# The subjective implications of social class: Evidence from 38 countries

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#### Outline

Research Question

Data used

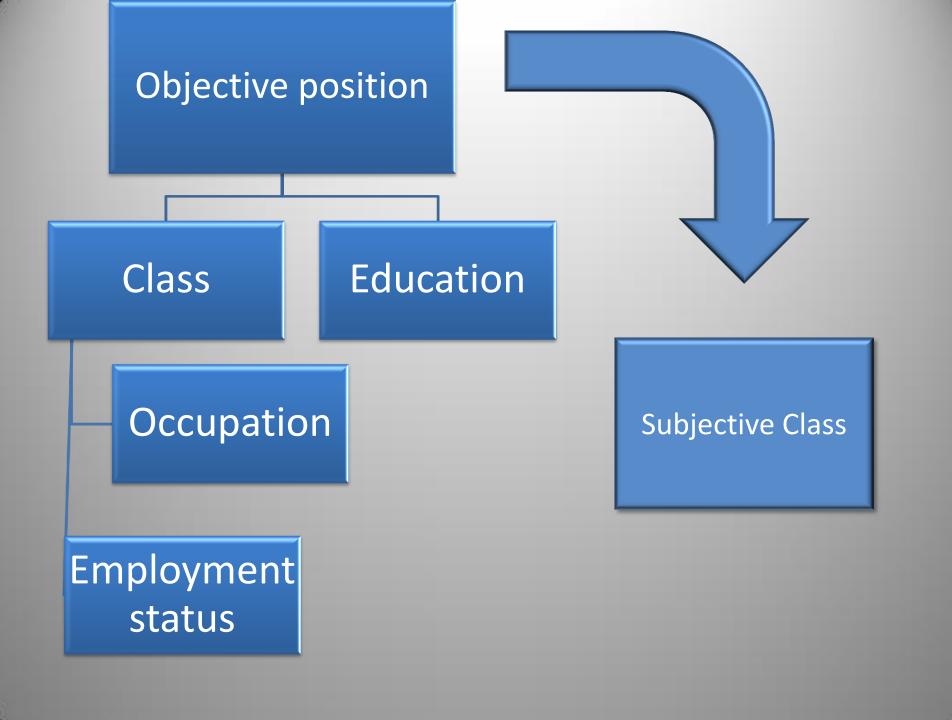
Concepts operationalised

Ordered logistic regression: Odds ratios, predicted probabilities

**Implications** 

#### Research Question

What explains how individuals locate themselves and others in a broader structure of inequality?



#### Death of class?

- Class as a "zombie" concept (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002)
- "Ascribed" characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality are more important than social class (Giddens 1991)
- Connection between objective and subjective class is weak

#### Data used

- International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)
- 1987, 1992, 1999, and 2009 Social Inequality Modules





#### **Variables**

## Independent variables

- Class
- Education

## Dependent variable

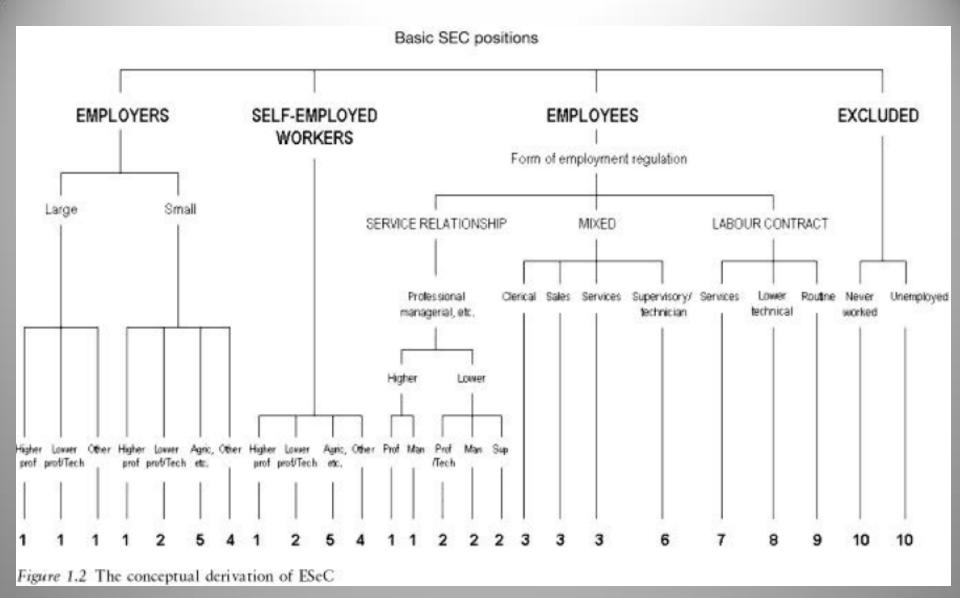
Subjective class

## Control variables

- Age
- Gender

#### Class

- Class is operationalised using the European Socioeconomic Classification (ESeC)
- Based theoretically on a Weberian interpretation of class
- Based conceptually on Goldthorpe's class schema
- ESeC represents a composite measure of class
- Component variables include: occupation, employment status, supervisory status, number of employees and size of establishment.



Source: (Pp. 22)Rose, David and Eric Harrison, eds. 2010. Social Class in Europe: An Introduction the European Socio-Economic Classification. Oxon: Routledge.

## **Class Compositions**

	Global	China	Denmark	Spain	Australia	Sweden	Russia	U.S.
Large employers, higher mgrs/professional	11.57%	11.29%	16.61%	8.07%	17.52%	12.21%	16.11%	13.31%
Lower mgrs/professionals, higher supervisors/technicians	19.62%	6.03%	24.98%	9.01%	31.73%	29.45%	18.75%	25.38%
Intermediate occupations	9.84%	1.61%	12.78%	13.92%	9.83%	9.13%	6.51%	10.43%
Small employers and self-employed (non-agriculture)	6.76%	12.75%	2.6%	8.07%	2.30%	2.05%	.29%	5.05%
Small employers and self-employed (agriculture)	3.66%	33.83%	.51%	2.46%	.22%	.09%	.72%	.72%
Lower supervisors and technicians	9.53%	9.17%	12.2%	.82%	15.43%	12.21%	7.59%	8.39%
Lower sales and service	12.32%	8.51%	12.13%	20.47%	9.48%	16.68%	12.31%	12.26%
Lower technical	10.02%	6.32%	4.91%	15.44%	4.67%	6.24%	14.75%	6.23%
Routine	16.68%	10.49%	13.29%	21.75%	8.83%	11.93%	22.98%	18.23%
Missing Cases	8774	273	133	360	133	64	206	56
Total	46464	2737	1385	855	1393	1073	1397	1525

#### 3-Class version

ESeC class	10-class version	6-class version <sup>a</sup>	5-class version	3-class version
Higher salariat	1	1+2	1+2	1+2
Lower salariat	2			
Higher white collar	3	3+6	3+6	3+4+5+6
Petite bourgeois	4	4+5	4+5	
Small farmers	5			
Higher grade blue collar	6	3+6	3+6	
Lower white collar	7	7	7	7+8+9
Skilled manual	8	8	8+9	
Semi-/non-skilled	9	9		
Unemployed	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)

Note

Source: (Pp. 21)Rose, David and Eric Harrison, eds. 2010. *Social Class in Europe : An Introduction to the European Socio-Economic Classification*. Oxon: Routledge.

<sup>\*</sup> A 7-class version could be created by not combining classes 1 and 2, of course.

## Subjective class

22.	Most people see themselves as belonging to a particular class. social class you would say you belong to?	Please tell us which
	Lower class	
	Working class	2
	Lower middle class	3
	Middle class	4
	Upper middle class	5
	Upper class	6

## Subjective Class Responses

	Global	China	Denmark	Spain	Australia	Sweden	Russia	U.S.
Lower Class	8.48	24.75%	2.07%	3.63%	2.95%	1.43%	6.96%	4.15%
Working Class	27.09%	22.06%	17.54%	40.05%	21.46%	24.04%	29.84%	35.91%
Lower Middle Class	17.66%	20.93%	13.99%	18.99%	18.51%	12.06%	16.24%	13.2%
Middle Class	38.99%	30.07%	51.67%	35.09%	44.27%	48.61%	43.39%	39.03%
Upper Middle Class	7.24%	2.03%	14.19%	2.15%	12.54%	12.87%	3.45%	6.82%
Upper Class	.54%	.17%	.54%	.08%	.27%	.98%	.13%	.89%
Missing Cases	5829	-	24	4	34	18	8	13
Total	49409	3010	1494	1211	1491	1119	1595	1568

## 'Middling' tendencies?

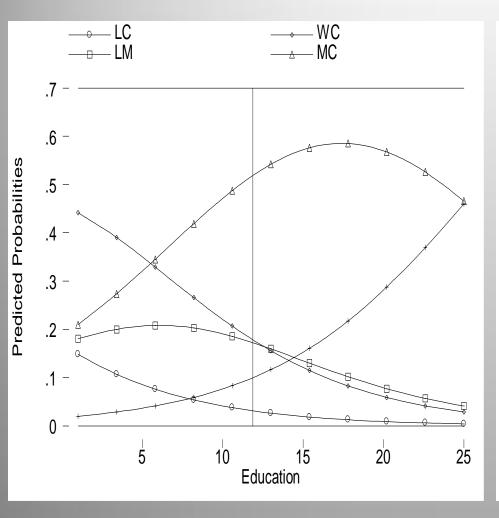
- Reference group processes (Merton 1957, Evans and Kelley 2004)
- Class shame (Sennett and Cobb 1973)
- Class disidentification (Skeggs 1997)

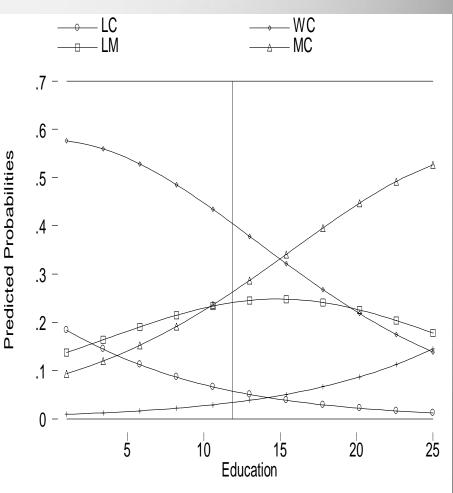
# Odds ratio for subjective class responses

	Global	China	Denmark	Spain	Australia	Sweden	Russia	U.S.
Intermediate Class (Salariat	49***	.46***	.45***	.59*	.53***	.43***	.67*	.80
class as referent)								
referency	(.03)	(.10)	(.14)	(.22)	(.13)	(.17)	(.16)	(.13)
Working Class	.25***	.40***	12***	.30***	.23***	.15***	27***	.43***
	(.03)	(.11)	(.14)	(.21)	(.14)	(.17)	(.13)	(.12)
University Degree (no degree as referent)	2.73***	1.49*	6.19***	2.74***	2.48***	7.97***	2.69***	3.85***
	(.03)	(.16)	(.18)	(.20)	(.13)	(.16)	(.14)	(.13)
Female	1.04*	1.07	.89	1.10	1.04	.96	.84	1.06
	(.02)	(.07)	(.11)	(.13)	(.10)	(.12)	(.11)	(.10)
Age	1.00**	.99*	1.00	1.00	1.00	.99	.98***	1.02***
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Likelihood ratio Chi <sup>2</sup>	7548.79***	115.29***	442.28***	118.15***	252.82***	264.03***	350.74***	306.43***
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.06	.01	.13	06	.07	.10	.09	.08
N	41276	2733	1375	845	1340	1049	1393	1494

Note: standard errors in parentheses; \*p < .05 \*\*p < .01 \*\*\*p < .001

## Global



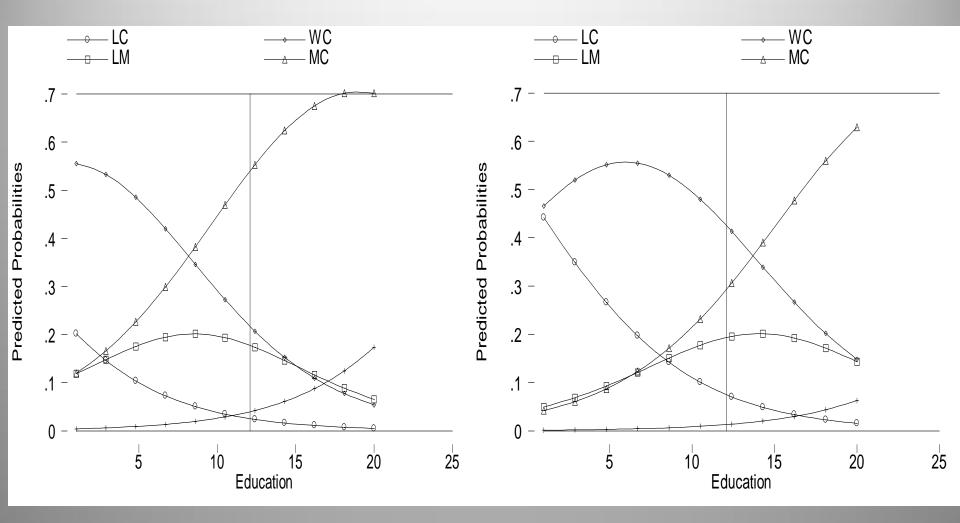


**Salariat Class** 

Source: ISSP 2009

**Working Class** 

#### Russia

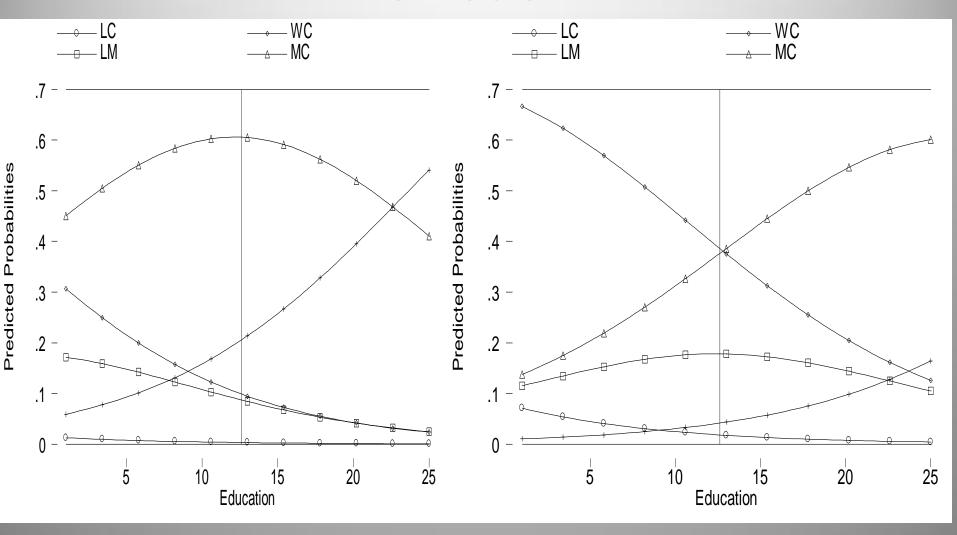


**Salariat Class** 

Source: ISSP 2009

**Working Class** 

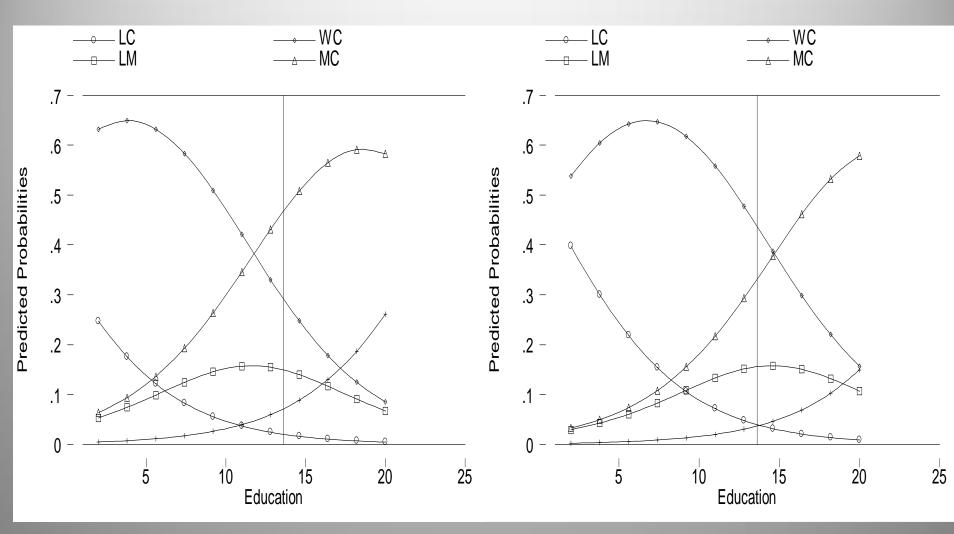
#### Sweden



Salariat Class

**Working Class** 

#### U.S.



**Salariat Class** 

**Working Class** 

### **Preliminary Implications**

- Class matters in terms of subjective selfplacement
- Middle class responses tend to increase with education
- Working classes identify with the "correct" class when they have limited education
- Highly educated salariat are likely to identify with the positions they objectively occupy
- Relationship between objective class position and self-placement is "crystallised" at the limits of class and education

### Next Steps . . .

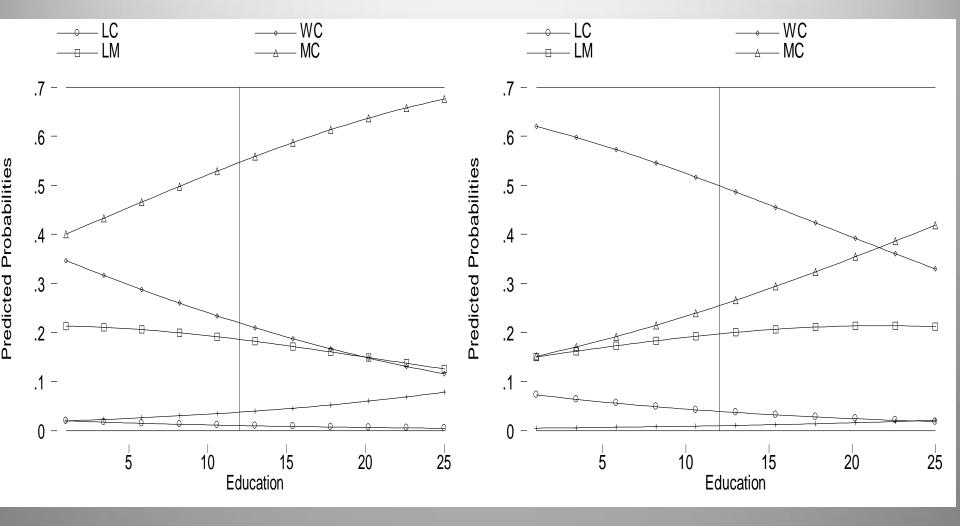
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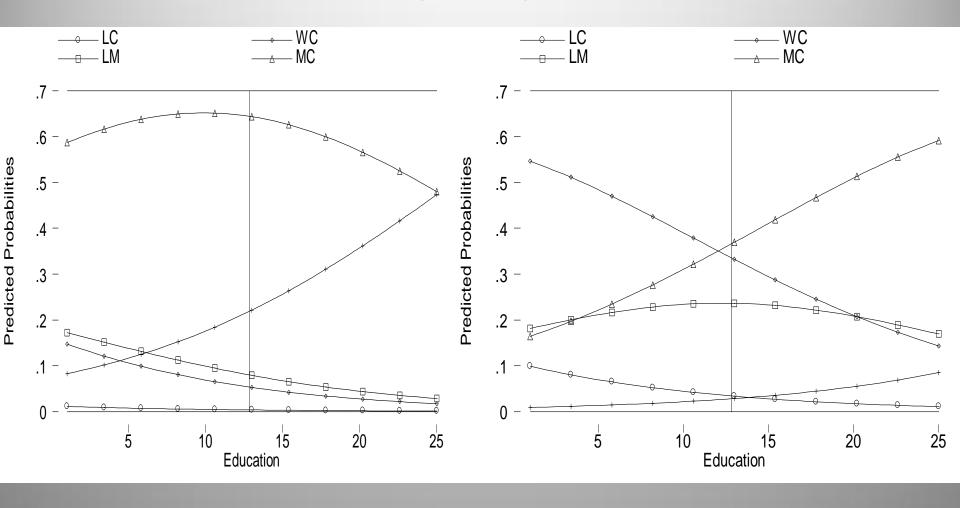
## Spain



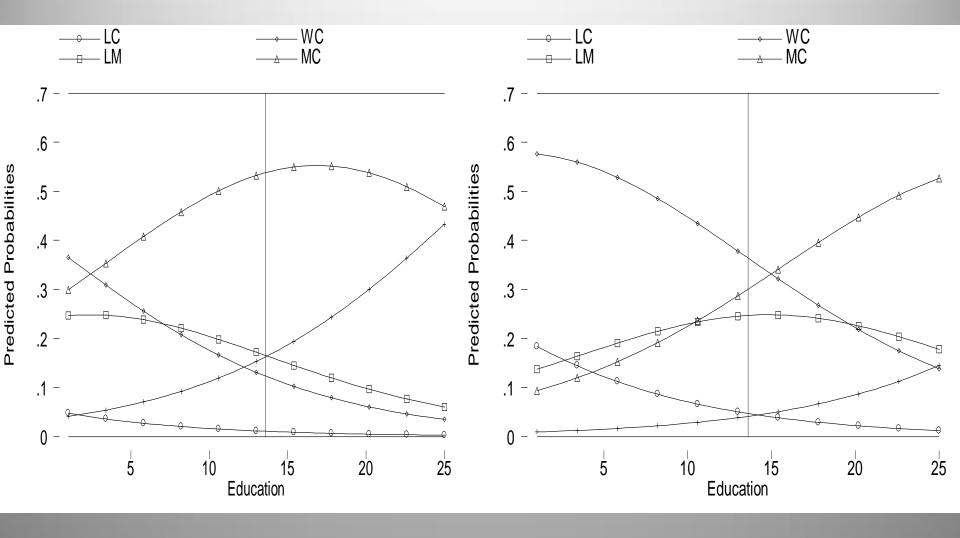
Salariat Class

**Working Class** 

#### Denmark



#### Australia



### China

