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## The Role of Working Women in Determining Family Class Position

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The problem of how to incorporate women into class analysis and stratification research has been the topic of 'much heated debate in recent years. The conventional view, which assumes the household head's class position, usually the male, as the determinant of family's class position is being opposed by many critics, as the economic activities of women continue to increase. There are two alternative views: the joint classification view, which determines the family's class position according to both husband's and wife's work positions, and the individualistic view, which determines the unit of class analysis by individual men's and women's work positions.

This paper closely examines this issue in the context of a newly industrialized society, Korea. Of particular interest is the effect of working wives' new middle class jobs on their husbands' class identities. In general, new middle class wives seem to have a status-enhancing effect on their family. Also, women in the working class positions seem to have a distinct effect on their husbands's as well as their own class identities. Therefore, the question of how to incorporate women into class analysis can be appropriately answered by considering the specific effects of women's work in particular class positions.

© Key Words : Gender, Stratification, Family

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▶ 原稿를 검독하여 주신 李顯松·張英植 副研究委員께 감사드립니다.

## I. Introduction

In recent years, there has been a strong debate on the issue of women's position in the stratification system and class analysis in Western developed societies. The main focus of the debate is whether the basic unit of class analysis is the family or the individual, and how to measure the family's class position when the family is considered as the unit of class analysis. The growth of women's participation in the labor market over recent decades has questioned the conventional approach, which defines the class position of the male head as the determinant of the family's class position.

Acker (1973) was the first to criticize the conventional assumptions made by a wide spectrum of sociologists. Criticizing these assumptions, she insists that a complex and complete understanding of both the power structure and the power relationships between women and men would result from the recognition of gender inequality, and that the incorporation of gender in the social structure would contribute to a more accurate picture of our society. The empirical study by Britten and Heath (1983) demonstrate that a revised class map which considers both men's and women's occupations in measuring the family's class position provides a better understanding of the basic structure in social stratification schema.

Ten years after Acker's critique of the conventional approach, and after Britten and Heath's suggestion for a joint classification view, Goldthorpe (1983) addressed this issue again with a theoretical and empirical approach. His central assumption is that family is the basic unit of stratification and class formation. He further assumes that the

family's class position is determined only by husbands' work position and is largely unaffected by wives' work position. Accordingly, women are ignored in both theory and research on stratification and social research.

Goldthorpe's defense of the conventional view brought about a galvanizing impact on stratification research. It provoked a lively theoretical debate, and it generated a great deal of empirical research addressing the question of how women's new economic roles in industrial societies should influence the study of class and in particular, the study of family class position. However, almost all empirical studies on these class-gender issues have been carried out in Western developed countries, with the exception of only one study that was (to my knowledge) conducted in Eastern Europe. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to examine this issue in the context of Korea, a newly industrialized society. The main concern of the study is to determine how to incorporate women into a study of class stratification, namely, working women's role in determining the family's class position. More specifically, this study attempts to determine whether the so-called conventional view also holds true in the Korean society.

## **II. Theoretical Views on Gender and Class**

### **1. The Conventional View**

The conventional view holds two key arguments: ① It is the family rather than the individual that forms the basic unit of social

stratification; and ② families are connected to the stratification system essentially via the class position of their male heads. In this case, the husband, wife, and their children, living together as a family, are assumed to occupy the same class position in the stratification hierarchy, treated as social equals, and assumed to have similar interests and the same standard of living, and to share similar life chances.

Theoretical justification of the conventional view is grounded in the Parsonian account of family asymmetry (1954) and European theorists' argument (Giddens, 1978; Parkin, 1971). The Parsonian theory which proposes that competition between husband and wife for occupational priority is dysfunctional for family life in terms of the functionalist perspective is the main reason for the exclusion of women in the stratification system. From another perspective, European theorists propose an "observable" fact that men's jobs and careers take priority over women's, and they insist that a woman's occupation is entirely circumscribed by that of her husband and the demands of her family (Goldthorpe, 1983).

Goldthorpe (1983) makes three specific claims which are central to his defense of the conventional view. First, within families, husbands have the most extensive involvement in the work-force. Some wives have never been employed, and even among those employed, there is usually discontinuity in their employment histories. Second, wives' employment is conditioned by its class context. In other words, married women's employment can be properly explained by the class position of their husbands. And lastly, contemporary marriages are largely homogeneous with respect to class. Thus, the conventionalists insist that because men and women do not enjoy equal opportunities

for or stability of employment, the family head is usually the male who occupies a "directly" determined position in the class structure. In contrast, the position of most women is an "indirectly" determined or derived position from that of the family head.

In line with these views, Goldthorpe rejects the charge that class analysis in the conventional view has ignored the existence of gender inequality. Rather, he argues that the conventional view is the fact of "sexual inequality" rather than "intellectual sexism," and that the exclusion of married women in the stratification system is a clear recognition of the reality. Also, some class theorists insist that an integration of the analysis of sex and class inequalities is unnecessary, because women are still substantially outside the class system (Giddens, 1978) or because housewives share the same class position as their husbands (Wright, 1978).

The conventional view renews the argument for taking the family as the unit of class analysis. Goldthorpe (1983) concedes that this view would be difficult to sustain in some circumstances. In the case of families where no man, or no economically active or employed man is present, or where the family head is a woman, then the woman's occupational position determines the family's class position. A further modification proposed by Erikson (1984) defines the head of the household as the person with the dominant occupational position. In this dominance model, the head of the family is the person with the strongest attachment to the labor force and with the occupational position that requires the highest qualifications; whoever has the higher position is the family head.

Nevertheless, Goldthorpe (1983) contends that in most cases, husbands are still the main providers, and the contribution made by

wives remains limited and sporadic. Therefore, the dominance model has not gained wide usage in research, because few women occupy the dominant position in the family (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992).

## 2. The Joint Classification View

By the 1960s, the increase in married women's gainful employment had created a need for re-evaluation of the procedure by which a family's class position is determined (Barth and Watson, 1967). Theorists who support the joint classification view insist that wives may now attach more importance with their own contribution to their class standing, and husbands may attribute more importance to their wives' contribution to the family's class position (Davis and Robinson, 1988). Therefore, this view insists that the family's class position should be determined by a measure based on both the husband's and the wife's class position in the work force.

Davis and Robinson (1988) suggest three models for married men and women: an independence model in which one's own characteristics outweigh those of one's spouse; a sharing model, in which equal weight is attached to one's own and one's spouse's characteristics; and a borrowing model, in which one's spouse's characteristics are more important than one's own. In a comparison of class identification in the 1970s and 1980s in the United States, they insist that married men exhibit the independence model whereas in both decades, regardless of whether or not their wives work outside the home. Married women, however, shifted from the borrowing model in the 1970s to the sharing model in the 1980s.

### 3. The Individualistic View

Feminists insist that conventional theorists fail to acknowledge that class inequalities are inherently related to sex (Heath and Britten, 1984; Stanworth, 1984). Women's relevant inequalities in power are embedded not only simply in the realm of the family, but also in struggles within and about the labor market. Women's disadvantaged position in the labor market and their continuing dependence on men are the main reasons for maintaining the family as the unit of stratification.

According to this school of thought, the research in social stratification should focus on the class position of individual men and women measured by their individual position. As a result, according to feminists' argument, the conventional view should be discarded (Acker, 1973; Delphy, 1984).

Abbott (1987) argues that there is no evidence to sustain the conventional view that the occupation of the household head is the best indicator of a women's social image, and that descriptive, exploratory and analytical work on women's social image is required to enable us to see the world through the female prism; only then will it be possible to incorporate women into social class analysis.

In many studies on the Goldthorpean debate concerning the unit of stratification and women's class position, much empirical evidence is in favor of the conventional view. The conventional view still provides a more valid account of the class positions of men and women than does the individualistic view.

However, in a series of studies, many critics of the conventional view have argued that class analysis should treat men and women in

the same way (Acker, 1973; Stanworth, 1984; Walby, 1986); that women's work influences class behaviors of family members that cannot be accounted for simply by the husbands' class positions (Britten and Heath, 1983; Crompton and Jones, 1984; Heath and Britten, 1984; Leiulfsrud and Woodward, 1989); that the conventional view gives a misleading impression of the occupational structure itself (Hindess, 1982; Crompton and Jones, 1984); that there is little or no justification in not using a joint classification of families when the information on the employment experiences of husbands and wives is available (Graetz, 1991); and that women's class position affects their attitudes, and in some families, women's own class position has a stronger effect on them than does their husband's class position (Acker, 1980; Davis and Robinson, 1988; De Graaf and Heath, 1992).

In another aspect, Sorensen (1994) argues that the choice of the unit of class analysis and stratification research should reflect the "substantive concern" of one's researches as follows: ① the research on the class position of individuals, ② the research on the family's class position, and ③ the research on the influence of the family on the individual's class position. In his study of the family's class position, Sorensen insists that "the empirical evidence is to some extent in favor of the conventional approach; nonetheless, there seem to be sufficient grounds for recommending a change in the procedure for determining a family's class position.

Also, Zipp and Plutzer (1996) emphasize that although the results of their empirical research sustain and undermine the conventional view, there are multiple levels of analysis in stratification research. For example, if the concern is with mapping class structure or with differential labor market opportunities, research should be conducted



at the individual level; however, if the concern is on life-chance, research should be analyzed at the family level as the unit of class analysis. Another study shows that the support of the conventional view is different in Eastern Europe and Western countries. Marshall et al. (1995) support the conventional view in advanced capitalist countries, however, there was no support in post-communist countries.

### **III. Research Design and Methodology**

#### **1. The Concept of Class in the Study**

The class concept adopted in this study is based on the Weberian notion of class, namely, as an aggregate of individuals or families who share a similar amount of social resources and thereby share similar life chances and lifestyle. The class measure is borrowed from the class model developed by Doo-Seung Hong, which conforms to the Weberian notion of class. Hong's class scheme distinguishes society into three sectors: organizational, entrepreneurial, and agricultural. These three sectors are further divided into eight groups based on the level of control over socially valued resources such as power, wealth, prestige, and education. Hong's class scheme is illustrated in Table 1.

Although the upper class theoretically constitutes the very top of the class hierarchy, it is excluded from the scheme, because the upper class in Korean society is too small to be used as a unit of analysis. Instead, the upper-middle class defines the intermediate position between the upper and the middle classes (Hong et al., 1993).

Table 1. Class Model for Hong's Class Scheme

Level of control over socially valued resources	Sectoral differentiation		
	Organizational	Entrepreneurial	Agricultural
High	Upper-middle	Upper	-
Intermediate	New middle	Old middle	Farmers
Low	Working	Urban lower	Rural lower

Source: Hong, Doo-Seung, Yang, Jonghoe and Kim, Kyongdong, *The Middle Class in Korea: National Report*, Seoul National University, Korea: The Population and Development Studies Center, 1993.

## 2. Hypotheses for the Study

Korean society has strong familism, characterized by strong familial values that emphasize the subordination of the interests and personalities of individual family members to the interest and welfare of the family. Therefore, Korean families are stable, and also maintain the pooling and sharing of resources strongly. As a result, it seems more appropriate to assume that the family is the basic unit of stratification in Korean society. If the family is assumed to be the appropriate unit of analysis in stratification research, the measurement of the family's class position is a crucial task. This has been made considerably more difficult and controversial by the changing pattern in women's economic role. In this view, the analysis of the family's class position is focused on *how* to characterize the family's class or status.

1) A long-standing Korean philosophical assumption recognizes man as the ultimate breadwinner, and woman as the sole recipient of resources. In recent years, the status of Korean women has improved highly according to the revision of family law, women's increased

educational attainment, industrialization and modernization. Nonetheless, Korea is still a patriarchal society in which men possess greater authority and decision making power. In a patriarchal society, the man is the dominant figure in the family.

Therefore, the first hypothesis based on the conventional view is suggested as follows: *The identification of one's family class position is determined by the male household head's class position. In other words, the identification of husband's family class position is measured by his own class position, independent of his wife's class position, whereas the identification of wife's family class position is measured by her husband's class position, not by her own class position.*

2) Researches on the family's class position are necessary to distinguish between the levels or degrees of class heterogeneity in defining the position (Graetz, 1991). An alternative approach, a flexible mechanism for distinguishing between degrees of heterogeneity of the family's class position, is necessary in being examined in this study. In doing so, substantial differences would be expected to be found between the jointed family's class position.

In this view, the second hypothesis is suggested as follows: *The degrees or types of heterogeneity among cross-class families have a significant effect on the family's class position.*

The focus of hypothesis 2 is to analyze the differences among class identification by the composition of the family's class position, more specifically, by the degrees of heterogeneity among families in different class positions. At the same time, this analysis can find differences in husbands' and wives' class identification among homogeneous families. Also, as Graetz's argues (1991), this method

illustrates how the refined classification based on the degrees or types of class compositions of families can produce some special findings on cross-class families, in particular, on women's class position in the stratification structure.

### 3. Methodology for Analysis

1) The conventional view on the treatment of women in class analysis maintains that, within the family, husbands play the role of primary breadwinners and household heads, and even when wives do participate in the labor market, their employment is conditioned by their husbands' class position. Therefore, the analysis of the types of the family's class position is an important step to test the conventional view in a specific country. The analysis in this study, above all, is required to identify different types of families by the number of wage-earners in the family, earners' sex, and husbands' and wives' class positions according to their occupations.

2) To test hypothesis 1, husband's and wife's identifications of family class position will be measured and compared. Support for this hypothesis can be taken as evidence of the adequacy of the conventional view of measuring the family's class position by using information about the male head of family only. In other words, if the conventional view is appropriate in Korean society, one's identification of the family's class position can be measured based solely on his own or her husband's class position independent of wife's class position. However, if the joint classification view is appropriate, one's identification of the family's class position is determined jointly by husband's and wife's class positions. If the

feminist view is appropriate, one's identification of the family's class position must be measured by a method based solely on his or her own class position, that is, by husband's class position in the case of male respondents and by wife's class position in the case of female respondents, independent of their spouse's class position.

Three models using the logistic regression method for analysis are used, and the results from the analysis of these models are compared to test hypothesis 1.

*Model 1:* Measure husbands' and wives' identifications of their family as the working class by husbands' class position only,

*Model 2:* Measure husbands' and wives' identifications of their family as the working class by wives' class position only,

*Model 3:* Measure husbands' and wives' identifications of the family as the working class by both husbands' and wives' class positions.

3) To test hypothesis 2, all families are divided into several types of families by husband's and wife's class positions. This model focuses on the composition of family class positions. Thus, this classification shows the degrees of heterogeneity of families in different class positions. The logistic regression method is used.

#### 4. Data

The data drawn from the "East Asian Middle Class Project," which was carried out jointly by four East Asians countries, Korea,

Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong in 1992 is used. For this research, only the Korean data is used. For sampling this data, the nation is divided into two parts: Seoul and all other areas excluding Cheju Province. The target sample size is 1,200 for Seoul and 800 for other areas. Five percent of the total target sample is added to compensate for incomplete questionnaires. The actual sample size used in this study is for 1995.

To collect the data, the primary sampling unit is districts for the general election in 1992. Districts are selected according to the PPS (probability proportionate to size) method.<sup>1)</sup> Within each primary sampling unit, the size of cluster is set to ten. Second, each *dong* is decided by the systematic sampling method. Third, each *tong/pan* is randomly designated. Face-to-face interviews are strongly enforced, but in cases where the respondents are highly educated, self-administration was also permitted. The analyses are based on respondents who currently live with their spouses.

## IV. Empirical Findings

### 1. Types of Family Class Positions

Based on the numbers of earners and the class distribution of husband and wife, figure 1 using our sample shows the types of families and the distribution of class compositions among families.

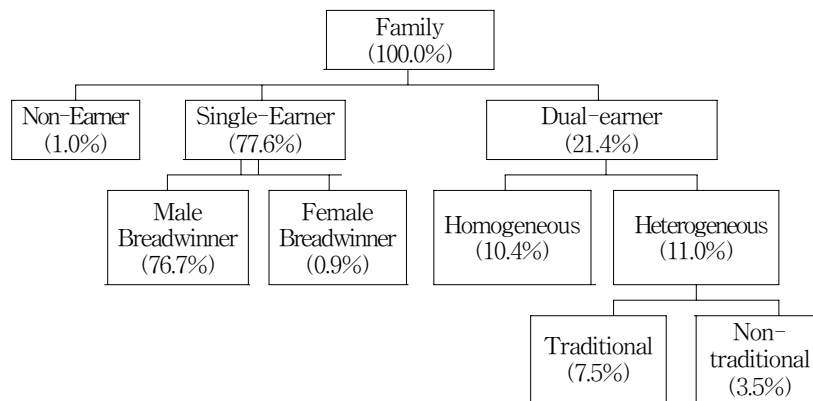
Most Korean families are single-earner families (77.6 percent),

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1) Τηισ μετηοδ μανδατες τηατ συρπηεψ διστριχτσ αρε το βε χηοσεν ιν προπορτιον το της σιζε οφ τηειρ χονστιτυεντσ. Τηερεφορε, της λαργερ της σιζε οφ χλυστερ, της μορε προβαβλε της χλυστερ ισ σελεχτεδ.

followed by families with two earners, which comprise less than one-fourth (21.4 percent), and families with no earner are only one percent. Also, female-headed families in Korea are very few.

Figure 1. The Class Position of Korean Families



Among all families, the class homogeneous family consisting of both husband and wife in equal class position is 10.4 percent, whereas the heterogeneous family of husband and wife in different class positions is 11.0 percent. Traditional heterogeneous families are 7.5 percent, whereas non-traditional heterogeneous families are only 3.5 percent.

Table 2 decomposes the class composition of dual-earner families by the class positions of husbands and wives. In particular, it presents the distribution of class among homogeneous and heterogeneous families. In addition, it shows the extent of heterogeneity of cross-class families. Among all dual-earner families, homogeneous families are 48.7 percent, and heterogeneous families are 51.3 percent. Also, traditional families in which the husband is in a

higher class are 34.8 percent, and non-traditional families in which the wife is in a higher class are 16.5 percent.

Table 2. Class Position of Dual-Earner Korean Families

(Unit: %)

Husband's Class	Wife's Class					Total
	Upper-middle	New Middle	Old Middle	Working	Lower	
Upper-middle	0.7	6.3	4.3	0.7	0.7	12.6
New Middle	-	15.6	11.6	4.3	0.7	32.2
Old Middle	-	4.3	21.5	3.3	1.0	30.1
Working	-	1.3	7.3	6.6	2.0	17.2
Lower	-	-	1.3	2.3	4.3	7.9
Total	0.7	27.5	46.0	17.2	8.7	100.0

Note: N=302

- Cells in the main diagonal are class homogeneous combinations (48.7%).
- Cells off the main diagonal are class heterogeneous (51.3%).
- Those above the diagonal are traditional combinations in which the husband is in a higher class (34.8%).
- Those below the diagonal are non-traditional combinations in which the wife is in a higher class (16.5%).
- This analysis considers that the new middle class is higher than the old middle class in class hierarchy.

## 2. Identification of Family's Class Position

### *Variables for the Analysis*

In this analysis, the dependent variable is the husbands' and wives' identification of the family class position. The identification of the family class position was measured by asking respondents which particular social class they think their families belong. The "subjective class identification" variable has five categories: the upper, the upper-middle, the middle, the working, and the lower classes. For



analysis in this section, these classes are classified into two groups: the working and lower classes as one group and the upper-middle and middle classes as the other.

The independent variables are husbands' and wives' objective class positions. Class positions are measured using Hong's class scheme (Hong et al., 1993). In this study, class categories are divided into four categories for men and three for women: for men, ① upper-middle class, ② new middle class, ③ old middle class, and ④ working and lower classes; for women, ① new middle class, ② old middle class, and ③ working and lower classes. The "housewife" category for women is added as the fourth category. The working and lower classes hereafter will be collectively referred to as the working class. The reference category is *the working class* for both husbands and wives.

### *Results*

The results of logistic regression for the three models are reported in Table 3, with husband's class position in the first panel (model 1), wife's class position in the second panel (model 2), and husband's and wife's class positions in the third panel (model 3). The last panel shows the gaps between model 1 and model 3 and between model 2 and model 3 in  $-2 \log$  likelihood. These differences have a  $\chi^2$  distribution, and their significance levels are presented. The next to the last row in each panel reports the model's goodness of fit (the log-likelihood multiplied by  $-2$ ) which decreases when the model fit improves (Zipp and Plutzer, 1996). The last row in each panel reports another measure of the model's goodness of fit, i.e., the percentages of the possible pairs of the observations whose predicted probabilities

show the same pattern of difference as the difference in the observed probabilities.

Table 3. Logistic Regression of Identifying the Family as the Working Class

Μοδελσ ανδ Ινδεπενδεντ ζαριαβλεσ	Ρεσπονδεντσ					
	Αλλ		Μεν		Ομοεν	
	β	σ.ε.	β	σ.ε.	β	σ.ε.
<i>Μοδελ 1 (Ηυσβανδσ χλασσ)</i>						
Ιντερχεπτ	.351**	.116	.673**	.174	.064	.160
Υπερ-μιδδλε	-2.050**	.230	-2.740**	.378	-1.511**	.295
Νεω μιδδλε	-1.140**	.151	-1.500**	.230	-.825**	.204
Ολδ μιδδλε (Ωορκινγ)	-.949**	.158	-1.139**	.222	-.850**	.233
(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
-2 Λογ λικελιηοδ	1688.9		803.7		883.9	
Χορρεχτλγ προδιχτεδ προβαβιλιτιεσ(%)	52.1		56.4		47.4	
<i>Μοδελ 2 (Ωιφεσ χλασσ)</i>						
Ιντερχεπτ	.051	.226	.288	.312	-.223	.335
Νεω μιδδλε	-1.930**	.395	-2.853**	.675	-1.194*	.517
Ολδ μιδδλε	-.628*	.287	-.624	.407	-.547	.413
(Ωορκινγ)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Ηουσεωιφε	-.583**	.235	-.727*	.324	-.398	.347
-2 Λογ λικελιηοδ	1779.3		860.9		910.7	
Χορρεχτλγ προδιχτεδ προβαβιλιτιεσ(%)	23.1		25.0		21.8	
<i>Μοδελ 3 (Ηυσβανδσ ανδ Ωιφεσ χλασσσ)</i>						
Ιντερχεπτ	.498*	.242	.752*	.337	.201	.355
Ηυσβανδ: Υπερ-μιδδλε	-1.971**	.233	-2.616**	.384	-1.470**	.298
Νεω μιδδλε	-1.055**	.155	-1.349**	.240	-.789**	.206
Ολδ μιδδλε (Ωορκινγ)	-.909**	.161	-1.081**	.230	-.828**	.235
(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Ωιφε: Νεω μιδδλε	-1.266**	.411	-1.836**	.703	-.798	.533
Ολδ μιδδλε (Ωορκινγ)	-.233	.303	-.080	.441	-.272	.427
(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Ηουσεωιφε	-.146	.250	-.098	.356	-.118	.360
-2 Λογ λικελιηοδ	1684.5		791.1		880.5	
Χορρεχτλγ προδιχτεδ προβαβιλιτιεσ(%)	57.4		62.5		53.1	
-2 Λογ λικελιηοδ:						
Γαπ βετωεεν Μοδελ 1 ανδ Μοδελ 3 <sup>1)</sup>	4.4		12.6**		3.4	
Γαπ βετωεεν Μοδελ 2 ανδ Μοδελ 3 <sup>1)</sup>	94.8**		69.8**		30.2**	
Νυμβερ οφ Χασεσ	1,381		667		714	

Notes: \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05

- 1) The differences between the models in  $-2$  Log Likelihood values have  $\chi^2$  distribution.

For all respondents,  $-2$  log likelihood is 1688.9 for model 1, 1779.3 for model 2, and 1684.5 for model 3. Therefore, goodness of fit in model 3 has improved in comparison with model 1 and model 2, but the change between model 1 and model 3 is not statistically significant, while the improvement from model 2 to model 3 is. The concordant percentage statistics support these results. The percentage of data correctly predicted is 52.1 percent for model 1, 23.1 for model 2, and 57.4 for model 3. The improvement of model 3 compared to model 1 is small, an increase of only 5.3 percentage points.

Therefore, for all respondents, model 1, based on husband's class position, is most appropriate in determining the family's class position. This finding supports the conventional view.

The effects of three class positions of the husband in model 3 are statistically significant, but only the effect of the new middle class is significant among wife's class categories. Respondents of families with men in the upper-middle class have the weakest working-class identity (-1.971), and those of families with women in the new middle class have the second weakest working-class identity (-1.266).

In particular, respondents of families with men in the new middle class have a stronger working-class identity (-1.055) than those of families with women in the same class (-1.266). Thus, the women being in the new middle class substantially affects respondents' identification of the family's class position.

In regard to male respondents,  $-2$  log likelihood is 803.7 for model 1, 860.9 for model 2, and 791.1 for model 3. Goodness of fit in model 3 significantly has improved compare to model 1 and model 2, and

the changes between model 1 and model 3 and between model 2 and model 3 are statistically significant. Therefore, for husbands, model 3 based on both their own and wives' class positions is most appropriate to determine their family's class position. The concordant percentage statistics support these results. That is, the percentage of data correctly predicted is 56.4 for model 1, 25.0 for model 2, and 62.5 for model 3. This evidence is consistent with the joint classification view. Nevertheless, the effect of husband's class position for identifying the family's class position is stronger than the wife's. It is because the correctly predicted probabilities for model 1 are 56.4 percent, but only 25.0 for model 2. In particular, an important point for male respondents is the role of wives who have the new middle class. That is, husbands living with wives in the new middle class jobs are unlikely to have a strong working-class identity (-1.836).

In the cases of female respondents,  $-2 \log$  likelihood is 883.9 for model 1, 910.7 for model 2, and 880.5 for model 3. Goodness of fit in model 3 has improved in comparison with model 1 and model 2, but the change between model 1 and model 3 is not statistically significant while the change between model 2 and model 3 is. The concordant percentage statistics are 47.4 for model 1, 21.8 for model 2 and 53.1 for model 3. For wives, therefore, model 1 based on their husbands' class positions is appropriate to determine their family's class position. These results support the conventional view.

The results of this data analysis suggest that Korean respondents, both husbands and wives, tend to identify their family class position on the basis of husbands' class position rather than wives'. In short, our data findings are generally consistent with the conventional view of family class determination. However, an important exception is the

cases of wives who are in the new middle class position. Women working in new middle class jobs were found to have a significant effect on husbands' conceptions of family class position. Although women in the new middle class position does not affect their own identification of family class position, it strongly affects their husbands' identification of family class position. As a result, husbands with wives in the new middle class are affected and tend to identify their family class position by taking their wives' class position into consideration. In other words, having women working in the new middle class position seems to have special meaning in determining the subjective identification of family class position.

### 3. Effect of Heterogeneity and the Type of the Family

#### *Variables for the Analysis*

Both husbands' and wives' objective class positions based on Hong's class scheme are used as independent variables in this analysis. As in the previous sections, four independent variables for each husband and wife are used as follows: for husbands, ① upper-middle class, ② new middle class, ③ old middle class, and ④ working class; for wives, ① new middle class, ② old middle class, ③ working class, and ④ housewives. New independent variables are created to measure husbands' and wives' class compositions, taking into account the interaction of husband's and wife's class positions. As a result, sixteen independent variables are used (husbands' classes×wives' classes). Dummy variables are used to present these sixteen types of families. Therefore, numbers of independent variables are fifteen, and the reference category is *the family with both wives*

and husbands in the working class.

*Results*

Table 4 shows the results of logistic regression of identifying their family as the working class by class composition of husbands and wives, centered on husbands' class position.

Table 4. Logistic Regression of Identifying Their Family as the Working Class by Class Composition of Husbands and Wives

Independent Variables	Respondents					
	All		Men		Women	
	b	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Intercept	.406	.289	.406	.373	-.606***	.359
Wife : New middle						
Husband: Upper-middle	-3.296**	1.067	-2.603*	1.118	-	-
Husband: New middle	-2.327**	.524	-3.541**	1.087	-.675	.620
Husband: Old middle	-2.890**	1.080	-2.351*	1.132	-	-
Husband: Working	.693	1.190	-	-	1.705	1.209
Wife : Old middle						
Husband: Upper-middle	-2.110**	.821	-1.099	1.280	-1.591	1.114
Husband: New middle	-1.186**	.465	-1.099***	.717	-.221	.578
Husband: Old middle	-.684***	.382	-.577	.504	.201	.517
Husband: Working	-1.042	.503	-.811	.745	-.182	.648
Wife : Working						
Husband: Upper-middle	-	-	-	-	-	-
Husband: New middle	-1.099***	.619	-.811	.986	-.241	.778
Husband: Old middle	-.876	.639	-.118	.850	-1.003	1.153
(Husband: Working)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Wife : Housewife						
Husband: Upper-middle	-1.985**	.358	-2.516**	.528	-.624	.444
Husband: New middle	-1.099**	.308	-1.081**	.407	-.100	.385
Husband: Old middle	-1.028**	.313	-.913*	.404	-.187	.409
Husband: Working	-.007	.319	.399	.426	.657***	.403
-2 Log likelihood	1678.8		786.3		887.1	
Correctly Predicted Probabilities(%)	57.7		62.6		51.9	
Number of Cases	1,381		667		714	

Notes: \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .10$

- The reference category is the family where husband and wife are in the working class.
- Cases that do not fit the model were not used for logistic regression and thus do not appear in this table.

Among all respondents, persons of families where women are in the new middle class have the strongest non-working class identity. Respondents of families where women are in the new middle class and men are in the upper-middle class have the weakest working-class identity (-3.296). Respondents of families where women in the new middle class and men are in the old middle class have the second weakest working-class identity (-2.890), and those of families where both women and men are in the new middle class have a weak working-class identity (-2.327).

However, even for someone in the new middle class, if his or her spouse is in the working class, then he/she has a strong working-class identity. This result appears as well in all families where one spouse is in the working class and the other in a different class. It is assumed from the fact that most families with men or/and women in the working class are not statistically significant. Therefore, the most important factor in identifying one's own family class position is whether one spouse is in the working class.

Spouse's class position affects one's own class identity. Among families where women are in the new middle class, respondents of families where men are in the upper-middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-3.296) than those of families where men are in the new middle class (-2.327), and the latter have a stronger working-class identity than those of families where men are in the

old middle class (-2.890). Furthermore, among families where women are in the old middle class, respondents of families where men are in the upper-middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-2.110) than those of families where men are in the new middle class (-1.186), and the latter have a weaker working-class identity than those of families where men are in the old middle class (-.684). In addition, among respondents of families with housewives, respondents of families where men are in the upper-middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-1.985) than those of families where men are in the new middle class (-1.099), and the latter have a weaker working-class identity than those of families where men are in the old middle class (-1.028).

To repeat by the method centered on husbands' classes, among families with men in the upper-middle class, respondents of families where women are in new middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-3.296) than those of families where women are in the old middle class (-2.110), and the latter have a weaker working-class identity than those of families with housewives (-1.985). Also, among families where men are in the new middle class, respondents of families where women are in the new middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-2.327) than those of families where women are in the old middle class (-1.186), and the latter have a weaker working-class identity than those of families with housewives (-1.028).

However, respondents of families where men are in the old middle class show different figures. Among these families, respondents of families where women are in the new middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-2.890) than those of families where women are in the old middle class (-.684), but the latter have a stronger



working-class identity than those of families with housewives (-1.028).

In addition, the class identity of two kinds of families, *families where both men and women are in the same class position* and *families where one partner is a housewife*, considered as an homogeneous family by most researchers, is different. Respondents of families where both wife and husband are in the new middle class have a weaker working-class identity (-2.327) than those of families where the wife is a housewife and only the husband is in the new middle class (-1.099); and respondents of families where both wife and husband are in the old middle class have a stronger working-class identity (-.684) than those of families where the wife is a housewife and the husband is in the old middle class (-1.028).

According to respondents' sex, the results for all respondents reveal a different picture. For female respondents, the analysis of class identity by class composition of husbands and wives considering interaction between husbands' and wives' class positions is insignificant because women's class identity is determined only by their husbands' class position based on the conventional view like the results shown in section one. Husbands with wives in the new middle class have a strong non-working class identity. Husbands in the new middle class with wives in the same class have the weakest working-class identity (-3.541); those in the upper-middle class with wives in the new middle class have the second weakest working-class identity (-2.603); and those with wives in the old middle class also have a weak working-class identity (-2.351).

The working-class identity of husbands in the upper-middle class living with housewives (-2.603) is similar to those with housewives (-2.516). However, the working-class identity of husbands in the new

middle class (-3.541) with wives in the new middle class differ from those with wives in the old middle class (-1.099) and that of those with housewives (-1.081). Also, the identity of husbands in the old middle class with wives in the new middle class (-2.351) is different from those with housewives (-.913). Therefore, whether wives are in the new middle class or housewives is not important for the class identity of husbands in the upper-middle class, but it is important for the class identity of husbands in the new and old middle classes.

## V. Summary and Conclusion

The overall results in this study indicate that the class position of the male household head is more significant than the wife's class position in determining family members' identification of the family's class position. In short, the results show evidence that supports the conventional view. However, a more detailed analysis reveals an interesting pattern of findings. Specifically, we discover somewhat discordant results according to respondents' sex, husbands and wives' class positions, and the extent and the form of heterogeneity of cross-class families. Although our respondents generally identified their family class position on the basis of husbands' class position rather than wives', husbands' class identification of their family's class position is determined better by a measure based on both their own and their wives' class positions than a measure based on only their own class position, whereas wives' class identification is determined by a measure based on husbands' class position only.

In particular, the contribution of wives who are working in new

middle class positions seems substantial for their husbands' class identifications. In other words, the husbands living with wives in the new middle class are found to have the weakest working class identity, regardless of their own occupations. If men and their wives are in the working class, then they have a strong working-class identity. This result appears to be the same in all families where one is in the working class and his/her spouse is in another class. The presence of a working-class member in the family, even in families where the other spouses are in the middle class, seems to pull the family members' class orientation toward the working-class direction. For example, the respondents of the families with white-collar men and blue-collar women have a stronger working-class identity than those of families with both men and women in white-collar jobs.

Korean families where wives are in the new middle class are least likely to identify their family class as belonging to the working class. However, even if husband or wife is in the new middle class, if his/her spouse is in the working class, then he/she has a strong working-class identity. This trend appears in all families where one spouse is in the working class and the other spouse is in another class. Therefore, whether one spouse is in the working class is the most important factor in identifying the family's class position.

All studies in the previous literature regard the families where both husbands and wives are in the same class position and the families where husbands are in a class and wives are housewives as equally homogeneous. Furthermore, these studies did not pay attention to these families in their theoretical and empirical implications. The results from our survey analysis support our consideration to include these two types of families differently. For example, the new middle

class husbands married to new middle class wives are different from new middle class husbands married to housewives in the ways in which their class identity is determined. That is, our findings support the concept that housewives have their own identity in certain situations, although that is not always true.

Overall, we conclude that the conventional view is not appropriate in the context of Korean society despite the greater effect of husbands' class position than that of wives' class position on family members' class identities. More specifically, it was shown that women's work in certain particular class positions, like in the new middle and working classes, can have a significant effect on their own or husbands' class identity. In short, we cannot uphold the conventional view in Korean society, and there is sufficient ground to regard women's class experiences in the labor market.

In conclusion, it is necessary to consider two theoretical concepts for understanding the Goldthorpean debate in a broader class structure, Wright's direct and mediated class relations and Davis and Robinson's models for individual class positions. These two concepts help us to understand class positions of individual men and women in modern capitalist societies. Above all, Wright (1997) argues that class structure is a particular kind of complex network of social relations based on the basic productive resources, the processes of exploitation, and the material interests. From this perspective, he suggests the concept of "direct" and "mediated" class positions of individuals. According to his argument, the direct class positions are from individuals' immediate jobs and ownership of productive resources; in contrast, the mediated class positions are from the variety of relations between individuals and productive resources.

Therefore, in contemporary capitalist societies, the class position of people in certain situations such as housewives, the unemployed, pensioners, students, and children is entirely constituted by the mediated class relations, not by the direct relations of production.

In a similar formulation, Davis and Robinson (1988) suggest three models for studying class positions of the individuals, particularly married men and women: an independence model, a sharing model, and a borrowing model. According to their arguments, with societies' development, married men exhibit the independence model, regardless of whether their wives work in the labor force, whereas married women have shifted from the borrowing model to the sharing model. The support for the conventional view has weakened over time.

Our results of the analysis show that, in most cases, the housewife's class identity is affected by the class position derived from her husband's occupational class position, conforming to Wright's mediated class position and Davis and Robinson's borrowing model. However, class identity of working-class women seem to conform more with the Wright's direct or Davis and Robinson's independence model, although the sharing model is also appropriate if class attitudes of both wives and husbands were considered.

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요약

家族의 階級位置 決定에서 就業女性の 役割

金勝權

사회학 연구에서 階層이나 階級에 관하여 논할 때 分析의 基本單位는 家族이었으며 그 階級 및 階層位置는 일반적으로 가족구성원중 남자 가 구주, 즉 核家族의 경우 남편의 職業에 의하여 결정되었다. 따라서 階層 및 階級研究에서는 남성만이 分析의 대상이었으며 여성은 취업여부와는 상관없이 논의의 대상에서 제외되어 왔다. 이 분야에서의 論爭은 Acker의 문제제기에서 시작되었으며, Britten과 Heath의 대안제시에 이어 발표된 Goldthorpe의 傳統的 立場에 근거한 논문에 의하여 본격화되었다. 유럽 사회학자를 중심으로 理論的 및 經驗的 研究가 이루어지기 시작하여 점차 많은 국가에서 이 분야의 研究가 활발히 이루어지고 있으며, 그 論爭의 초점도 「성과 階級」의 領域까지 확대되고 있다.

본 論文은 韓國社會에서 家族의 階級位置는 男便의 職業的 階級位置에 의해서만 결정될 수 있는지, 아니면 婦人의 職業도 감안되어야 하는지를 分析하였으며, 그 결과는 다음과 같이 요약된다.

전문직 및 사무직에 종사하는 여성은 家族階級位置에 대한 남편의 正體性에 긍정적인 영향을 주지만 자신은 남편의 직업위치만에 의한 영향을 받을 뿐 본인의 직업위치는 고려되지 않고 있다. 특히 남편 또는 부인이 Working Class의 직업을 가진 경우는 가족의 계층위치를 결정함에 있어서 자신과 배우자 모두에게 否定的인 영향을 주거나 받으며, 취업여성뿐만 아니라 전업주부도 어떤 상황에서는 그들 자신의 고유한 階級正體性을 가지는 것으로 나타난다.

결과적으로 韓國社會에서 家族의 階級位置를 결정함에 있어서 부인의 직업적 위치를 무시한 傳統的 階級觀(the Conventional View)은 타당하지 않으며, 남편과 부인이 각자 直接的인 階級位置를 갖는다는 견해(the Individualistic View) 또한 적당하지 않은 것으로 보인다. 오히려 남편과 부인 모두의 職業上 階級位置를 고려한 견해(the Joint Classification View)가 보다 합리적이라고 하겠다. 그럼에도 불구하고 부인보다 남편의 職業上 階級位置가 韓國家族의 階級位置를 결정하는데 중요한 役割을 하는 것으로 나타난다.