Social Inequality and Social Mobility

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Theoretical background

In this article we examine social inequality of "life chances," that is, in Giddens's words, "the chances an individual has of sharing in the socially created economic and cultural goods which typically exist in any given society" (Giddens, 1973: 130). Inequality of life chances can be approached from two perspectives, corresponding to different aspects of the stratification system: (1) the division of goods between social groups or categories and (2) the access of individuals to the same groups. Specific theories of stratification, as well as ideologies addressing the issue of social inequality, usually emphasize one of these two aspects.

The Marxist approach is concerned above all with the creation and transformation of class inequality resulting from the division of goods.[1] By contrast, the functional approach emphasizes individuals' inequality of access to hierarchically ordered social posi-

This research was carried out by the Social Mobility Research Group of the Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw, under my direction, with the assistance of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The subject of research was the "life history" of persons who began their occupational careers and, in the majority of cases, their schooling, after World War II (the oldest were born in 1933 and the youngest in 1942). A comprehensive characterization of the sample, its method of selection, and its representativeness can be found in Lissowski (1976). In 1976 the same type of research was conducted among Warsaw residents. A comparison of the results of both surveys indicates great similarities in social mobility (Jaźwińska-Motylska, 1982).

tions. Both aspects are included in the theoretical conceptualization recently developed by Parkin (1974: 1–18).[2] Following this conceptualization, Weber's concept of "social closure" is used, indicating the process by which social collectivities strive to maximize their benefits by restricting direct access to rewards and limiting the opportunities for obtaining them.

Parkin analyzes two strategies utilized in social closure. The first is exclusion, applied by the privileged groups; it involves the adoption of specific means to control access to rewards and opportunities. Opposed to it is the strategy of usurpation, utilized by disadvantaged groups against privileged ones; it entails a questioning of existing norms for the distribution of goods. The effectiveness of usurpation depends on the ability of disadvantaged groups to achieve social mobilization of their members.

While exclusion has, as a rule, the support of the state and does not require personal sacrifice on the part of the members of privileged groups, the actions of disadvantaged groups do not receive such support and do demand personal sacrifice. Techniques of exclusion have a stabilizing (conservative) impact on the system of inequalities; those of usurpation, which bring into question existing norms of distribution, lead to changes in the system.

This theoretical conceptualization subsumes, on the one hand, the distribution of goods among social groups and, on the other, the distribution of individuals among these groups. Most important in this approach is linking these processes in order to indicate their dependence. Consistent with the postulated dependence, the factors that govern the distribution of social goods between groups will also determine individuals' affiliations to these groups. In other words, the power of social groups is reflected in both the distribution of goods and the distribution of individuals among groups—that is, in the process of class formation.

In line with this, empirical research on social stratification ought not only to examine the nature of the distribution of goods and the nature of the processes of sorting individuals among social groups, but should also identify the reciprocal relations

between these processes. For Parkin, the strategy of exclusion, adopted by privileged groups, and the strategy of usurpation, adopted by disadvantaged groups, reflect class conflict, which constitutes the main force of social change. As Goldthorpe (1980:38) makes clear, analysis of the amount and patterns of social mobility should allow us to evaluate (1) the effectiveness of exclusion and (2) the likelihood of success of the contrary strategy. The effectiveness of the latter "must depend on participants being ready to opt for collective interests and aspirations rather than individual ones."

Data on socio-occupational categories

Poland's stratification system is shaped by two principal mechanisms: central planning and the market—in particular, the labor market.[3] The dominant role of central planning in determining socioeconomic objectives, assigning economic functions, and providing resources increases the significance of political, economic, and administrative power in shaping the system of social inequalities. The ability to influence the plan constitutes an ability to affect the system of social relations and inequalities (Narojek, 1973). In turn, the position of individuals and groups in the labor market depends on the ownership of the means of production, as well as on skills, occupational qualifications, and other factors.

In this paper, I distinguish social groups[4] by examining the division of labor that is reflected in the occupational structure (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Parkin, 1971; Wesołowski, 1975). In particular, I make use of the Social Classification of Occupations (Pohoski and Słomczyński, 1978). This classification distinguished over two hundred narrowly specific occupational categories, aggregated according to the following criteria: the nature of the activity performed, manual (blue-collar) versus nonmanual (white-collar) type of work, level of occupational skills required, function performed, enterprise in which the work is performed (state-run or not), and relation to the means of production (hired labor, independent, or employed in a small family enterprise).

Using these criteria we arrived at twelve broad occupational categories:

1) professionals, i.e. technical and nontechnical specialists (e.g., doctors, lawyers, writers, teachers, biologists);
2) managers, including high-level officials in state administration, political and social organizations;
3) semiprofessionals, i.e., technicians and specialized white-collar workers (e.g., nurses, accountants, inspectors);
4) office workers (e.g., clerks, cashiers, typists);
5) service workers (employees combining nonmanual and manual work, e.g., shop assistants, waiters, conductors);
6) owners of manufacturing, trade, and service enterprises (e.g., shop owners, self-employed artisans);
7) foremen (blue-collar workers who are first-line supervisors);
8) skilled manual workers (e.g., miners, steelworkers, lathe operators, locksmiths);
9) semiskilled manual workers (i.e., workers performing preparatory and complementary tasks);
10) unskilled manual workers (i.e., workers without any specialization who perform only simple tasks);
11) farmers and family members who assist them;
12) agricultural laborers (employed by state farms and by private farmers).

The data for our analysis of social inequality and social mobility are taken from a "life history" research project. A national random sample of 9,000 men and 4,000 women was used. The respondents were between 30 and 39 years of age and had been occupationally active for at least two months in 1972. Excluded from the sample were military and security personnel.

In addition to the national survey I consider another sample, involving a group that is important in the processes of social stratification and mobility yet relatively underrepresented in the national study—directors and high ranking administrative man-

Table 1

Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics of Occupational Groups. Polish Men and Women Aged 30 to 39 in 1972

Occupational groups	Years of school-ing	Books[a]	Earnings from main job[b]	Per capita family income[b]	Percent of families below social minimum	Percent of families having good housing condi-tions	Percent of families owning a car	Percent of party (PUWP) members	Percent of party (PUWP) activists[c]	Average prestige score[d]	High self-evalua-tion of social status[e]	Lack of influence in work-place[f]
(0) Directors[g]	15.0	—[h]	7.6	3.5	—	74	58	90	60	—	72	—
(1) Profes-sionals	12.3	4	4.3	2.1	6	71	28	48	14	57	37	40
(2) Managers	12.4	5	4.8	2.2	8	76	32	69	26	64	51	13
(3) Semipro-fessionals	10.9	7	3.6	1.9	8	67	15	40	14	39	22	46
(4) Office workers	10.1	13	2.9	1.6	23	45	13	38	11	39	28	47
(5) Service workers	8.1	33	2.6	1.3	38	26	6	26	3	27	11	54

(6) Owners	8.4	17	4.1	1.6	26	47	50	8	1	29	15	10
(7) Foremen	8.3	26	3.8	1.6	17	48	8	30	7	40	15	53
(8) Skilled manual workers	7.9	35	3.4	1.4	27	37	7	18	3	27	13	63
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	6.9	53	2.6	1.2	43	18	2	15	3	19	10	71
(10) Unskilled manual workers	6.8	57	2.6	1.2	45	16	1	12	1	16	8	77
(11) Farmers	6.4	54	—	—	—	6	6	11	2	19	16	12
(12) Agricultural laborers	6.6	55	2.8	.9	58	9	3	33	5	19	14	62

[a]—Percent of families having no books at home (other than school texts).
[b]—In thousands of złotys per month.
[c]—Activists are defined as those who hold an unpaid party post.
[d]—Mean score on the scale of socioeconomic status.
[e]—Percent of those who evaluate their own status as being above average.
[f]—Percent of people who answered they had little or not influence on matters affecting their workplace.
[g]—Only directors employed in Warsaw.
[h]—No reliable data.

agers. Given the difficulty of obtaining a national random sample of this group, the study is limited to a sample of 261 directors and managers based in Warsaw. It includes directors working in central administration and economic enterprises that employed at least 500 persons. The findings about this group are used (Wasilewski, 1981) to characterize its social position, located high in the hierarchy of power.

Aspects of social inequality

To what extent do members of these occupational categories differ in their "life chances?" In order to answer this question the following aspects of life chances are considered: (a) access to knowledge and information; (b) standard of living; (c) power; (d) prestige and other subjective dimensions of social position. Data on these aspects of life chances are presented in Table 1. In this table the group of "high-ranking" directors is added to the twelve occupational groups.

The indices presented in Table 1 are by no means uniform. Owning a car is a more specific aspect of social position than housing conditions or a living standard below the social minimum. These last two indicators have a particular social significance since they involve the satisfaction of people's basic needs (Maslow, 1943). Therefore they are constructed as synthetic indices.

Inequality in access to knowledge and information

An individual's educational level can be regarded as the most important indicator of his or her access to knowledge and information (Kłoskowska, 1981: 449, 481–7). As can be seen from data characterizing average educational level (measured by the number of years of schooling), the gap between the "extreme" categories is substantial. In general, directors have had at least some university education, while the average educational level of

agricultural laborers is nearly half a grade less than the number of grades in primary school (seven grades).

Obviously the use of average levels blurs differences between groups. Full data on educational levels indicate that distributions of this variable overlap to a great degree, especially among "neighboring" groups. But even here differences are quite marked, especially (a) between white- and blue-collar workers and (b) between skilled and unskilled workers in nonagricultural and agricultural sectors.

There are also major differences in the number of books owned by the various groups. A majority of the private farmers and agricultural laborers, nearly half of the unskilled workers, and over 30 percent of the skilled workers do not have even one book (including textbooks) at home; among white-collar workers the proportion that do not own books fluctuates between 1 and 8 percent.

Inequality in standard of living

Among occupational groups, earnings from a person's main job[5] are less differentiated than per capita income for families.[6] The proportion of families living below the social minimum[7] ranges from several percent for the professionals and managers to nearly 60 percent for agricultural laborers. Almost half of the families of unskilled and semiskilled workers in nonagricultural sectors live below the social minumum. The figure for skilled workers is 27 percent.

Given the severity of housing problems in Poland, indices concerning them should be treated as particularly revealing. A synthetic index depicting "good" conditions in this sphere was constructed. Good conditions are those in which a family has a separate apartment that is equipped with running water and sanitation, and the number of persons per room does not exceed one. Seventy-five percent of the families of managers live in such conditions while, in contrast, only 6 percent to 9 percent of farmers or farm laborers do.

A similar pattern emerges when we look at indices for access to those goods that are regarded as luxury or quasi-luxury items in Poland—for instance, cars. However, relatively small differences appear among groups in terms of owning goods of everyday utility, such as refrigerators, radios, and televison sets. Data concerning these commodities will not be analyzed in this article.

Inequality of access to power

Although carrying out managerial functions constitutes one of the criteria used to classify occupations, I have also taken into account a series of additional indices of access to power, in particular, indices directly subsumed under job conditions. Such indices include membership in the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and holding a nonpermanent post in it.[8]

Membership in the party can be treated as an index of potential access to authority[9]: it represents, after all, a necessary if not sufficient condition for acceding to various administrative managerial functions in political organizations and institutions, and in state and economic administration. Thus almost 90 percent of the group of "high-ranking" directors are members of the PUWP and an additional 3 percent are members of the United People's Party (UPP) or the Democratic Party (DP). Only 7 percent of directors do not belong to any party, while in the entire sample this proportion is about 75 percent.

Intergroup differences in membership in the PUWP are evident not only in the case of directors and managers. These differences are very marked between white- and blue-collar workers. The proportion of subordinate office personnel belonging to the party is 38 percent, while the proportion among skilled workers is much lower (18%) and among unskilled laborers lower still (12%). Among manual workers only foremen and agricultural laborers belong to the party in relatively large proportion (30–34%).

Greater differences among social groups occur in indices of real sharing in power, especially holding posts in the PUWP. The probability of a director holding such a post is 20 times greater than for a skilled worker, and over 60 times greater than for an unskilled worker. If only party members are considered, the probability of a director holding such a position is, respectively, four and seven times greater than that of someone from the other two groups.

Subjective aspects of social inequality

Table 1 includes three subjective aspects of social inequality: an approximate measure of the prestige of an occupation (Słomczyński and Kacprowicz, 1979), the respondents' perception of his or her own social status, and perceived influence in the work place. The measure of prestige represents the average scores of all occupations comprising a given category. In turn, indices of a respondent's evaluation of his or her social status and influence were based on answers to two interview questions: "What position do you think you hold in society?" and "What influence do you have on issues in your work place?"

Both the distribution of occupational prestige and respondents' subjective evaluations are consistent with objective attributes. Nearly three-quarters of the directors and over half of the managers identified their social position as above average, while the corresponding percent for other nonmanual employees ranged between 22 and 37 percent and for manual workers between 8 percent (for unskilled workers) and 16 percent (for farmers). In turn, the proportion of respondents assessing their influence on workplace issues as low varied from 13% among managers and 40–47% among the remaining nonmanual employees to 53–77% among blue-collar workers. A decisive majority of manual workers (63% of the skilled and 77% of the unskilled workers) consider their influence in the workplace to be either insignificant or nonexistent.

The hierarchy of occupational groups

Analysis of the data leads to the conclusion that occupational groups differ markedly in access to socially desired material and cultural goods, thereby constituting a relatively uniform structure of inequality. If we look at this structure in terms of continuities and discontinuities in the distribution of attributes (Ossowski, 1968), we notice that a unique place is reserved for "high-ranking" directors. They differ from people in other groups not only in terms of their position in the administrative and economic hierarchy, which was the basis for classifying them as a separate group, but also in terms of access to political power, standard of living, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, access to knowledge and information. Directors are at the top of the pyramid in all these dimensions, and they are located comparatively far from the next two groups, managers and professionals.

The next clear discontinuity in the distribution of attributes appears between blue-collar and white-collar workers. Among the former only foremen have some indices of standard of living that are higher than those for subordinate office personnel. In earnings, too, skilled workers rank higher on average than subordinate office personnel. Skilled workers rank markedly lower, however, on all other indices.

Two less evident discontinuities can also be indentified. The first is between skilled and semiskilled or unskilled manual workers employed outside of agriculture, the second between semiskilled or unskilled workers outside of agriculture and farmers or agricultural laborers. Apart from indices related to power, farmers and agricultural laborers always rank lowest.

The analysis of indices characterizing access to various socially desired goods demonstrates that the broad occupational categories distinguished here form a clearly indentifiable hierarchy. At the top we find the "power elite," represented here by directors of administrative and economic institutions, and at the bottom, unskilled laborers and farmers. It should be emphasized that this is a hierarchy of broad, not narrow, occupational categories. As

Parkin (1974: 23) correctly notes, the existence of a hierarchy of broad occupational groups does not preclude the possibility of deviations in the position of narrowly defined occupations.

Amount and directions of social mobility

The amount and directions of social mobility will be described for twelve occupational categories. The category of "high-ranking" directors, indentified by the symbol "O" in Table 1, is excluded from analysis since it is limited to the Warsaw sample. A separate work examines the social mobility of this occupational group (Wasilewski, 1981). The small number of directors in the national sample has been included in the category of "managers."

Data showing the intergenerational mobility of men are presented in Tables 2 and 3.[10] These data characterize the relationship between the occupational category of the father when his son was fourteen years old, and the socio-occupational category of the son at the time the study was carried out.

Outflow

Table 2 shows that the majority of men belong to a socio-occupational category different from that of their fathers. The proportion of mobile individuals fluctuates from 96% for sons of unskilled laborers to 51% for those of skilled workers. The percentage of mobile peasants' sons is very high (75%), with the majority of them entering the category of skilled manual workers. The vast majority of sons of unskilled laborers also enter the category of skilled workers, while the majority of mobile sons of skilled workers go on to perform nonmanual work. In turn, the sons of white-collar workers most often become employed as skilled nonmanual workers, though the proportion in this category that goes over to manual work is also significant, reaching 40% in the case of children of managers.

The main directions of outflow are: from agricultural labor to

Table 2

Mobility from Father's Occupation to Respondent's Occupation: Outflow Percentages for Men Aged 30 to 39 in 1972

Father's occupation[a]	Respondent's occupation (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	Total	N = 100%
(1) Professionals	40.3	6.6	12.3	2.9	2.1	3.7	5.3	20.6	1.2	2.1	2.9	—	100.0	243
(2) Managers	41.7	3.8	7.6	8.3	1.5	3.8	1.5	25.8	1.5	2.3	1.5	0.8	100.0	132
(3) Semi-professionals	35.6	4.8	18.1	4.3	1.6	3.2	3.7	24.5	1.6	1.6	0.5	0.5	100.0	188
(4) Office workers	29.3	2.7	17.4	6.5	2.7	4.9	8.2	22.3	2.2	2.7	—	1.1	100.0	184
(5) Service workers	19.9	2.1	7.8	4.6	3.9	2.8	6.0	38.4	8.2	3.6	1.8	0.7	100.0	281
(6) Owners	13.0	2.8	7.6	3.1	3.5	8.7	8.0	40.4	4.5	3.5	4.3	0.5	100.0	423
(7) Foremen	14.2	3.1	11.1	3.1	1.2	5.6	13.0	44.4	2.5	1.2	—	0.6	100.0	162
(8) Skilled manual workers	14.2	1.8	6.7	2.7	1.7	3.2	9.0	49.3	5.9	3.2	1.2	1.2	100.0	1,482
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	8.8	1.6	6.0	1.8	3.0	2.3	9.6	49.7	8.7	4.2	2.4	1.9	100.0	737
(10) Unskilled manual workers	8.3	2.0	5.7	2.0	2.3	2.0	10.6	51.9	8.9	3.7	1.4	1.1	100.0	349
(11) Farmers	7.8	1.5	3.7	2.4	2.3	2.3	5.5	33.3	8.1	4.3	25.1	3.8	100.0	4,288
(12) Agricultural laborers	4.8	1.0	2.9	2.6	2.6	1.3	9.3	45.7	8.3	4.5	6.1	11.2	100.0	313
Total	12.1	2.0	5.8	2.7	2.3	2.9	7.0	38.4	7.0	3.8	13.3	2.7	100.0	8,782

[a]Father's occupation when the respondent was 14 years old.

manual work outside of agriculture; from less skilled manual work to more skilled; from manual to nonmanual work; and from less to more skilled nonmanual work. These directions of outflow correspond to intergenerational changes in the occupational structure. As a result of these changes, the process of upward mobility is more common than that of social degradation. Mobile individuals account for 76 percent of the sample studied; of these 61% moved upward in the hierarchy of occupational categories and only 15% moved downward.

Inflow

If we examine inflow into particular occupational categories, we find that respondents of peasant origin are the most numerous (see Table 3). The proportion of respondents of peasant origin varies from 31 percent in the category of professionals to 67 percent in that of agricultural laborers. Ninety-two percent remain in the category of private farmers. Considered together, children of workers and peasants constitute a decisive majority in all groups; in the groups of professionals and managers their proportion is about two-thirds.

Inheritance of fathers' occupation plays a crucial role in the recruitment of individuals to the category of private farmers. In terms of social origin this group is the most homogeneous. Relatively strong homogeneity also characterizes all groups of manual workers, while the category of professionals and semiprofessionals is the most heterogeneous.

Intergroup differences in the structure of outflow and inflow

From our analysis we see that occupational categories of origin differ with respect to occupational destination; the categories of occupational destination differ with respect to social origin. The question arises, therefore, whether the distribution of these differences reflects some more general regularity. An answer may

Table 3

Mobility from Father's Occupation to Respondent's Occupation: Inflow Percentages for Men Aged 30 to 39 in 1972

Father's occupation[a]	Respondent's occupation (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	Total
(1) Professionals	9.2	9.3	5.9	2.9	2.4	3.5	2.1	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.6	—	2.8
(2) Managers	5.2	2.9	2.0	4.6	1.0	2.0	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.4	1.5
(3) Semi-professionals	6.3	5.2	6.7	3.3	1.5	2.4	1.1	1.4	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.4	2.1
(4) Office workers	5.1	2.9	6.3	5.0	2.4	3.5	2.4	1.2	0.7	1.5	—	0.8	2.1
(5) Service workers	5.3	3.5	4.3	5.4	5.4	3.1	2.8	3.2	3.8	3.0	0.4	0.8	3.2
(6) Owners	5.2	7.0	6.3	5.4	7.3	14.5	5.5	5.1	3.1	4.5	1.5	0.8	4.8
(7) Foremen	2.2	2.9	3.6	2.1	1.0	3.5	3.4	2.1	0.7	0.6	—	0.4	1.8
(8) Skilled manual workers	19.9	15.1	19.5	16.6	12.2	18.4	21.8	21.7	14.2	14.1	1.5	7.5	16.9
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	6.1	7.0	8.7	5.4	10.7	6.7	11.5	10.9	10.4	9.3	1.5	5.8	8.4
(10) Unskilled manual workers	2.7	4.1	3.9	2.9	3.9	2.7	6.0	5.4	5.1	3.9	0.4	1.7	4.0
(11) Farmers	31.4	38.4	31.0	43.2	48.3	38.0	38.2	42.4	56.6	55.6	92.0	66.8	48.8
(12) Agricultural laborers	1.4	1.7	1.8	3.3	3.9	1.6	4.7	4.2	4.2	4.2	1.6	14.5	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N = 100%	1,061	172	507	241	205	255	615	3,371	613	333	1,168	241	8,782

[a]Father's occupation when the respondent was 14 years old.

be sought in terms of both outflow and inflow distributions for each occupational category. The index of dissimilarity (Δ) is a synthetic measure of differences in the structure of outflow and inflow between the two categories.. The value of the index equals the sum of the differences of the same sign in the percentage distribution of compared categories in the table of social mobility. This index value ranges from 0 (full similarity) to 100 (full dissimilarity).

In Table 4 the entries above the main diagonal are the values of the index of dissimilarity for outflows. Thus, for example, the number given in row 1, column 8, characterizes the differences in the current occupational composition of the children of professionals and of skilled workers. The figure indicates that 40% of the children of professionals or skilled workers would have to be transferred in order for the two groups of origin not to differ in terms of current occupational distribution. In contrast, differences in the social origin of current occupational categories are characterized by the indices presented below the main diagonal of Table 4. Generally, the dissimilarity between categories is greater the further from each other they are situated in the mobility table.

Social distance

Social distance can be inferred from the differences between outflow occupational distributions of persons originating in all occupational categories. In order to establish the distance between any pair of occupational categories we applied multidimensional scaling (e.g., Blau and Duncan, 1977; Hauser and Featherman, 1977).

In this study the purpose of employing multidimensional scaling in social mobility tables was to measure the distance between occupational categories, as well as to determine the relations between the scale and indices of inequality in access to various material and nonmaterial goods. The multi-dimensional scaling program MINISSA[11] was applied to the matrix of values of the index of dissimilarity computed on the basis of intergenerational

Table 4

Values of the Index of Dissimilarity among Occupational Groups for Outflow Mobility (above Diagonal) and Inflow Mobility (below Diagonal)[a]

Occupational groups	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1) Professionals	—	13	12	18	31	36	36	40	45	48	48	54
(2) Managers	12	—	14	20	28	35	36	37	45	45	48	53
(3) Semi-professionals	8	13	—	12	29	36	33	38	46	46	48	54
(4) Office workers	14	13	17	—	26	30	28	33	40	41	46	49
(5) Service workers	27	18	24	14	—	13	20	15	18	20	27	26
(6) Owners	18	12	15	15	20	—	14	13	17	19	29	20
(7) Foremen	22	17	17	18	16	15	—	13	20	20	38	29
(8) Skilled manual workers	23	18	20	14	13	17	6	—	8	8	30	20
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	35	25	31	22	12	28	19	15	—	4	25	14
(10) Unskilled manual workers	31	22	28	18	10	24	18	14	4	—	28	16
(11) Farmers	61	54	61	49	44	54	54	50	36	36	—	25
(12) Agricultural laborers	49	41	49	35	29	42	38	35	21	22	27	—

[a]Computations based on Tables 2 and 3.

Table 5

Coordinates of Occupational Groups Derived from Outflow Mobility[a]

Occupational groups	Two-dimensional solution[b]		One-dimensional solution[c]
	First dimension	Second dimension	
(1) Professionals	−1.300	.193	−1.462
(2) Managers	−1.185	.472	−1.321
(3) Semi-professionals	−1.305	−.093	−1.338
(4) Office workers	−1.051	−.325	−1.075
(5) Service workers	.104	.102	.064
(6) Owners	.310	−.107	.315
(7) Foremen	.185	−.644	.187
(8) Skilled manual workers	.502	−.337	.438
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	.798	−.110	.745
(10) Unskilled manual workers	.858	−.263	.724
(11) Farmers	.845	1.035	1.527
(12) Agricultural laborers	1.239	.079	1.196

[a]Based on the matrix of intergroup dissimilarities.
[b]Stress coefficient S = .027; the variance equals .826 and .174 for first and second dimensions, respectively.
[c]Stress coefficient S = .107.

outflows. The standard adopted to match the space configuration obtained with the original matrix of indices of dissimilarity (that is, with the original empirical data) is the Kruskal coefficient (known also as the stress coefficient). The value of this coefficient decreases as we shift from an ordering of subjects in unidimensional space to ordering them in two- or multi-dimensional space. A decrease in the size of the coefficient indicates the improvement in the fit obtained when we introduce an additional dimension.

One- and two-dimensional solutions are given in Table 5. As can be seen from the values of the stress coefficient, the shift from the linear to the two-dimensional solution noticeably (though not by much) improves the matching of configurations obtained with the matrices of empirical indices of dissimilarity.[12]

In the two-dimensional solution the first dimension clearly plays a more important role than the second. It explains about 83

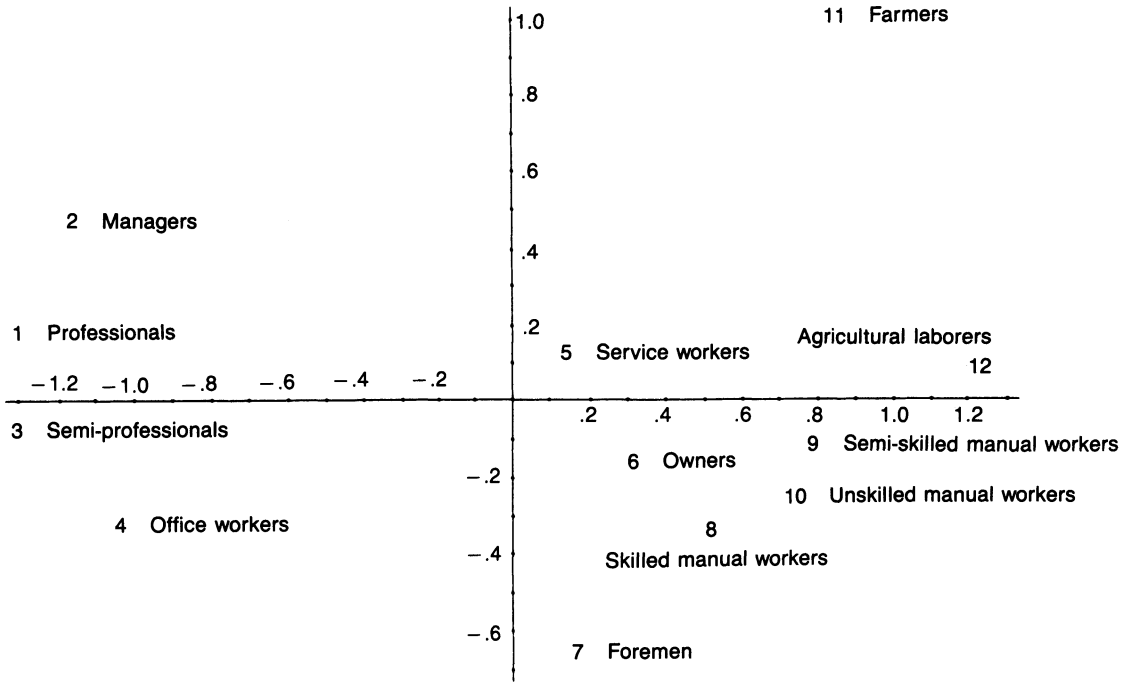

Figure 1. Two dimensional configuration of occupational groups based on multidimensional scaling of dissimilarities between distributions of outflow mobility.

percent of the variance in the outflow of individuals. This dimension is essentially consistent with the hierarchy of occupational categories adopted earlier in the study, and it substantiates its validity on the basis of the analysis of the process of social mobility. Minor disparities generally involve "exchange" of positions in the hierarchy between neighboring groups separated by only a slight distance.

In Table 5 we observe that a great distance separates white- and blue-collar workers along the first dimension: the distance between various categories of white-collar workers is small in comparison to that between them and manual workers. If we accept that this type of discontinuity in the hierarchical structure of groups points to the existence of "class" divisions (Ossowski, 1968: 164–5), then the division into nonmanual and manual workers must be recognized as the crucial one. Among blue-collar workers the group that subsumes the occupations of more highly skilled workers—foremen, artisans, and skilled workers—is rather clearly demarcated from the remaining groups. Low-skilled manual workers and farmers follow, and at the end come agricultural laborers, separated from the rest by some distance.

Along the second dimension only the group of farmers is clearly separated from other occupational categories. Relatively little differentiation exists along this dimension. The small amount of variance that it does explain confirms its quite minor significance. For this reason, a scale with a one-dimensional solution is utilized in the section below.

Social distance and social inequality

The scale constructed on the basis of intergenerational outflows directly measures the distance between occupational categories; the distance reflects how a father's position determines a son's position in the occupational structure. The empirical meaning of this scale is likewise found in its relation to the indices of social inequality—that is, in its correlation with the group characteristics shown in Table 1. The correlation between the scale of social

distance and these charateristics is especially strong for education ($r = .97$), the level of standard of living ($.86 \leq r \leq .95$), and power ($.85 \leq r \leq .90$).

Social mobility and social inequality

Given the strong correlation between various aspects of social inequality and social distance based on the analysis of processes of social mobility, the question arises as to how we can best depict the basis of this correlation. What is the common cause for the hierarchical order of broad occupational categories established according to the various criteria considered earlier?

It seems that such a cause may be "power" understood in a broad sense. Parkin (1974: 46) writes: "When we treat power as an aspect of stratification and not simply as differentiation of roles, we cannot easily separate it from material and symbolic elements of inequality. . . . In reality to a certain degree the understanding of stratification in terms of power may be . . . another way of conceptualizing the division of class and status advantages." Under this conceptualization, power is a nonobservable, latent variable which lies at the basis of the distribution of rewards in society. The observable indices describe the extent to which occupational groups participate in obtaining socially desired goods.

The broad understanding of power as a latent variable is not inconsistent with a narrower understanding of it as an attribute of leading positions held in political parties, a state administration, or a nationalized economy. Power narrowly understood can be treated as one of the sources and, simultaneously, as one of the indices of power understood broadly, just as its source may be the ownership of the means of production, education, skills, or other forms of "cultural capital" sought on the labor market.

We can expect that the higher the position of a social group on the scale of power (broadly understood), the more effectively such a group can compete with others not only over goods but, equally, over ensuring for its offspring access to privileged

groups. As a result we can expect not only a positive and generally strong correlation among the various goods consumed, but also a strong positive correlation between possession of these goods and the ability of members of social groups to place their children at higher rungs of the social ladder. As we have seen, the latter correlation does actually appear in Polish society and it can, therefore, be viewed as a support for the hypothesis of "social closure." Substantiation of this hypothesis is not total, however. In Poland sons of workers and peasants constitute a majority in all occupational groups, including those most highly placed in the social hierarchy. For this reason we ought to speak not of social closure but rather of "social confinement." This consists of a decrease in the relative opportunities available for children of persons located further down on the social ladder to accede to higher social positions, and the relatively greater opportunities for children of individuals occupying high social positions.

Inequality of opportunity

A classic issue in research on social mobility is the nature of the relationship between social origin and opportunity for achievement. The principle of "equality of opportunity" in access to social positions has traditionally been propagated by liberal-democratic ideologies (for a review see Goldthorpe, 1980), but during the last decade it has also been advanced as an essential goal of social policy in socialist countries (e.g. Pajestka, 1975: 290–7).

To evaluate the chances for mobility on the part of members of particular social groups, use was made of measures based on a multiplicative model of the mobility table proposed by Hauser (1978, 1980). This model is a modified version of Goodman's (1972), dealing with data in a contingency table.

Hauser (1978, 1980) suggests computing the mobility ratio R^*_{ij} for all cells of a mobility table as a measure of the tendency toward mobility (or immobility when $i = j$) (see also Featherman and Hauser, 1978: 156–7). A ratio equalling 1 indicates that in a

Table 6

Design Matrix for a Multiplicative Model with Twelve Levels of Interaction

Father's occupation	Respondent's occupation (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1) Professionals	2	2	3	4	5	4	5	7	11	8	4	11
(2) Managers	3	5	7	3	9	6	12	10	12	8	10	10
(3) Semi-professionals	3	4	4	5	9	7	10	9	12	10	12	11
(4) Office workers	4	6	4	4	6	5	6	10	11	8	11	8
(5) Service workers	5	7	7	5	5	8	8	7	7	8	9	10
(6) Owners	8	6	8	7	6	4	7	8	10	8	5	11
(7) Foremen	8	6	6	8	11	6	6	8	12	8	11	11
(8) Skilled manual workers	8	9	9	8	9	8	7	7	9	8	11	8
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	10	9	9	10	7	9	7	7	8	7	8	6
(10) Unskilled manual workers	8	9	8	9	9	8	6	7	8	6	11	10
(11) Farmers	9	8	10	8	7	8	8	8	7	8	1	3
(12) Agricultural laborers	11	10	11	8	7	11	6	7	7	7	4	1

given subgroup mobility is no different from what we would expect as a result of three effects—scale, row, and column. These are effects of sample size and of origin and destination distributions. A ratio greater or smaller than one indicates that an "interaction"—that is, a tendency toward mobility or immobility—occurs, as a result of the impact of the three effects mentioned above.

Using mobility ratios we can compare the relative chances of mobility for various sets of cells in a mobility table independent of the influence of origin and destination. The model reflects the idea of conditional independence: within a selected set of cells with a given level of interaction, destination is independent of origin.

To design a model for a given mobility table it is necessary to distinguish some sets of cells characterized by the same level of interaction (Table 6). This decision may follow from social theory (see Goldthorpe, 1980) or it may be based on trial and error. The empirical criterion of fitting the model to the data is based on the test of goodness of fit.

In constructing the model, the method of trial and error was used. Accordingly, the model is explanatory rather than confirmatory. Table 7 presents mobility ratios based on the multiplicative model of Hauser.[13] The configuration of mobility ratios in Table 7 indicates the strong tendency toward immobility for the extreme occupational groups. For example, the probability that sons of farmers or agricultural laborers will remain in their father's occupational group is 10 to 11 times greater than the analogous chances for sons of skilled and semiskilled workers. Obviously, there are different reasons for the stability encountered at the bottom and at the top of the occupational hierarchy. At one end limited access to cultural and material goods and a consequent deficiency in "bases of mobility" makes social advancement difficult; at the other the same bases make it possible to retain achieved social position.

The values of mobility ratios demonstrate the tendency toward greater exchange among categories of nonmanual workers, and

Table 7

Mobility Ratios of a Multiplicative Model with Twelve Levels of Interaction

Father's occupation	Respondent's occupation (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1) Professionals	6.96	7.32	3.60	2.32	1.95	2.80	1.72	1.14	0.34	1.09	2.54	—
(2) Managers	3.35	1.97	1.03	3.13	0.68	1.34	0.23	0.66	0.20	0.56	0.62	0.66
(3) Semi-professionals	3.22	2.80	2.77	1.80	0.80	1.27	0.63	0.71	0.23	0.45	0.25	0.52
(4) Office workers	2.61	1.57	2.61	2.69	1.34	1.92	1.35	0.64	0.31	0.74	—	1.04
(5) Service workers	1.75	1.21	1.16	1.90	1.92	1.09	0.99	1.08	1.16	0.96	0.80	0.67
(6) Owners	0.97	1.36	0.95	1.06	1.46	2.86	1.12	0.97	0.54	0.81	1.62	0.38
(7) Foremen	0.94	1.32	1.25	0.95	0.45	1.62	1.60	0.94	0.26	0.25	—	0.44
(8) Skilled manual workers	0.99	0.80	0.79	0.88	0.65	0.97	1.17	1.11	0.66	0.68	0.43	0.91
(9) Semi-skilled manual workers	0.61	0.73	0.70	0.57	1.15	0.71	1.25	1.12	0.97	0.90	0.87	1.42
(10) Unskilled manual workers	0.58	0.91	0.68	0.66	0.89	0.62	1.38	1.17	0.96	0.80	0.51	0.86
(11) Farmers	0.69	0.89	0.55	0.96	1.14	0.88	0.91	0.95	1.15	1.17	11.36	3.60
(12) Agricultural laborers	0.39	0.50	0.40	0.97	1.15	0.45	1.41	1.20	1.08	1.12	2.51	9.78

toward significant limitations on such exchange between them and the remaining categories. The line between nonmanual workers and the remaining categories is indicated by the fall in the values of mobility ratios. Generally the mobility ratios characterizing exchange between the four categories of white-collar workers and categories of service workers, owners of artisan workshops, and foremen are greater than 1. Also evident is the tendency toward relatively intensive exchange between both categories of agricultural occupations—private farmers and hired laborers—and a significant limitation in their exchange with other categories. As a rule the indices of mobility between white- and blue-collar workers are lower than 1.

The correlation between relative chances for mobility and social distance between occupational groups is negative: indices of mobility become smaller as distance between compared groups becomes larger. Exceptions to this regularity are related to the small size of many of the 144 cells in the mobility table.

Relative chances for access to particular social groups differ markedly according to social origin. For example, compared with the sons of skilled workers, the sons of professionals have more than a seven times greater chance of attaining a professional position than those of the skilled workers' category. Compared with the sons of agricultural laborers, the sons of professionals have an eighteen times greater chance of attaining a position in the intelligentsia. Similarly, compared with children of the intelligentsia, children of workers have unfavorable chances of obtaining a managerial position.

This differentiation of relative opportunities in access to high social position—far removed from the principle of "equality of opportunity"—is a reflection of the rigidity of the social structure, not only in terms of the flows between the top and the bottom of the hierarchy but also of flows between the extremes and center of the hierarchy. For example, children of subordinate office personnel have a nearly three times greater relative chance of attaining a professional position than have children of skilled workers.

If the large-scale process of social mobility permits many members of society to change social position in comparison to their father's (and generally to achieve social advancement), the position attained in this process still depends in great measure on social origin. The composition of social groups that have been "nominated"—that is, created as a result of the application of individual criteria of selection—is also shaped by collective group criteria, in particular, social origin. Origin also indirectly influences the composition of nominated groups by affecting such criteria of selection as education[14] or, in the case of directors and managers, party membership.

Notes

1. Marx gave little consideration to the issue of social mobility, although, as many sociologists concerned with social stratification emphasize today, he was aware of the significant implications that social mobility had for the formation of social classes and the creation of class consciousness. This is most clearly evident in the Marxian analysis of class relations in American society (see Goldthorpe, 1980: chapter 1).

2. This conception was modified and considerably developed by Parkin (1979).

3. Both mechanisms also appear in contemporary capitalist countries although the market mechanism plays the decisive role (Parkin, 1974).

4. The term "social group" is used here in a broad sense. Such an approach, according to Ossowski, "permits us to treat every collectivity of individuals as a social group if the researcher or observer perceives sufficiently important relations between them for his conceptual framework. . . . From the viewpoint of the observer such a concept of social group means that a collectivity of people can constitute a group even though its members may not perceive any links between them in exactly such dimensions" (1962: 81). To avoid repetition, the terms "occupational group" and "occupational category" are used interchangeably.

5. "Principal job" is understood as the respondent's work which takes up the relatively greatest amount of his time. "Income from principal job" includes basic pay; monthly, quarterly and yearly bonuses; awards; the monetary value of the main goods purchased at an employees' discount; and remuneration for overtime at an employee's main place of work.

6. Strictly speaking, we are concerned with the average income per person in a household; in practice this is generally a family.

7. The level of income corresponding to the social minimum is that identified by Tymowski (1973). Some critics argue that this level is rather low. Accordingly, the percent of individuals living below the social minimum that is

given here should be treated as a minimum estimate.

8. Permanent employees of the party apparatus who are politically active have been included in the group of "managers."

9. It is possible, of course, to treat membership in the PUWP as an index of real sharing in power to the degree that such members can influence matters at their work place, neighborhood and so on by participating in the work party organizational units.

10. Given constraints of space, data on the social mobility of women have been excluded. Comparative aspects of the process of socio-occupational achievement for men and women in Poland were examined in a separate study (Pohoski 1979).

11. The version of the program GKLR MINISSA-1 corrected by E. E. Roskam and J. C. Lingoes was used.

12. There is no strictly determined level below which one can recognize the value of the Kruskal coefficient as indicating a good representation of empirical data. By convention the value 0.10 has been employed. A small decrease of this value brought about by the inclusion of an additional dimension shows that adding a new dimension is unproductive (MacDonald, 1972: 214–15; Kruskal, 1964a, 1964b).

13. I am grateful to Professor Robert Hauser of the University of Wisconsin for the computer program and instruction in its use.

14. The type of "school career" clearly depends on social origin: for example, only 9% of the sons who had an intelligentsia background ended their school careers with elementary school, and 36% went on to attain university education; the respective figures for sons of skilled workers were 32% and 10%, and for sons of farmers 62% and 5%. In turn, the type of school career determines to a great degree the type of occupational career (Pohoski, 1984).

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