

Social Inequality in France – Measures and Mechanisms

Paul Lambert, University of Stirling, UK

Presentation to the conference 'Language and social structure in urban France', Peterhouse College, Cambridge, 8-9 September 2011

Acknowledgement: Results presented in this paper make use of data provided by the IPUMS-International project (www.ipums.org), the International Social Survey Project (www.issp.org) and the European Social Survey (www.europeansocialsurvey.org).

Social inequality...

Social inequality & social stratification

- Material measures (income, housing, ...)
- **Occupations**
 - Sociological evaluations consistently find occupations (of current, past, or family) to be the most revealing indicators of enduring social position (cf. Sayer 2011; Jonsson et al. 2009; Kurtz 2009)



'Gissa job'; 'I can do that'

“Nothing stamps a man as much as his occupation. Daily work determines the mode of life.. It constrains our ideas, feelings and tastes” (Goblot, 1961)

Social inequality in France – Measures and mechanisms

- Is France different?
 - In structures, contours, processes of social stratification and occupations
 - Economic, social, political (cf. Lemel, 2002)
- a) Differences in measurements
- b) Differences in mechanisms
- c) Evidence of mechanisms relating to language use

(a) Differences in measurements

- *Long-standing exceptionalism*
 - **Theoretical** – e.g. Bourdieu's approaches integrating social and economic
 - **Institutional** – e.g. Lemel (2002); Brousse et al. (2010) – National/international coding frames for sociological variables (cf. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Wolf, 2003)
- In comparative research on social stratification, often using standardised measures, France is typically *not* exceptional
 - *Broad similarities in:* Prestige ratings of occupations (Treiman, 1977); Social mobility levels & trends (Breen et al. 2004; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993); Income inequality correlates (Wilkinson & Pickett 2009); Female labour force participation and segregation (Charles & Grusky 2005); incorporation of immigrant populations (Heath 2007)
 - *Some differences include:* Greater influence of educational levels (Forse & Lemel, 2002); higher class identity/awareness/union strength (Gallie 1982); regionalisation, age cohort and linguistic differentiations (?)

...are more nuanced measures needed to fully understand France..?

-> A test using 'Social Interaction Distance' scales

- A means to explore social stratification and occupations
 - CAMSIS – 'Cambridge Social Interaction and Stratification scales'
 - [Stewart et al 1973, 1980; Prandy 1990; Prandy & Lambert 2003]
 - [Lemel 2006; Chan 2010; Lemel and Coulangeon 2010]
- Dimensional summary of a structure of *social distance between occupations*, calculated according to empirical patterns of social interaction between the incumbents of occupations, using data on friendship, marriage, or father-son intergenerational mobility, with many different scales for different countries, time periods, men and women
- Social relations are key agents in reproducing inequalities (e.g. homogamy, homophily, inter-generational transmission), so SID structures are typically interpreted as reflecting structures of social stratification (Bottero, 2009) and/or status (Chan, 2010)

Tabular analysis (see notes at www.camsis.stir.ac.uk)
 (correspondence analysis; RC-II association models)

			Husband's Job Units			
			1	2	..	407
Occ. Units ↓ →			75.0	70.0	..	10.0
<i>Derived dimension scores ↓ →</i>						
Wife's Job Units	1	72.0	30	15	..	0
	2	72.5	13	170	..	1

	407	11.0	0	2	..	80

A large cross-tabulation of pairs of occupations is modelled; dimension scores help predict frequency of occurrences in cells; scaled dimension scores are then presented as CAMSIS scale scores.

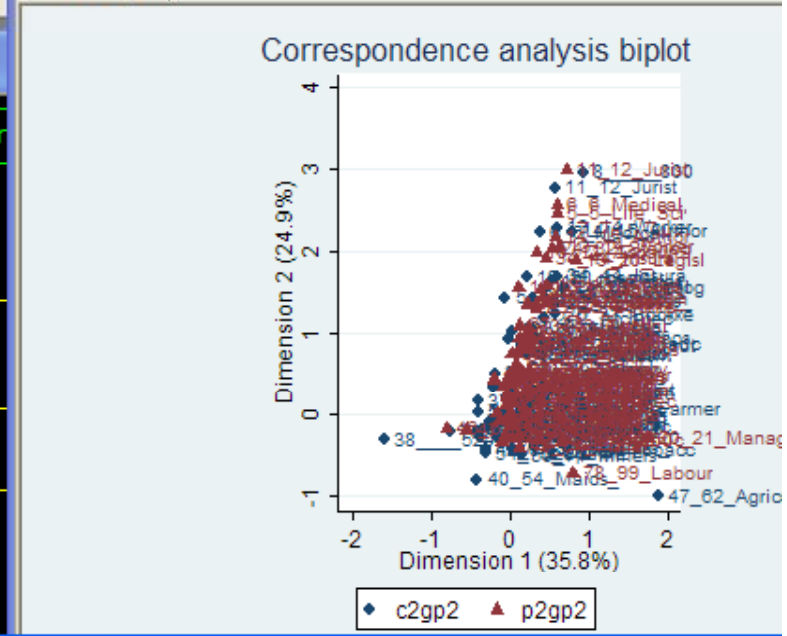
Stata/IC 10.0 - c:\temp\hist1.dta
 File Edit Data Graphics Statistics User Window Help

Results

	c2gp2	sum(freq)	mean(rowsc2)	mean(rowsc1)
1.	1 Physical Scientists and Related Tec	393	1.561271	
2.	2 Architects, Engineers and Related T	3885	1.194944	
3.	3 Architects, Engineers and Related T	2116	1.057375	
4.	4 Aircraft and Ships' Officers	6855	.0062811	
5.	5 Life Scientists and Related Technic	281	1.440953	
6.	6 Medical, Dental, Veterinary and Rel	5673	2.239389	
7.	7 Medical, Dental, Veterinary and Rel	303	.7487819	
8.	8. 8.00	16	2.971333	
9.	9. 9.00	74	-.0782805	
10.	10. 11 Accountants	3768	1.415531	
11.	11. 12 Jurists	4154	2.781205	
12.	12. 13 Teachers	8456	.9445301	
13.	13. 14 Workers in Religion	949	2.301595	
14.	14. 15 Authors, Journalists and Related	471	2.247882	
15.	15. 16 Sculptors, Painters, Photographer	1854	.7852771	
16.	16. 17 Composer and Performing Artists	1791	.9471796	
17.	17. 18 Athletes, Sportsmen and related w	24	.313147	
18.	18. 19 Professional, Technical and RWNE	123		
19.	19. 20 Legislative Officials and Gov. Ad	682		
20.	20. 21 Managers	6874		
21.	21. 22 Supervisors, Foremen and Inspecto	4569		
22.	22. 30 Clerical and RW, Spec Unknown	3476		
23.	23. 31 Government Executive Officials	2577		
24.	24. 32 Stenographers, Typists and Card-	818		
25.	25. 33 Bookkeepers, Cashiers and RW	9807		
26.	26. 34 Computing machine operators	11		
27.	27. 36 Transport Conductors	1149		
28.	28. 37 Mail and Telegraph Distribution C	4235		
29.	29. 38 Telephone and Telegraph Operators	1516		
30.	30. 39 Clerical and RWNEC	14207		
31.	31. 41 Working Proprietors (wholesale an	26886		

Command

Stata Graph - Graph
 File Edit Object Graph Tools Help



Stata Do-File Editor - ca_examples4.do

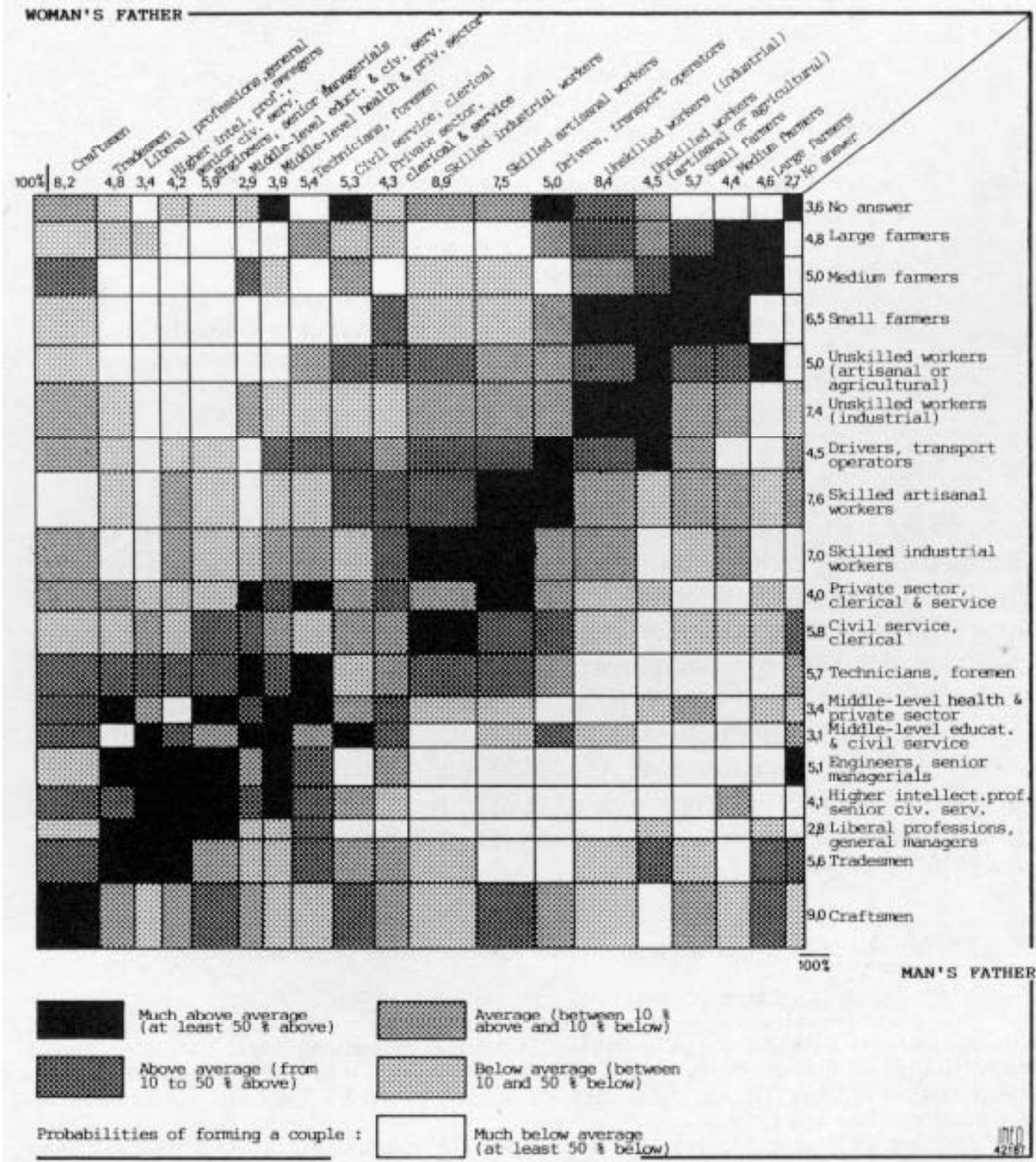
File Edit Search Tools

Untitled1.do | hiscam_20.do | ca_examples4.do

```

use $path9\hist1.dta, clear
list, nolabel
summarize c2gp2 p2gp2
tab c2gp2 [fweight=freq]
ca c2gp2 p2gp2 [fweight=freq], dim(2)
cabiplot
predict rowsc1, rowscore(1)
predict rowsc2, rowscore(2)
table c2gp2, c(sum freq mean rowsc2 mean rowsc1)
  
```

line number: 143

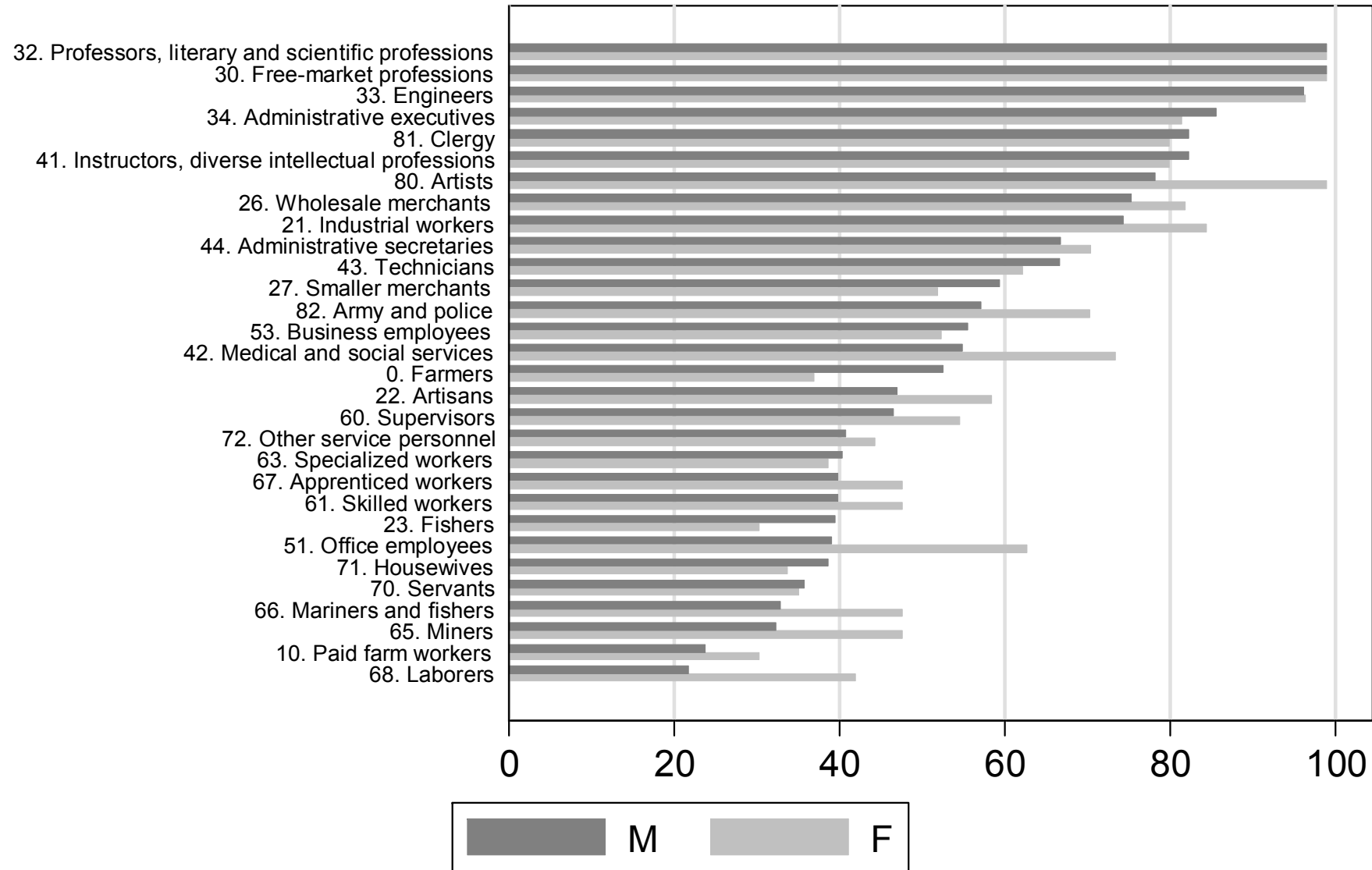


From: Bozon and Heran (1989), 'Finding a spouse: A survey of how French couples meet', *Population*, 44(1):91-121.

SID scales for France

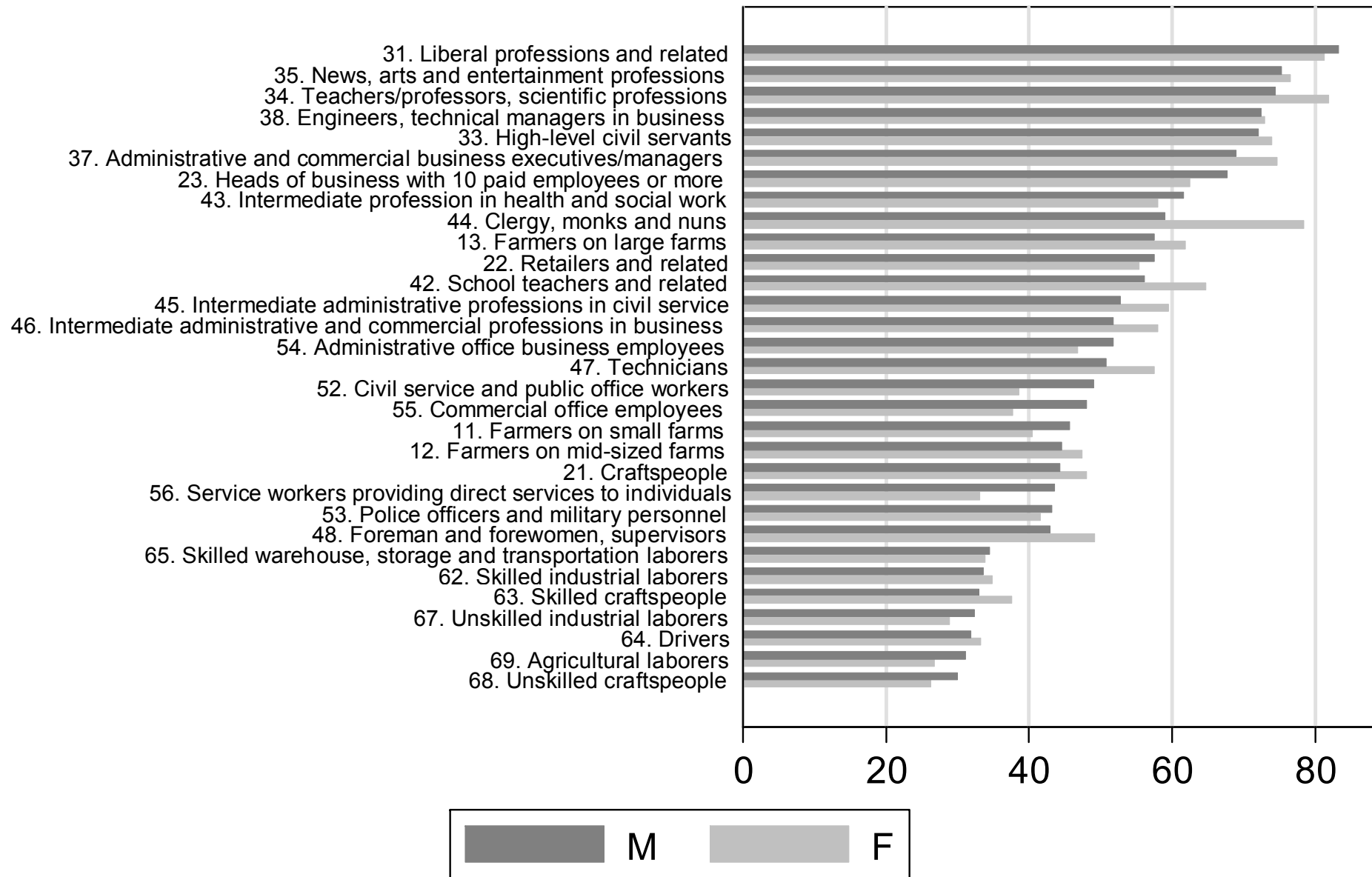
- CAMSIS scales based on different sources
 - IPUMS: 1962, 1968, 1975, 1982, 1990, 1999, 2006
 - 1999 census: Barral et al. 2003 [excludes Farmers]
 - www.camsis.stir.ac.uk
- HISCAM scale using TRA database
 - 1800-1938, www.camsis.stir.ac.uk/hiscam
- Status scale using 1982/83 friendship survey
 - See Lemel (2006); Chan (2010)
- Other scales from analysis of homogamy
 - E.g. Bozon & Heran (1999);
- Bourdieu's analyses of homogamy and homophily
 - Cf. Bottero et al. 2009

France, 1962, PCS



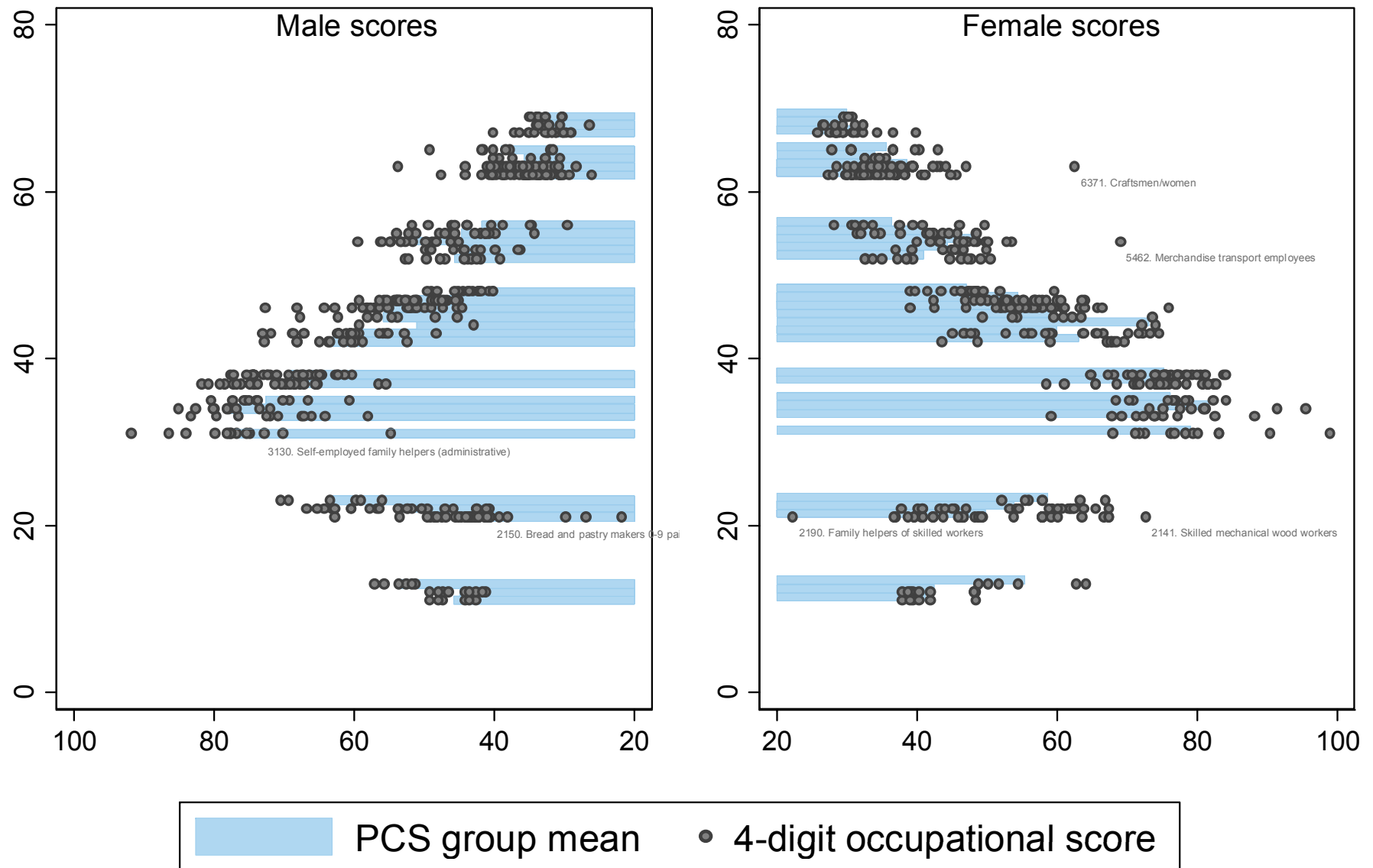
Source: Analysis of IPUMS 1962. N=78920 H-W combinations aged 20+ (excluding 'diagonals').

France, 2006, PCS, 2-digit



Source: Analysis of IPUMS 2006. N=1634325 H-W combinations aged 20+ (excluding 'diagonals').

France, 2006, PCS, 4-digit scores



Source: Analysis of IPUMS 2006. N=1634325 H-W combinations aged 20+ (excluding 'diagonals').

Same, or similar, occupational order over time

	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	2006
12/14 Medium Farmers	56	55	54	49	49	47	45
34 Professors/Scientists	92	99	92	84	77	78	74
42 School teachers	68	73	69	70	67	67	56
48 Foremen, Supervisors	38	44	43	45	45	45	43
53 Police / military	51	50	48	42	42	43	43
55 Commercial office employees	50	52	51	46	44	47	48
56 Personal service workers	38	43	42	41	41	44	44
<i>Gini coefficient*1000 (all males)</i>	155	152	156	162	165	166	169

Evidence of cross-national differences?

Analysis of French data from 1999 census, all adults

France CAMSIS compared to ISEI:

<i>CS Substantially higher</i>	244. Social science and related professionals; 348. Religious associate professionals
<i>CS Substantially lower</i>	811. Mining- and mineral-processing-plant operators

France CAMSIS compared to German CAMSIS:

<i>CS Substantially higher</i>	111. Legislators; 241. Business professionals; 244. Social science and related professionals; 314. Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians; 348. Religious associate professionals
<i>CS Substantially lower</i>	235. Other teaching professionals; 246. Religious professionals

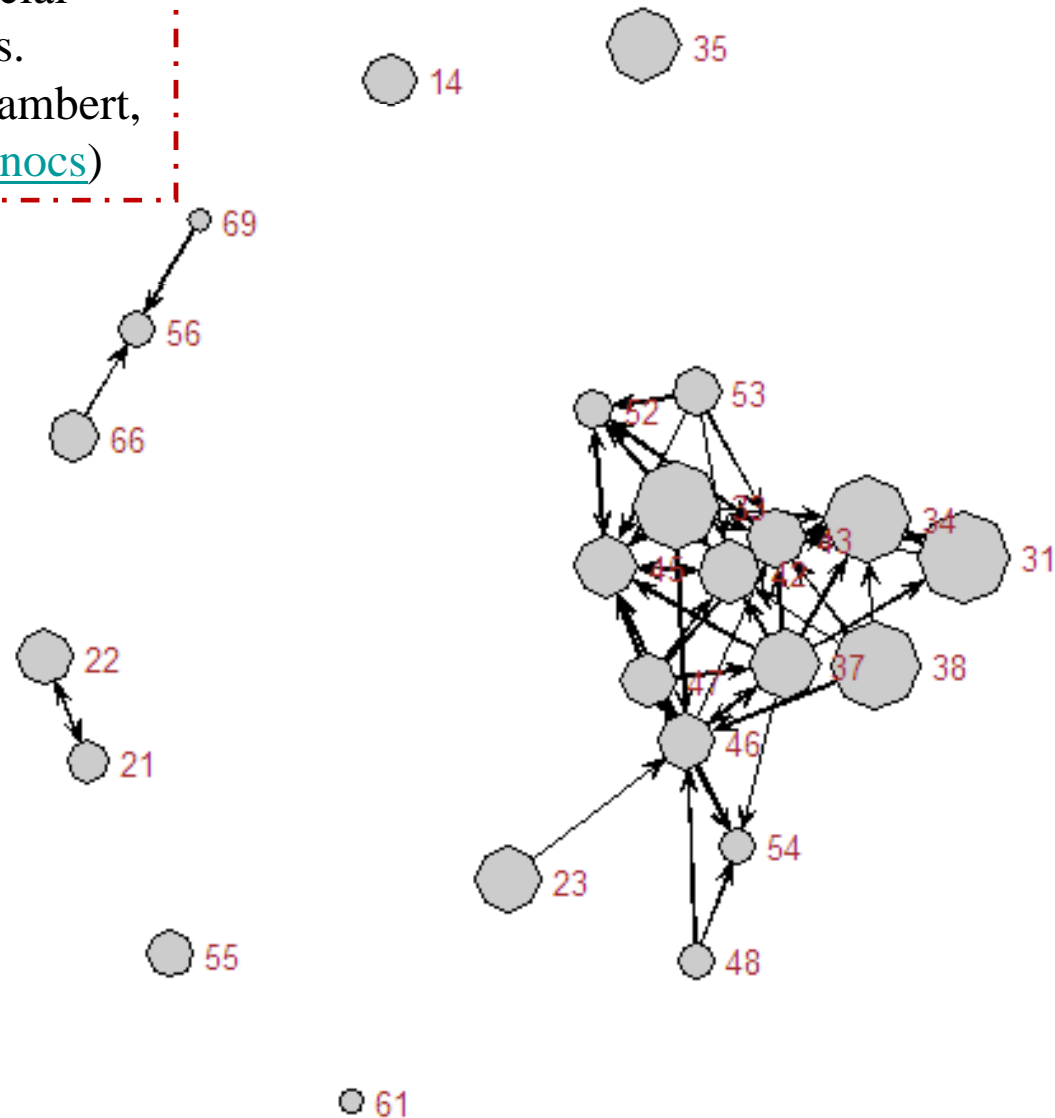
France CAMSIS compared to British CAMSIS:

<i>CS Substantially higher</i>	314. Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians; 732. Potters, glass-makers and related trades workers
<i>CS Substantially lower</i>	n/a

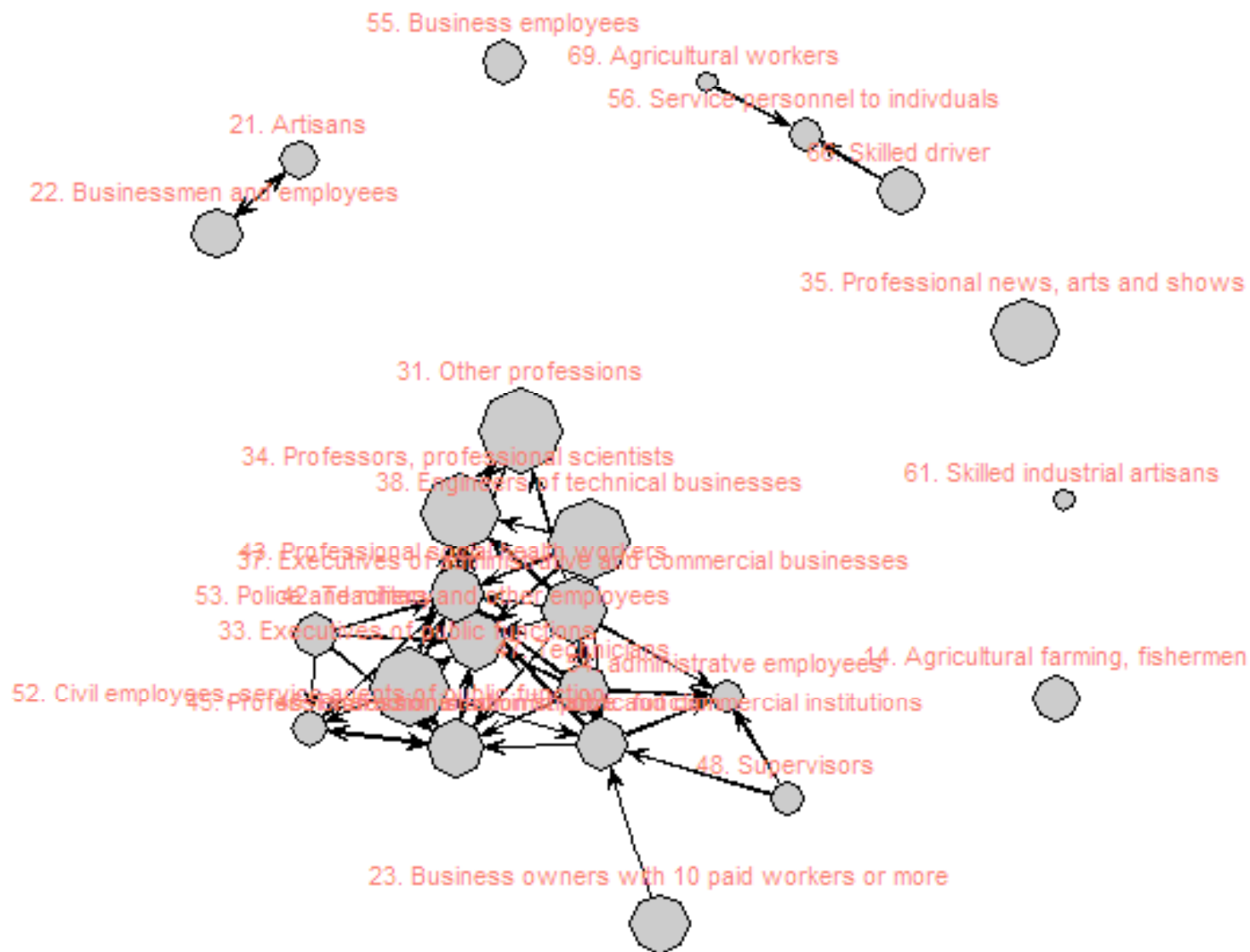
Treiman (1977:370-1): Occs rated higher in France than internationally = Policeman, Electrician, Truck driver; occs rates lower in France = Clergyman, Farmer, Politician.

France, 1962, PCS codes with $> 2 \times$ expected links

Network analysis to look for influential channels of social connections between occs.
(Dave Griffiths & Paul Lambert, www.camsis.stir.ac.uk/sonocs)



France, 1962, PCS codes with $> 2 \times$ expected links



Summary from SID analysis

- Scales reveal interesting patterns/trends in the stratification structure of France
- Strong, but not perfect, correlation between stratification order of France and that of other countries (common result in most countries)

Correlation between French scale scores and...	ISEI	SIOPS	de_CAM	gb_CAM	ESeC
ISCOP_m (m)	0.90	0.87	0.91	0.91	0.81
ISCOP_m (f)	0.79	0.82	0.89	0.86	0.77
ISCO0_f (f)	0.86	0.90	0.85	0.86	0.83

(b) Differences in mechanisms

- Mechanisms of stratification
- Measureable phenomena
 - Evolution of effects of stratification measures over time/between countries
 - Micro- or Macro-level occupational clustering

Multilevel model of occ. Processes (France 1999)			
	σ^2 (occ)	σ^2 (indv)	ICC
Null	19.0	20.2	0.484
+CSM	2.6	20.2	0.115
+ISEI	4.4	20.2	0.178
+ESEC	2.6	20.1	0.115

Regression model predicting occupational attainment (France 1999)		
	CSM	ISEI
Educ.	0.84	0.85
Fem.	-0.99	-0.28
Ed*fem	0.90	0.34
Ed*Yob	-0.64	-0.58
...
R ²	0.410	0.341

Models to assess change in the effects of education

Standardised coefficients for influence of educational level upon occupational outcomes over time in France <i>(only selected effects shown)</i>							
	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	2006
<i>Whole population</i>							
Educ	1.2	5	6	21	23	27	
Educ*YOB	-0.8	-5	-5	-21	-23	-27	
Educ*Fem	-0.6	-0.4	-1	-1	-1	-1	
<i>Men only</i>							
Educ	4	5	8	20	21	26	17
Educ*YOB	-4	-4	-7	-20	-21	-26	-16
<i>Women only</i>							
Educ	7	7	1	24	28	32	
Educ*YOB	-7	-6	-1	-24	-28	-31	

Cross-national differences

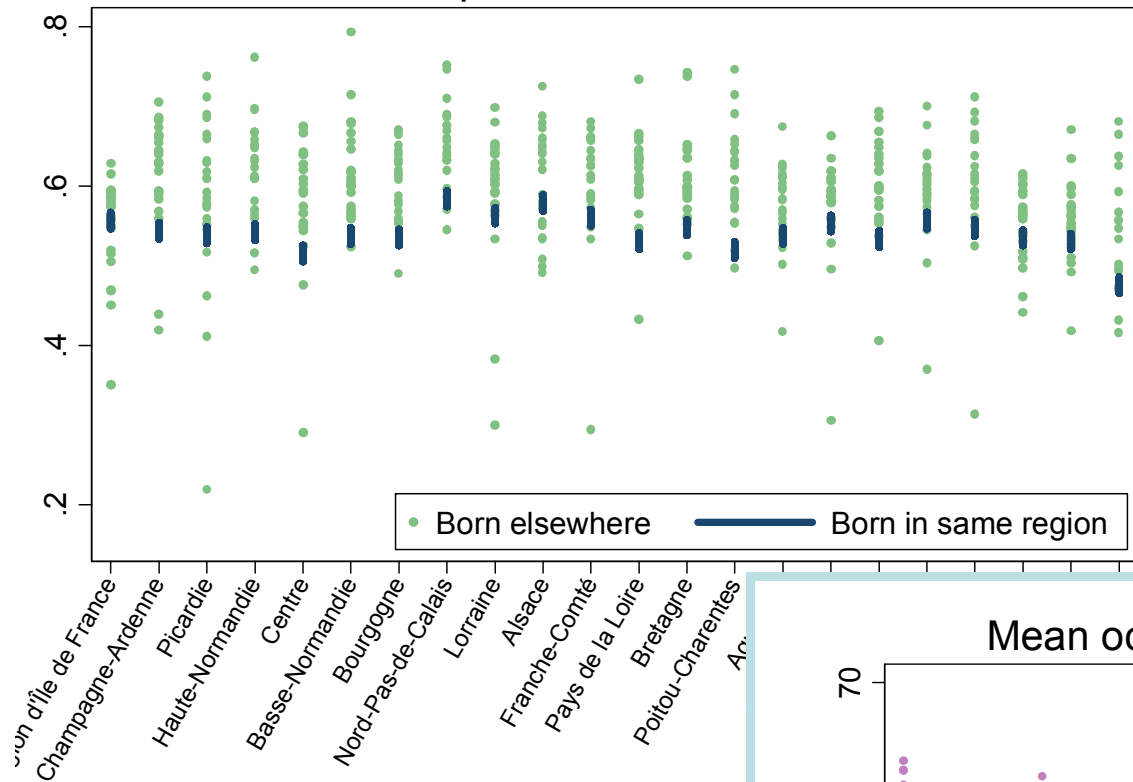
	FR	DE	GB	HU	PL	PT	SE
<i>Correlation between occupation and education (years/isced), for men</i>							
MCAM	49/62	60/71	47/.	59/67	54/63	67/73	52/.
ISEI	51/64	58/68	48/.	62/71	61/68	70/73	53/.
SIOPS	49/60	55/66	45/.	58/63	53/60	59/65	49/.
ESEC	49/30	57/31	44/.	61/33	61/32	67/34	53/.
<i>Prediction of 'How often pray', all adults (controls for age, gender)</i>							
MCAM	80	59	73*	157	130*	200*	70*
ISEI	87	59	72	167	135*	198*	74*
SIOPS	87	59	73	166	128*	196*	71
ESEC	88	67*	76	168	145*	194*	74*
<i>*Statistically significant influence of occ</i>							

(c) Evidence of mechanisms relating to language use

- Theorising language/stratification relations
 - E.g. Workplace; age; access
- Survey data resources lack linguistic records
- Regional data seems the only possible source using IPUMS

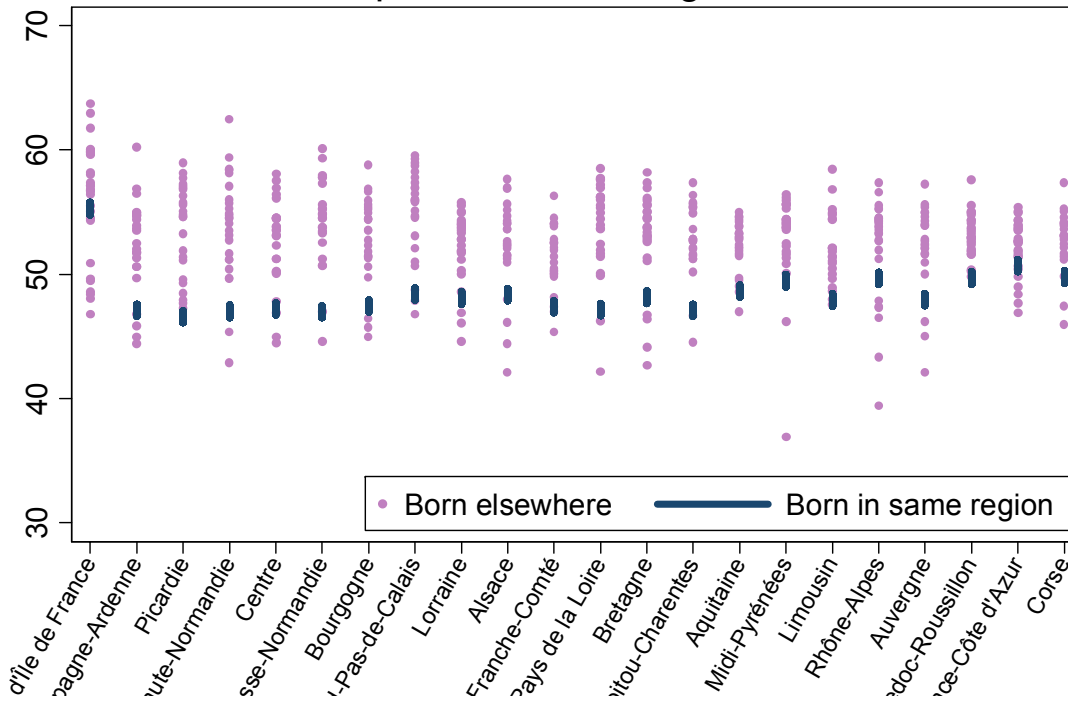
	Residence	Birth
Region d'Île de France	404,502	285,513
Champagne-Ardenne	49,314	55,592
Picardie	67,111	66,800
Haute-Normandie	64,389	64,514
Centre	91,437	79,877
Basse-Normandie	52,449	59,645
Bourgogne	60,968	59,862
Nord-Pas-de-Calais	142,435	162,089
Lorraine	85,359	92,346
Alsace	64,187	53,671
Franche-Comté	41,284	42,487
Pays de la Loire	118,490	117,818
Bretagne	108,938	113,010
Poitou-Charentes	62,796	64,021
Aquitaine	111,897	90,767
Midi-Pyrénées	98,540	80,096
Limousin	28,300	29,217
Rhône-Alpes	208,054	162,626
Auvergne	50,903	51,337
Languedoc-Roussillon	87,500	58,655
Provence-Côte d'Azur	171,118	96,995
Corse	10,056	8,130
Foreign-born and unknown		269,626
Guadeloupe		4,792
Martinique		4,747
Réunion		4,103
{+6 other}		1691

Education-Occupation correlations, France, 1999



Regions as a proxy for linguistic variations?

Mean occupational advantage, France, 1999



Conclusions

- Lack of evidence of French exceptionalism in social stratification patterns
 - But significant barriers to comparative work (cf. Rose and Harrison 2010)
- Evidence of trends over time in stratification mechanisms in France
- Theories of linguistic variations related to social stratification inequalities might one data be empirically testable..

- Barral, P., Bellach, M., Bernard, I., & Vaconsin, F. (2003). *L'homogamie comme révélateur de la structure sociale*. Paris: Rapport de groupe de travail, ENSAE.
- Bottero, W., Lambert, P. S., Prandy, K., & McTaggart, S. (2009). Occupational Structures: The Stratification Space of Social Interaction. In K. Robson & C. Sanders (Eds.), *Quantifying Theory: Pierre Bourdieu (pp. 141-150)*. Amsterdam: Springer Netherlands.
- Bozon, M., & Heran, F. (1989). Finding a Spouse: A Survey of how French Couples Meet. *Population*, 44(1), 91-121.
- Breen, R., & Luijckx, R. (2004). Social mobility in Europe between 1970 and 2000. In R. Breen (Ed.), *Social Mobility in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brousse, C., Monso, O., & Wolff, L. (2010). Stable and consistent with the employment relations theoretical background? Does the prototype ESeC show these qualities with French data? In D. Rose & E. Harrison (Eds.), *Social Class in Europe: An Introduction to the European Socio-economic Classification*. London: Routledge.
- Chan, T. W. (2010). The social status scale: Its construction and properties. In T. W. Chan (Ed.), *Social Status and Cultural Consumption (pp. 28-56)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charles, M., & Grusky, D. B. (2004). *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*. Stanford: Stanford U. Press.
- Coulangeon, P., & Lemel, Y. (2010). Bourdieu's legacy and the class-status debate on cultural consumption: Musical consumption in contemporary France. In T. W. Chan (Ed.), *Social Status and Cultural Consumption*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coxon, A. P. M., & Jones, C. L. (1978). *The Images of Occupational Prestige: A Study in Social Cognition*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Erikson, R., & Goldthorpe, J. H. (1992). *The Constant Flux: A study of class mobility in industrial societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Forse, M., & Lemel, Y. (2002). Status consistency trends of occupational, educational and economic position in France, Germany and the United States. In Y. Lemel & H. H. Noll (Eds.), *Changing Structures of Inequality: A Comparative Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press.
- Gallie, D. (1982). *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goblot, E. (1961). Class and Occupation. In T. Parsons (Ed.), *Theories of Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Heath, A. F. (2007). Crossnational patterns and processes of ethnic disadvantage. In A. F. Heath & S. Y. Cheung (Eds.), *Unequal Chances: Ethnic Minorities in Western Labour Markets*. London: The British Academy.
- Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, J. H. P., & Wolf, C. (Eds.). (2003). *Advances in Cross-national Comparison: A European Working Book for Demographic and Socio-economic Variables*. Berlin: Kluwer Academic / Plenum Publishers.
- Jonsson, J. O., Grusky, D. B., Di Carlo, M., Pollak, R., & Brinton, M. C. (2009). Microclass Mobility: Social Reproduction in Four Countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 114(4), 977-1036.
- Kurtz, T. (2009). Social Inequality and the Sociology of Work and Occupations. *International Review of Sociology*, 19(3), 387-399.
- Lemel, Y. (2002). Social Stratification: The Distinctiveness of French Research. In Y. Lemel & H. H. Noll (Eds.), *Changing Structures of Inequality: A Comparative Perspective (pp. 17-44)*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Lemel, Y. (2006). *The social positioning of the French according to the EPCV survey*. Paris: CREST Working Paper 14, INSEE.
- Oesch, D. (2006). *Redrawing the Class Map: Stratification and Institutions in Britain, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Prandy, K. (1990). The Revised Cambridge Scale of Occupations. *Sociology*, 24(4), 629-655.
- Prandy, K., & Lambert, P. S. (2003). Marriage, Social Distance and the Social Space: An alternative derivation and validation of the Cambridge Scale. *Sociology*, 37(3), 397-411.
- Sayer, A. (2011). Habitus, Work and Contributive Justice. *Sociology*, 45(1), 7-21.
- Stewart, A., Prandy, K., & Blackburn, R. M. (1973). Measuring the Class Structure. *Nature*.
- Stewart, A., Prandy, K., & Blackburn, R. M. (1980). *Social Stratification and Occupations*. London: MacMillan.
- Treiman, D. J. (1977). *Occupational Prestige in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. E. (2009). *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always do Better*. London: Allen Lane.