to investigate the social stratification of parenting values in the UK, focusing in particular on how parenting values are related to social class, education and religion. In doing so, we refocus attention on a once vibrant subject of sociological scholarship. Beginning in the 1950s, Kohn’s influential program of research revealed that parenting values were structured along class lines: middle class parents were more likely to value self-direction in their children whereas working class parents were more likely to value conformity to authority (Kohn 1959, 1969, 1977; Kohn and Schooler 1969). Although some subsequent research attempted to build on this seminal work, and re-evaluate it in light of social, cultural and economic change, there have been few recent studies of parenting values, even fewer that focus on the UK, and none of these make use of high quality, nationally representative data.</p> <p>Existing research has focused heavily on accounting for differences in the importance parents place on two values: autonomy - and obedience. Although we too focus on them, our analyses also explore the social stratification of a broader range of parenting values, including the learning of religious values, working hard and helping others. Using information on parents’ ranking of a number of values and applying rank-ordered logistic regression analysis we are able to consider the relative importance a parent attaches to different values.</p>
Camilla Barnett (Univ. Stirling)	
<i>Intersectionality in the measurement of stratification position</i>	
	<p>Since the feminist movement in sociology demanded the inclusion of women in stratification literature the social sciences have become increasingly more attune to the intersectionality between different social characteristics and disadvantage. Individuals might experience disadvantage due to multiple social characteristics i.e. ethnicity, gender and social position. However, while each of these characteristics can lead to disadvantage separately, combined they may lead to a more acute disadvantage . Research on the theme of intersectionality has generally been qualitative in design however recently a small, but growing, literature on the use of intersectional theory in quantitative work is developing. Usually using multiple interaction effects with in a model or multilevel, hierarchical, ecological, or contextual modelling. All of which increase complexity in the model estimation and interpretation. However, given greater data resources now available, it is also possible to design measures of social position (class schemes and stratification scales) that recognise this intersectionality by design. Measures that give differing social positions to different groups (e.g. men and women) because of the different situations of those groups on average. Allowing for intersectionality be accounted for more parsimoniously. This paper will discuss the creation of such measures and preliminary reflections on their usage.</p>

Sait Bayrakdar & Ayse Guveli* (King's College London/ Univ. Essex)	
<i>Migration and education of three generation men and women Turks in EU and in Turkey</i>	
	<p>Migration research mainly focuses on integration of migrants and their descendants in the destination country and educational attachment is one of the core measures for integration. Migrants and their offspring are compared to natives or to other migrant groups in the destination countries. These studies reveal again that migrants lag behind the natives in the destination countries. However, to reveal the impact of migration on migrants' and their descendants' educational achievement, research should compare them to those left behind in the origin country. We use the unique 2000 Families studies to reveal the enduring impact of migration by compare Turkish first-generation migrants, their three generation descendants to their counterfactuals in Turkey. We ask:</p> <p>To what extent does education of Turks in Europe (first, second and third generation) differ from those that never left Turkey?</p> <p>To what extent is there a gender gap in education between them?</p> <p>To what extent does transmitting education to children and grandchildren play out differently for Turkish families in EU and non-migrant families in Turkey?</p> <p>We find that the first-generation guest workers had higher educational attainment than those who never left Turkey in the same cohort. We also find that Turkish women in Europe do better than their men comparators in Europe but also than both men and women in Turkey. As our results show, migration does benefit migrants and their offspring in terms of educational attainment and women benefit the most.</p>
Bob Blackburn (Univ. Cambridge)	
<i>Employment after World Wars 1 and 2</i>	
Sam Friedman* & Aaron Reeves (LSE)	
<i>The Decline and Persistence of the 'Old Boy': Public Schools and Elite Recruitment 1897-2016</i>	
	<p>In this paper we draw on 120 years of biographical data (N = 120,764) contained within Who's Who—a unique catalogue of the British elite—to explore the changing relationship between elite schools and elite recruitment. We find that the propulsive power of Britain's private schools has diminished significantly over time. This is driven in part by the wane of military and religious elites, and the rise of women in the labor force. However, the most dramatic declines followed key educational reforms that increased access to the credentials needed to access elite trajectories, while also standardizing and differentiating them. Notwithstanding these changes, public schools remain extraordinarily powerful channels of elite formation. Even today, the alumni of the nine Clarendon schools are 94 times more likely to reach the British elite than are those who attended any other school. Alumni of elite schools also retain a striking capacity to enter the elite even without passing through other prestigious institutions, such as Oxford, Cambridge, or private members clubs. Our analysis not only points to the dogged persistence of the "old boy," but also underlines the theoretical importance of reviving and refining the study of elite recruitment.</p>

Harry Ganzeboom*, Ineke Nagel & Heike Schröder (VU Amsterdam)

Qualifications and Durations as Measures of Level of Education

In comparative research, the level of education is routinely measured using one of two methods. The qualification method measures the level by highest (or most recently achieved) diploma. Best practice here is to measure the qualifications in country-specific term and then to post-harmonize these using a common denominator. The recent development of the three-digit International Standard Classification of Education 2011 (ISCED-2011) has become a major game-changer in this methodology, because for the first time a detailed and rigorous harmonization framework has become available, which allows the research to scale to qualifications to a internationally valid linear metric (Schröder & Ganzeboom 2014). Alternatively, comparative research measures level of education using its duration, best collected as a question to respondents about the (net) length of their educational careers. Both methods have their pro's and con's, and their fervent proponents and opponents (Braun & Müller 1997; Schneider 2009). I examine these arguments and conclude that the discussions have overlooked the fact that qualification measures and duration measures are strongly correlated and can usefully be regarded as parallel indicators of the same underlying construct.

We examine the quality of the qualification and duration measures empirically using a Saris & Andrews (1991) Multi-Trait Multi-Method model. This reformulation of the classical MTMM models allows one to derive separate validity and reliability coefficients. The model is tested on ISSP data 2002-2016 from the Netherlands, in which both qualification and duration measures have been obtained for respondent and partner. The model is also estimate on EU-SILC household data, in which both types of measurement have been obtained for all members of the household (both partners and children). The provisional estimates indicate almost equal validity of the qualification measures - also in countries for which the validity of duration measurement has been contested, but that duration suffers from about 10% more unreliability than qualification measurements. Finally, it is shown that that double indicator measurement - by both qualifications and duration - repairs both validity and reliability problems.

Vernon Gayle & Roxanne Connelly (Univ. Edinburgh/Univ. York)

"Emmanuel, Jesus and Christ are examples of ?" Social Class Inequalities in Children's Similarities Test Scores in two British Birth Cohort Studies

Contemporary societies are progressively technological and people have moved beyond a reliance on 'concrete thinking', and increasingly they have to engage in abstract reasoning and problem solving based on logic. Members of contemporary societies have effectively put on 'scientific spectacles' which refocus how they view the world and interact within it. In this paper we investigate the relationship between parental social class and children's scores on similarities tests at around age 11. These tests provide assessments of children's ability to engage in conceptual 'scientific' reasoning. We analyse data from the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study (BCS) and Millennium Cohort Study (MCS). Our initial hypothesis was that the general trend of increasing average cognitive ability test scores over this period, coupled with structural changes in the economy and in education may have led to a weakening relationship between parental social class and filial similarities test scores. We find no support for this hypothesis, the overall pattern of social class inequalities is similar in both cohorts, despite the children being born thirty years apart. A more subtle finding is that there were two distinctive social class divisions in the 1970 cohort, but the upper division had bifurcated in the millennium cohort.

Tamara Gutfleisch & Robin Samuel (Univ. Luxembourg)

Scarring Due to Unemployment by Gender: Evidence from a Cross-Country Factorial Survey

The allocation of individuals to occupations is a main mechanism of social reproduction and social stratification. Many studies elucidated the individual antecedents and consequences of this process. An interest has often been in how social origin moderates the transition from education to employment. However, empirical evidence on the role of recruiters in this fundamental social process is scarce. Against this backdrop, we examine how these gatekeepers evaluate hiring chances of young job applicants. In our contribution, we specifically focus on scarring due to unemployment in the health sector. Drawing on human capital theory and signalling theory, we expect variation in the hiring chances of male vs. female job seekers with respect to the length of previous and current unemployment spells.

Using data from a recent large-scale factorial survey of recruiters in four European countries (N ~ 2,000) and employing multilevel linear regression models, we find, overall, evidence for heterogeneous scarring effects. Young male job applicants who were unemployed received less favourable assessments compared to their female counterparts. Having been unemployed or being currently unemployed was not associated with hiring chances in young females. Our preliminary findings constitute new evidence on gender differences in scarring due to unemployment. They further contribute to the literature on transitions to employment.

Jennifer Jarman (Lakehead Univ., Canada)

25 Years of Occupational Gender Segregation – Contributions and Controversies

This paper reflects on a 25 year program of gender segregation research. It explains the starting point for the research program, reviews the major discoveries, and lays out the questions that remain to be explored. In so doing, it sheds light on the relationship between gendered occupational structures and social stratification systems, as well as remaining challenges.

Sam Parsons & Lucinda Platt* (LSE / UCL)

Occupational aspirations of children from primary school to teenage years across ethnic groups

We estimate growth curve models of occupational aspirations exploiting a uniquely suited data set, the Millennium Cohort Study that follows children over time using measures of occupational aspirations at approximately ages 7, 11 and 14. We include relevant fixed and time-varying covariates that are likely to be associated with occupational aspirations and which vary across ethnic groups such as family backgrounds, educational aspirations, cognitive test scores. In this analysis, we specifically investigate:

- a) Whether there is any evidence from their earliest occupational aspirations that children from different ethnic groups are socialised into different expectations about their labour market roles.
- b) Whether there is any change over time in occupational aspirations, as children gain information from peers and form their own school attainment strongest, and whether this is different for boys and girls.

We measure aspirations by linking to measures of average pay and the share of women actually received currently in the aspired occupation. This gives us simple and transparent measures of the 'value' of the aspirations, and the gender typicality of the aspirations, and whether that value and gender-typicality is higher or lower for boys and girls of different ethnic groups.

	<p>We complement this analysis of childhood aspirations with analysis of the occupational outcomes of a slightly older cohort, those in the Next Steps study, whose labour market outcomes were measured when they were 25. This helps us to address whether differences in occupational aspirations charted for the children can help us to understand occupational differences in adult life. That is, are those ethnic-gender groups who end up with lower pay on average more likely to aspire to lower paying occupations, and vice versa?</p>
<p>Roger Penn (Queen's Univ. Belfast)</p>	
<p><i>New Ways of Exploring the Changing Nature of Work: A Neglected Theme in Contemporary Social Stratification Research</i></p>	
	<p>The proposed paper will examine the need for a renewal of the link between the study of social stratification and the study of the world of work. In the 'classic era' of economic sociology - when the Social Stratification Research Seminar was inaugurated - these two themes were closely entwined. The Affluent Worker series and the seminal research of Blackburn and Mann both incorporated this perspective in Britain whilst Form and McKenzie followed a very similar path in the USA. However, since that time there has been a progressive bifurcation between the concerns of stratification researchers and the detailed examination of the world of work.</p> <p>Nevertheless, as Lockwood wrote, class can be seen as based upon 'typical market and work situation'. Clearly this definition generated difficulties as the nature of the 'working class' [itself a cornerstone of British conceptualizations of social stratification] changed during the 1970s and 1980s but it remains a valid starting point still in my judgment.</p> <p>The paper will advocate a renewal of empirical research into the changing world of work with a view to reinvigorating the study of social stratification. The paper will examine a series of substantive and methodological aspects to how such a renewal might proceed.</p> <p>The world of work is clearly global. Discussions of the 'decline' of factory work based solely upon examples situated exclusively in Britain, the USA or Western Europe distort the contemporary nature of factory production. There is a need to focus far more on China and also upon the international division of labour in the Far East that supports this burgeoning sector. I also think that there is a need to focus also on logistics and forget the idea that somehow factory production is more virile or more authentic than work in transport or warehousing.</p> <p>Another question worth probing would be the idea that service sector work is now the new factory. The paper will examine call centres, retailing, health care, distribution and universities in this context.</p> <p>The paper will also scrutinize the tendency to over-generalize about current trends at work. The world of work has been recently characterized as overwhelmingly negative with examples drawn from zero-hours contracts, Amazon warehouses, call centres and supermarkets. This will be probed in detail. The paper will also suggest that there is a need to look again at modern manufacturing plants. The example of aerospace will be scrutinised.</p> <p>There is a need to rethink notions like Fordism which privileged assembly line work over all other forms of manufacturing employment. The paper will reveal why this has always constituted a false benchmark for sociological analysis.</p>

Chris Playford*, Vernon Gayle, Roxanne Connelly & Susan Murray

(Univ.s Exeter/Edinburgh/York/Stirling)

Who are middle attainers? Analysis of attainment in school GCSE subjects in England & Wales over time.

Within the sociology of youth, there is an interest in documenting the lives and educational experiences of 'ordinary' young people. The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) is the standard qualification undertaken by pupils in England and Wales at the end of year 11 (age 15-16). In this analysis we describe the use of latent class analysis to identify substantively interesting patterns of attainment in school-level subjects and techniques for modelling social inequalities using a latent variable. This work uses data from the Youth Cohort Study (1990-2001) and linked UK Household Longitudinal Study and National Pupil Database records (2009-2011). This extends earlier work using a single cohort of the YCS (1992) and analysis using the Scottish Longitudinal Study (2007-2011). The presentation will also include a discussion of the challenges of working with these data.

Kevin Ralston*, Vittal Katikerredi, et al. (York St Johns Univ./Univ. Glasgow)

Mortality by occupation: Needing to make the case for the use of occupational measures

Nearly twenty years ago Prandy described debate within the sociology of stratification as raging, but bypassing medical sociology. More recently the Great British Class Survey triggered what can also be described as raging debate. This paper will not revisit these discussions. Focus is instead placed on the influence the empirically based sociology of class and stratification has beyond the specific field, taking examples of medical sociology and public health. Within sociology there is a culture which privileges conceptual and theoretical engagement which in turn enables ad-hoc operationalisations of class in empirical work. Beyond our discipline, the need for sociologically informed approaches to understanding issues pertinent to public health may not be seen at all.

A recent article in the Lancet examining inequalities in mortality by occupation was met with the question 'why choose occupation as the category for analysis? Why not, for example, analyse according to main hobby, or main place of shopping? The answer is partly because occupational data are available'. The piece argued that categorising people by their main job is ambiguous and that other classifications may produce more useful insights, suggesting alternative measures based on hobbies or shopping location may be preferable. Yet, empirical work continues to reveal the power of occupationally based approaches as indicative of 'levels of material reward, social standing and life chances'.

This paper presents original research highlighting the magnitude of association between mortality and occupation. This includes the measurement of occupation at the level of 3 digit SOC and using CAMSIS. This exercise shows that it may be more appropriate to treat the stratification order as a continuous hierarchy, rather than as discrete categories. It is argued that occupationally based measures allow the examination of health inequalities as well as informing instances of specific causal hypotheses. The replacement of occupationally based measures with simple cultural indicators would be detrimental to understanding. Insights from the sociology of class and stratification can enhance analyses conducted both within sociology and in fields such as public health. Should we work harder in communicating our approaches more widely?

Lindsay Richards* & Anthony Heath (Nuffield College, Univ. Oxford)

Social ties and social strata as normative context: Exploring heterogeneous effects of subjective social status on Brexit-related preferences

Both Gidron and Hall (2017) and Gest (2016) have recently argued that subjective status – the way that individuals feel about their worth in society – deserves greater prominence in explanations of political preferences. More specifically, these arguments imply that subjectively-felt loss of status can help explain ‘populist’ preferences such as anti-immigration parties across Europe and Brexit in the UK. In this paper, we give a detailed empirical account of the relationship between Subjective Social Status (SSS) and Brexit-related preferences, using data collected online in late 2017 (N = 3,600). We argue that one’s social ties and social strata provide the normative context which interacts with SSS to influence political preferences. We find limited evidence that ‘objective’ dimensions of status translate into preferences via SSS. Rather, most of the effect of education, occupation and income on political preferences is direct (or via another unmeasured mechanism). Second, SSS does not exert an independent effect on preferences, but is explained away by controls for objective status. Third, we show that high SSS among the university-educated and among those with high-status social ties is associated with a higher probability of voting Leave in the referendum, as well as higher levels of anti-immigrant sentiment. Thus, we conclude that if SSS has a role at all in shaping populist preferences, it is far more complex than has been assumed. It exerts an effect in the opposite direction to the expected one among the privileged, and does not appear to explain the preferences of the ‘left behind’.

Tamira Sno* & Harry Ganzeboom (ADEK Univ. Suriname/VU Amsterdam)

Status attainment and social mobility of Surinamese in Suriname and Surinamese abroad: the causal role of international migration

In this paper we compare status attainment and social mobility of Surinamese abroad with that of their closest sibling who stayed behind in Suriname. We thereby examine the causal influence of international migration on status attainment and intergenerational social mobility. As a starting point we take the status attainment model of Blau and Duncan (1967) which is developed for US men in 1962 and which studies the influence of social background on the education and occupation of the offspring via direct and indirect effects. We examine how migrants and their siblings who stayed behind in Suriname differ from each other with respect to educational attainment and occupational status in first and most recent occupation. The model allows us to decompose intergenerational reproduction of educational and occupational status among migrants and non-migrants into three components: (A) effect of parental background on educational attainment (in the country of origin), (B) occupational returns to education in the country of origin and country of destination, (C) direct inheritance of occupational status, net of education.

We find that there is strongly selective migration with respect to education, both between and within families; the higher educated are more likely to migrate. Due to this selectivity migrants attain a higher occupation than their sibling who stayed behind. There are no signs that Surinamese migrants experience more intergenerational occupational mobility than non-migrants. There are weak indications though, that they experience more educational mobility (relative to their parents occupation) before (or after?) migration. A puzzling result is found for the occupational achievements of women: occupational returns to education are significantly higher for non-migrating women; migrated women experience about the same levels of returns to education as migrated men, at the relative low level that also characterizes non-migrated men.

Sarah Stopforth (Univ. Edinburgh)

What's In a Name: Parental Education Level as Socio-Economic Background or Capital?

Parental education level is a commonplace measure in social stratification literature and research into educational inequalities. Intuitively, a parent who has previously navigated the education system to degree qualification is well placed to guide and encourage their child to at least the same level. Social stratification literature and related empirical work routinely demonstrates that parental education level is a key predictor of children's educational attainment. Conceptually, however, parental education level has fulfilled many different roles. Parental education level has been used variously alongside measures of social class as indicators of socio-economic background, as proxy measures for human capital in a Coleman-tradition, and as proxy measures for cultural capital in a Bourdieu-tradition. Should the conceptual versatility of parental education level be of concern, especially when its empirical applications have been so consistent?

This paper presents the results of statistical modelling of GCSE attainment, using synthetic cohorts of English Year 12 pupils in the British Household Panel Survey. The analyses conceptualise parental education level separately as socio-economic background, as human capital, and as cultural capital. The analyses follow the theoretical traditions of Coleman's social capital in the creation of human capital, and Bourdieu's cultural capital in social and cultural reproduction. This paper offers a critical discussion of the conceptual versatility and empirical regularity of parental education level in educational attainment studies.