

**WOUT ULTEE
RADBOD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN
THE NETHERLANDS**

FALSE STRATIFICATION QUESTIONS

**OCTOBER 29, 2015
LECTURE IN THE COURSE OF TOMAS
KATRNAK
ON SOCIAL STRATIFICATION
AT MASARYK UNIVERSITY
BRNO**

**FALSE QUESTIONS, VAGUE QUESTIONS
DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS, TREND QUESTIONS,
COMPARATIVE QUESTIONS
DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS AND EXPLANATORY QUESTIONS
THE DEEPEST EXPLANATORY QUESTION?**

ISOLATED QUESTIONS, CONNECTED QUESTIONS

**FALSE QUESTIONS AND ERRONEOUS QUESTIONS
ANOMALIES OR PUZZLES OR CONTRADICTIONS**

WHY THERE IS SOMETHING LIKE

THE FIELD OF SOCIETAL STRATIFICATION

WHAT DOES A FALSE QUESTION LOOK LIKE?

**AT WHICH BARBERSHOP IN NIJMEGEN DOES
WOUT ULTEE GET HIS HAIR CURLED?**

**WOUT'S HAIR IS NOT CURLED IN A NIJMEGEN
BARBERSHOP**

**WOUT'S HAIR IS NOT CURLED IN ANY
BARBERSHOP**

**WOUT DOES NOT CURL HIS HAIR AT HOME OR
SOME OTHER PLACE EITHER**

WOUT'S CURLS ARE NATURAL!

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NICK LANE

THE VITAL
QUESTION



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**SOME QUESTIONS ARE SO VAGUE THAT
THEY EVEN CANNOT BE FALSE**

**THIS VAGUE SUBTITLE REMINDED ME OF A
CONVERSATION LONG AGO WITH A DUTCH
SOCIOLOGIST**

**THIS PERSON WROTE IN 1978 A
GOVERNMENT REPORT ON SOCIETAL
INEQUALITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS**

**I ASKED HER WHAT SHE TOOK AS THE MAIN
QUESTIONS ON INEQUALITIES IN THE
NETHERLANDS**

**HER REPLY:
WHICH PROCESSES HAVE CAUSED THE
DUTCH WELFARE STATE TO FUNCTION AS IT
FUNCTIONS RIGHT NOW?**

**THE QUESTION OF THE DUTCH SOCIOLOGIST WAS VAGUE
AND REMAINED SO IN HER REPORT:
THE REPORT SHOULD HAVE DESCRIBED FIRST HOW THE
DUTCH WELFARE STATE FUNCTIONS – OR DYSFUNCTIONS**

**WHEN COMING TO GRISP WITH THE REPORT
THE REPORT'S QUESTION IS NOT **HOW MANY** PEOPLE
UNLAWFULLY OBTAIN WELFARE BENEFITS AND WHY
THEY CHEAT**

**THE QUESTION SEEMS TO BE:
WHY IS INCOME INEQUALITY STILL **SO** HIGH AFTER OLD-
AGE PENSIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, DISABILITY
PENSIONS, ETC?**

**AND WHY IS THE LINK BETWEEN PARENTAL
BACKGROUND AND CHILD'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION STILL**

**THE HIGHLIGHTED WORDS IN THE LAST TWO
QUESTIONS INDICATE THAT THE QUESTIONS ARE
VAGUE**

**THE REPORT ADMITS THAT OVERALL INCOME
INEQUALITY DECLINED**

**BUT THE REPORT DOES NOT DETERMINE **TO WHAT
EXTENT** WELFARE ARRANGEMENTS CONTRIBUTED TO
THIS**

THE REPORT DOES NOT STATE THAT **TALENTED YOUTHS
FROM A LOWER BACKGROUND STILL GO TO LOWER
SECONDARY SCHOOL RATHER THAN UPPER
SECONDARY SCHOOL**

A LINK BETWEEN BACKGROUND AND LEVEL OF

UPSHOT OF THIS DUTCH EXAMPLE:

**AVOID VAGUE QUESTIONS BY MAKING THEM
MORE PRECISE**

**ONE VAGUE QUESTION MAY LEAD TO QUITE
DIFFERENT PRECISE QUESTIONS**

**FROM DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS
BY WAY OF COMPARATIVE QUESTIONS
TO TREND QUESTIONS**

DESCRIPTIONS BECOME RICHER AND RICHER

**PROBABLY THE FIRST QUESTION ABOUT
SOCIETAL STRATIFICATION IN THE CZECH
REPUBLIC:**

**PEOPLE DIFFER IN INCOME, HOW LARGE
ARE INCOME DIFFERENCES RIGHT NOW IN
THE CZECH REPUBLIC?**

**COMPARED WITH 2005, ARE INCOME
DIFFERENCES LARGER NOW?**

**TAKING THE IN-BETWEEN YEARS INTO
ACCOUNT, DOES THE TREND POINT
TOWARDS LARGER OR SMALLER INCOME
DIFFERENCES?**

THE QUINTILE DISTRIBUTION OF STANDARDIZED INCOME AFTER TAXES OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS, CZECH REPUBLIC 2005-2013

	1 ^E Q	2 ^E Q	3 ^E Q	4 ^E Q	5 ^E Q	
2005	9.8	14.4	17.5	22.2	36.0	
2006	10.1	14.5	17.7	22.0	35.7	THE TREND ?
2007	10.1	14.5	17.7	22.1	35.6	
2008	10.3	14.7	17.8	21.9	35.3	THE POOR HAVE BECO ME RICHE R,
2009	10.2	14.7	17.7	21.7	35.6	
2010	10.2	14.7	17.7	21.9	35.5	
2011	10.1	14.6	17.7	22.0	35.6	AND
2012	10.1	14.7	17.8	22.0	35.3	THE
2013	10.4	14.7	17.7	22.0	35.2	RICH HAVE BECO ME

SOURCE: EUROSTAT, SILC DATA

HOW DOES THE TREND IN THE QUINTILE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE CZECH REPUBLIC COMPARE TO THE TREND FOR THE NETHERLANDS?

N sd

	1 ^E Q	2 ^E Q	3 ^E Q	4 ^E Q	5 ^E Q		
CZECH REPUBLIC 2007	10	14	18	22	36	??	??
CZECH REPUBLIC 2013	10	15	18	22	35	??	??
NETHERLANDS 2007	9	14	18	22	37	??	??
NETHERLANDS 2013	10	15	18	22	35	??	??

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RICHEST AND THE POOREST QUINTILE DECREASED IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND MORE SO IN THE NETHERLANDS

THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND THE NETHERLANDS HAVE THE SAME INCOME INEQUALITY IN 2013, THE CZECH REPUBLIC WAS A BIT LESS UNEQUAL IN 2007

SOURCE: EUROSTAT SILC DATA

**AFTER A CERTAIN TIME, SOCIOLOGISTS GET
BORED WITH DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS,**

**THEY GET BORED EVEN AFTER A SIMPLE
DESCRIPTION FOR ONE COUNTRY AT ONE
MOMENT**

**HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A COMPOSITE
DESCRIPTION FOR SEVERAL COUNTRIES AT
SEVERAL MOMENTS**

**SOCIOLOGISTS START ASKING EXPLANATORY
QUESTIONS**

EXPLANATORY QUESTION:

WHY DID INCOME INEQUALITY DECREASE A BIT IN BOTH THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND THE NETHERLANDS FROM 2007 TO 2013?

POSSIBLE ANSWER:

IN TIME OF ECONOMIC CRISES, INCOME INEQUALITIES DECREASE

AND THERE WAS AN ECONOMIC CRISIS IN BOTH THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND THE NETHERLANDS FROM 2007 TO 2013

**HOWEVER, IT MAY BE HELD THAT THIS
EXPLANATION ONLY SCRATCHES THE
SURFACE**

**AND THAT A DEEPER EXPLANATION IS
REQUIRED:**

**WHY WOULD INCOME INEQUALITIES
BECOME SMALLER IN TIMES OF
ECONOMIC CRISIS?**

**THE ANSWER TO THAT DEEPER
EXPLANATORY QUESTION MAY BE
TAKEN AS THE STARTING POINT FOR AN
EVEN DEEPER EXPLANATORY
QUESTION, AND SO ON**

**IS THERE SUCH A THING AS THE
DEEPEST QUESTION?**

OF COURSE NOT

BUT IN THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY

**CERTAIN POSITIONS MAINTAIN THAT
ROCK-BOTTOM EXPLANATIONS ALWAYS
SHOULD REFER TO THE RATIONAL
CHOICES OF INDIVIDUALS**

**WHILE OTHER STANDS HOLD THAT
FULLY SATISFACTORY EXPLANATIONS
SHOULD REFER TO EMERGENT
PROPERTIES OF THE INTERACTIONS OF
PERSONS MAKING UP A SOCIETY**

**BUT THERE IS ANOTHER WAY OF
GETTING FED UP WITH QUESTIONS
ABOUT INCOME INEQUALITIES,**

**EVEN WITH EXPLANATORY QUESTIONS
ABOUT INCOME INEQUALITIES**

The Economist

JANUARY 22ND-28TH 2011

Economist.com

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A 14-page special report on the global elite



WHICH
IDEA IS
DEPICTE
D
HERE?

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Bahrain... Dhara 40 Czech Rep... CZK150 Greece... €5.50 Italy... €5.50 Lithuania... Lt1.20 Poland... PLN 20.80 Serbia... SRD 600 Switzerland... SF10
Belgium... €5.50 Denmark... Dkr43 Hungary... HUF1,650 Kenya... KSh5540 Luxembourg... €5.50 Portugal... €5.50 Slovakia... €5.50 Turkey... TRY12
Bulgaria... BGN13 Estonia... €5.69/EEK89 Iceland... IKr700 Kuwait... Dinar 3.20 Malta... €5.50 Qatar... Riya40 Slovenia... €5.50 UAE... Dirhams 40

**FROM THE STABILITY OF A SOCIETY'S INCOME
DISTRIBUTION
IT CANNOT BE INFERRED THAT THE INCOME LEVEL OF
ALL ITS INHABITANTS REMAINS THE SAME**

**THERE MAY BE UPWARD MOBILITY COMPENSATED BY
DOWNWARD MOBILITY**

**AN INCOME DISTRIBUTION CALCULATED FOR
MONTHLY INCOMES DISPLAYS LARGER DIFFERENCES
THAN AN INCOME DISTRIBUTION FOR YEARLY
INCOMES**

**STATISTICS NETHERLANDS FOUND IN THE 1980s THAT
THE DISTRIBUTION FOR AVERAGE INCOME OVER
THREE YEARS SHOWS SMALLER INEQUALITIES THAN
THAT OVER ONE YEAR**

U.S.A., land of limitations?



Nicholas Kristof

NYT

10-8-2015

YAMHILL, ORE. We like to boast of America as the "land of opportunity," and historically there is truth to that.

"We have never been a nation of haves and have-nots," Senator Marco Rubio once declared. "We are a nation of haves and soon-to-haves, of people who have made it and of people who will make it."

That's a lovely aspiration, the vision that brought Rubio's father to the United States — and my father, too. Yet I fear that by 2015 we've become the socially rigid society our forebears fled, replicating the barriers and class gaps that drove them away. That's what the presidential candidates should be debating.

Researchers have repeatedly found that in the United States, there is now less economic mobility than in Canada or much of Europe. A child born in the bottom quintile of incomes in the United States has only a 4 percent chance of rising to the top quintile, according to a Pew study. A separate (somewhat dated) study found that in Britain, such a boy has about a 12 percent chance.

By another measure, "intergenerational income elasticity," social mobility is twice as great for Canada as for the United States.

Alan Krueger, a Princeton economist, has noted that in the United States, parents' incomes correlate to their adult children's incomes roughly as heights do. "The chance of a person who was born to a family in the bottom 10 percent of the income distribution rising to the top 10 percent as an adult is about the same as the chance that a dad who is 5 feet 6 inches tall having a son who grows up to be over 6 feet 1 inch tall."

Krueger observed in a speech. "It happens, but not often."

I've been reflecting on this because of a friend in my hometown, Yamhill, Ore. Rick Goff was smart, talented and hard working, but he faced an uphill struggle from birth; I wrote about him last year as an example of the aphorism that "talent is universal, but opportunity is not."

And now Rick is dead. He died of heart disease last month in his home in Yamhill at age 65.

I visited him the day before he died, as he was pained and struggling to walk, and I keep thinking of his prodigious talents that were never fully deployed because, in the United States, too often the best predictor of where we end up is where we start.

Rick, who thought he was one-eighth American Indian, pretty much raised himself, along with his brother and two sisters. His mom died when he was 5, and his dad — "a professional drunk,"

The biggest factor for success isn't hard work but how our lives started.

Rick once told me — abandoned the family. A grandmother presided, and the kids hunted and fished to put food on the table.

School might have been an escalator to a better life, for Rick

had a terrific mind, but as a boy he had an undiagnosed attention deficit disorder and teachers wrote him off. In the eighth grade, the principal punished Rick for skipping school, by suspending him for six months. Rick was thrilled. By 10th grade he had dropped out for good.

Rick worked in lumber mills and machine shops, then became a talented custom painter of cars. After his hand was mashed in an accident, he survived on disability and odd jobs. His phone worked when he had enough money to pay the bills.

He married twice and divorced twice, raised children as a single dad, and was a loyal friend to everyone around. A few years ago, Rick was slowly mending from a serious illness, dependent on a crucial medicine. Then he abruptly weakened and had to be hospitalized.

It turned out that his ex-wife's car had been towed and she had needed to pay a fee to get it back. So Rick had given her \$600 and skipped the medicine. That's what put him in the hospital.

And, yes, that was for his ex-wife.

Last year, I wrote a series titled "When Whites Just Don't Get It," about race gaps (the reaction was not entirely enthusiastic!). I also think that many successful Americans "don't get" the income gulf.

Sean Reardon of Stanford University has calculated that the race gap in student test scores has diminished, but that the class gap has widened. A half-century ago, the black-white test score gap was 50 percent greater than the gap between the richest 10 percent and the poorest 10 percent. Now it is the other way around, with the class gap almost twice that of the race gap.

Consider that 77 percent of adults in the top 25 percent of incomes earn a B.A. by age 24. Only 9 percent of those in the bottom 25 percent do so.

Some think success is all about "choices" and "personal responsibility." Yes, those are real, but it's so much more complicated than that.

"Rich kids make a lot of bad choices," Professor Reardon notes. "They just don't come with the same sort of consequences."

Rick acknowledged that he had made bad choices. He drank, took drugs and was arrested about 30 times. But he also found the strength to give up alcohol when he felt he was turning into his father. What distinguished Rick wasn't primarily bad choices, but intelligence, hard work and lack of opportunity.

So let's just drop the social Darwinism. Success is not a sign of virtue. It's mostly a sign that your grandparents did well.

Meanwhile, more children in America live in poverty now (22 percent at last count) than at the start of the financial crisis in 2008 (18 percent). They grow up not in a "land of opportunity," but in the kind of socially rigid hierarchies that our ancestors fled, the kind of society in which your outcome is largely determined by your beginning.

Now, that's what the presidential candidates should be discussing.

QUESTIONS ABOUT INCOME MOBILITY ARE WORTHY OF ATTENTION

A RECENT CONCRETE EXPLANATORY QUESTION ABOUT INCOME MOBILITY:

WHY IS IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE 21ST CENTURY INCOME MOBILITY FROM PARENTS TO CHILDREN SMALLER IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN THE COUNTRIES OF

NORTHERN EUROPE AND

**HOW ARE RELIABLE DATA ON
INTERGENERATIONAL INCOME MOBILITY
TO BE OBTAINED?**

**OLD TAX FILES ARE NOT THERE IN
DIGITAL FORM**

**WITHOUT A FIXED PERSONAL IDENTIFIER
AND A FIXED HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFIER
OLD FILES CANNOT BE LINKED TO MORE
RECENT FILES**

**PANELS HAVE NOT BEEN RUNNING FOR
A LONG TIME AND ARE VERY EXPENSIVE**

**FIND A SUBSTITUTE:
FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE**

**QUESTIONS ABOUT OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE
MOBILITY ARE GOOD SUBSTITUTES FOR
QUESTIONS ABOUT INTERGENERATIONAL INCOME
MOBILITY**

**THE CORRELATION BETWEEN INCOME OF FATHERS
AND SONS AT MORE OR LESS THE SAME AGE IN
THE USA ACCORDING TO THE MICHIGAN PANEL
WAS 0.15**

**IF THE AVERAGE OF THREE YEARS OF INCOME WAS
TAKEN THIS CORRELATION WAS 0.40**

**THE CORRELATION BETWEEN FATHER'S AND SON'S
OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE ACCORDING TO
SURVEYS WAS 0.40**

**IF FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE
MOBILITY HAS BEEN DESCRIBED FOR A
COUNTRY (SEVERAL COUNTRIES) AT ONE
(OR MORE) POINT IN TIME**

**EXPLANATORY QUESTIONS CROP UP
AGAIN**

**THESE EXPLANATORY QUESTIONS
USUALLY REFER TO THE LINK BETWEEN
PARENTAL BACKGROUND AND LEVEL OF
EDUCATION AND TO THE LINK BETWEEN
EDUCATION AND INCOME OR PRESTIGE**

**HERE IS ONE SUCH DEEPER
EXPLANATORY MOBILITY QUESTION**

The stranglehold on French schools

Peter Gumbel

PARIS Every country has its back-to-school rituals. In France for the past few years, la rentrée — the return to classrooms after the two-month summer break — has been accompanied by teacher strikes.

Last year, one in four teachers didn't show up for work on some September days to protest against changes in the school timetable. The year before, some struck because of losing a day's vacation. This year, the largest teachers' union has called for a daylong strike next Thursday and a mass rally in October to voice discontent with the government's plans to alter the middle school curriculum. Among other things, there will be fewer possibilities to teach Latin and German, and a new emphasis on interdisciplinary studies.

It is easy to accuse the teachers, as some do, of blocking any attempts to improve the system. It's also easy to understand why teachers are fed up. They are poorly paid by European standards. They operate within a stifling, highly centralized hierarchy that micromanages their every move. And for more than a decade, they have borne the brunt of constant but minor reform attempts that have singularly failed to address the two critical issues facing the French public school system: the rapid decline in the academic performance of pupils, and the growing social inequality in the education system.

Today, one in four pupils in France fails to complete his or her secondary education, according to the national statistics office Insee. In the international PISA studies that measure the performance of 15-year-olds around the world in mathematics, science and reading comprehension, the average French score is at best mediocre, and

Teachers are poorly paid and operate within a hierarchy that micromanages their every move.

the number who perform poorly has risen sharply since the first test in 2000. Even the top performers are less numerous as a percentage of the student body than in other European countries including Germany, Poland and Belgium. For a nation that long believed in the intellectual excellence of its school system, that's painful.

There's worse to come. School is supposed to be a critical enabler of social mobility. The word "égalité" is inscribed on almost every school in France and you won't find the strata of super-expensive private institutions for the affluent that exist in the United States or Britain; most of the best French schools are public and free.

Yet according to PISA, France now has one of the most inegalitarian school systems in the world, on a par with Bulgaria, Chile and Peru. The gap in performance between children of well-off parents and poor ones is today greater in France than anywhere else in Western Europe or the United States, where the inequalities of the education system have preoccupied policy makers for four decades.

What has gone so wrong? That question is part of an increasingly polemical political debate — which itself is part of the problem. There is no consensus on the causes of the schools' crisis, or on the possible solutions. On taking office, successive governments upend the education policies of their predecessors. In 2008, under President Nicolas Sarkozy, the government changed the school hours; in 2013, under President François Hollande, they were changed back. In 2009, teacher-training

colleges were shut down; four years later, they were reopened. The job of education minister has become a political ejector seat: Average tenure is less than two years.

I believe one of the main problems is the sheer enormity and heavy-handedness of the system. With more than one million personnel, it overtook the Russian armed forces in size in 2010 to become the second-largest organization in Europe. (Only Britain's National Health Service is bigger.)

But school works best as a local affair. Teachers and principals on the front lines know better what serves the needs of their pupils than ministry officials in Paris's 7th arrondissement. Yet under the French system, schools are tightly controlled and given no leeway. They are not viewed as stand-alone entities allowed to make their own choices. Principals have no authority over the teachers, and don't form a

team. They can't offer Latin or German classes as they want. They can't even select new teachers: All personnel decisions are decided by the central authorities, based on seniority. Teachers' unions and ministry officials are both adamant about keeping it that way.

This stranglehold is untenable. The situation has now deteriorated to such an extent that the system is starting to fragment. I spent a year traveling around France visiting schools that are trying to do things differently. Demand from parents for "alternative" schools is growing; according to one poll, 55 percent of parents would take their children out of the state system if they could.

This mixture of parental demand and teacher frustration are giving rise to all sorts of interesting experiments. About 50 new private schools per year are currently opening. Montessori ones are very much in fashion, especially bilingual ones. Homeschooling is starting to

gain traction; it's still tiny — with just over 5,000 families doing it — but growing fast, up by 70 percent in five years. An embryonic charter school movement with conservative Catholic roots recently opened two schools in run-down areas outside Paris and Marseille that are attracting a large number of Muslim families. School uniforms are compulsory and grace is said before lunch.

The most surprising experiments are taking place within the decaying public system, especially in the worst schools in the toughest areas. Groups of highly motivated teachers, seeing that the prescribed curriculum and methods simply don't work, are taking matters into their own hands, and convincing local education officials to grant them exemptions from the rules.

A small network of so-called "micro-lycées" that help school dropouts get back on track and take their baccalauréat has sprung up. The results are

Students are failing, teachers are angry and efforts at reform are stifled. What's gone wrong?

spectacular: kids written off as complete failures suddenly end up with commendations and are going on to university. I also spent time in a suburb of Lille in a primary school that was threatened with closure 15 years ago because it was failing so badly. Today, its results are above the national average.

These breakthrough movements are still few and far between. But the system could and should learn from them. The key to solving France's education crisis is to empower teachers and give schools far more autonomy. Let them teach Latin if they want. When teachers are motivated and work together for the good of their pupils, it makes all the difference. Who knows, one day it might even put an end to those back-to-school strikes.

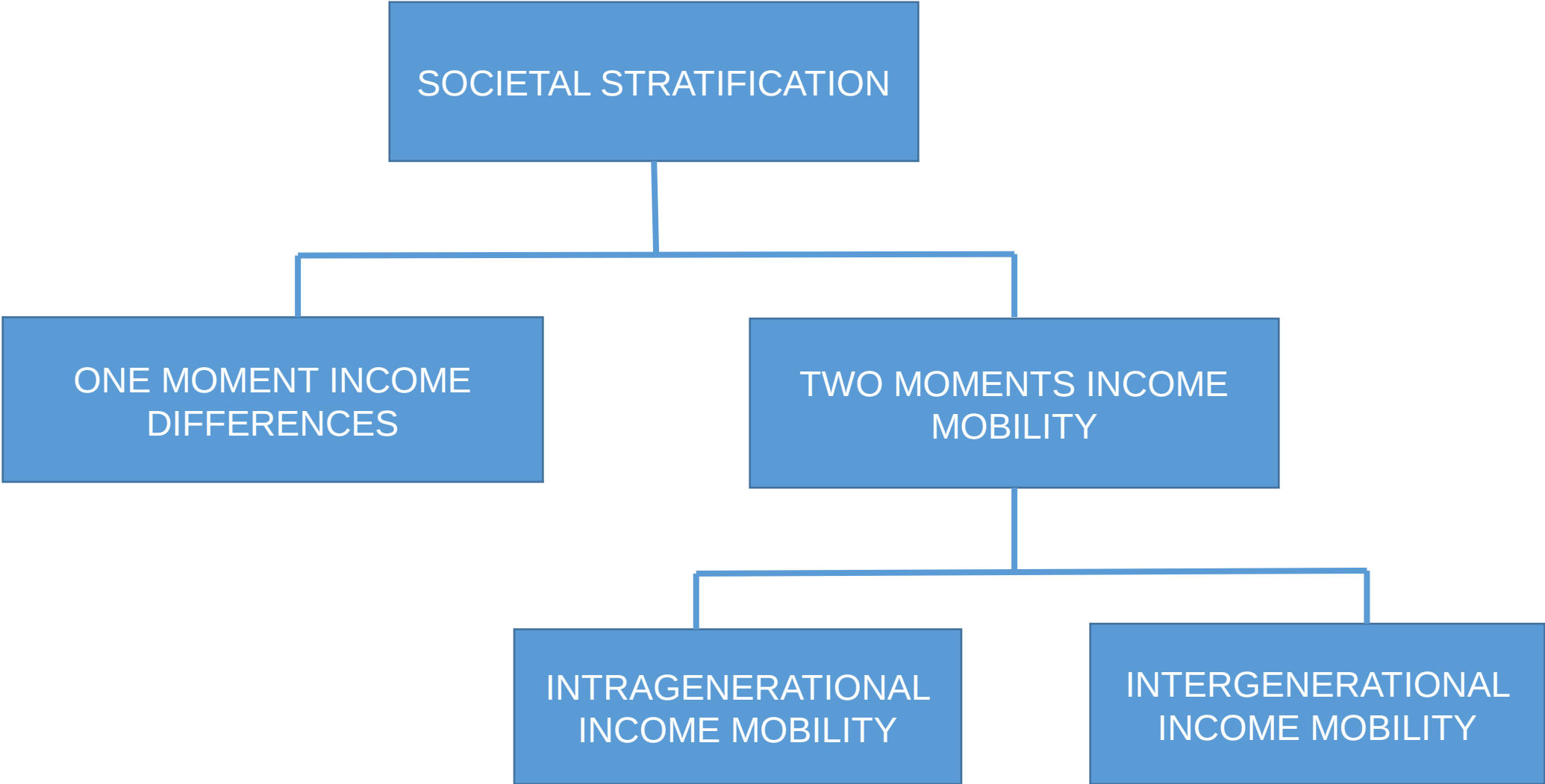
PETER GUMBEL is a Paris-based author and journalist. His latest book, "Ces écoles pas comme les autres," appears in English as "French School Without Tears."

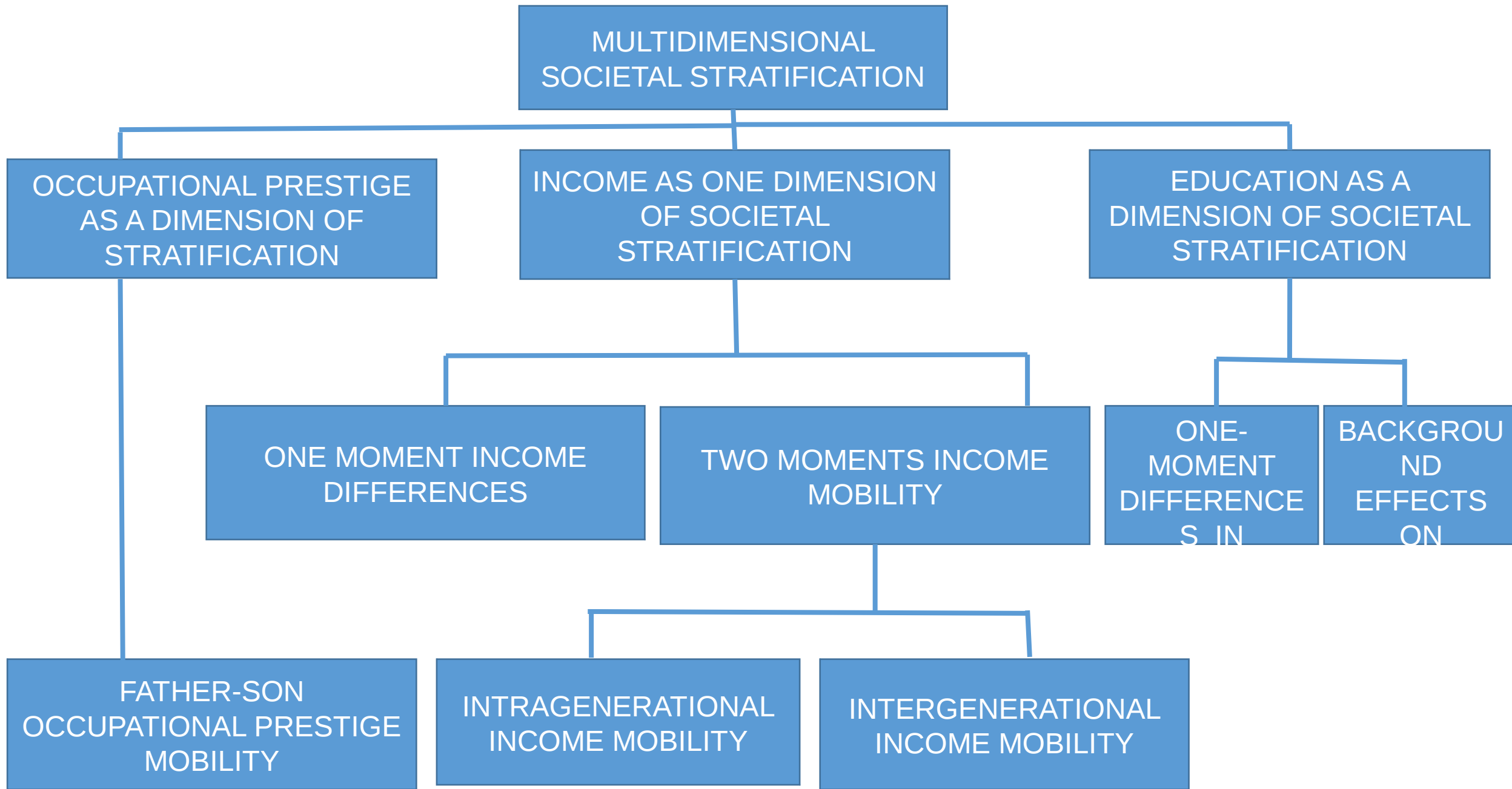
**I NOW WILL SPLIT THE BIG INEQUALITY
QUESTION INTO SMALLER QUESTIONS**

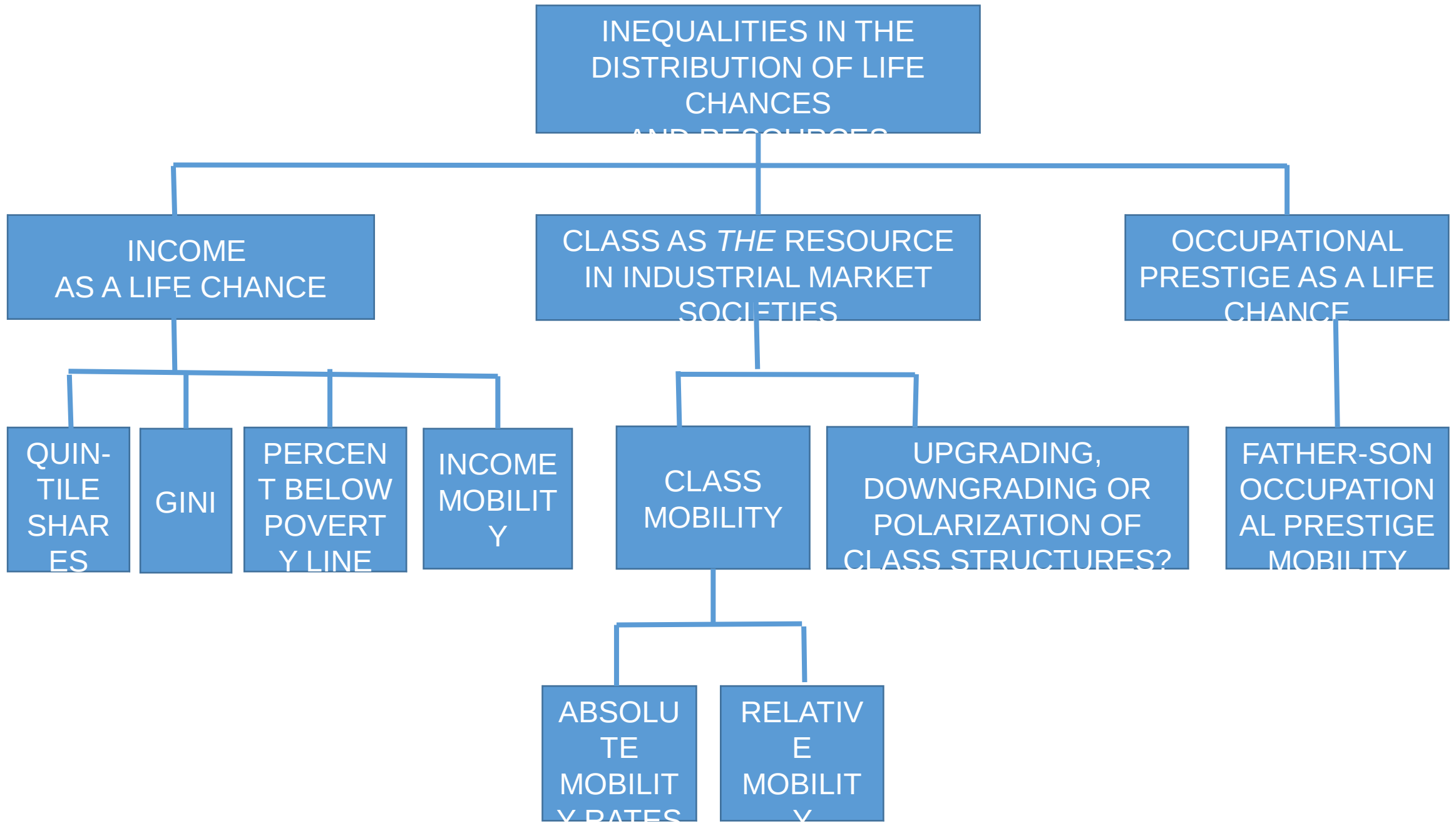
**I DO SO BY USING FIRST THE WEBERIAN
ASSUMPTION THAT STRATIFICATION IS
MULTI-DIMENSIONAL**

**I DO SO SECONDLY BY USING THE NEO-
WEBERIAN ASSUMPTION THAT THE
MEMBERS OF A SOCIETY WHO HAVE MORE
RESOURCES, ALSO HAVE BETTER LIFE
CHANCES**

**IT IS UP TO A STRATIFICATION RESEARCHER
TO PICK OUT A CONCRETE RESOURCE AND
A CONCRETE LIFE CHANCE**







**WHY DO SOME MEMBERS OF A
SOCIETY CLIMB UP MORE THAN
OTHER MEMBERS OF THIS SOCIETY?**

**THIS QUESTION CONTAINS A LOGICAL
FLAW**

IT IS AN ERRONEOUS QUESTION

*The American
Occupational Structure*

Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF ANDREA TYREE

JOHN WILEY & SONS, INC.

NEW YORK · LONDON · SYDNEY

1967

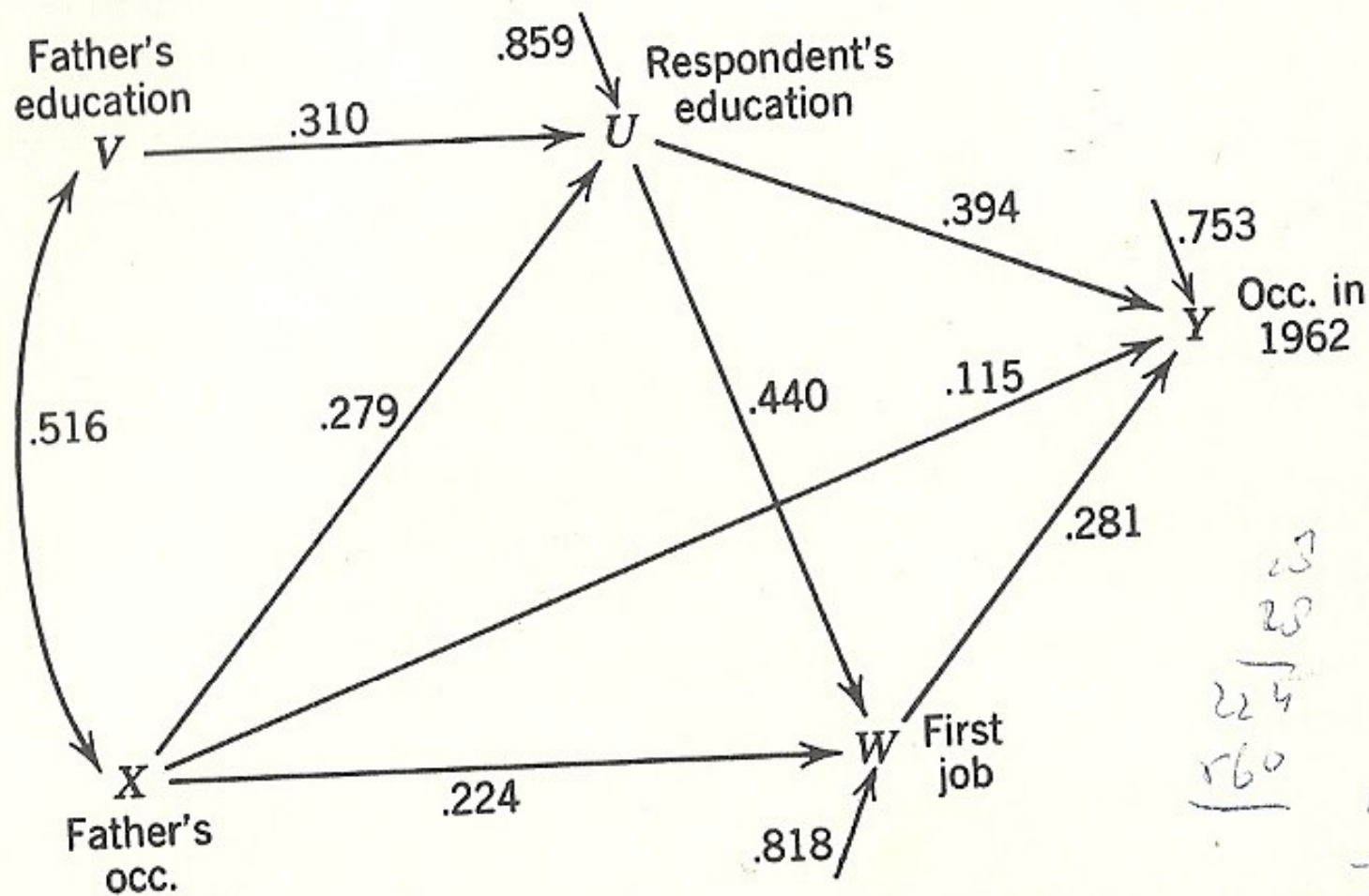


Figure 5.1. Path coefficients in basic model of the process of stratification.

DATA WERE COLLECTED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1962

VW.UX = 0
VY.UX = 0
W can meet
condition for de
crease would
not be met:
VX.UW

753² = 567009
- 394² = 155236
- 111² = 12321
- 281² = 78961

23
28

224
560

351
1170 | *37750*

1521527100

567109

**LOOKING AT THIS PATH MODEL FOR THE
STRATIFICATION PROCESS,
ONE DOES NOT SEE A VARIABLE CALLED
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OR A VARIABLE
CALLED EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY**

**ONE SEES DOTS FOR FATHER'S EDUCATION,
FATHER'S OCCUPATION, SON'S EDUCATION,
SON'S FIRST OCCUPATION, SON'S PRESENT
OCCUPATION**

**BUT THERE ARE ARROWS GOING FROM DOT TO
DOT, AND THERE ARE FIGURES NEXT TO THE
ARROWS**

**THESE FIGURES HAVE AS A MAXIMUM ONE, AS A
MINIMUM MINUS ONE, AND IS THERE IS NO**

**THE HIGHER THE VALUE OF THE COEFFICIENT,
THE STRONGER THE DIRECT EFFECT OF, SAY,
FATHER'S EDUCATION ON SON'S EDUCATION**

**THIS IS THE SAME AS SAYING THAT IF THE
VALUE IS HIGHER, THERE IS LESS
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY**

**THE SAME FOR ALL OTHER ARROWS, SAY THE
EFFECT OF FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL
PRESTIGE ON SON'S OCCUPATIONAL
PRESTIGE OR FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL
MOBILITY**

**THE DIRECT EFFECT OF FATHER'S EDUCATION ON SON'S
EDUCATION IS 0.310**

**THE DIRECT EFFECT OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION ON SON'S
CURRENT OCCUPATION IS 0.115**

HOW IS THIS IN OTHER COUNTRIES?

**THE FIRST PATH MODEL FOR THE STRATIFICATION PROCESS
TO APPEAR IN THE LITERATURE WAS FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

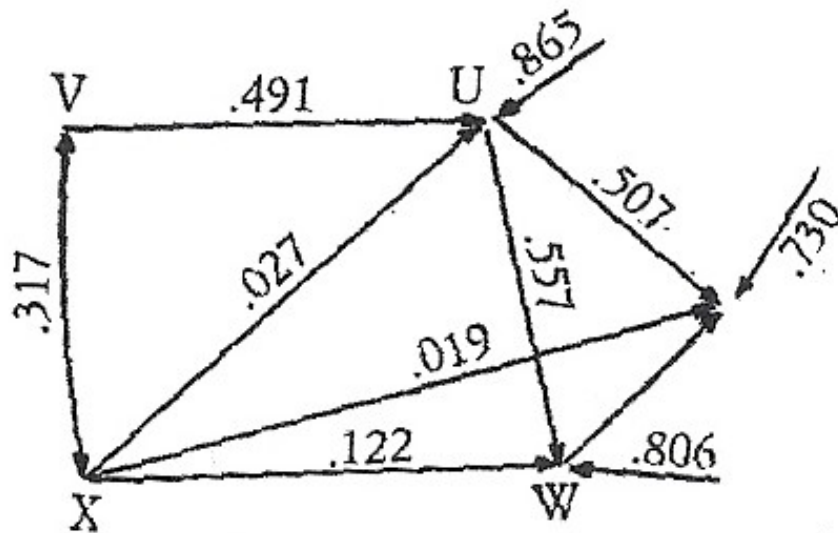
**THE MACHONIN GROUP COLLECTED DATA IN 1967, AND THE
BOOK CAME OUT DURING "THE SPRING"**

**IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THERE WAS MORE OCCUPATIONAL
MOBILITY, WITH A COEFFICIENT OF ONLY 0.019**

BUT LESS EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY, WITH A COEFFICIENT OF

...wing to the fact that the values of all the variables disposed of by Blau-Duncan were available for the purposes of our research, we have decided (in spite of the hitherto still vague theoretical value of the model and the uncertainty as to the adequacy of its application in the socialist society) to reconstruct the model for the data acquired in Czechoslovakia.

Scheme:



THERE IS AN
ARROW MISSING

WHICH ONE?

THAT PATH IS .24

SAFAR IN THE 1968
MACHONIN
VOLUME

REPRINTED IN
ENGLISH IN
QUALITY AND
QUANTITY 1971

**EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW
ABOUT MOBILITY WITHIN A SOCIETY
IS IN PATH MODELS OF PROCESS OF
STRATIFICATION**

**ANY CORRELATION INVOLVING A MOBILITY SCORE
MAY BE REWRITTEN AS A FORMULA INVOLVING
BASIC CORRELATIONS**

**SO, THE CORRELATION INVOLVING A MOBILITY
SCORE DOES NOT TELL ANYTHING NEW**

**INDEED, IT MAY PROVIDE COMPLETELY
MISLEADING INFORMATION, MISLEADING IN THE
SENSE THAT THE CORRELATION INVOLVING A
MOBILITY SCORE TELLS AGAINST SOME
HYPOTHESIS, WHILE THE SIMPLE CORRELATIONS**

**FOUR TYPES OF QUESTIONS INVOLVING MOBILITY AS
A DIFFERENCE SCORE:**

**HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT PEOPLE WITH A FATHER
WITH A HIGHER OCCUPATION, **ALWAYS** DISPLAY **LESS**
INTERGENERATIONAL UPWARD MOBILITY?**

**IF A PERSON'S FIRST JOB IS HIGHER THAN THAT OF
THIS PERSON'S PARENTS, IS THE LATER JOB OF THIS
PERSON HIGHER THAN THIS PERSON'S FIRST JOB
TOO?**

**IF FATHER'S OCCUPATION IS HIGHER, DOES THE SON
HAVE MORE INTERGENERATIONAL UPWARD
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY?**

**HAVING FOUND THAT INTERGENERATIONAL
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY HARDLY MAKES FOR**

DO UPPER CLASS PERSONS HAVE HIGHER CHANCES OF UPWARD MOBILITY THAN LOWER CLASS PERSONS?

THIS QUESTION IS ERRONEOUS, FOR UPPER CLASS PERSONS THERE JUST IS NO ROOM ABOVE WHERE THEY ARE

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN A PERSON'S STATUS SCORE AT ONE MOMENT AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PERSON'S LATER SCORE AND THAT EARLIER SCORE IS **BY DEFINITION** NEGATIVE

$$r_{(y-x)x} = \frac{r_{yx} - 1}{\sqrt{2(1 - r_{yx})}} = \frac{\sqrt{1 - r_{yx}}}{\sqrt{2}}$$

**BOUDON'S 1973 *EDUCATION, OPPORTUNITY
AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:***

**ANDERSON FOUND THAT FATHER-SON
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY
MAKES FOR ONLY LITTLE FATHER-SON
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY,
AND BOUDON CALLED THIS THE ANDERSON
PARADOX**

**BOUDON SOLD THE ANDERSON PARADOX
AS A WORTHWHILE PUZZLE FOR
STRATIFICATION SOCIOLOGY**

**HOWEVER, THE ANDERSON PARADOX
AMOUNTS TO AN ERRONEOUS QUESTION**

**WHY DOES EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY MAKE FOR
SO LITTLE OCCUATIONAL MOBILITY?**

**ACCORDING TO DUNCAN THE LOW CORRELATION
BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY AND
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IS NOT SURPRISING AT
ALL**

THE SIMPLE CORRELATIONS ARE NOT PERFECT

**AND BY SUBTRACTING ORIGINAL SCORES, ALL
ERRORS WIND UP IN THE DIFFERENCE SCORES**

**MAKING FOR EVEN LOWER CORRELATIONS
BETWEEN DIFFERENCE SCORES THAN BETWEEN
ORIGINAL SCORES**

Power and Privilege

A Theory of Social Stratification

Gerhard E. Lenski



**ARE THERE
PUZZLES IN THE
FIELD OF SOCIETAL
STRATIFICATION?**

**AT LEAST THERE
WAS ONE GUIDING
RESEARCH FROM
THE 1960s ON**

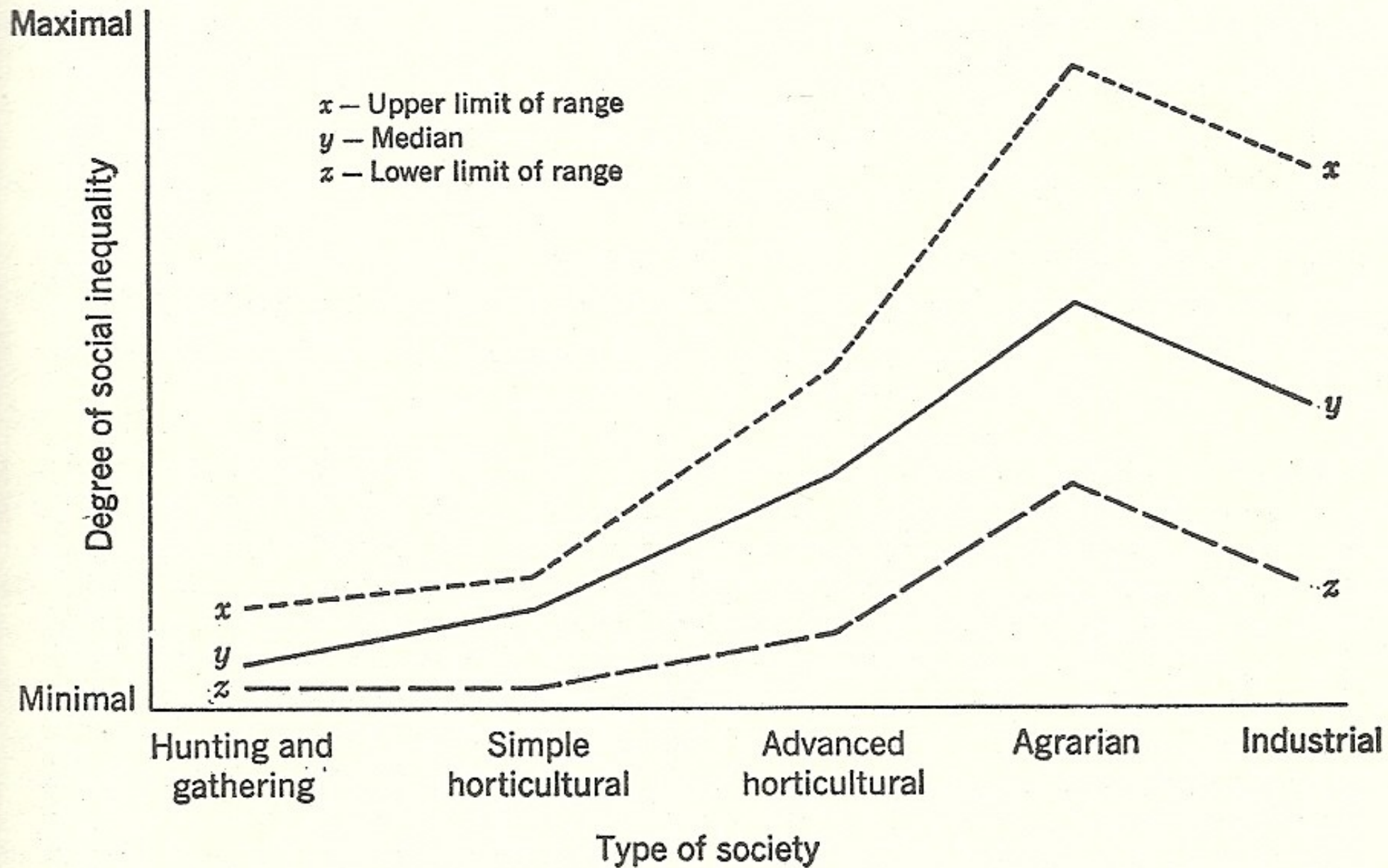


Figure 1 Degree of social inequality by type of society.

**WHY DID SOCIETAL INEQUALITY
INCREASE WITH MAJOR ADVANCES IN
SUBSISTENCE TECHNOLOGY,**

**BUT WHY DID SOCIETAL INEQUALITY
DECREASE WITH THE SHIFT FROM
AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY?**

**ADVANCES IN SUBSISTENCE TECHNOLOGY
AS A RULE MAKE THE BALANCE OF THE
MEANS OF POWER (RESOURCES) MORE
UNEQUAL,**

**BUT IT DOES NOT DO SO IN INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETIES**

**AND IT DOES NOT DO SO IN INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETIES
BECAUSE OF A SHIFT IN SOCIETAL
IDEOLOGY**

**THERE WAS A SHIFT FROM THE IDEA THAT
THE STATE IS PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE
RULERS**

TO THE IDEA THAT THE STATE IS DERIVED

RESEARCH FINDING: THE MORE YEARS AN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY HAS HAD GENERAL SUFFRAGE FOR COMPETITIVE ELECTIONS, THE SMALLER THE INCOME DIFFERENCES

FINDING: THE MORE YEARS AN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY WITH GENERAL SUFFRAGE AND COMPETITIVE ELECTIONS HAS BEEN RULED BY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, THE SMALLER THE INCOME DIFFERENCES

**COMMUNISM DID NOT HAVE COMPETITIVE ELECTIONS -
HYPOTHESIS:**

STRONG ANTI-RIGHT LIMITS ON ELECTORAL COMPETITION WOULD SHIFT THE BALANCE OF THE MEANS OF POWER TOWARDS THE PERSONS WITH LOWER INCOME, THEREBY MAKING FOR SMALLER INCOME DIFFERENCES

FINDING: INCOME INEQUALITIES UNDER LATER COMMUNISM

THE NEW PUZZLE

**RIGHT NOW WE ARE 25 YEARS AFTER THE BERLIN
WALL WAS OPENED AND THE IRON CURTAIN WAS
LIFTED**

**WHAT HAS HAPPENED WITH INCOME DIFFERENCES
IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD?**

**RISING INCOME DIFFERENCES
IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE EARLY 1970s
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM SINCE THE MID 1970s
IN SWEDEN SINCE ABOUT 1980
IN THE NETHERLANDS SINCE ABOUT 1985
IN MOST POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES SINCE THE
EARLY 1990s**

WHY?

**THE EARLY ANSWER:
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ARE
CONTINUALLY LOSING ELECTIONS**

**THE GLOBALISATION HYPOTHESIS AS THE
LATER ANSWER:
WORLD TRADE AGREEMENTS LIMIT THE
POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNMENTS TO LOWER INEQUALITIES**

**PIKETTY 2014 (BACK TO ENGELS 1845 AND
MARX 1867)**

**WHY WAS THE LONG-TERM TREND TOWARDS
MORE WEALTH INEQUALITY IN THE RICHEST
COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD INTERRUPTED IN
THE FIRST DECADES AFTER WW2?**

**UNDER WHICH CONDITIONS DOES THE LONG
TERM TREND TOWARD HIGHER RETURNS TO
CAPITAL COMPARED TO LABOUR AND
EDUCATION**

**IMPLY A TREND TOWARDS LARGER INCOME
DIFFERENCES AND LARGER INEQUALITIES IN
WEALTH?**

NEXT WEEK:

**AN UPDATED AND A
FULLY NEO-WEBERIAN
ARTICULATION OF THE
PROBLEM OF SOCIETAL
STRATIFICATION**

INEQUALITIES IN THE
DISTRIBUTION OF
RESOURCES AND LIFE
CHANCES

ONE-MOMENT
AND ONE-
PERSON

OPENNESS / CLOSURE

PERCENT
BELOW
POVERTY
LINE

QUINTILE
SHARES

TWO MOMENTS
MOBILITY

WHO MARRIES
WHOM? (CONNUBIUM)

WHO IS FRIENDS
WITH WHOM?
(CONVIVIUM)

ABSOLU
TE
MOBILIT
Y RATES

RELATIV
E
MOBILIT
Y

ABSOLUTE
HETEROGA
MY RATES

RELATIVE
HETEROGA
MY
CHANCES