

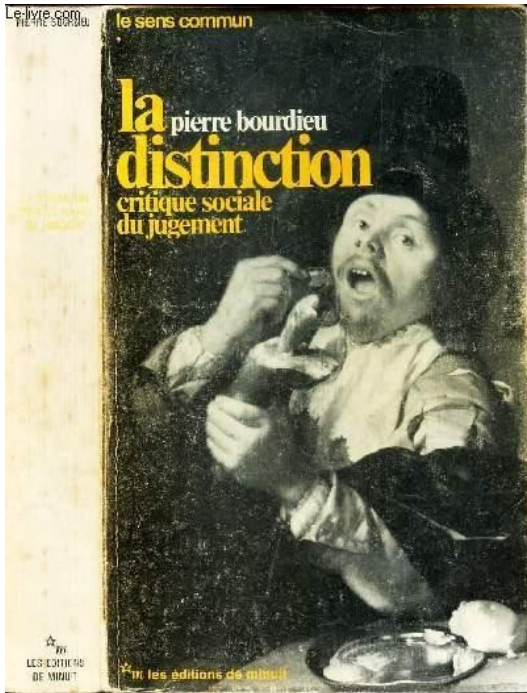
Lecture 5.
Social Classes. Contemporary approaches
Classes sociales, les approches contemporaines.

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2023-2024

Outline

1. Plurality of capitals and social space. Bourdieu's view on class
2. Revival of marxism and new approaches to class
 - E. O. Wrigth class scheme
 - Goldthorpe's neo weberianism
 - Micro-classes &/or Occupations
 - Piketty's Neostratificationism
3. How to build a class/occupation nomenclature ?
 - 4.1. Occupation à la française: the PCS
 - 4.2. International occupational schemes
- 4 Intersectionality

Bourdieu and social classes



- “*Classeurs classés par leurs classements, les sujets sociaux se distinguent par les distinctions qu'ils opèrent - entre le savoureux et l'insipide, le beau et le laid, le chic et le chiqué, le distingué et le vulgaire - et où s'exprime ou se trahit leur position dans les classements objectifs.*” (Bourdieu, 1979, 4^{ème} de couverture)
- “Classifiers classified by their classifications, social subjects distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make - between the tasty and the insipid, the beautiful and the ugly, the chic and the cheesy, the distinguished and the vulgar - and in which their position in objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.”

Linking class and classifications

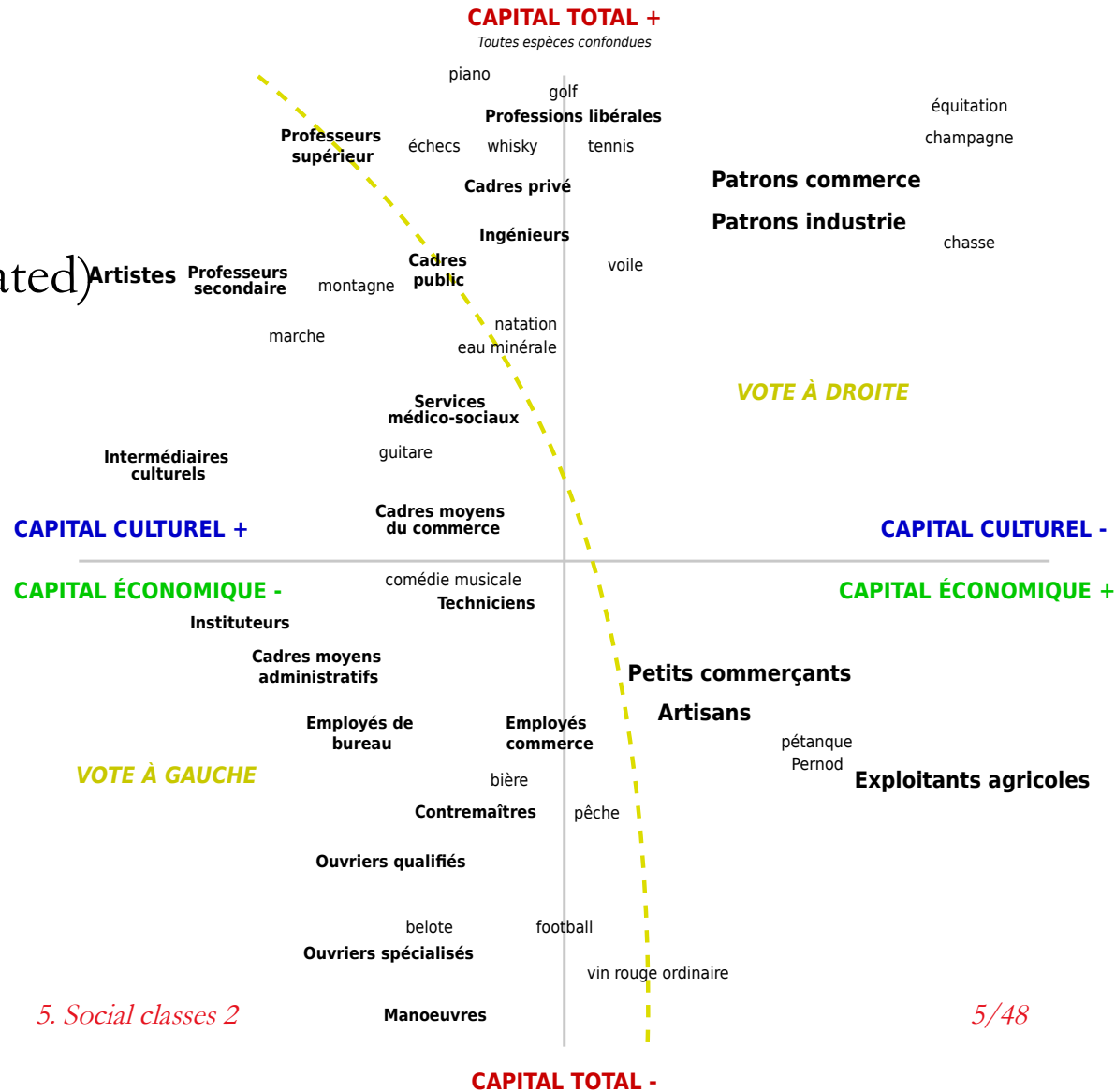
- Combines
 - Economic classes à la Marx
 - Status group (Weber, 1922) like castes
 - Defining symbolic boundaries
- Economic classes → classification
- Classification logic structure class relations
 - Hierarchization, Domination, Avoidance, Discrimination,
- Classification contributes to the construction of social order and social classes



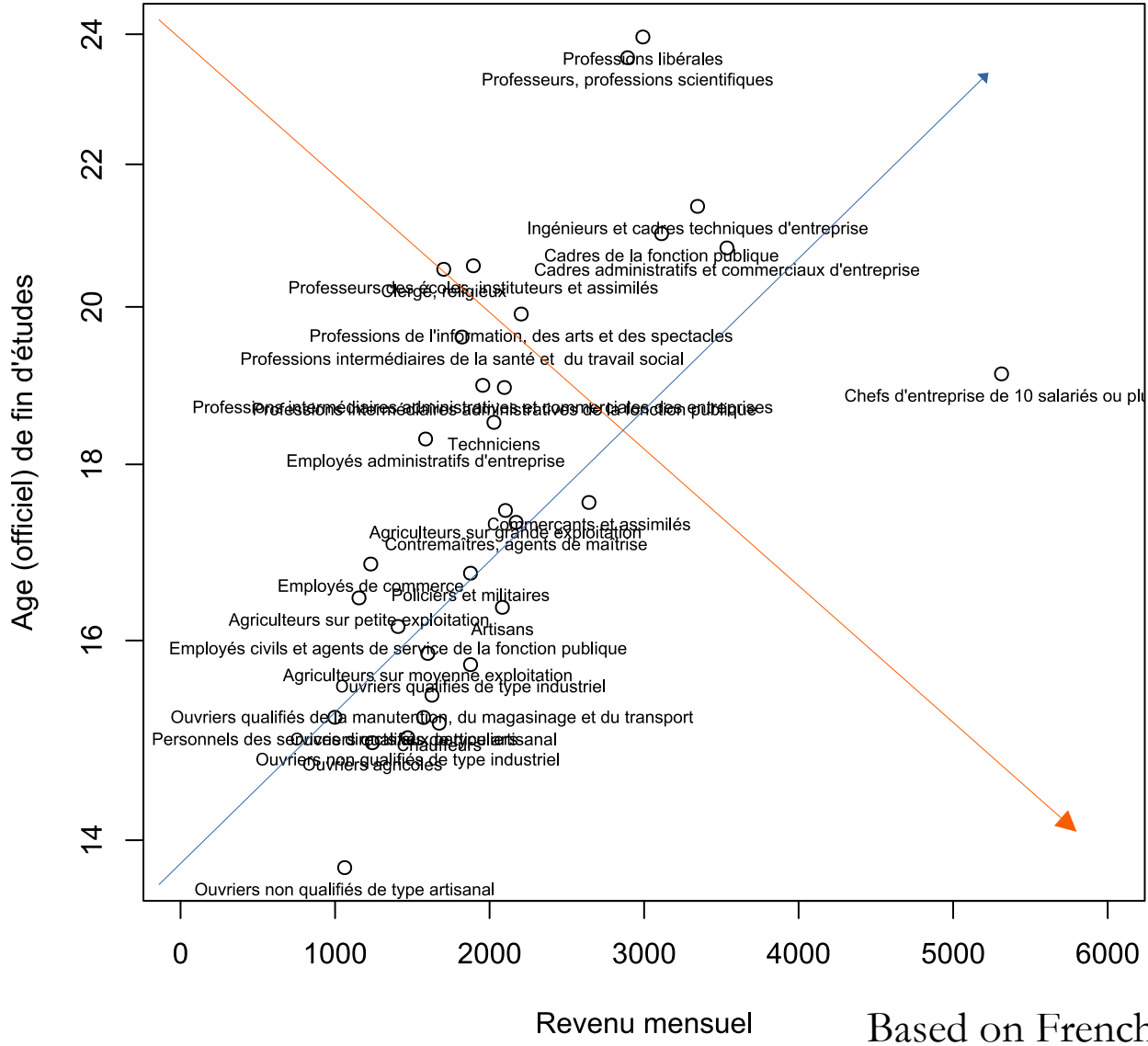
Kassovitz, 1995. *La haine*

Social space

- ... structured along two (correlated) variables
 - Economic capital
 - Cultural capital
- Recombined in
 - Volume of capital
 - $(K_{Econ} + K_{cult})$
 - Structure of capital
 - $(K_{Econ} - K_{cult})$



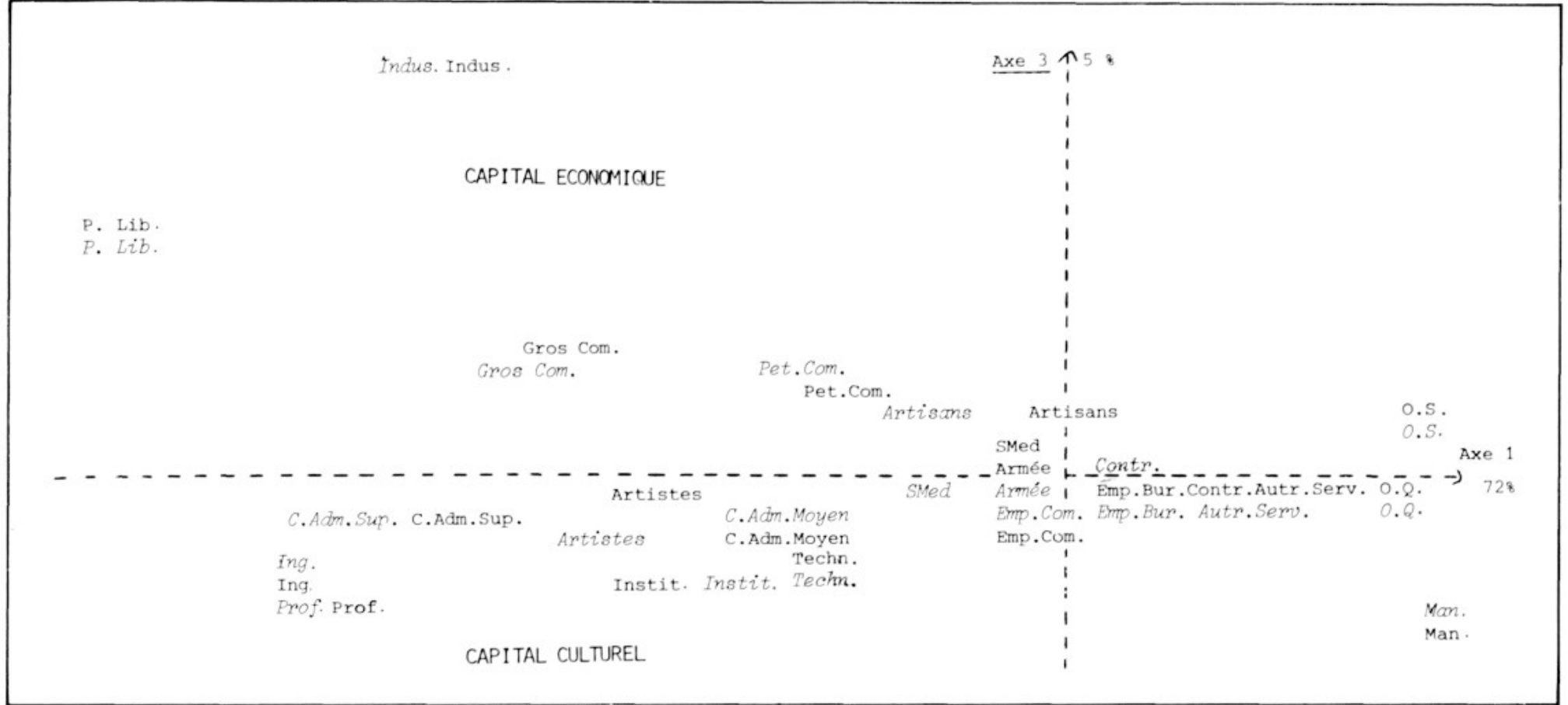
Income + length of studies



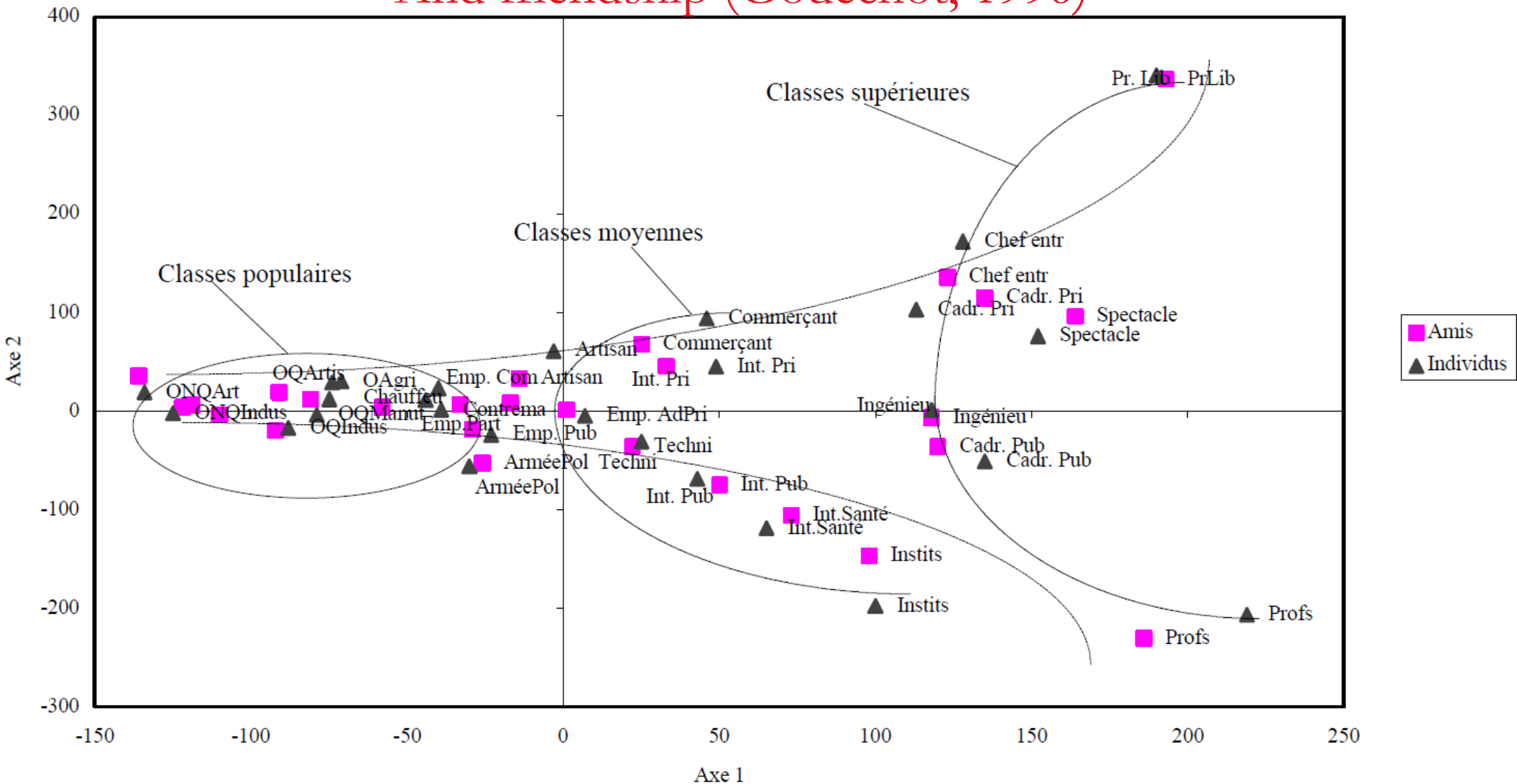
Based on French Labor Force Survey 2018

Governing social affinities like marriage (Desrosières, 1978)

Graphique III. Les origines sociales des conjoints (axe 1 x axe 3)



And friendship (Godechot, 1996)



CAPITAL +**Cultural upper class**

Professors, artists, architects,
museum directors

Balanced upper class

Doctors, judges, dentists, civil
engineers

Economic upper class

Top 10 % chief executives,
managing directors, financial
brokers, rentiers, self-employed

Cultural upper-middle class

Upper and lower secondary
school teachers, librarians,
journalists, entertainment
musicians

Balanced upper-middle class

Consultants, engineers and
technicians, computer
programmers

Economic upper-middle class

P50-P90 chief executives,
managing directors, financial
brokers, rentiers, self-employed

Cultural lower-middle class

Pre-school and
primary school teachers,
technical illustrators

Balanced lower-middle class

Office clerks, nurses,
police officers

Economic lower-middle class

Bottom 50 % chief executives,
managers, financial brokers,
rentiers, self-employed

Skilled workers

Auxiliary nurses, electricians,
carpenters

Farmers, fishers, foresters**Unskilled workers**

Assistants, cleaners,
shop assistants, drivers

Welfare dependents**CAPITAL -**

CC+
EC -

EC+
CC -

Capitals... you said capitals

- An approach mostly based on 2-digit occupations
 - Importance of economic status distinction
 - Salaried in the public (or Not for profit) sector
 - Salaried in the corporate sector
 - Self employed
- Capitals are partly metaphorical
 - Economic capital rarely available: income instead
- How much is cultural capital a capital?
 - Accumulation, transmission is possible to some extent but not total
- 3 states of cultural capital
 - Incorporated (ex. knowledge)
 - Objectified (ex. Books and paintings)
 - Institutionalized (ex. Degrees)
- Difference between cultural capital and human capital (Becker, 1964)
 - Human capital → economic returns

From class to classification

- Different classes => different socializations processes
 - Incorporation of class cultures, practices, hierarchies
- Different position in the symbolic scale
 - Relational logic between classes
 - Imposition / Rejection / Adopted of other classes' values
- => Production of a class-based habitus



Social space reflects a field logic

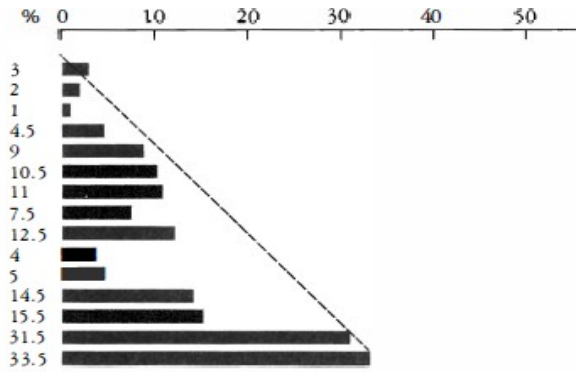
- Field : space of competition
 - imperfect competition logic
 - Relational: People observe one another
 - Unequal resources and positions
 - Initial capital
 - Habitus
 - Seeking profits strategies
 - Price making
 - Power on price
 - Bidimensional universe
 - Not just one form of value, of capital and of prices
 - Opposition of specific (symbolic) capital, and general (economic) capital
 - Opposition of diverse types of profits and valuation
 - Practical positioning
 - Not perfectly rational.
 - Combination of calculation, and more or less unconscious hierarchies of taste and distaste
- Field logic through MCA
 - First Axis: volume of capital
 - Opposition of dominants and dominated
 - Opposition of elders and younger
 - Opposition of traditional powers and newcomers
 - Second Axis: structure of capital
 - Opposition of one form of capital over another
 - Cultural/economic
 - Symbolic/Material
 - Scientific prestige / Academic power
- Formula of practice
Practice = [(habitus)*(capital)] + field

How class impacts cultural tastes?

- Importance in the demonstration of musical tastes
 - Warning: survey 1963 & 1967/68 in Paris, Lille & small town. N=1217
- Upper class: legitimate taste
- Middle class: average taste
 - Major piece of minor arts or minor piece of major arts
- Lower class: popular taste
 - “Outdated” & depreciated piece of art due to over-diffusion
 - Light form of art

1-Well-Tempered Clavier

manual workers
domestic servants
craftsmen, shopkeepers
clerical and commercial employees
junior administrative executives
junior commercial executives, secretaries
technicians
medical-social services
primary teachers
cultural intermediaries, art craftsmen
industrial and commercial employers
public-sector executives
private-sector executives, engineers
professions
secondary teachers
higher-education teachers, art producers



2-Rhapsody in Blue

manual workers
domestic servants
craftsmen, shopkeepers
clerical and commercial employees
junior administrative executives
junior commercial executives, secretaries
technicians
medical-social services
primary teachers
cultural intermediaries, art craftsmen
industrial and commercial employers
public-sector executives
private-sector executives, engineers
professions
secondary teachers
higher-education teachers, art producers



3-Blue Danube

manual workers
domestic servants
craftsmen, shopkeepers
clerical and commercial employees
junior administrative executives
junior commercial executives, secretaries
technicians
medical-social services
primary teachers
cultural intermediaries, art craftsmen
industrial and commercial employers
public-sector executives
private-sector executives, engineers
professions
secondary teachers
higher-education teachers, art producers



Upper classes: A sense of distinction

- A Relational Mechanism
 - Imitation/adoption: we value the things (or the people) that value the people (or the things) we value
 - Imitation can be at distance, without network adaptation
 - Demarcation: we depreciate the things (or the people) that appreciate the people (or the things) we depreciate
- Formalism
 - The Kantian aesthetic applies to this class
 - Value is in the representation, not in the object
 - Distance to trivial components: practicality, immediate sensibility
 - Sense of judgment: entitled to judge new cultural products
- Strong polarization within the class between Economic + & cultural +
 - Economic + lack the taste for the art they can buy
 - Cultural + lack the money to buy the art they like

Interview with a Grand bourgeois

A Grand Bourgeois '*Unique among His Kind*'

S., a lawyer aged 45, is the son of a lawyer and his family belongs to the Parisian grande bourgeoisie. His wife, the daughter of an engineer, studied at the Paris Political Science Institute and does not work. Their four children are at the 'best' private Catholic secondary schools in Paris. They live in a very big apartment (more than 300 square metres) in the 16th arrondissement: a very large entrance-hall, a spacious livingroom, a dining-room, a study, and the bedrooms (his office is not in the apartment).

“In the living-room, modern furniture (big cushions, a large couch, armchairs), antiquities, '*a Greek head in stone, authentic and rather beautiful*' (a wedding present), an object which the head of the household calls his '*personal altar*' ('*a rather attractive religious thing I managed to get off my parents*'), his father collects all sorts of objets d'art, and has bought, among other things, '*all sorts of stuff, chalices, crosses . . . from a sort of Russian, a dealer*'), '*a terracotta thing from the Tang dynasty*', bought from an antique shop in Formosa where he went accompanied by ten specialists, several paintings, a Paul Serusier ('*It is rather charming but, that said, I'd just as soon put a modern picture in its place*'), in the dining-room a Dutch still life. '*Unique among its kind*' When he buys objets d'art, '*it's in no way an investment.*' What counts for him is '*first of all the beauty of the thing, the object, and secondly, not whether it is unique, but whether it's made in a craftsman like way: 'you can make it again, but you can also make a mess of it. So it becomes unique among its kind, because you can't copy the same object, the same subject, twice . . . What makes the beauty of a face, the beauty of a sculpture, is the smile, the look. . . . You can't do it twice. You can make a plaster copy but you can't do it again in the same material, the material counts more, anyway as much as the mass. I'd love to own a very fine bronze. There are bronzes that are absolutely extraordinary.*'”

Middle class: cultural good will

- Recognition of the legitimacy of upper class tastes
- Looking for “safe values”, the most consecrated arts in order to avoid wrong investments
- Polarization between new salaried petty bourgeoisie and declined self-employed petty bourgeoisie
 - Salaried petty bourgeoisie. Some innovation in the middle
 - Interest for emerging middle arts: cinema, photography, jazz (in the 1960s)
 - Adoption of new trends linked to the body: yoga, alternative fooding practices

Popular classes: a choice of necessity

- A non-kantian aesthetics
 - Value is in the object, not in the representation
 - Prolongation of life.
 - Practicality
- Valorization of the body, the bodily capital as the only capital they have.
 - Strength contest, eating a lot, etc.
- Conformism
 - “Who he/she thinks he/she is ?”
- A feeling of incompetence and lack of legitimacy
 - “It’s not for us”

In a popular café (1)

The cafe is not a place a man goes to for a drink but a place he goes to in order to drink in company, where he can establish relationships of familiarity based on the suspension of the censorships, conventions and proprieties that prevail among strangers. In contrast to the bourgeois or petit bourgeois cafe or restaurant, where each table is a separate, appropriated territory (one asks permission to borrow a chair or the salt), the working-class cafe is a site of companionship (each new arrival gives a collective greeting, 'Salut la compagnie!' etc.). Its focus is the counter, to be leaned on after shaking hands with the landlord—who is thus defined as the host (he often leads the conversation)-and sometimes shaking hands with the whole company; the tables, if there are any, are left to 'strangers', or women who have come in to get a drink for their child or make a phone call.

In a popular café (2)

In the café free rein is given to the typically popular art of the joke—the art of seeing everything as a joke (hence the reiterated 'joking apart' or 'No joke', which mark a return to serious matters or prelude a second-degree joke), but also the art of making or playing jokes, often at the expense of the 'fat man'. He is always good for a laugh, because, in the popular code, his fatness is more a picturesque peculiarity than a defect, and because the good nature he is presumed to have predisposes him to take it in good heart and see the funny side. The joke, in other words, is the art of making fun without raising anger, by means of ritual mockery or insults which are neutralized by their very excess and which, presupposing a great familiarity, both in the knowledge they use and the freedom with which they use it, are in fact tokens of attention or affection, ways of building up while seeming to run down, of accepting while seeming to condemn—although they may also be used to test out those who show signs of stand-offishness.

Le café populaire (1)

“Le café n’est pas un endroit où l’on va pour boire mais un lieu où l’on va pour boire en compagnie et où l’on peut instaurer des relations de familiarité fondées sur la mise en suspens des censures, des conventions et des convenances qui sont de mise dans les échanges entre étrangers : par opposition au café ou au restaurant bourgeois ou petit-bourgeois dont chaque table constitue un petit territoire séparé et approprié (on se demande la permission d’emprunter une chaise ou une salière), le café populaire est une compagnie (ce que marque le « Salut la compagnie ! » ou « Bonjour tout le monde » ou « Salut les potes ! » du nouvel entrant), dans laquelle on s’intègre. Il a pour centre le comptoir, auquel on s’accoude après avoir serré la main au « patron » ainsi placé en position d’hôte (c’est souvent lui qui mène le jeu) et parfois même à tous les présents (les tables – il n’y en a pas toujours – étant laissées aux « étrangers » ou aux femmes qui sont venues faire boire quelque chose à leur enfant ou donner un coup de téléphone).

Le café populaire (2)

C'est au café que trouve son accomplissement l'art typiquement populaire de la blague, art de tout prendre à la blague (d'où les sans blague ou blague dans le coin, par lesquels on marque le retour aux choses sérieuses et qui peuvent d'ailleurs introduire une blague au second degré), mais aussi art de dire ou de faire des blagues, dont le bon gros est la victime désignée, parce qu'il s'y prête plus qu'un autre par une propriété qui, selon le code populaire, est plutôt une singularité pittoresque qu'une tare et parce que la bonne nature dont on le crédite le prédispose à les accepter et à les prendre du bon côté, art en un mot de moquer les autres sans les fâcher, par des railleries ou des injures rituelles qui sont neutralisées par leur excès même et qui, supposant une grande familiarité, tant par l'information qu'elles utilisent que par la liberté même dont elles témoignent, sont en fait des témoignages d'attention ou d'affection, des manières de faire valoir sous apparence de débîner, d'assumer sous apparence de condamner — bien qu'elles puissent aussi servir à mettre à l'épreuve ceux qui voudraient prendre des distances avec le groupe.

Working class and upper class confronted to the same picture

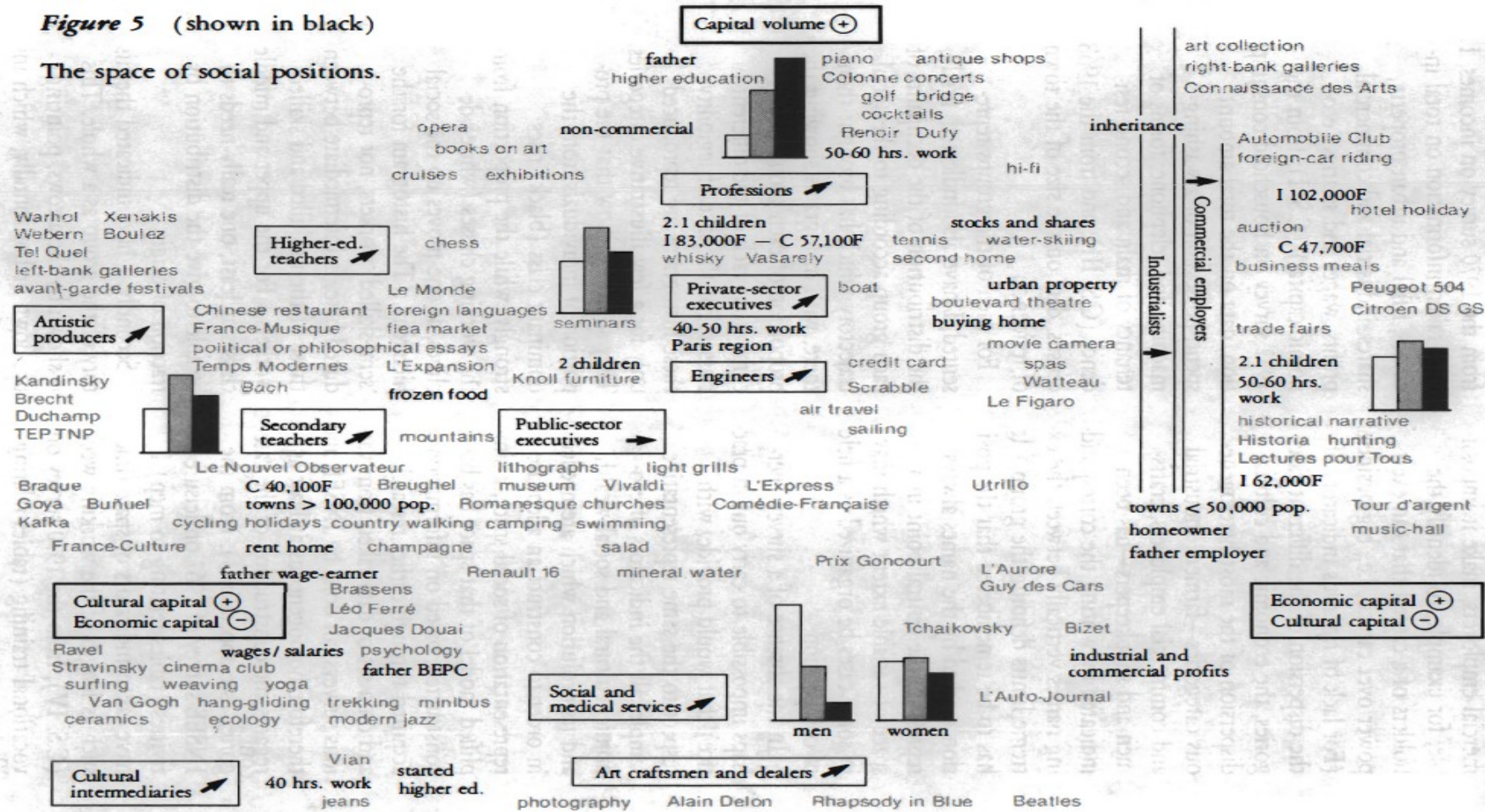
“Confronted with a photograph of an old woman's hands, the culturally most deprived express a more or less conventional emotion or an ethical complicity but never a specifically aesthetic judgment (other than a negative one) : *'Oh, she's got terribly deformed hands' . . . (...)* *The old girl must've worked hard. (...)* (manual worker, Paris).”

An aestheticizing reference to painting, sculpture or literature, more frequent, more varied and more subtly handled, resorts to the neutralization and distancing which bourgeois discourse about the social world requires and performs. *'I find this a very beautiful photograph. It's the very symbol of toil. It puts me in mind of Flaubert's old servant-woman (...)* (engineer, Paris) .



Figure 5 (shown in black)

The space of social positions.



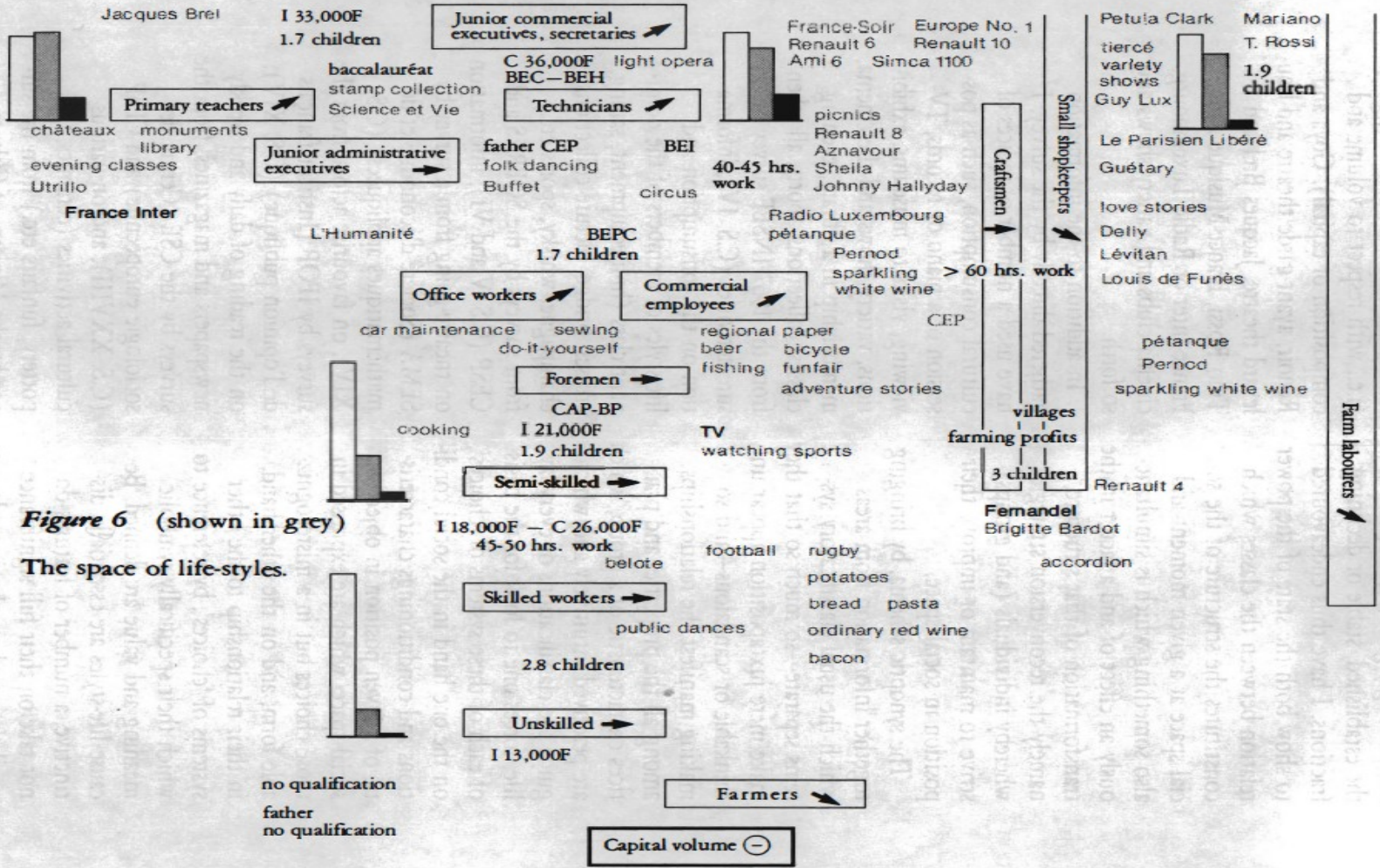
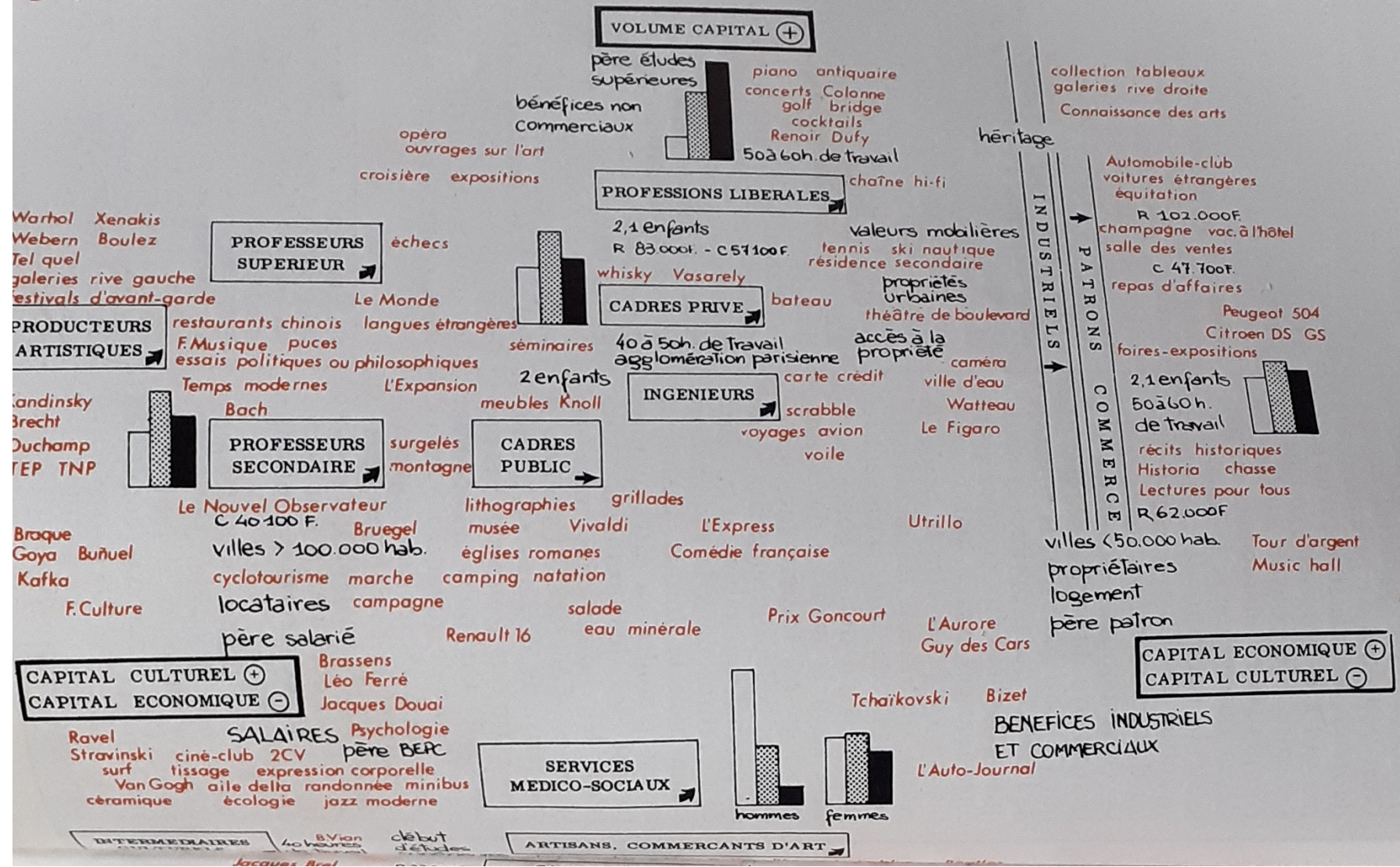


Figure 6 (shown in grey)
The space of life-styles.

graphique 5—Espace des positions sociales
 graphique 6—Espace des styles de vie

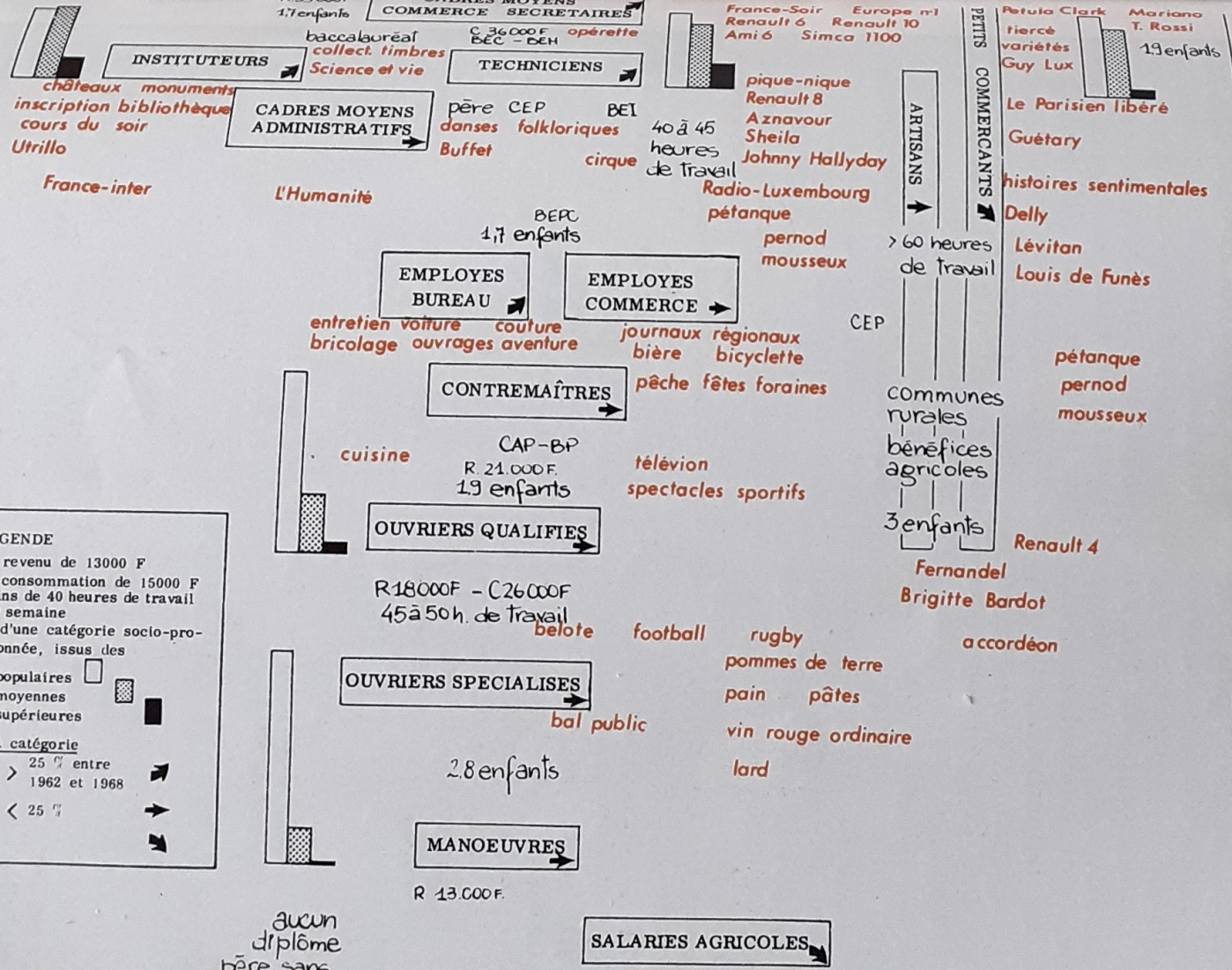


LEGENDE
 R 13000 F = revenu de 13000 F
 C 15000 F = consommation de 15000 F
 < 40 h. = moins de 40 heures de travail par semaine
 d'individus d'une catégorie socio-professionnelle donnée, issus des

- classes populaires
- classes moyennes
- classes supérieures

évolution de la catégorie

- accroissement > 25 % entre 1962 et 1968
- accroissement < 25 %
- diminution



aucun diplôme
 père sans diplôme

SALARIES AGRICOLES

VOLUME CAPITAL (-)

Sciences Po Dijon's tastes

- Does it follow Bourdieu's view?
 - Survey
- Caveat
 - Hyperselection
 - Socialization per anticipation
 - Transformation of taste structure since the 1960s.

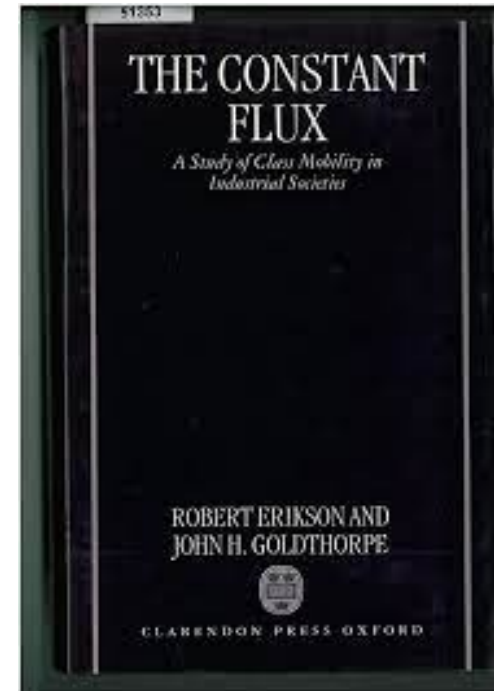
Neo-marxist class schemes

- Erik Olin Wright. 3 dimension
 - Ownership maintained
 - Skills
 - Authority in the organization

Owners	Non-owners				
Capitalists	Expert managers	Semi-skilled managers	Unskilled managers	<i>High</i>	Organization Assets
Small employers	Expert supervisors	Semi-skilled supervisors	Unskilled supervisors	<i>Medium</i>	
Petty bourgeoisie	Expert workers	Semi-skilled workers	Unskilled workers	<i>Low</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>		Skill Assets

Neo-weberian class schemes: EG/EGP

- Erikson, Goldthorpe (Portecarrero)
 - Constant flux, (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992)
 - In salaried society, ownership does not matter
- What matters is the autonomy at work
 - Service relationship
 - High autonomy in employment. Skills
 - Large employers grouped with salaried
 - Labour contract
 - Low autonomy; Work defined by labor contract
 - Intermediate cases
- Important distinction between sectors
 - Agriculture / Industry



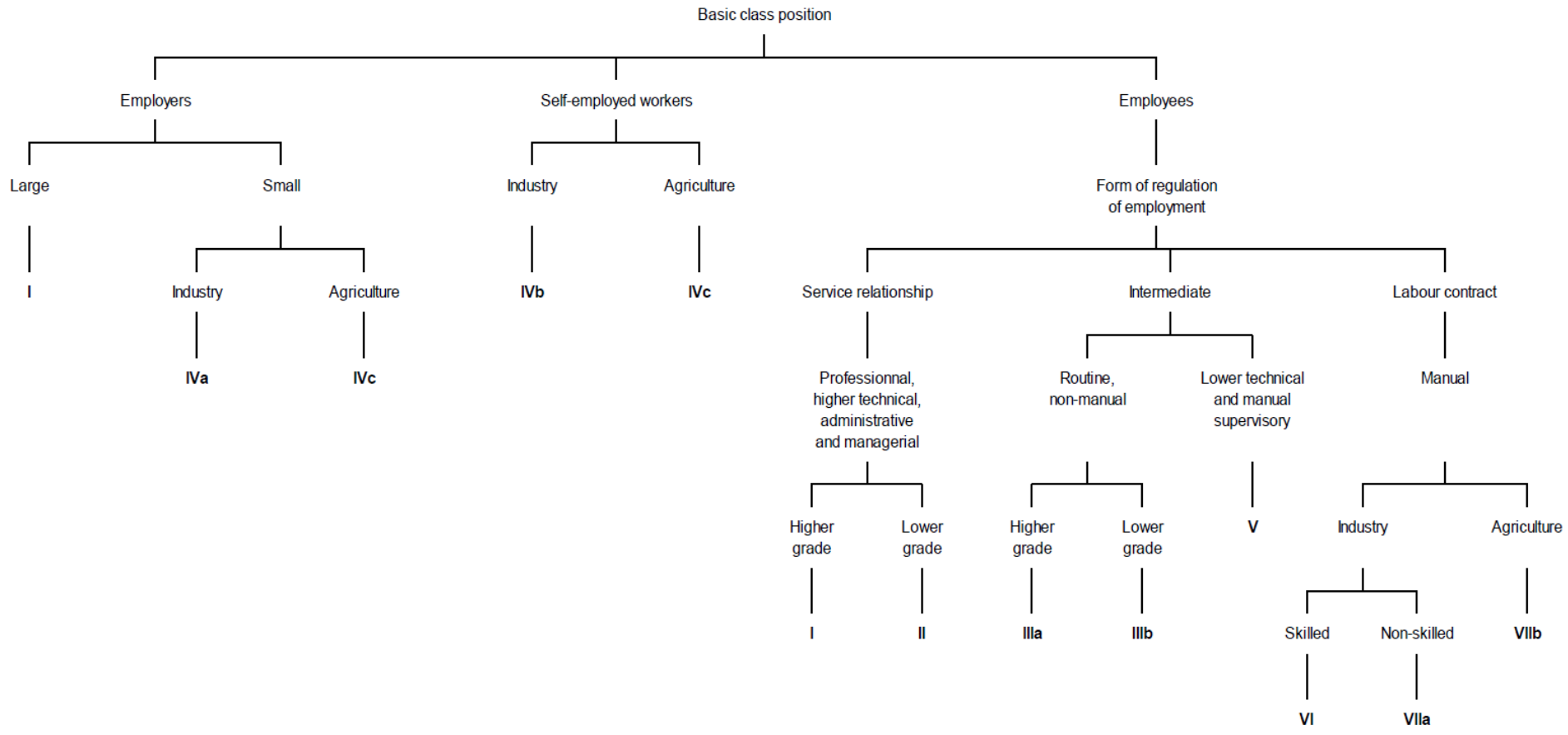


Tableau 1 : The class schema

Full version		Collapsed versions				
		Seven-class	Five-class	Three-class		
I	Higher-grade professionnals, administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietor	I+II	Service class; professionnals, administrators and managers; higher-grade technicians; supervisors of non-manual workers	I-III	White-collar workers	
II	Lower-grade professionnals, administrators and officials; higher grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees					
IIIa	Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce)	III	Routine non-manual workers : routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; other rank-and-file service workers			
IIIb	Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services)					
IVa	Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees	IVa+b	Petty bourgeoisie : small proprietors and artisans, etc., with and without employees	IVa+b	Petty bourgeoisie	
IVb	Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees					
IVc	Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production	IVc	Farmers : farmers and smallholders and other self-employed workers in primary production	IVc + VIIIb	Farm workers	Farm workers
V	Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers	V+VI	Skilled workers : lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers	V +VI	Skilled workers	Manual workers
VI	Skill manual workers					
VIIa	Semi and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture (etc.))	VIIa	Non skilled workers : semi and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture etc.)	VIIa	Non-skilled workers	
VIIb	Agricultural and other workers in primary production	VIIb	Agricultural labourers : agricultural and other workers in primary production			

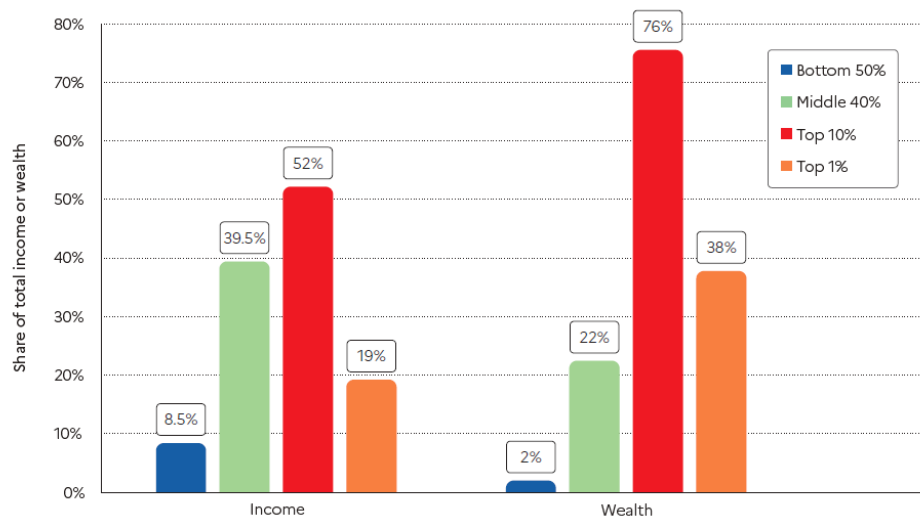
Micro-classes

- Weeden and Grutsky, 2005
- Decline in class explanatory power?
 - Yes with aggregated classes
 - No with micro-classes
- Micro-classes based on occupations still structure variance in behavior
 - Based on 100 + occupations

A Piketty et al. Moment in Social Sciences

- Use of “fractile” shares of income, wealth (and even education)
 - Bottom 50%, F50-90 Top10%, 5%, 1% shares
- A standardization of heterogeneity
- Enables to give some content to “upper class”, “bourgeoisie”, “capitalist class” you don’t get in surveys

Figure 1.1 Global income and wealth inequality, 2021



PCS (*Professions et catégories sociales*)

A French occupation nomenclature

- 1954. First occupation nomenclature. 8 groups
- 1982. Major reform (team Thévenot, Desrosières, Gollac & Seys)
(Desrosières & Thévenot, 1988)
 - Strong influence of Bourdieu & Boltanski
- Principles. Putting together people with
 - same status:
 - self employed, wage-earners: 1 & 2 versus 3-6.
 - civil servant or private sector: 31-34 versus 35-38 ; 42-43 versus 44-48 ; 52-53 versus 54-56
 - same occupation label
 - same level in collective agreements: 3 / 4 / 5 / 6
 - Constructivist dimension: Recording the way a society classifies itself rather than imposing a classification

CSP – 1954

Insee : Porte

8 groupes socioprofessionnels

0. Agriculteurs exploitants
1. Salariés de l'agriculture
2. Patrons de l'industrie et du commerce
3. Professions libérales et cadres supérieurs
4. Cadres moyens
5. Employés
6. Ouvriers
7. Personnels de services
8. Autres catégories

PCS – 1982

Insee : Desrosières, Goy et Thévenot

6 groupes socioprofessionnels

1. Agriculteurs exploitants
2. Artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprise
3. Cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures
4. Professions Intermédiaires
5. Employés
6. Ouvriers

A Russian doll logic

- <https://www.insee.fr/fr/information/6208292>
- 1-digit : 6 GS *groupes sociaux*
- 2-digit: 42 CS *catégories sociales*
 - A simplified version in 24 CS also exists
- 4-digit: 311 *professions* (2020 version)
 - A 3-digit version also exist in 121 levels
 - 3 version 1982, 2003 and 2020. Evolution in the system of occupations

Example

- 3. Cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures
 - 37. Cadres des services administratifs et commerciaux d'entreprise
 - 37B Cadres spécialistes des fonctions administratives et financières (hors banque, assurance, organismes de sécurité sociale)
 - 37B1 Chargés d'études socio-économiques et experts du traitement des données
 - 37B2 Cadres de l'organisation, du contrôle des services administratifs et financiers
 - 37B3 Cadres spécialistes des ressources humaines et du recrutement
 - 37B4 Cadres spécialistes de la formation et de la documentation
 - 37B5 Juristes

2 – digits level

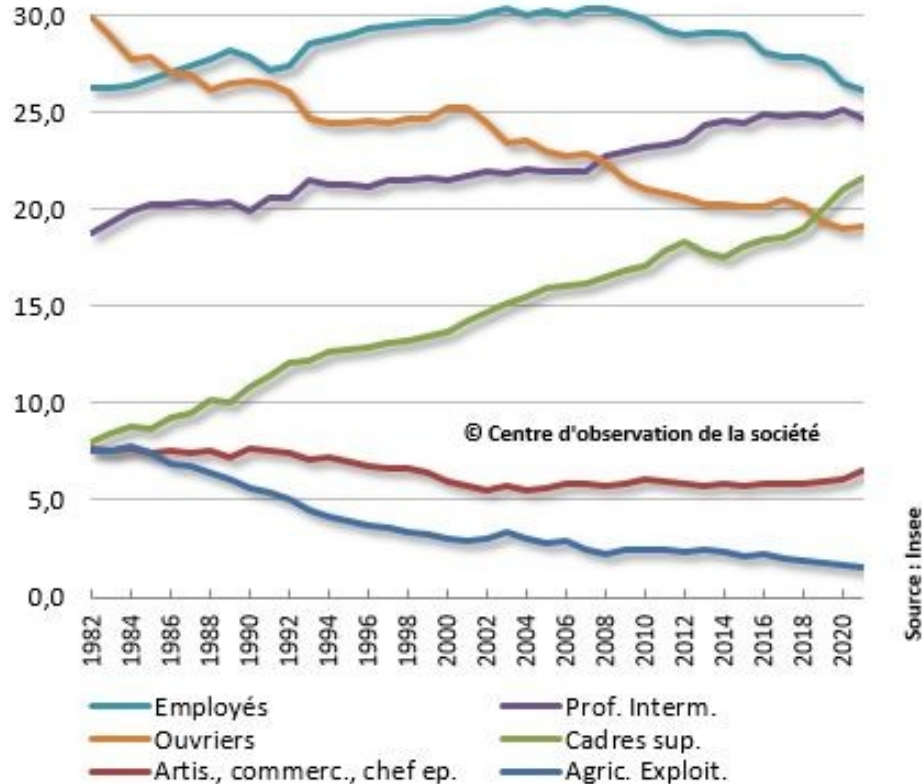
11	Agriculteurs sur petite exploitation	52	Employés civils et agents de service de la fonction publique
12	Agriculteurs sur moyenne exploitation	53	Policiers et militaires
13	Agriculteurs sur grande exploitation	54	Employés administratifs d'entreprise
21	Artisan	55	Employés de commerce
22	Commerçant et assimilés	56	Personnels des services directs aux particuliers
23	Chefs d'entreprise de 10 salariés ou plus	62	Ouvriers qualifiés de type industriel
31	Professions libérales	63	Ouvriers qualifiés de type artisanal
33	Cadres de la fonction publique	64	Chauffeurs
34	Professeurs, professions scientifiques	65	Ouvriers qualifiés de la manutention, du magasinage et du transport
35	Professions de l'information, des arts et des spectacles	67	Ouvriers non qualifiés de type industriel
37	Cadres administratifs et commerciaux d'entreprise	68	Ouvriers non qualifiés de type artisanal
38	Ingénieurs et cadres techniques d'entreprise	69	Ouvriers agricoles
42	Professeurs des écoles, instituteurs et assimilés	71	Anciens agriculteurs exploitants
43	Professions intermédiaires de la santé et du travail social	72	Anciens artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprise
44	Clergé, religieux	74	Anciens cadres
45	Professions intermédiaires administratives de la fonction publique	75	Anciennes professions intermédiaires
46	Professions intermédiaires administratives et commerciales des entreprises	77	Anciens employés
47	Techniciens	78	Anciens ouvriers
48	Contremaîtres, agents de maîtrise	81	Chômeurs n'ayant jamais travaillé
		83	Militaires du contingent
		84	Élèves, étudiants
		85	Personnes diverses sans activité professionnelle de moins de 60 ans
		86	Personnes diverses sans activité professionnelle de 60 ans et plus (sauf militaires)

The global logic of French PCS

Indépendants		Salariés		
GS		GS	Salariés du privé	Salariés du public
3	Professions libérales (31)	3	Cadres du privé (37,38)	Cadres du public (33, 34, 35)
2	Chefs d'entreprise de 10 salariés et plus (23)	4	Professions intermédiaires du privé (46, 47, 48)	Professions intermédiaires du public (42, 43, 44)
2	Artisans (21) et commerçants (22)	5	Employés du privé (54, 55, 56)	Employés du public (52, 53)
1	Agriculteurs (10 ou 11, 12, 13)	6	Ouvriers qualifiés (62, 63, 64, 65)	
		6	Ouvriers non qualifiés (67, 68, 69)	

40-year evolution of the social structure

Répartition de l'emploi par catégories socioprofessionnelles (%)



- Strong increase of the *Cadres* group (8 to 22%)
- Moderate increase of *Professions intermédiaires*
- Strong decline of *ouvriers* (blue-collar workers) and *farmes* (*agriculteurs*)
- Moderate decline of independents
- Inverted U shape for *Employés* (Clerks)

Questions for PCS

- French occupation (PCS) in French Labor Force Survey. (Enquête *Emploi*)

- Job's title
- Job's status
- Job's position (in collective agreements)

A1 a - Profession principale. Intitulé précis de profession.

.....

PCL

b - Si M.. est agent de l'Etat, d'une collectivité locale, d'un hôpital public, d'un service public (EDF, SNCF, etc.), militaire de carrière, préciser sa classification : corps grade, etc.

.....

GRADECL

c - SI NECESSAIRE, éléments complémentaires précisant l'intitulé de profession.

.....

COMPCL

A3 a - M.. exerce-t-il sa profession :

1. A son compte (*agriculteur, artisan, commerçant, industriel, profession libérale, gérant majoritaire de SARL, gérant libre ou en location gérance, etc...*).....
2. Comme salarié

b - M... est-il :

1. Salarié mais chef de son entreprise.....
2. Salarié de l'Etat ou des collectivités locales.....
3. Autre salarié.....

A5 - POUR LES SALARIES

Quelle est la position professionnelle de l'emploi actuel de M... ?

1. Manoeuvre ou ouvrier spécialisé (*OS1, OS2, OS3, etc*).....
2. Ouvrier qualifié ou hautement qualifié (*P1, P2, P3, TA, OQ, etc*).....
- 3 Agent de maîtrise dirigeant des ouvriers, maîtrise administrative ou commerciale.....
4. Agent de maîtrise dirigeant des techniciens ou d'autres agents de maîtrise.....
5. Technicien, dessinateur, VRP (*non cadre*).....
- 6 Instituteur, assistant(e) social(e), infirmier(e) et autre personnel de catégorie B de la fonction publique.....
- 7 Ingénieur ou cadre (*les employés, techniciens, agents de maîtrise n'ayant pas la qualité de cadre ne devront pas se classer ici, même s'ils cotisent à une caisse de retraite des cadres*).....
8. Professeur et personnel de catégorie A de la fonction publique.....
9. Employé de bureau, employé de commerce, agent de service, aide soignant(e), gardienne d'enfants, personnel de catégorie C ou D de la fonction publique.....
0. Autre cas : Préciser (*coefficient, niveau, échelon, position hiérarchique, etc*).....

Debates on internationalization

- French PCS: Records social distinctions produced by social life rather than imposing them
- Fierce debates about transposition of ISCO, ESEC, and ESEG nomenclatures
- Notion of Cadres totally French
 - Product of a history (Boltanski, 1982)
 - However, growing literature on the PMC : professional & managerial class – close to the notion of cadres
- In a constructivist approach, classifications are history/country dependent. International classifications misleading
- In a realist approach, it is possible to capture underlying socio-economic phenomenon
 - Position in the production process (autonomy). Position in ownership

ISCO [CITP] 2008

- International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) [*Classification Internationale Type des Professions - CITP*] produced International Labour organization (ILO) [*OIT*]
 - Used worldwide, updated every 20 yrs: 1958, 1968, 1988, 2008
- Based on occupation and the type of tasks and skills needed for the job
 - “a tool for organizing jobs into a clearly defined set of groups according to the tasks and duties undertaken in the job.”
- Nested classification available in 1, 2, 3, 4 digits
 - <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/intro.htm>
- Basis to derive international measures of class & social status, but also affinity with several national classifications

The ISCO logic

- **Major groups (1 digit)**

- 1-Managers
- **2-Professionals**
- 3-Technicians & associate professionals
- 4-Clerical workers
- 5-Services and sales workers
- 6-Skilled agricultural workers
- 7-Craft workers
- 8-Machine operators & assemblers
- 9-Elementary occupations
- 0-Armed Forces

- **Sub-major groups (2 digits)**

- 2 Professionals
 - 21 Science & Engineering
 - **22 Health**
 - 23 Teaching
 - 24 Business & administration
 - 25 ICT
 - 26 Legal, social and cultural

- **Minor groups (3 digits)**

- Health professionals
 - 221 Medical Doctors
 - 222 Nursing & Midwifery
 - 223 Complementary medicine prof.
 - 224 Paramedical Practitioners
 - 225 Veterinarians

ESeC classification (Brousse, 2008)

- Influence of EGP
 - Adoption of EGP concept in UK → SEC in 2001
 - Europe: ESeC working group
 - European Socio-economic Classification (2006)
 - Based on
 - ISCO +
 - Economic status (salaried/self-employed)
 - Size of the firm
 - Position in the hierarchy to distinguish managers and professionals
 - Insatisfaction and controversies
 - France not satisfied (no blue-collar/worker distinction)
 - New nomenclature → ESEG
- 1. Large employers, higher grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations
 - 2. Lower grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations and higher grade technician and supervisory occupations
 - 3. Intermediate occupations
 - 4. Small employer and self-employed occupations (excluding agriculture etc.)
 - 5. Small employer and self-employed occupations (agriculture etc.)
 - 6. Lower supervisory and lower technician occupations
 - 7. Lower services, sales and clerical occupations
 - 8. Lower technical occupations
 - 9. Routine occupations

ESEG

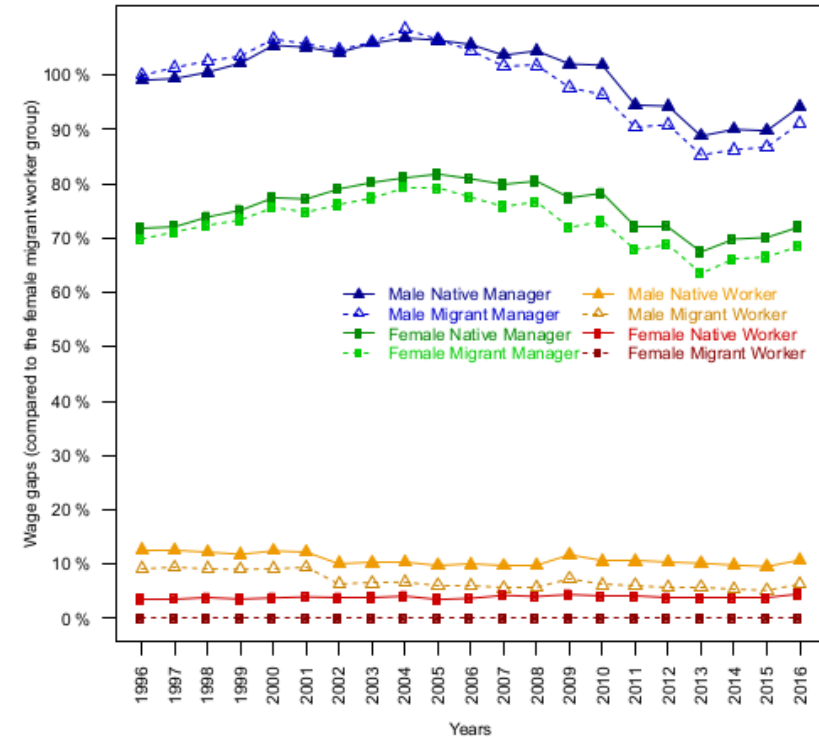
- Eseg. European Socio-economic Group
 - 2016. Under supervision of Insee: More “French”?
 - 2 levels 7 & 30
 - More bottom-up
 - Distinction between industry bluecollars and service workers (skilled)

	France	UE
1. <i>Cadres dirigeants</i> Managers	1 908 7,40 %	13 471 6,20 %
2. <i>Professions intellectuelles et scientifiques</i> Professionals	4 342 16,80 %	39 089 18,00 %
3. <i>Professions intermédiaires</i> Technicians and associate professional employees	5 041 19,60 %	30 079 13,80 %
4. <i>Petits entrepreneurs</i> Small entrepreneurs	1 968 7,60 %	25 693 11,80 %
5. <i>Employés qualifiés</i> Clerks and skilled employees	4 565 17,70 %	32 059 14,70 %
6. <i>Ouvriers qualifiés</i> Skilled industrial employees	3 233 12,50 %	35 965 16,50 %
7. <i>Salariés peu qualifiés</i> Lower status employees	4 720 18,30 %	40 580 18,60 %
0. <i>Non renseigné</i> Unknown	1 0,00 %	662 0,30 %
Ensemble des actifs occupés	25 776	217 600
All	100,00 %	100,00 %

Intersectionality of class, gender and race

- All position at the crossroad of several forms of domination/hierarchization
 - Notion proposed by black feminist scholars (Crenshaw 1989)
 - Often used more as a militant concept, more than scientific
- These dominations add up
 - Not just the sum of independent factors
 - Creates specific identities
- Econometric analyses show more a cumulative privilege than a cumulative penalty (Godechot, Safi, Soener, 2021)
 - Migrant-female penalty $>$ $\text{Max}(\text{Migrant pen.}, \text{Female pen.})$
 - Migrant-female penalty $<$ $\text{Migrant pen.} + \text{Female pen.}$
 - But: native-male privilege $>$ $\text{Native priv.} + \text{Male priv.}$

Figure 1. Wages effects for full set of interactions for each social position



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