

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY ON SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

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In 1955, Japan Sociological Society carried out a survey of social stratification and social mobility (S.S.M.) [12], in order to cooperate with the International Sociological Association (I.S.A.) (1). I.S.A. took up this study with the intention of making this survey a cross national comparative survey. However, because of unavoidable reasons, the survey in each country has been done without exchanging sufficient information.

For this reason, it is very difficult to make actually a comparative study of these nations' data. Only, Prof. Inkeles' "Comparisons of occupational prestige" has been published so far. But Prof. Lipset is also going to publish some comparative survey, for which he has asked us to give the data of our survey. The present writer will study some cross-national comparative surveys utilizing such data he can collect.

1. Status score

In addition to our Japanese data, we have here the data which rank with occupations in Britain and the United States of America. But, it would not be necessary to make the comparison of occupations, because Inkeles [7] has already carried it out (2).

We shall compare with the status score of the Japanese society and the status score of the other nations. In the first place, in this comparison, the status scale which was made by the Japanese survey shall be utilized. Next, we shall make the same kind of comparison, namely, that of each nations' status by applying the status scale made in Britain and the U.S.A.. But it will be necessary to give some explanation step by step.

1.1. Occupational classification

First of all, we shall have a comparative study of each nation's occupational distribution based on the same occupational classification.

As the common measure, the standard occupational classification by

the International Labor Office (I.L.O.) [8] shall be used. In this classification, we can see occupational distributions of France (1946), the United Kingdom (Census of 1931), the United States (States census of 1940) and Canada (Census of 1941). As for the Japanese occupational classification which was utilized in the Population Census in 1950, we could hardly see any difference from the classification of I.L.O.. Accordingly, it is possible to compare every country's occupations with each other from the point of view of the I.L.O.'s standard occupational classification. However, in order to calculate the status score in the following part (cf. 1.2), we shall make the comparison from the point of view of our S.S.M. classification.

The interrelation among the occupational classification of S.S.M. of Japan and of I.L.O. can be seen in Table 1. And the occupational distribution of each nation is as shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Occupational classifications.

S.S.M.	Japan	I.L.O.
a. Professional	I. Professional & technical workers	0. Professional, technical & related workers
b. Administrative	II. Managers & officials	12. Managers & administrators (except in retail stores)
c. Clerical	III. Clerical & related workers IX-2. Protective service workers	13. Clerical workers 7. Protective service workers
d. Commercial	IV. Sales workers IX. Service workers (except IX-2)	11. Managers & administrators (retail stores) 2. Sales workers 8. Service workers (except 7.)
e. Skilled f. Semi-skilled	VIIIA. Craftsmen & production process workers VII. Workers in operating transport occupations	5. Workers in operating 6A. Craftsmen, production & process workers
g. Unskilled	V. Farmers, lumbermen, fishermen & related workers VI. Workers in mine & quarry occupations	3. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen, & related workers 4. Workers in mine & quarry occupations 6B. Labours, n.e.c.

Japan: Occupational classification of population census of 1950.

I.L.O.: cf. References [8].

From Table 2, it can be inferred that:

1° The occupational distribution of Japan is much like that of France.

2° Among these nations, there are no striking gaps in the pro-

Table 2. Occupational distributions by countries.

	Japan (1950)	France (1946)	United Kingdom (1931)	U.S.A. (1940)	Canada (1941)
a. Professional	4	4	5	7	6
b. Administrative	2	3*	4	4	3
c. Clerical	10	8	10	11	10
d. Commercial	12	11*	22	20	17
e. & f. Skilled & Semiskilled	20	24	34	28	26
g. Unskilled	52	45	24	28	38
Not classified	0	4	1	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

* We estimated 3% of each category: managers and administrators of retail store

fessional, administrative and clerical categories.

3° But remarkable difference exists among the nations concerning the numbers of occupations classified into category e, f (skilled and semi-skilled) and category g (unskilled). These differences are attributable to each nation's character, namely, whether it is agricultural or industrial.

1.2. Status score of occupational category

In the light of Table 2, we could compare the occupational distribution among the nations. Furthermore, we shall have the comparative study of each people's status score based on the status score of each occupational category. Deciding the occupational score, it is desirable that the status score is decided not in an abstract way, but in a concrete way by the people's actual evaluation. To satisfy this end, the results of ranking of occupation should be utilized. And we have here three data. They are the data of Japan [12], (3), Britain [5], and the U.S.A. [10]. But we take care of the following facts.

1° The criterion of ranking is different among surveys. The difference is shown Table 3.

Table 3. Criteria of ranking of occupations.

Score	100	75	50	25	0
Japan	Highest group	Fairly high group	Middle group	Fairly low group	Lowest group
U.S.A.	Excellent standing	Good standing	Average standing	Somewhat below average standing	Poor standing
Britain	A (highest in prestige)	B	C	D	E (Lowest in prestige)

2° Each nation's occupational category, and the way of its selection are not always the same. In the case of Japan, as described in Note (3), the occupational categories are chosen so as to be able to presume the status score of each occupational category. But, in the case of the U.S.A., the method of selection seems to be different. Such being the case, there is a shadow of doubt whether to use the ranking of occupation of America or Britain for the status score of the occupational category of S.S.M..

But, here, to make the status score of occupational category, we shall take the following way.

1° We classify each occupation which was used in the ranking of occupations in U.S.A. and Britain into one of the categories of the S.S.M. occupational classification.

2° Then, we calculate each mean in every category.

3° Thus we regard each mean as the status score of its category.

But in the case of Japan, the status score was calculated by weighted mean. To calculate the status score, we used the criteria of ranking as in Table 3. From these criteria of Table 3, we shall find the status scores of occupational category by nationality as in Table 4. In this status score (Table 4), there is no significant difference between the scores. As to this point, the standard deviation (S.D.) of each occupational category in Japan was 15 ~ 20.

Now, the mean of social status by nationality is calculated by ap-

Table 4. Status score of occupational category by nationality.

Scale	Profes- sional	Admini- strative	Clerical	Com- mercial	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Unskilled	Total
Japanese	76 ₍₆₎	75 ₍₂₎	54 ₍₃₎	40 ₍₆₎	40 ₍₅₎	39 ₍₃₎	37 ₍₇₎	(32)
American	77 ₍₂₈₎	84 ₍₁₅₎	56 ₍₅₎	49 ₍₁₀₎	58 ₍₇₎	53 ₍₄₎	38 ₍₁₈₎	(85)
British	76 ₍₇₎	81 ₍₄₎	42 ₍₂₎	36 ₍₅₎	41 ₍₃₎	23 ₍₂₎	18 ₍₇₎	(30)

(): No. of ranking occupations.

Table 5. Mean score of social status by countries.

	Japan	France	Britain	U.S.A.	Canada
Japanese scale	42	42	44	44	43
American scale	47	49	52	52	52
British scale	29	30	35	35	34
S.D. by Japanese scale	10	12	11	11	12

plying the status score of Table 4 to Table 3 (see, Table 5). According to this result (Table 5), the difference by nationality is not significant. The status score of Japan and France is rather small compared to the ones of Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada.

But, comparing the status score of unskilled occupations in Japan and France with that of Britain, it is clear that the scale of the former is rather higher than the latter. Therefore, the difference of means between them is considerably large.

2. Subjective evaluation of social status

Here, we shall compare the self-identification of each social status. In this self-identification, we have data of five nations. The category and the method, in this case too, differ from each other as is seen in Table 6. The method of questioning or the sources will be indicated in Note (4).

Table 6. Subjective evaluation of social status

	Japan		France	Sweden	Britain	U.S.A.	
Upper Capitalist	0	1		1	1	3	A-status
Bourgeois			10				
Upper middle	7			3	6		
Middle		23	30	24	27	43	B-status
Lower middle	35				16		
Upper lower	38						
Lower						1	
Lower lower	18						C-status
Working		74	36	57	46	51	
Peasant			19				
No Answer	2	2	5	15	4	2	
Total	100 (2000)	100 (2000)	100 (2230)	100 (?)	100 (?)	100 (1097)	

In view of the difficulty involved in making a comparative study of the data shown in Table 6, a tentative arrangement is made as follows.

A-Status: Upper, Capitalist, (Bourgeois)

B-Status: Upper-middle, Middle, Lower-middle, (Bourgeois)

C-Status: Upper-lower, Lower, Lower-lower, Working, Peasant

From this arrangement, we shall be able to draw Figure 1. In

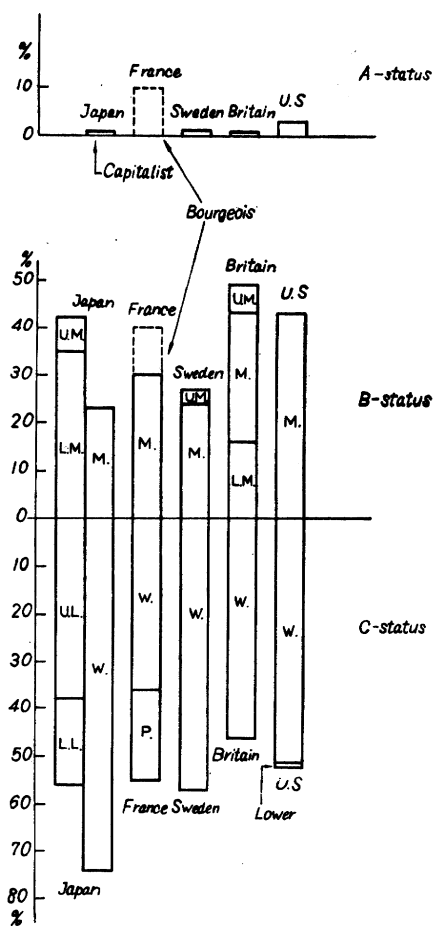


Fig. 1. Subjective evaluation of social status.

3. Social mobility

We shall study the relationship between the subject's occupation and his father's occupation. Here is the data of Japan [12], Britain [5] and France [1]. Besides these data, concerning the U.S.A., we are able to use the data by Rogoff [13]. As is seen in Table 7, the distribution in each nation is not the same. We calculated the percentage of fathers whose occupations were the same categories as those of the subjects (see Table 8). It is interesting that in every nation occupations are all classified into seven categories. This makes it easy to compare the occupational mobility among the nations concerned. In Table 8, resemblance is quite clear between Japan and France. That is, about one-half of subjects' fathers in both nations belong to the same category

France, 'Bourgeois' is regarded as highest status. But, we do not always regard 'Bourgeois' as A-status. Sometimes we consider it as B-status. If we take French Bourgeois as B-status, there will be very few in A-class in any nation. In the figure, the left column of Japan closely resembles that of France. It can also be seen that only in Britain, B-status is a little larger than C-status, but that, on the contrary, in any other nation, C-status is beyond fifty percent of the total. Judging from these findings, it can not be said that the Japanese people are extremely self-depreciative. One reason why the working-class in Japan keeps high percentage (the right-side column of Japan in the figure) is that the word "working-class" has a particular shade of meaning in Japanese.

Table 7. Distribution of the sample according to subjects' and subjects' fathers' category.

(Japan)

Subjects		I	I	II	II	III	III	IV	Total
Fathers		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
I	a	36	4	14	7	8	2	11	82
I	b	20	20	27	24	11	11	13	126
II	c	9	6	23	12	9	5	19	83
II	d	15	14	39	81	17	16	26	208
III	e	6	7	22	13	72	20	19	159
III	f	3	2	5	12	18	19	16	75
IV	g	44	33	86	91	90	67	722	1133
Total		133	86	216	240	225	140	826	1866

a: Professional b: Administration c: Clerical d: Commercial e: Skilled
 f: Semi-skilled g: Unskilled

(Britain)

Subjects		I	I	II	II	III	III	IV	Total
Fathers		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I	1	49	19	26	8	19	6	2	129
I	2	16	40	34	18	31	8	3	150
II	3	12	35	65	66	123	23	21	345
II	4	12	20	58	110	222	64	32	518
III	5	14	36	114	185	714	258	189	1510
III	6		6	19	40	179	143	71	458
IV	7		3	14	32	141	91	106	387
Total		103	159	330	459	1429	593	424	3497

Status category in Britain

- 1: Professional and high administrative.
- 2: Managerial and executive.
- 3: Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (high grade).
- 4: Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (lower grade).
- 5: Skilled manual and routine grades of non-manual.
- 6: Semi-skilled manual.
- 7: Unskilled manual.

of the subject. On the contrary, only one-third of the fathers are in the same occupational categories in Britain and U.S.A.. The cause of these differences is considered to be due to the fact that the former countries are agricultural and the latter countries industrial. Further, if category I, (we arranged the categories in a group like I, II, III, IV, as in Table 7) were higher status than the category II ~ IV, category II were higher than III and IV, and category III were higher than IV, the relation of the status between subjects and fathers would become as in Table 9. In consequence of this table, it is shown that

Table 7. (continued) (France)

Subjects		I	I	II	IV	II	III	IV	Total
Fathers		α	β	γ	δ	ϵ	ζ	η	
I	α	38	17	17	8	9	5		94
I	β	13	24	11	13	22	11	1	95
II	γ	27	30	245	45	94	88	11	540
IV	δ	8	12	65	649	75	108	116	1033
II	ϵ	20	38	38	12	161	97	14	380
III	ζ	12	14	60	20	132	342	45	625
IV	η		5	19	36	23	64	109	256
Total		118	140	455	783	516	715	296	3023

L'échelle des groupes professionnels

 α : Industriels, professions libérales. β : Fonctionnaires (cadres administratifs et professeurs), cadres industriels et commerciaux. γ : Commerçants et artisans. δ : Cultivateurs exploitants. ϵ : Fonctionnaires subalternes, employés. ζ : Ouvriers qualifiés. η : Ouvriers agricoles.

Table 8. Percentage having fathers in same occupation.

	Japan	France	Britain	U.S.A.
Professional	a 27	α 32	1 48	a 23
Administrative	b 23	β 17	2 25	* 31
Clerical	c 9	ϵ 31	3,4 22	c 15
Commercial	d 34	γ 54		
Skilled	e 32		5 50	e 30
Semi-skilled	f 14	ζ 48	6 24	f 19
Unskilled	g 87	η 37	7 25	g 20
Farmowner		δ 83		** 84
Total	52	52	35	32

* Business, ** Farmer.

Table 9. Relation between subjects and fathers.

	Japan	France	Britain
Subjects higher than fathers	28	24	22
Subjects as same as fathers	58	62	52
Subjects lower than fathers	14	14	26
Total	100 (1866)	100 (3023)	100 (3497)

Britain is not so stable as Japan and France.

Acknowledgment

On this occasion, the present writer would like to pay his respects to the head of his Institute, Dr. Tatujiro Sasaki, who allowed the writer to participate in this survey, going many spurs to his work and awaited the fruit of the study.

Thanks are also due to Prof. K. Odaka, in charge of the detailed survey of S.S.M. for his guidance. Furthermore, the writer should like to express his thanks to Mr. Y. Taga and Mr. T. Suzuki, and assistants Miss S. Turiya and Miss A. Isikawa of the members of his Institute, without whose help this report could not have been accomplished.

Note

(1) For the survey of social stratification and social mobility, Japan Sociological Society formed the Research Committee and the Executive Sub-Committee. The present author who had joined the 1953 survey of S.S.M. [11], participated in this (1955) survey as one of the members of the Executive Sub-Committee from the very beginning of the drafting work to the end of making report. All the data of S.S.M. adopted in this paper are the products of the nation-wide survey in 1955. This survey was made by interviewing the adult who were chosen by means of multi-stage stratified random sampling [12].

Further, the present writer would like to add that for this survey our society was donated a fund of \$13,300 from the Rockefeller Foundation.

(2) The data of the ranking of occupation in Japan which is utilized by Prof. Inkeles is the one obtained from the 1952 survey [11].

In this research, we did not use the ranking of occupation in New Zealand, Australia and Germany, because the samples in these countries were not considered to represent their countries.

(3) The ranking of occupation in Japan is classified in the following way. All occupations were first divided into the twenty standard categories. The number of occupations to be selected from category was decided by the likely heterogeneity—in social prestige terms—of that category, i.e., a larger number of occupations being taken from what looked like being the most heterogeneous categories. Particular occupations were then chosen from the most common occupations within that

category, i.e., occupations which the census showed to have the largest population.

In order to test what bias this purposive selection of occupations might introduce, a separate survey was made using a list of occupations selected (in the same proportions from each occupational category) by size-proportional probability random sampling within each occupational category. The final prestige scores to be attached to each twenty standard occupational categories were not materially different in the two cases, which seemed to justify the use of the purposively selected list as having the advantage of presenting occupations most familiar to the respondents.

Question: Here are about thirty cards each with the name of an occupation written on them. People often talk about some jobs being "higher" or "lower" than others. How would you rank these occupations yourself, dividing them into five categories from high to lower? (Place out red rank cards for the respondent to sort them under.)

(4) The Japanese data are the result of the S.S.M. survey which referred to (1). In this survey, two questions were asked.

Question A: "One often hears people use the expression 'such-and-such class'. Supposing the people in Japan were to be divided into the five grades shown on this list, where would you put yourself?" Show list; upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, lower-lower.

Question B: "Now, supposing everybody in Japan were divided into the three categories shown on this list, where would you place yourself?" Show list; working class, middle (*Tyusan*, lit, 'middle-propertyed') class, capitalist class.

Concerning the data in France, referred to in Rogoff's report [14], the survey was done in 1950 by L'Institut National d'Études Démographiques. As she states in her report, there is no material about status identification in 'Population' Tome V., No. 4. Her question in English is "In your opinion, to what social class do you belong?"

About Swedish data, referred in the report by Cantril [2], the survey was done in 1943, by Swedish Gullap Instituue. The question was as follows. "Dividing the nation into four class of society, the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, workers and those of similar standing, to which class do you consider that you belong?"

It is really regrettable that the writer can not remember the original book which presented the data of the survey in Britain. According to the writers extract, the survey was carried out in 1952 by British Institute of Public Opinion. The question was "If you had to say what social class you belong to, which would it be?"

Concerning the U.S.A., refer to Centers [3]. The survey was pursued from 1945 to 1947. The question was this. "If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say belonged; the middle-class, lower-class, working-class, or upper-class?"

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