POWER, DOMINATION AND STRATIFICATION
Towards a conceptual synthesis

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My aim in this paper is to propose a clarification of the ideas of domination and stratification, seeing both as rooted in the more fundamental concept of power.[1] Where domination is the articulation of power into enduring relations of control over other people, stratification is the articulation of power into horizontal structures based in inequalities of resources. Such a clarification, it is argued, will help to re-orientate research programmes on the structure, background, and recruitment of elites in relation to the differentiation of class and status situations. A clear delineation of class, status, and elite concepts will help to ensure that researchers no longer talk past each other in their empirical work.

The argument in this article draws on two earlier publications that need to be more closely integrated with each other. *Stratification and Power* (Scott, 1996) set out a general approach to issues of class and status, and suggested how the analysis of domination — then restricted to issues of "command" — could be combined within the same framework. *Power* (Scott, 2001) presented a more adequate view of domination, but presented a restricted view of elites and did not work through the relationship of this idea to the earlier view of stratification. In this paper I attempt to reconcile those two arguments and to draw on a broader view of "elite" (Scott, 2008) in order to suggest a viable research programme for elite studies.

Power and its elementary forms

Power can be understood, at its most basic, as being the production of causal effects. Social power is, then, seen as the intentional use of causal powers to affect the conduct of other agents. This idea is inherently probabilistic, as it involves the view that social power comprises the chances of any particular agent being able to control the actions of others. The idea has been developed most interestingly in a mainstream of power research, though a second stream has also raised important and neglected issues.

This mainstream view of power focuses on the actual exercise of control and, thereby, the act of making someone do something that they would not otherwise have chosen to do. Actors exercise choice, but their choice is constrained by the resources that others are able to bring to bear in influencing them. Those who work with this mainstream view of power focus their attention on the interpersonal

settings and sovereign organisations within which decision-making apparatuses, such as systems of election and bureaucratic administration, are the mechanisms through which power operates. Their concern is with decision making and repression, and with the chances that one agent — the principal — will be able to ensure that another — the subaltern — takes theses decisions as commands to be obeyed (Dahl,1994 [1957]). There is an inherent conflict of interest in such power relations, and power relations can be considered to be "zero sum" in character: what a principal gains through the exercise of power is lost by the subaltern.

Steven Lukes (2004 [1974]) has criticised this mainstream view for its one-sided character. Drawing on the arguments of Bachrach and Baratz (1994 [1962]; 1994 [1963]), he shows that the exclusion of interests from the field of decision making through "nondecision-making" involves a mobilisation of the bias that is inherent in the structural context of the actors. An exclusive focus on action, he argues, is in danger of ignoring the structure, and so Lukes draws the debate on power into the heart of contemporary concerns over structure and action (see, for example, Archer, 1995; Mouzelis, 1995). In doing so, he alludes to issues raised in a second stream of power research.

This second stream of power research focuses on an agent's capacity to exercise power. Power is seen as a potential that inheres in cultural and structural frameworks. The concern of those who advocate this view is with the cultural construction of institutional structures and individual identities as the mechanisms through which capacities to command and obey are formed. Power is thereby seen as a collective property of systems of cooperating actors. Talcott Parsons (1963), for example, saw power as inhering in the "authorisation" of actors to issue commands. Foucault (1994 [1982]), on the other hand, focused on socialised dispositions towards subjection and self-discipline.

It is only by combining the insights of these two streams of research that an adequate approach to power can be developed, as they highlight complementary mechanisms of control. These are the basis of two elementary forms of power that I have termed corrective influence and persuasive influence. Corrective influence can be understood in terms of ideas explored within the mainstream of research. It involves the use of resources as sanctions to influence an actor's rational considerations and comprises the two forms of force and manipulation. Persuasive influence, on the other hand, has been most fruitfully explored within the second stream and involves the use of arguments and reasons to affect an actor's deliberations. The two forms of persuasive influence are signification and legitimation. These are the basic building blocks for larger structures of power and specifically for those larger forms called domination and stratification.

Structures of domination and elite formation

Power becomes domination when it is articulated into stable and enduring structures of control by one agent or set of agents over another. When corrective influence is articulated in this way it becomes coercion (based on force) and inducement (based

on manipulation). Etzioni (1964) has termed these two forms of domination in an organisational context the coercive and the utilitarian, seeing them as resulting in, respectively, the alienative and the calculative involvement of subalterns. For Weber (1968 [1913-4]), they are forms of constraint that operate in terms of self-interested calculations and can be seen as "domination by virtue of a constellation of interests", and Giddens (1979: 100-1) has similarly referred to them as forms of "allocative domination". Coercion restricts action alternatives through direct force or the threat of force and establishes repressive structures. Inducement operates through the preferences and desires of actors by influencing their calculations of advantage and disadvantage. The key consideration in both cases is the mobilisation and allocation of resources on an ongoing basis as a means of sanctioning behaviour and so influencing actor's decisions, whether through the actual or the threatened application of these sanctions.

When persuasive influence is articulated into structures of domination it becomes command (based on legitimation) and expertise (based on signification). Gouldner (1954) described these in an organisational context as involving the "punishment-centred" control of line managers and the "representative" bureaucracy of technical staff managers. These forms of domination involve the discursive formation of institutionalised relations of commitment, loyalty, and trust. Its mechanisms are internalisation and identification. In the case of command, the actions of principals are legitimated in relation to an identification with internalised cultural values: those in command have a right to issue requirements, which subalterns feel a corresponding obligation to obey. In the case of expertise, the advice of technical experts is regarded as providing compelling reasons for its acceptance because of a prior acceptance of the validity of the specialist knowledge on which the expert advice is offered. Expertise depends upon the successful assertion of a monopoly of technical knowledge within a particular sphere. These forms of domination are what Weber referred to as "domination by virtue of authority" and that Giddens described as "authoritative domination".

This view of domination is the basis on which it is possible to identify elites and the various sub-types of elite that may figure in a social analysis of domination. Weber did not himself use the term "elite", though he did recognise that any structure of domination involves a distinction between the "rulers" and the "ruled", with the rulers invariably forming a minority. It was his student Michels and, in particular, the Italian theorist Mosca who developed the idea of ruling minorities as elites. For Mosca (1939 [1896]), all societies tended to be dominated by "ruling elites".[2] An elite comprises those in positions of dominance, and they may show varying degrees of cohesion and group consciousness (Meisel, 1958).

The view of domination that I have presented makes it possible to distinguish four types of elite based, respectively, on coercion, inducement, expertise, and command. Coercive elites are those that Pareto (1963 [1916]), following Machiavelli,

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2   Mosca used the term ruling class or political class, but his ideas are better interpreted in terms of the idea of elite than of class. It was his compatriot Pareto (1968 [1901]) who popularised the word elite, though Mosca's political sociology of elites is far superior.

referred to as the "lions", while the inducing elites he referred to as "foxes". Lions control access to the means of violence and are able to coerce others into conformity and obedience. Such elites are typically those of the military apparatus. Foxes, on the other hand, use their control over the access to material resources — most particularly financial and industrial assets organised as economic capital — to influence the rational calculations made by others. These elites include entrepreneurs and financiers in the corporate sector. Expert and commanding elites were not explicitly identified by Pareto, but might be illustratively referred to as "owls" and "bears". The owls are those with specialised knowledge and wisdom based in their control over cultural resources of signification. They dominate by virtue of this knowledge and include lawyers, doctors, accountants, and other professional groups. The bears are the commanding elites who legitimately occupy the top administrative positions in an organisational hierarchy and whose superiority is manifest in their institutional position. They include the bureaucratic officials and managers on whom Weber focused his attention.

These four categories are, of course, ideal types. In real situations there will be elements of each type of domination involved in the exercise of elite domination. A military elite, for example, will have powers of command — manifest in its rank structure — as well as its coercive powers, and it will also employ financial inducements — manifest in a salary structure — to reinforce the commanding positions of officers. Similarly, a corporate elite may combine managerial powers of command with technical powers of expertise, as well as with financial powers of inducement over employees, clients, and customers. The task for sociological analysis is, in each empirical situation, to identify the various bases of power held by dominant groups and to assess their relative importance. This is essential if rival elites are identified, as the balance of power resources may vary between to such groups, and the dynamics of the balance of power that they establish will reflect the particular combination of power that each is able to employ.

Structures of stratification: class and status

Power becomes stratification when it is articulated into causal determinants of life chances and the corresponding hierarchical strata of agents with varying life chances. Once again, it is Weber whose arguments point in the most fruitful direction for conceptual synthesis. Weber sought to extend the Marxist account of economic class into a more general view of social stratification, recognising that class relations coexist with status relations in the overall structure of stratification. He distinguished "class situation" from "status situation", as determinants of life chances, and both of these from "social classes", understood as the horizontal layers formed on the basis of class and status relations.

"Class situation" is a crucial causal determinant of life chances and was conceptualised by Weber in similar terms to those of Marx. A class situation is constituted by the distribution of resources involved in relations of corrective influence in so far as these operate through property and market relations (Weber, 1968

[1913-4]: 927-8). The property and financial markets, the labour markets, and the commodity markets are central to the employment relations through which people pursue their occupations under specific technical conditions of work, and so the class situation of a person comprises their "market situation" together with what David Lockwood (1993 [1958]) referred to as the "work situation". These aspects of class situations are clusters of power relations and enable the holding and exercise of corrective influence to shape a person's life chances. Power in the market generates specific kinds of opportunities, conditions of living, and life experiences.

At the most fundamental level, as Marx recognised, class relations can be conceived of as dichotomous: there is a division of rights and powers such that unequal access to resources allows the occupants of one class situation to appropriate resources produced by those in another. In this sense, class relations are "exploitative". The advantages of those in a particular class situation that gives access to productive resources causally depend on the disadvantages of those who are excluded from access to these resources. Inequalities in rights and powers generate inequalities of income and so of other life chances. This argument has usefully been explored as the extraction of a skill-based rent (Sørensen, 2000; see also Wright, 1985 and 1989 [1988]). In real situations, however, class relations are more complex than this simple dichotomy. The class relations of varying systems of production (capitalist and non-capitalist) may coexist, and the various rights and powers involved in class situations may be dissociated and recombined in various ways. Thus, revisionist and other Marxists suggested that in advanced "monopoly" forms of capitalism, there had developed a disjunction between legally defined rights of ownership and actual relations of effective control (see Scott, 1997).

For this reason, the situations or "class locations" identifiable in any particular society will rarely correspond to the model of class polarisation. The most extended discussion of this has been undertaken by Erik Wright (1997), who takes account of the degree of autonomy at work, the closeness of supervision, the level of responsibility, the skills and credentials, the level of remuneration, and other factors of work and employment relations that constitute variations in class location. On this basis, Wright shows that a class structure can have a myriad of such class locations, though he generally concentrates his attention on 12 broad categories in contemporary capitalist societies. He notes, however, that the number of class locations can be quite great, depending on the purposes of the investigation (Wright, 2005: 19). On this basis it can be suggested that the various more extended identifications of class situations are more useful in empirical research. Thus, the widely used Goldthorpe class scheme is based on the identification of 124 occupational groups defined by property and employment relations (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992), the new NS-SEC classification begins from 353 occupational unit groups (ONS, 2005) and the official French CSP-PCS classification scheme operates with 497 categories. Weedon and Grusky (2005; see also Grusky and Sørensen, 1998) have recently shown that if the aim is to explain differences in life chances, then a disaggregated scheme works far better than a scheme with only a limited number of categories, and they show that a

126 category scheme works very well and corresponds closely to a conception of class situation.[3]

By contrast with class situation, status situation centres around access to and use of symbolic resources as involved in the holding and exercising of persuasive influence. They arise in and through communicative interactions in which "social honour" is discursively constructed and established. A status situation comprises a "typical component of life chances … that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*" (Weber, 1968 [1913-4]: 932). It is through the assertion and establishment of claims to social honour that particular styles of life become the basis of differences in life experiences and life chances. Those who pursue a particular life style are involved in specific networks of interaction that are geared towards the maintenance and enhancement of their life style. Occupants of a status situation adopt distinctive attitudes of acceptance, rejection, recognition, and exclusion that sustain conformity to their life style and disparage the life styles of others.

Status situations have been especially explored in American studies of occupational prestige (see, for example, the classification used in Blau and Duncan, 1967). However, occupation is not the only possible basis for status distinction. Gender, ethnicity, and age, have all been frequent bases for status division. It is, however, very difficult to construct a composite classification of status situations that is at all comparable with those of class situation. Indeed, no such attempt has been made for any contemporary society. This remains a major area of methodological work for useful empirical studies.

Work on status situations has been undertaken in the very different but, in this respect, convergent works of Talcott Parsons and Pierre Bourdieu. For Parsons, "differential ranking" in relation to institutionalised normative patterns of expected style of life generated social differences of honour that could be measured by the "prestige" attached to roles and resources. Prestige, like money, can be accumulated and expanded through interaction and serves as a critical symbolic resource through which individuals are able to persuasively influence each other (Parsons, 1969 [1963]). For Bourdieu, a person's economic and cultural capital may be the object of evaluation and assessment through markers of distinction that constitute the "symbolic capital" that people can employ in the reproduction and transformation of their social relations (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]). Symbolic capital, like prestige, can be accumulated as a generalised medium of exchange and constitutes the differentiation of styles of life and their associated patterns of consumption.

Weber saw both class situation and status situation operating in the determination of life chances. All societies beyond the most simple hunting and gathering bands are, to a greater or lesser extent, divided by both class and status. However, the balance between the two may vary considerably. In some societies, economic differentiation may be restricted or of limited significance, and status distinctions

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3   Weeden and Grusky characterise their approach as "Durkheimian" to mark its focus on the division of labour, but its principles of construction accord with those behind the other delineations of class situations. See Grusky (2005).

may prevail. In others, however, economic divisions may be to the fore and status may have a largely secondary role as a "reflection" of class relations. Capitalist societies, in which property and the market are most strongly developed, were seen by Weber as "class societies" in so far as class situation is the overwhelmingly important determinant of the distribution of life chances. Status factors rooted in "traditional" cultural values have weakened and decayed with the growing centrality of economic power and economic achievement, and social standing comes to reflect class situation. The persistence of status distinctions rooted in gender and ethnicity, however, is an important qualification to Weber's argument, and empirical studies must take seriously the disjunctions that exist between class and status.[4]

The discussion of class and status was a prelude to Weber's discussion of social classes as the horizontally differentiated groupings that make up a fully developed system of stratification. Social strata of various kinds can be identified in historical and comparative research, but it was social classes to which Weber gave the greatest attention. Social classes exist in class societies whenever the patterns of circulation and association that connect those in different class and status situations result in the formation of distinctive clusters of locations. Weber held that a social class comprises "the totality of those class [and status] situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical" (Weber, 1968 [1920]: 302). When people circulate frequently through their social mobility from one situation to another, whether inter-generational or intra-generational, and when they associate through intermarriage, leisure-time interaction, and other interpersonal relations, they create channels of connection among these positions that separate them from other positions by social barriers to communication and connection. Class situations that are connected through "typical and easy" patterns of connection fall into the same social class.

Social classes, as actual social groupings rather than analytical categories, are more limited in number than are class and status situations and they tend to be recognised as groupings by their members and others involved. They are not mere analytical aggregations ore collapsings of occupational class locations, and both the social class boundaries and the number of social classes will tend to vary from one society to another and from one historical period to another. In so far as they are constituted by the culturally divergent and historically formed patterns of circulation and association, there will be no one-to-one correspondence between the social class maps produced for different societies. The social classes identified by researchers have not generally been identified through the methods that I have suggested here. The aggregation of class and status situations is generally carried out on the basis of presumed similarities of life chances or life experiences, rather than directly through measures of circulation and association (but see Smith, 2007). They can be seen, at best, as proxies for more adequately defined social classes. Thus, the Goldthorpe scheme for Britain generally employs a classification into seven social

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4   The Weberian distinction between class and status has recently been recognised by Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), though they largely ignore prior discussions of this issue and they operate with social aggregates at a far too general level.
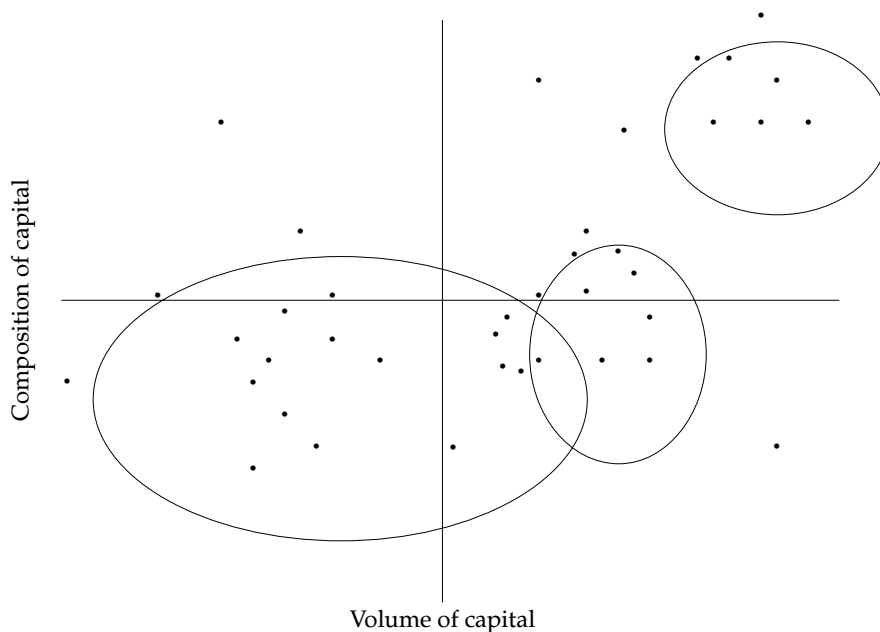
Figure 1   Bourdieu class map (simplified)

classes, though this is sometimes collapsed into a three-class model. The French CSP-PCS, on the other hand, identifies eight social classes, and Bourdieu tends to employ a simpler three-class model. Even where the number of social classes is the same, their composition and boundaries are likely to differ markedly.

Class and status situations and social classes have been studied empirically in a number of ways. The idea of social stratification, using a geological metaphor, suggests the formation of social classes as "strata" within a hierarchy. This hierarchy may not be neat and unilinear, however. Strata may overlap and intrude on each other and may better be visualised in two or more dimensions. A number of approaches to social stratification have employed methods of multidimensional scaling to map social class relations (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974; Hope, 1972; Laumann, 1966). The most useful recent approach to this issue is that inspired by Bourdieu. In this approach, indicators of class and status situations for individuals are mapped into a social space within which it is possible to identify clusters of closely connected places (see figure 1). In Bourdieu's own work this involves measures of economic and cultural capital, educational credentials, consumption and taste preferences, and so on. Individuals and/or class and status situations are plotted in this space as points, with clouds or clusters of points being identified as social classes.

This helps us to address the arguments of some of those who have spoken of the "death of class" (see, for example, Pakulski and Waters, 1996; and see the

discussion in Lee and Turner, 1996). For many critics of class analysis, the disappearance or loosening of social classes through increasing rates of social mobility, expanded interaction, and a loss of class identity signals the complete disappearance of class relations. The Weberian categories proposed here suggest a different interpretation. It is perfectly possible for social classes to weaken, fragment, or even to disappear as significant elements in the social structure without class situation ceasing to be a significant determinant of life chances. People's experiences and opportunities in life may be significantly shaped by their class situation, even though they are not members of and do not identify with a social class.

Thus, a mapping of situations and social classes, such as that of figure 1, can be the basis for further investigations of the extent to which class awareness and consciousness exists, and the extent to which any class identity is a salient feature in a person's life. Such investigations allow an approach to the analysis of what Weber called "party". He used this term to refer to the variety of political parties, trades unions, voluntary associations, and other organisations that may arise on the basis of class and status situations and represent their interests within wider spheres such as the state. It was in this sense that Weber referred to class, status, and party as the three aspects of the distribution of power that are relevant to the investigation of social stratification.

A research programme for elite analysis

The distinctions that I have drawn here make it possible to clarify and extend the research programmes undertaken in the analysis of elites. The word "elite" has been used rather indiscriminately to refer to a wide variety of social groups, and I have argued that it is most usefully limited to those groups that arose through the structuration of power into enduring relations of domination. For many investigators, however, "elite" and "social class" have often been confused. Researchers into corporate power in the United States, for example, have tended to use "corporate elite" and "capitalist class" as interchangeable terms (see, for example, Mintz and Schwartz, 1985; Useem, 1984). Wealthy social classes and elites are quite distinct social phenomena, and their conflation makes it impossible to answer the interesting questions about elite background and recruitment that were raised in Mills' (1956) pioneering study and that have formed the backbone of the elite research programme, despite persisting confusions of terminology.

It was Mosca who introduced the term "ruling elite" in order to address the question of whether the various specialised and distinct elites of a society were forged into a single elite that also had a degree of solidarity and group consciousness. It was these same considerations that led Mills to introduce the term "power elite". For Mills, then, it was important to ask empirical questions about the class situations from which elites are recruited and about the extent to which social class boundaries establish patterns of closure in the recruitment of elite members. It is possible to do this only if the concepts of elite, class situation, and social class are kept separate and distinct from each other. A research programme for elite analysis must

follow the procedures already discussed in order to identify the outlines of the class structure that exist within a particular society. It is then possible to delineate the elites of that society and the extent to which they overlap with each other. Finally, it is possible to examine the patterns of connection between the class positions identified and the various segments of the elites. We can ask, for example, what proportion of an elite is recruited from advantaged class situations and whether this proportion is increasing or decreasing. We can ask whether status distinctions overly the class differences in recruitment to produce distinctive patterns of exclusion by gender and ethnicity (see, for example, Connell, 1987). It is also possible to ask whether those within the elite adopt a particular outlook that reflects a social class solidarity and identity. Where the latter is the case, the ruling elite may be particularly likely to have a clear sense of its own identity and to pursue a collusive pattern of action. That is, class cohesion may reinforce elite cohesion.

There is also an intriguing way of pursuing this project by using the methods of Bourdieu. If elite positions can be mapped alongside class and status situations in the same social space, then any overlap of social class and elite boundaries will be especially clear. Such a graphic method of presentation is especially appropriate for power research, where issues of overlap and intersection are crucial. Novel software is becoming available for such research, and a start has been made in this direction by important work undertaken in Norway (Hjellbrekke and others, 2007).

Conclusions

I have argued for the use of a Weberian concept of power to reconstruct ideas of domination and stratification. I have shown that power can be considered as comprising corrective influence and persuasive influence, and that these are involved in the articulations of domination by authority and domination through a constraining constellation of interests. Authority and constraint each define two categories of elite position, and I have shown that a critical question is that of the extent to which these analytically distinguishable elites form a single ruling elite or power elite. I have also shown that power relations are articulated into status and class relations, with status and class situations understood as positions of access to material and symbolic resources that become significant determinants of life chances. Where the occupants of these places or locations are linked to each other through circulation and association, it is possible to identify social classes and to chart their social boundaries. Social classes are the strata or layers that comprise a system of social stratification. The hierarchical arrangement of social classes may not comprise a neat unilinear hierarchy, but may, instead, require the use of a multidimensional mapping, such as that employed by Bourdieu in his multiple correspondence analysis of forms of capital. These conceptual distinctions, I have argued, bring a greater degree of clarity to elite research and avoid the persistent tendency to conflate and confuse the various ideas. On the basis of the distinctions made, a clear research strategy can be formulated that takes forward the work of Mills and the classical elite theorists.

The approach suggested here does not, of course, exhaust the issues raised by the articulation of power relations into enduring structures. A key issue in the various critical commentaries on elite theories has been the claim that elite research fails to consider the existence of rival and contending forms of power. This criticism is overstated, as a mapping and investigation of elites does not require the analyst to assume or to claim that the elite is all powerful and that no other sources of power exist. I have argued (Scott, 2001) that power has to be understood as involving the idea of principal and subaltern and that subalterns tend to resist the exercise of power over and against them. I have argued, therefore, that it is important to consider the forms of counteraction that can be mobilised against forms of domination. Pressure and protest groups, organised as coalitions and alliances, and formed into social movements are important counterweights to elite power and any comprehensive study of power must consider them. The power of an elite may be challenged by a "counter elite" that heads subaltern organisations among the dominated, and these may, on occasion, successfully challenge elite dominance and produce a "circulation of elite" of the kind depicted by Pareto. The approach to elites and stratification that I have sketched here is, therefore, but the first step towards a wider understanding of the social organisation of power.

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Resumo/ abstract/ résumé/ resumen

Poder, dominação e estratificação: construindo uma síntese conceptual

Este artigo discute a necessidade de uma síntese conceptual e de uma clarificação de conceitos no estudo da estratificação e da dominação. As ideias de Max Weber são consideradas como a base para o desenvolvimento de conceitos elementares de poder e da sua articulação com estruturas mais alargadas de dominação e estratificação. Defende que as elites são formadas através de estruturas de dominação e devem ser investigadas em relação a padrões de estratificação social. A estratificação social é ela própria analisada como integrando situações de classe e de status — enquanto determinantes causais das oportunidades de vida — e classes sociais. A pesquisa sobre elites deve investigar o contexto social e o recrutamento de elites provenientes de diferentes classes sociais e situações de classe. Conclui-se que uma investigação mais ampla sobre o poder deve também relacionar-se com a oposição de grupos dominados e a possibilidade de mudança social através da circulação das elites.

Palavras-chave   classes, elite, poder, estratificação.

Power, domination and stratification: towards a conceptual synthesis

This paper argues for the need for a conceptual synthesis and clarification of concepts in the study of stratification and domination. Max Weber's ideas are taken as the foundation for developing elementary concepts of power and their articulation into larger structures of domination and stratification. It is argued that elites are formed in and through structures of domination and that they can most usefully be investigated in relation to patterns of social stratification. Social stratification itself is analysed as involving class and status situations — as causal determinants of life chances — and social classes. Elite research must investigate the social background and recruitment of elites from different social classes and class situations. It is concluded that a wider investigation of power must also be concerned with the counteraction of dominated groups and the possibility of social change through a circulation of elites.

Key-words   class, elite, power, stratification.

Pouvoir, domination et stratification: construction d'une synthèse conceptuelle

Cet article porte sur la nécessité d'une synthèse conceptuelle et d'une clarification de concepts dans l'étude de la stratification et de la domination. Les idées de Max Weber sont considérées comme la base du développement de concepts élémentaires de pouvoir et de leur articulation avec des structures plus élargies de domination et de stratification. Il soutient que les élites sont formées à travers des structures de domination et qu'elles doivent être étudiées par rapport à des standards de stratification sociale. La stratification sociale est elle-même analysée en ce qu'elle intègre des situations de classe et de statut — en tant que déterminantes causales des opportunités de vie — et des classes sociales. La recherche sur les élites doit étudier le contexte social et le recrutement d'élites provenant de différentes classes sociales et situations de classe. Il conclut qu'une recherche plus vaste sur le pouvoir doit aussi aborder l'opposition des groupes dominés et la possibilité de changement social grâce à la circulation des élites.

Mots-clés   classes, élites, pouvoir, stratification.

Poder, dominación y estratificación: construyendo una síntesis conceptual

Este artículo discute la necesidad de una síntesis conceptual y de un esclarecimiento de conceptos en el estudio de la estratificación y de la dominación. Las ideas de Max Weber son consideradas como la base para lo desarrollo de conceptos elementales de poder y de su articulación con estructuras más amplias de dominación y estratificación. Defiende que las elites son formadas a través de estructuras de

dominación y deben ser investigadas en relación a parámetros de estratificación social. La estratificación social es analisada como integrando situaciones de clase y de status — como determinantes casuales de las oportunidades de vida — y clases sociales. La búsqueda sobre elites debe investigar el contexto social y el reclutamiento de elites provenientes de diferentes clases sociales y situaciones de clase. Se concluye que una investigación más amplia sobre el poder debe también relacionarse con la oposición de grupos dominados y la posibilidad de cambio social a través de la circulación de las elites.

Palabras-llave   clases, elite, poder, estratificación.