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An Empirical Consideration of the Effects of Embourgeoisement & Proletarianization

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Lawrence J.

1977

AN EMPIRICAL CONSIDERATION OF THE EFFECTS
OF EMBOURGEOISEMENT AND PROLETARIANIZATION

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Sociology

Western Kentucky University

Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Lawrence J. Haffner

May, 1977

AN EMPIRICAL CONSIDERATION OF THE EFFECTS
OF EMBOURGEOISEMENT AND PROLETARIANIZATION

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The enterprise of this thesis is drawing to conclusion one very important phase of my education as yet another has already begun. As time goes on, it becomes increasingly difficult to view the past few years with any degree of objectivity. In addition, it becomes more difficult to determine who to credit and thank for the numerous and varied contributions made to my education and to my thesis in particular.

Without any doubt, the greatest thanks is due to Dr. James Grimm. Enough thanks can not be offered for his patience, understanding, willingness to spend time, and intellectual guidance which was unselfishly offered over the past couple of years. Without his assistance in so many ways, this thesis would probably have not been completed, nor would it have been enjoyed as much.

The other two members of the committee, Dr. John Faine and Dr. Ed Bohlander are also due special thanks, for each one contributed something unique yet important both to this thesis and to my education in sociology as a whole.

I feel I must also extend special words of appreciation to two very special individuals. The first is Ernie Hill who was a professor at Campbellsville College. It was he who first aroused in me a real interest in the enterprise of sociology. The second is my colleague and good friend, Larry Irons. It is impossible to thank him enough for his friendship, intellectual stimulation, and uniqueness which

contributed so much to my education and sanity over the past few years. Without his friendship, I doubt whether or not this task would be completed.

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In the past decade, much has been written about the possibility that stratification hierarchies of industrial societies are being transformed from traditional pyramid-like structures into diamond-shaped structures which have a large "middle mass." It has been hypothesized and/or assumed that this transformation and blurring of class lines is occurring through the embourgeoisement of skilled blue collar workers and/or the proletarianization of lower-level white collar workers. This thesis provides an empirical test for the hypothesis that if embourgeoisement and/or proletarianization are occurring, these processes in actuality are affecting additional strata diversification and possible relative realignment of the strata to each other rather than affecting some form of "massification."

Data was obtained from the combined 1974 and 1975 General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. A total sample of 323 white males who were either skilled blue collar workers or lower white collar workers and who identified themselves subjectively as either middle class or working class was used as the basis of the analysis. Twenty-three variables were used for assessing differences across economic, normative, relational, and party dimensions of stratification.

In general, the findings indicate strong support across economic

aspects and moderate support across normative, relational, and party aspects for the hypothesized additional strata diversification being caused by both embourgeoisement and proletarianization. New, distinct strata have emerged from within the skilled blue collar stratum and from within the lower white collar stratum. Very little support was found supporting the hypothesis that embourgeoisement is affecting realignment of the strata. There is an emergent stratum of embourgeoisified skilled blue collar workers, but this stratum is generally still most similar to its blue collar counterpart. However, strong to moderate support was found supporting the hypothesis that proletarianization is affecting strata realignment. Not only has a proletarianized stratum of lower white collar workers emerged which is distinct from other lower white collar strata, but the emergent stratum is also more like blue collar workers on over two-thirds of the variables used as opposed to remaining most similar to their white collar counterparts. Thus, overall, embourgeoisement was found to be affecting only additional strata diversification while proletarianization was found to be affecting both strata diversification and realignment within the middle sector of the stratification hierarchy.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Introduction

Since the Industrial Revolution and especially since World War II, there has been ongoing debate among social scientists concerning the nature of social class and its relationship to other aspects of people's lives. A major argument has been that important changes in the class structures of developed societies have been affected by the Industrial Revolution itself and by the additional social processes which have followed from it. In particular, the argument has been that the working class, especially its more affluent sector, has been losing its traditional identity and is now merging with the middle class. One of the notable writers in this area, Mayer (1963:464-474), argued:

Distinctions between the style of life of white collar employees and of manual workers have become blurred to a considerable extent. . . . In the middle ranges we are witnessing the beginnings of a classless society in a modern industrial economy. . . . Large segments of the working class now share a "white collar" life style and may also accept middle class values and beliefs.

The idea of workers becoming "bourgeoise" is not entirely new. However, renewed interest has been generated by rapid and extensive changes in American life in the past two decades, such as increased occupational specialization, increased social differentiation, and organizational specialization (Mackenzie, 1973:1). As pointed out by DeFronzo (1973:269), both Lenin and Engels felt that the failure

of revolutionary movements was due to workers becoming so "dependent on an exploitative economic system in order to better their life style," and thus, in that aspect, workers had become similar to the bourgeoisie (those who own and control the means of production).

Since the 1950's these ideas have received a great deal of attention. In Britain, Butler and Rose (1959) noted that manual workers are "at least on the threshold of the middle class." In America, the Department of Labor (1959:6) issued a report which stated that the "wage earners' way of life is well-nigh indistinguishable from that of their salaried co-citizens." Zweig (1961:212) claimed that large sections of the working class find themselves "on the move toward new middle class values and middle class existence." Ginzberg and Berman (1963:351) noted that the life style of the American working class was not "significantly different from that of more affluent suburbanites."

In his classic work, Yankee City, Lloyd Warner (1963) set forth the idea that the general life situation of blue collar workers in modern society approximated that of lower middle class, white collar workers. Dahrendorf (1964:225) concluded that an expansion of the "service class" and the decline of the lower-skilled job had brought about an "infusion of the value characteristics of this [service] class into the behavior of all others." Geiger (1969:91) noted that social attitudes and thinking have followed changes in income status so that "the working class has become bourgeoisie." This merging of affluent workers into the middle class has been termed "embourgeoisement" by Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963).

Alternative Perspectives

Although many authors have argued in support of embourgeoisement, it should not be concluded that the argument was accepted without debate. In fact, there have been two other major positions taken by researchers with regard to changes in the class structure.

A position taken by many writers has been an acknowledgement that class structure has undergone change in industrialized societies, but that the change is not necessarily an expansion of the middle class (see for example, Chivers, 1973). Some authors have suggested that the process involves lower middle class workers, notably clerks, being absorbed into the traditional working class. C. Wright Mills (1956, 1959) saw a possible formation of a new vast middle class and an ensuing status struggle by various older classes to maintain distinctive life styles. But Mills (1956:192-198) also noted that many lower level clerks were becoming detached from the middle class and were becoming attached to positions more similar to wage earners. After numerous studies, Hamilton (1966:199) concluded that this process of lower level white collar workers becoming like wage earners is a process of "proletarianization of the lower middle ranks."

The other major viewpoint argued by researchers of stratification change has been that the "blurring of class lines is more apparent than real," (Mackenzie, 1973:5). The argument here is that members of the middle as well as the working class have altered their life styles, but that class differences remain. For example, Berger (1960) concluded that a wide gap remained between manual and nonmanual workers in values, tastes, social participation, and political orientations. Lipset (1964) found considerable differences between

blue and white collar workers in terms of their political orientations. Handle and Rainwater (1964:37) noted that although certain behaviors and attitudes increasingly found in the working class have a surface similarity to the middle class, these behaviors and attitudes hold different meanings for members of the working class. In addition, Handle and Rainwater emphasized that working class consumption patterns differed from middle class patterns when all types of expenditures were considered.

In studies in Australia, Parsler (1970) found significant differences between blue and white collar income levels and a near dichotomy existing between what he termed the lower classes (lower-level white and blue collar workers) on the one hand and what he termed middle class (the upper white collarites) on the other hand. Parsler (1971) also reported sizable differences in leisure companion networks and educational aspirations for children between these same groups. Bonjean (1966) reported large differences between blue collar workers and white collar workers in beliefs, values, and attitudes, while Sexton and Sexton (1971) concluded that class lines have remained distinct. Rinehart (1971) concluded that the degree of working class affluence and "embourgeoisement" has been exaggerated since he found substantial differences between working and middle classes in terms of earnings, market situations, life styles, working conditions, and political orientations. Form (1975) contends not only that the manual-nonmanual distinction in life style still exists, but also that skilled manual workers constitute a separate autonomous group within the working class (for a similar viewpoint, see also Hamilton, 1964).

General Conceptual Distinctions

The issues of the types and degrees of change in the stratification system of industrial societies are far from resolved. Before proceeding further, several basic terms must be defined in order to clarify the research questions which remain unresolved.

Massification

Although the conclusions reached by previous authors have been widely divergent, they all have addressed the question of whether or not "massification" is occurring in industrialized societies. Massification can be defined as the general process by which class lines become blurred and the shape of the stratification system changes from a pyramid (with a distinct hierarchy) to a diamond with distinguishable, caste-like lower and upper classes flanking each side of a large middle mass (Form, 1975:4; see also Mills, 1956, 1959, and Hamilton, 1965).

Embourgeoisement

As has been mentioned, one means by which massification may occur is the process of "embourgeoisement." Parsler (1970, 1971) posited that the principal cause of embourgeoisement is blue collar incomes increasing to the point of overlapping white collar incomes. Because of this affluence, manual workers are viewed as merging into the nonmanual class. Embourgeoisement, then, involves the assimilation of the working class into the middle class, or in Wilensky's (1964:195) terms, the formation of a "middle mass," a collectivity in which no clear occupation-based lines of division can be drawn. Based upon Goldthorpe and Lockwood's (1963) distinctions, Runciman

(1964:140) summarized the process of embourgeoisement in the following steps:

1. The traditional worker becomes socially isolated because of affluence but maintains his working class norms, thus becoming a "privatized worker."
2. This worker then assumes middle class norms but is still unaccepted socially by the middle class. This is the "socially aspiring worker."
3. The worker is socially accepted into the middle class and becomes an "assimilated worker."

Proletarianization

Another means by which massification may occur is the process of "proletarianization." This is a process similar in result to that of embourgeoisement. However, it involves lower level clerical and sales workers becoming detached from the middle class and being absorbed into the upper reaches of the working class (Mackenzie, 1973:6). Proletarianization also involves the diffusion of working class values into the lower middle class levels, or in other words, the "liberalizing of the lower middle class ranks," (Hamilton, 1966:199).

Convergence

It is also possible, of course, that massification may occur through convergence, or a combination of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. As Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963:151-152) explained, "modification of the class frontier" may be caused by convergence between the "new working class and the new middle class." That is, modifications of class structure may be brought about by simultaneous changes in sections of both the middle and the working classes.

An Additional Perspective

The major oversight in previous research results from many authors assuming that "massification is the only possible result of changes in the stratification structure. They have undertaken to show that embourgeoisement and/or proletarianization is or is not resulting in massification within the middle ranges of society. However, there is at least one additional possibility which merits serious consideration. This is the idea that real modifications of class structure are occurring simultaneously through embourgeoisement, proletarianization, or some other process of modification, but the end result is not necessarily massification. Instead, it is possible that through such processes, a realignment is occurring within the stratification system. Discernable differences may well remain between social classes, but in terms of both economic position and life styles, these classes are in the process of realigning their relative position to one another within the stratification structure.

Most sociologists would agree that modern societies have progressed from traditional, rigidly ascriptive systems of stratification to more flexible systems (see Eisenstadt, 1971). Accompanying this change to a more flexible system of stratification have been additional structural changes such as "increasing social differentiation and occupational specialization, and development of specialized and diversified types of social organizations," (Eisenstadt, 1971:124). To posit massification is to suggest, or at least imply, that these processes and directions of structural change (that is, change away from stable, traditionally rigid structural forms) have been modified to the extent that nations are again approaching a stable stratification

system with resulting decreases in social differentiation and increased "middle massness." However, because of this movement toward increased specialization, differentiation, and diversification of the social structure, it is difficult to accept a position of massification, or movement by modern industrial societies toward some degree of classlessness and decreased differentiation.

Since structural change of some sort is occurring within the stratification system, and since massification implies a reversal of the direction of structural change since the Industrial Revolution, it would appear that perhaps the processes of change may be producing effects other than convergence and middle-massness. Thus, further research is needed to determine if the process of change (whether embourgeoisement, proletarianization, or some other process) has possibly affected the degree of differentiation within classes and the relative alignment of social classes to one another. The research and analysis in this thesis will be directed toward investigation of the possibility that embourgeoisement and proletarianization have resulted in both increased class differentiation and realignment.

Clarification and Definition of Social Class

Some important conceptual and definitional distinctions need to be made concerning the term "social class" before further discussion ensues.

Up to this point, the term social class has been used rather loosely; a more precise definition is needed. As a starting point, many researchers have distinguished between the concepts of "class" and "strata" (see for example, Dahrendorf, 1959, 1964; Kemeny, 1972). If a strict Marxian interpretation of class is employed--that is, class

based upon people's relation to the means of production--then both white and blue collar workers are "proletarian" since neither own nor control the means of production.¹ "Strata," on the other hand, is a descriptive concept used to denote categories of people who possess a similar amount of a specified attribute, or in Wrong's (1972:281) usage, strata as a "ranked subculture." Neither of these concepts are entirely adequate since social class is a multi-dimensional concept that goes beyond either of these basic definitions. As Kohn and Schooler (1969:66) noted:

Class is . . . more than simply one or another of the items used to index it and more than any of the large number of social, cultural and psychological variables with which it is correlated.

Max Weber was one of the earliest sociologists to deal with the complexity of social differentiation and stratification. Weber's distinctions between class, status, and party provide an insightful, explicit conceptualization of class and strata. (For additional comments concerning Weber's contribution, see Giddens, 1973).

Weber differentiated three dimensions or sets of criteria by which people can be ranked (Eisenstadt, 1971:81). The first of these dimensions is "class" which denotes an individual's market position. As Weber (in Gerth and Mills, 1946:181) explained:

Class situation, which we may express more briefly as the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences, in so far as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. The term "class" refers to any group of people that is found in the same class situation.

In other words, in Weber's sense, class refers to an individual's economic and material opportunities. In modern societies, class is largely determined by an individual's occupation.

Weber's second dimension of stratification is status, which is similar to the contemporary sociological usage of the term prestige. According to Weber (in Gerth and Mills, 1946;187):

In contrast to the economically determined class situation, we wish to designate as "status situation" every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative social estimation of honor...In content, status honor is normally expressed by the fact that a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with the expectation are restrictions on "social intercourse"...The decisive role of a "style of life" in status honor means that status groups are the specific bearers of all "conventions." In whatever way it may be manifest, all "stylization of life" either originates in status groups or is at least conserved by them.

Weber's third dimension of stratification is that of party, or, in Eisenstadt's (1971:82) words, "groups which seek and wield 'social leverage' in order to forward its members' interests." While "party" defines one's place in the political order, "party" need not be a "political party" (i.e., Democrat or Republican), as such (Eisenstadt, 1971:82).

The term "strata" will be used in this thesis to refer to the groupings of people within a stratification hierarchy which are defined by the overlap of class, status, and party. This type of "synthetic gradation scheme" (Ossowski, 1963) of class structure provides categories "for the purposes of describing hierarchial systems at a given point in time," (Dahrendorf, 1959:76).

Development of Problem

An area of recent interest to researchers has been status consistency, or in Rossides' (1976:83) explanation, the "way in which families and unrelated individuals are characterized by comparable or consistent benefits across the various hierarchies

of inequalities." These studies (see for example, Lenski, 1954:405-413) have highlighted the fact that particular individuals need not have the same ranking on all three dimensions. Although congruency-inconsistency explanations of behavior have been criticized empirically and methodologically (see Rossides, 1976:87), what is of importance is the way in which the dimensions of status, class, and party are consistent or inconsistent in their overlap and interaction. The degree of congruence is an important idea since it may enable estimates of class convergence or divergence.

Massification would necessarily lead to highly integrated and consistent alignment of the three stratification dimensions previously discussed. On the other hand, if one or more of the dimensions is shifting in relative position to the others, then the attributes which define particular strata within the stratification hierarchy are also changing. The problem then is to determine if the shifting alignment of stratification dimensions which may be occurring through embourgeoisement or proletarianization has affected either the hierarchy of strata divisions or the clusters of attributes which define various strata.

Further Conceptual Delineation

One additional distinction is necessary to further specify and clarify the problem investigated in this thesis. This process of change, whatever the exact process may be, affects a wide range of strata-related attributes. When discussing embourgeoisement, for example, Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963:134) emphasized that this process is one of:

...large numbers of persons collectively experiencing not only a marked increase in their standard of living but also a basic change in their way of life and in their status position relative to other groups with whom they are in regular contact. There are implied, thus, as well as economic changes, changes in values, attitudes and aspirations, in behavioral patterns, and in the structure of relationships in associational and community life.

Following their lead, three major clusters of strata attributes can be specified. First are the economic aspects, that is, the acquisition of income and material possessions which, following Weber, determine economic strata (class) and the acquisition of accompanying subjective economic perceptions. The second cluster of attributes is the normative aspects. The process of massification or realignment by definition implies changes in the normative structure of strata. These are the changes in social perspectives and norms of behavior (that is, style of life) which accompany changes in class position. These normative attributes which were once characteristic of specific strata are either acquired by people in other strata or are exchanged for different perspectives or behaviors. The third cluster of attributes is the relational aspects. These aspects involve one strata accepting another in terms of social equality in both formal and informal social interactions (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1963:136).

Goldthorpe and Lockwood's economic aspects are equivalent for the most part to Weber's more abstract concept of class. In this thesis, economic aspects are viewed as directly affecting a person's or stratum's market position. In this thesis, the normative and relational attributes are viewed as related facets of Weber's more abstract concept of status. That is, status is reflected through the "specific style of life expected from all those who wish to

to belong" to a strata, and "linked with this expectation are restrictions on social intercourse," (Weber, in Gerth and Mills, 1946:187). Although Goldthorpe and Lockwood did not distinguish "party" aspects of stratification, an attempt will be made in this thesis to distinguish, as did Weber, those attributes and associational patterns which are primarily status in content from those which are primarily party-oriented.

Orienting Statements

Based upon the literature reviewed thus far and upon the delineation of terms, several orienting statements will now be advanced. These statements can be viewed as containing general summations based upon previous empirical and theoretical findings. They also contain brief recapitulations of the theoretical problem relating to the hypothesized possibility of strata diversification and realignment previously outlined. The orienting statements also contain ideas from which testable propositions will be derived in the following chapters.

It should be noted that the amount of empirical and theoretical attention to the possibility of additional diversification of strata and of strata realignment are not equal. Much of the research thus far has primarily attempted to show that additional stratification is occurring (see Form, 1975; Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1969). However, there has been less effort made to empirically determine the relative position of these "new strata" to their strata of origin or to other previously existing strata.

Thus, the following orienting statements will be divided into two parts: the first dealing with diversification of strata and the

second dealing with possible realignment of these strata within the overall hierarchy.

Diversification

Based upon foregoing discussion, the writer posits the following orienting statement:

Orienting Statement I: The structural changes which are occurring within the stratification system may not be effecting a process of massification, or a return to a more rigidly stable stratification system. Rather, the changes observed, the result of basic structural alterations evolving from increasing division of labor, may be resulting in an alteration of the way in which class, status, and party overlap and interact to define the formation and alignment of strata.

On a somewhat less abstract level, the following orienting statements can be posited regarding the economic aspects of class:

Orienting Statement II: Structural changes resulting from changes in economic aspects (i.e., increased division of labor resulting in additional class or market positions) have effected additional diversification of strata.

That is, some blue collar workers have now acquired improved market positions (embourgeoisement) and some white collar workers now lack the market position traditionally held by white collar workers (proletarianization).

At this same level of conceptualization the writer posits the following orienting statement regarding normative and relational aspects (status) of strata:

Orienting Statement III: Structural changes have also affected some strata diversification in terms of normative and relational attributes as reflected through stylization of life.

That is, some blue collar workers are "socially aspiring workers" and possibly "assimilated workers" (embourgeoisement) while some life styles of white collar workers are now indistinguishable from traditional blue collar normative and relational patterns.

Regarding the party aspects of class, the writer posits the following orienting statement:

Orienting Statement IV: Changes in class and status have been accompanied by changes in party (although only in the sense of gaining or losing some social leverage and not in the acquisition of any great amount of power).

That is, because of changes in class and status (i.e., economic, normative and relational attributes) a number of both white and blue collar workers define themselves politically in a manner differing from traditional patterns.²

Finally, on an even less abstract level, and with a more specific focus, the writer posits the following orienting statement regarding specific dimensions of structural change:

Orienting Statement V: Because of diversification within the stratification system, some white collar workers may have become detached from the traditional white collar strata and now constitute a separate strata generally below other white collar workers (proletarianized workers). Likewise, some blue collar workers may have become detached from the traditional blue collar strata and now comprise a separate strata generally above other blue collar workers (embourgeoisified workers).

That is, rather than assuming massification is occurring, the writer postulates that there have been separate, autonomous strata formed through the combined effects of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. For example, Mackenzie (1973) found that the skilled were attaining separate status within the stratification system and Form (1975:31) concluded that the "class, status and power characteristics" of some skilled workers are different from other workers to the extent that they can be considered as a separate stratum. Although the bulk of research has been directed toward the working class, a similar formation of a separate stratum within the lower white collar strata has also been noted. For example, Hamilton (1966:199)

concluded that we can expect significant cleavage within the middle, white collar strata rather than "a convergence of the skilled." Hamilton (1965:152) also noted that certain occupations "constitute separate populations which have, for the most part, independent and relatively autonomous values." Rinehart (1971:159) also noted the proletarianization of some white collar employees caused by the "deterioration in the [class] situation of the lower middle class."

Realignment

The other part of the problem delineated in this thesis concerns the relative alignment of these emergent strata to one another. The writer takes the basic position that, due to the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization, these strata are shifting in their relative alignment. However, the research has been less extensive in the investigations of this question, and, when addressed, the research has had a fairly narrow focus. For example, Mackenzie (1967:38) noted that the class (economic) situation of some skilled blue collar workers is now identical to lower white collar workers. Likewise, researchers such as Gordon (1972:206) have noted large groups of white collar workers sharing the routinization of work and the income levels of the blue collar strata.

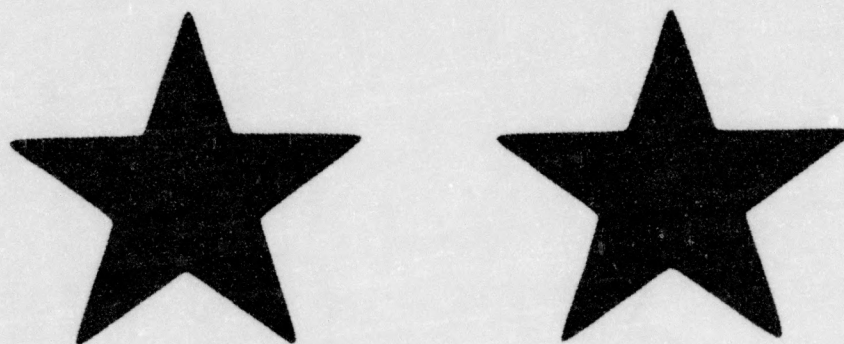
Thus, even though almost all research has been premised upon a hierarchical conception of stratification, little attempt has been made to specify the relative positions of the emergent strata to one another. The following corollaries to Orienting Statement V will be an attempt to specifically hypothesize the expected ordering of the strata based upon interpolation of existing empirical findings and theoretical considerations.

collar workers and will place proletarianized workers as being more like blue collar workers. Thus, the basic hierarchical alignment of white collar workers, followed by embourgeoisified blue collar workers, followed by proletarianized white collar workers, and then followed by blue collar workers will be hypothesized as the "logical alignment" which will occur if both embourgeoisement and proletarianization are occurring and if new strata are emerging. Thus, it is hypothesized that although convergence or massification is not occurring, the newly formed strata are both crossing the traditional blue collar-white collar boundaries.

Of course, there will be instances in which research has been done and findings reported which empirically indicate variation from this basic alignment. In these cases, the empirical findings will provide the basis for hypothesizing an alignment slightly different from the "logical alignment," and these instances will be carefully noted. In addition, when hypothesizing the relative rankings of the strata, the variations in ranking across the different dimensions will also be considered.

The first corollary will pertain to the alignment of the strata across the economic dimension. The research which has pertained to this dimension has derived varying findings. However, these varying findings can be grouped under the general categories of "income" and "nonincome" aspects. Findings concerning income have been fairly consistent and specific, with embourgeoisified workers having the greatest affluence and proletarianized workers the least (see Parsler, 1970, 1971; Mackenzie, 1967, 1973). However, the findings based upon nonincome economic aspects have been quite

CORRECTION



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CORRECT A POSSIBLE ERROR***

concluded that we can expect significant cleavage within the middle, white collar strata rather than "a convergence of the skilled." Hamilton (1965:152) also noted that certain occupations "constitute separate populations which have, for the most part, independent and relatively autonomous values." Rinehart (1971:159) also noted the proletarianization of some white collar employees caused by the "deterioration in the [class] situation of the lower middle class."

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It must be remembered that these orderings of the strata are a cross-sectional picture of an inherently dynamic process of change. However, through comparison of present strata positions with those delineated in earlier research, relative changes can be extracted.

As noted earlier in this chapter, embourgeoisement and proletarianization are processes of "becoming." As Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963) theorized concerning embourgeoisement, the skilled blue collarite first becomes affluent (privatized), then absorbs white collar norms (socially aspiring), and finally becomes accepted socially by the middle class (assimilated worker). Conceptually, this same process can be used to heuristically describe the process of becoming proletarianized. The lower white collar worker first becomes less affluent, relative to other white collar jobs, and also becomes a worker whose labor is bureaucratized, centralized, and routinized (i.e., a privatized white collar). The worker then absorbs working class norms and then finally becomes socially accepted by other working class members.

Although the above is a rather crude application of Goldthorpe and Lockwood's embourgeoisement model to the process of proletarianization, it can be seen that both processes do not affect all the dimensions of stratification at the same time nor at an equal rate. Therefore, the following corollaries will reflect the fact that the strata will not always have consistent relative alignments across the dimensions of stratification--class, status, and party.

In the following corollaries, unless otherwise specified, it will be assumed that the strata movement will result in an alignment that will place embourgeoisified workers as being more like white

collar workers and will place proletarianized workers as being more like blue collar workers. Thus, the basic hierarchical alignment of white collar workers, followed by embourgeoisified blue collar workers, followed by proletarianized white collar workers, and then followed by blue collar workers will be hypothesized as the "logical alignment" which will occur if both embourgeoisement and proletarianization are occurring and if new strata are emerging. Thus, it is hypothesized that although convergence or massification is not occurring, the newly formed strata are both crossing the traditional blue collar-white collar boundaries.

Of course, there will be instances in which research has been done and findings reported which empirically indicate variation from this basic alignment. In these cases, the empirical findings will provide the basis for hypothesizing an alignment slightly different from the "logical alignment," and these instances will be carefully noted. In addition, when hypothesizing the relative rankings of the strata, the variations in ranking across the different dimensions will also be considered.

The first corollary will pertain to the alignment of the strata across the economic dimension. The research which has pertained to this dimension has derived varying findings. However, these varying findings can be grouped under the general categories of "income" and "nonincome" aspects. Findings concerning income have been fairly consistent and specific, with embourgeoisified workers having the greatest affluence and proletarianized workers the least (see Parsler, 1970, 1971; Mackenzie, 1967, 1973). However, the findings based upon nonincome economic aspects have been quite

varied. Based on this, the following corollaries to Orienting Statement V can be set forth as follows:

Corollary I-A: In economic aspects pertaining only to income, the strata will be ranked as follows: embourgeoisified, white collar workers, blue collar workers, proletarianized workers.

Corollary I-B: In economic aspects other than income, the strata will be ranked as follows: white collar workers, embourgeoisified workers, proletarianized workers, blue collar workers.

The second corollary pertains to normative aspects. Since the findings pertaining to this aspect have been diverse, it will be assumed that the alignment of the strata will generally follow the "logical alignment" delineated in above paragraphs. Thus, the following corollary can be advanced:

Corollary II: In normative (status) aspects, the strata will be ranked as follows: white collar workers, embourgeoisified workers, proletarianized workers, blue collar workers.

However, the shift to this alignment will follow chronologically the developing alignment across economic aspects, and thus, may not be as distinct nor as well differentiated as the economic alignment.

The third corollary is also related to status aspects, specifically relational, and once again, due to incongruous findings in past research, the "logical alignment" of the strata will be hypothesized. This can be stated as follows:

Corollary III: In relational aspects (status), the strata will be ranked as follows: white collar workers, embourgeoisified workers, proletarianized workers, and blue collar workers.

Again, this alignment may be less distinct and less differentiated than the alignment along the economic dimension.

Finally, corollary four may be set forth in relation to the party dimension. There seem to be substantial, consistent findings to posit a different ranking based upon the unionization aspect of

of the party dimension. Despite indications of increasing white collar unionization (see Chivers, 1973), due to the historical heritage of labor unions there still exists a much greater degree of unionization among blue collar workers, thus maintaining the traditional blue-white collar distinction (see Hodge and Trieman, 1968; Defronzo, 1973). However, the rankings based upon other party aspects are not as well documented and will be hypothesized to follow the "logical alignment." Thus, the corollary to Orienting Statement V can be expressed as follows:

Corollary IV-A: In relation to party aspects, excluding unionization, the strata will be ranked as follows: white collar workers, embourgeoisified workers, proletarianized workers, blue collar workers.

Corollary IV-B: In relation to union party aspects, the strata will be ranked as follows: white collar workers, proletarianized workers, embourgeoisified workers, blue collar workers.

Summary

This thesis will attempt to ascertain whether or not the separate processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization have effected further diversification within the skilled blue collar and lower white collar strata so that additional, distinctive strata have formed. In addition, this thesis will attempt to describe the relative position of the strata one to another when compared across sets of attributes. That is, an attempt will be made to provide an hierarchical ranking of the strata within each of the four primary clusters of attributes, specifically economic, normative, relational, and party aspect. In the following chapters, the orienting statements and corollaries posited above will be used as the basis for further specification of this overall process of diversification and realignment.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROPOSITIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be twofold. First, the concepts which will be used in this thesis to define strata will be delineated and, in addition, the specific variables (concrete concepts) needed to operationalize these concepts will be advanced.³ Utilizing this concrete conceptualization of strata, the research problem can then be further explicated. Second, the concepts which will be used to illustrate the various clusters of attributes (i.e., economic, normative, relational, and party) will be selected. These concepts can then be used to further develop the orienting statements of the preceding chapter into testable propositions.⁴

Criterion Concepts Used to Define Strata

The first concepts selected will be those used to define an individual's stratum so that comparisons may be made between various strata. It is important to realize that this thesis employs a structural interpretation of strata, that is, ranked groupings of individuals. In actuality, discrete social strata may not exist but may be perceived as continuous hierarchies of positions (Kohn and Schooler, 1969:669). This can become important since variations within a stratum may outweigh variations between strata (see Gordon,

1972:197). Thus, strata will be used in this thesis to designate general groupings of individuals formed by the overlap of class and status dimensions. This synthetic gradation perspective of stratification treats a stratum as a descriptive category which is useful in "mapping out" the pattern of inequality in a society at a given point in time. Following Kornhauser (1950:338), strata will be defined in this thesis by means of a person's objective socio-economic position and by that person's subjective perception of status.⁵ Each of these aspects will now be discussed.

Objective Socio-economic Position

Occupation will be used in this thesis as the objective socio-economic indicator of strata. As Reissman (1960:144-145) emphasized, occupation has become the most frequently used index of class, either by itself or as part of a multi-item index of class and has "become the symbol of class not only in the scientific but in the popular mind as well." In addition, Eisenstadt (1971:160) noted that occupation can be regarded as the point at which various dimensions of stratification meet and intersect. For example, occupational status is correlated with other objective measures of social status and class such as income or education (see Rossides, 1976:243-245). Moreover, the prestige or social deference accorded occupational status is judged by the general population with a high degree of consensus (Ellis, Lane, and Olesen, 1963:272). Also, Matras (1975:11) notes that occupational attachments have remained relatively unambiguous and easy to ascertain.

Occupation as a variable

Perhaps the most widely used occupational classification scheme has been that developed for the Census Bureau by Edwards (1943), who classified occupations according to socio-economic status, relying primarily upon median years of school and median income. As Lasswell (1965:437) states, this scale of occupations has been accepted to the extent that:

The Edwards categories...have served and are serving as the necessary framework for gathering and collecting data related to occupations on such a grand scale that they (the categories) are almost certain to remain more or less standard for many years to come.

This scale, as modified slightly over the years by the U.S. Bureau of Census, will be used in this thesis as the basis for classifying and grouping occupations. The census categories will be grouped according to a rather traditional classification system (Eisenstadt, 1971:151) which makes blue collar-white collar distinction (see also DeFronzo, 1973:271). All farm occupational classifications will be eliminated from the analysis since, as Jackman and Jackman (1973: 572) note, "class is usually discussed in terms of the non-agricultural occupational structure." In this thesis the remaining nine categories will be grouped as shown in Figure 1.

(Figure 1 about here)

Subjective Perception

It is important to remember that occupation is useful as an indicator for either class or status because of the differences in prestige accorded by the public to various occupations. However, strata also involves a perceptual phenomenon based on "mutual evaluations people make of each other's social importance," (Ellis, Lane and

Figure 1. Occupational groupings based on 1970 Census classifications
(for all non-farm occupations).

A. UPPER WHITE COLLAR:

Professional, technical and kindred workers (Census category I)

B. MIDDLE WHITE COLLAR:

Managers and administrators (Census category II)

C. LOWER WHITE COLLAR:

Sales workers (Census category III)
Clerical and kindred workers (Census category IV)

D. SKILLED BLUE COLLAR:

Craft and kindred workers (Census category V)

E. UNSKILLED BLUE COLLAR:

Operatives, except transport (Census category VI)
Transport equipment operators (Census category VII)
Laborers (Census category VIII)
Service workers, except private household (Census category XI)

(Note: categories IX and X were farm related categories).

Olesen, 1963:274). In fact, some theorists such as Warner (1963) have focused on this evaluation criterion as the best way to define strata in community studies. This "mutual evaluation" is the basis for an individual's perception of his own position in the stratification hierarchy. In Kornhauser's (1950:338) terminology, "a person belongs to a class [strata] if he feels himself a member of it."

In contrast to European societies, strata in the United States have never become highly polarized along any one dimension of subjective identification such as religion, occupational level or ethnic group. Individuals can and do have different identifications depending upon the criteria used by the individual in subjectively evaluating his or her position (Hodge and Treiman, 1968a:535). This is especially evident when a subject is allowed to form his own image of strata. Centers (1949) found that when a structured question is employed asking people to identify with an "upper, middle, working or lower class," response patterns are found to be closely related to objective measures.

Subjective perception as a variable

The subjective perception that a person has of his position within the stratification hierarchy can be operationalized using Centers' (1949) structured question. Kahl and Davis (1955:325), in their study of socio-economic indexes, found that Centers' question was valid for obtaining strata identification information because respondents can and do class-type themselves in a meaningful and systematic fashion. In research relating to status and class, Centers' question has found and continues to find acceptance as a measure of strata identification, and like occupation, it offers the

benefit of historical comparability (Kahl, 1957:67).

Thus, the respondents' answers to a subjective question on status position will be used in this thesis to indicate the stratum to which individuals perceive themselves as belonging. The four structured responses available to respondent will be "upper class, middle class, working class, and lower class." (The use of the term "class" in these responses is equivalent to the use of the term "stratum" in this thesis.)

Strata Operationally Defined

Using occupational position and the subjective evaluation of the individual, twenty strata can be defined. These strata can be represented graphically as shown in Figure 2.

(Figure 2 about here)

Based on the literature reviewed thus far, if realignment is occurring, those strata closest to the traditional blue collar-white collar frontier will be the first to experience this change whether it is manifested through embourgeoisement, proletarianization, or some combination of them. More specifically, it is expected that lower white collar workers and skilled blue collar workers have been and will continue to be the first to experience the effects of stratification change (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1969:30). In figure 2, these individuals are represented by the strata (M-LWC), (W-LWC), (M-SBC), and (W-SBC). These strata are also indicated on Figure 2 with an asterisk. Those lower white collar workers having a working class identification, (W-LWC), will be viewed as the stratum generally reflecting the effects of proletarianization and those skilled blue

Figure 2. Stratification groupings (strata) as defined and labelled by occupation and subjective evaluation of strata.

<u>Occupational Groupings</u>	<u>Subjective Evaluations</u>			
	Upper	Middle	Working	Lower
Upper white collar.....	(U-UWC).....	(M-UWC).....	(W-UWC).....	(L-UWC)
Middle white collar.....	(U-MWC).....	(M-MWC).....	(W-MWC).....	(L-MWC)
Lower white collar.....	(U-LWC).....	(M-LWC)*.....	(W-LWC)*.....	(L-LWC)
Skilled blue collar.....	(U-SBC).....	(M-SBC)*.....	(W-SBC)*.....	(L-SBC)
Unskilled blue collar.....	(U-UBC).....	(M-UBC).....	(W-UBC).....	(L-UBC)

* The focus of this thesis will be upon these four strata as further delineated in the test.

collar workers having a middle class identification, (M-SBC), will be viewed as the stratum generally reflecting the effects of embourgeoisement. For purposes of this thesis, then, the (W-LWC) and (M-SBC) strata are defined as the proletarianized and embourgeoisified workers respectively and will be compared with their more traditional counterparts, (M-LWC) and (W-SBC). These latter strata are those lower white collar and skilled blue collar workers whom the writer assumes have not yet experienced the effects of either embourgeoisement or proletarianization to as great an extent.

Criterion Concepts Used to Explicate Stratification Dimensions

The concepts selected for use in this analysis will be grouped according to economic, normative, relational and party aspects as they were discussed in Chapter I. The propositions which are derived in the following sections are primarily based upon the orienting statements also developed in Chapter I, especially Orienting Statement V and its corollaries. However, the discussion which immediately precedes each proposition will also be used in hypothesizing the rankings of the strata. The rankings in the orienting corollaries are intended as a general starting point and may therefore be modified by considerations discussed in each of the following sections. Thus, there are some minor variations between the general rankings presented in the orienting corollaries and those presented in the following propositions.

Economic Concepts

Income

When considering the economic aspects of strata, one important concept has been and continues to be income, that of individuals

(Parsler, 1970; Rinehart, 1971; Mackenzie, 1967, 1973) or of family groups (Parsler, 1970; DeFronzo, 1973; Dalia and Guest, 1975).

Although there are other economic concepts of equal importance, income has been used consistently in stratification research since many social scientists have imputed a causal role to income in determining various attitudes and behaviors (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1963:152). As noted earlier in the thesis, it has been the increased incomes of skilled blue collar workers and the lower incomes of some white collar workers that have been given as a major explanation of why embourgeoisement and proletarianization are occurring. If these processes of change are taking place the following can be posited based on these considerations and Corollary I-A of Orienting Statement V in

Chapter I:

Proposition 1: When ranking strata on the basis of income, the strata will be aligned from highest to lowest income as follows: (M-SBC), (M-LWC), (W-SBC), (W-LWC).

Non-income rewards

Another important economic concept is that of those rewards and benefits other than income and wages which are offered workers. For example, Goldthorpe, et al., (1968a:117) and Shostak (1969:76) found that blue collar workers, especially the less skilled, are disproportionately unemployed. Others, such as Mackenzie (1973) and Rinehart (1971), noted that white collar workers have an advantage over blue collar employees in terms of non-income benefits such as sick pay and insurance. If the process of embourgeoisement and proletarianization are both occurring, then the following can be proposed based upon the foregoing discussion and Corollary I-B of Orienting Statement V in Chapter I:

Proposition 2: When comparing levels of unemployment, the four strata will be ranked from least to greatest amount of unemployment as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC).

Proposition 3: When comparing levels of non-income benefits offered employees, the four strata will be ranked from greater benefits to less rewards as follows: (M-LWC), (W-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-SBC).

Subjective evaluation of economic position

In addition to objective economic measures, two subjective variables will also be used in this thesis to test strata differences. Research by Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963) indicates that middle class white collar workers are more satisfied with their present financial condition than are blue collar workers. In addition, the same studies show that white collar and middle class skilled blue collar workers are more likely to perceive their financial condition as improving. Assuming the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization are both occurring, then the following can be posited on the discussion above and Orienting Statement V:

Proposition 4: When comparing financial satisfaction and evaluation of future financial situation, the four strata will be ranked from greatest satisfaction to least satisfaction as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC).

Summary of economic concepts

The general portrayal of the economic concepts on which strata alignment is tested in this thesis are summarized and labelled in Table 1.

(Table 1 about here)

Normative Concepts

The normative aspects of status are very difficult to adequately conceptualize or operationalize since they involve social perspectives and norms for behavior (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1963:136). The

Table 1. Summary of economic concepts.

<u>Concept</u>	<u>Operationalization</u> [*]
1. Level of respondent's income	(INC)
2. Level of family's total income	(FAMINC)
3. History of unemployment	(UNEMP)
4. Extent of nonincome benefits	(NONINC)
5. Degree of financial satisfaction	(FINSAT)
6. Subjective evaluation of financial situation	(ECONSIT)

* The operationalization name refers to the specific variable which will be selected in the following chapter. For example, "family income" will refer to the concept while (FAMINC) will refer to the specific item used to operationalize "family income." The operationalization acronyms are presented in these summary tables for the purpose of organizational clarity.

concepts used in this thesis to investigate the total complexity of issues related to differentiating behavioral components of strata are only a sample of those potentially available for research. However, the writer believes that he has selected a series of variables which capture the more general attitudinal and behavioral components of strata.

Religiosity

A major normative component of strata which can be investigated is religiosity. Many previous studies have assessed religiosity as a normative aspect of strata positions (see for example, Glenn and Alston, 1968; Shostak, 1969; Hodges, 1964). Two major variables have been used in assessing religiosity--subjective evaluation of religious intensity and the amount of religious service attendance. Although some researchers such as Reissman (1954) and Goode (1966) have argued that church attendance is actually a reflection of organizational participation, it has also been used as an objective measure of religiosity (see for example, Matras, 1975). In general, white collar workers have been found to have a greater degree of religious intensity and also higher rates of church attendance than blue collar workers (Goode, 1966:103; Matras, 1975:199). Assuming the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization are both occurring, then the following proposition can be derived from Corollary II of Orienting Statement V in Chapter I and from the foregoing discussion:

Proposition 5: When comparing levels of religious intensity and church attendance, the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least intensity and attendance as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC).

Satisfaction with life

Another area of normative orientation related to strata position is the degree of satisfaction derived from specific areas of life. One important area is the amount of satisfaction obtained from one's job. Traditionally, researchers have found white collar workers to have a greater degree of job satisfaction (Shostak, 1969; Glenn and Alston, 1968; Mackenzie, 1973). Recently, other researchers have found this pattern to be changing. For example, Gordon (1972:200) noted, "that some blue collar workers find more satisfaction than many lower level office employees," (see also Hall, 1975).

At least three additional areas of life satisfaction have also been investigated: nonwork activities, family life, and friendships. Traditionally, blue collar workers have been found to derive greater satisfaction from their nonwork activities and family life (Parsler, 1971; LeMasters, 1975; Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1969). White collar workers, on the other hand, have traditionally derived greater satisfaction from work centered activities and friendships (Mackenzie, 1973). If traditional patterns are being altered through both embourgeoisement and proletarianization, then the following can be posited from the foregoing discussion and from the orienting statements in Chapter I:

Proposition 6: When comparing levels of satisfaction derived from work, nonwork activities, family life, and friendships, the strata will be ranked from greatest to least satisfaction as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC).

Family life and sex roles

The last concept used in this thesis to discern strata differences in normative orientations is related to family life and sex roles.

Previous researchers have found blue collar workers to possess more conservative, "traditional" conceptions of appropriate roles for males and females, both within the family and outside of the family (LeMasters, 1975:84).⁶ Following from the above discussion and the orienting statements, if the process of embourgeoisement and proletarianization are occurring, then the following proposition can be advanced:

Proposition 7: When comparing conceptualizations of appropriate family and sex roles, the four strata will be ranked from least to greatest traditionalism as follows: (M-LWC), (W-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-SBC).

Summary of normative concepts

The concepts to be used in this thesis to assess strata differences in normative orientations are summarized and labelled in Table 2. The concepts dealt with in this thesis represent a wide range of norms and orientations which have been found to differentiate strata in past research.

(Table 2 about here)

Relational Concepts

The relational aspects of strata are those aspects pertaining to patterns of social relationships between and within strata. In this thesis, possible changes resulting from embourgeoisement and proletarianization will be assessed in terms of informal neighborhood relations, friendship groups, and organizational memberships. These are areas which have been dealt with in previous research and have been used to investigate strata differences (Goldthorpe, et al., 1967:138).

Table 2. Summary of normative concepts.

<u>Concept</u>	<u>Operationalization</u>
1. Religious intensity	(RELINT)
2. Religious service attendance	(RELATD)
3. Degree of job satisfaction	(JOBSAT)
4. Degree of satisfaction derived from nonwork activities	(NOWKSAT)
5. Degree of satisfaction derived from the family	(FAMSAT)
6. Degree of satisfaction derived from friendships	(FRDSAT)
7. Degree of agreement with traditional sex and family role conceptualizations	(ROLES)

Patterns of social interaction

If certain individuals are experiencing effects of embourgeoisement or proletarianization, then such individuals should be in the process of being freed from the traditional social constraints of working class communities and extended families (Goldthorpe, et al., 1967:127) Traditionally, blue collar workers have exhibited enduring family and neighborhood ties and greater frequency of interaction with relatives and neighbors than have white collar workers (Shostak, 1969; Parsler, 1971; LeMasters, 1975). However, both proletarianized and embourgeoisified workers can be expected to exhibit departures from these traditional patterns of social interaction. Based upon Corollary III of Orienting Statement V in Chapter I and the preceding discussion, the following proposition can be advanced:

Proposition 8: When comparing patterns of social interaction, the four strata will be ranked as follows from greatest to least amount interaction socially: (W-SBC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-LWC) for family and neighborhood friends and (M-LWC), (W-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-SBC) for interaction with non-neighborhood friends.

Organizational memberships

Another relational aspect of stratum often investigated is that of organizational membership. In general, Reissman (1954:76-77) noted that the higher the strata, the more active and diverse the participation in organizations (see also DeFronzo, 1973; Mackenzie, 1973; Hodges, 1964; Goode, 1966; Goldthorpe, et al., 1967). Moreover, previous research has demonstrated that the degree of organizational membership varies by strata as a function of the purpose of the organization. For example, if an organization serves business and professional needs beyond the filling of leisure time, the organization will have a middle class, white collar membership (Hodges, 1964:

106). Examples of these organizations are service groups (such as the Rotary or Lions) and school groups (such as the P.T.A.). If the organization is more social than instrumental in character, it may have a slightly higher working class, blue collar proportion of members (Hodges, 1964:106). Examples of these groups are fraternal organizations (such as Elks and Moose) and veteran's associations (such as the V.F.W. and American Legion). The following proposition can be derived from these considerations and from the orienting statements in Chapter I:

Proposition 9: When comparing organizational membership, the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least participation as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC) with some possible variation from this alignment attributable to organizational type.

Summary of relational concepts

The concepts to be used in analyzing the relational aspects of strata positions in this thesis are summarized and labelled in Table 3. All the concepts have been found to differentiate strata in past research and are included here to represent a broad range of relational components of behavior.

(Table 3 about here)

Party Concepts

Since "party" includes the way in which an individual defines his place in the political order and seeks to wield social leverage (Eisenstadt, 1971:82), three concepts can be used in assessing differences in party across social strata. How political orientations vary by strata becomes especially important since, as Goldthorpe, et al.,

Table 3. Summary of relational concepts.

<u>Concept</u>	<u>Operationalization</u>
1. Time spent socially with relatives	(SOCREL)
2. Time spent socially with neighbors	(SOCNGH)
3. Time spent socially with friends	(SOCFRD)
4. Membership in fraternal organizations	(MEMFRT)
5. Membership in service organizations	(MEMSER)
6. Membership in veterans' groups	(MEMVET)
7. Membership in school service organizations	(MEMSCH)

(1967:121) noted, "political orientations have been the matter of ultimate concern in most discussions of the affluent worker."

Political views and identification

Political views and party identification have entered into much of the previous class-related sociological research (see Hamilton, 1965, 1972; DeFronzo, 1973; Rinehart, 1971; Shostak, 1969; Glenn and Alston, 1968; LeMasters, 1975). As Mackenzie (1973:95) noted, if structural change is occurring, it would be expected that this change will be reflected in political behavior and attitudes. Traditionally, blue collar workers have tended to be registered with and have tended to vote for the Democratic Party (Shostak, 1969:200). More affluent white collar workers have been found to be politically more conservative and to be Republican (Rinehart, 1971).⁷ Using political views and identification as concepts relating to party aspects of strata and assuming embourgeoisement and proletarianization are occurring, the following proposition can be derived based upon the orienting statements of Chapter I:

Proposition 10: When comparing political views and political identification, the four strata will be ranked from most conservative and Republican to least conservative and Republican as follows: (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), (W-SBC).

Summary of party concepts

The concepts to be used in assessing party differences across strata are labelled and summarized in Table 4. They represent a range of political affiliations which can and have been used to differentiate social strata in previous research.

(Table 4 about here)

Table 4. Summary of party dimension concepts.

<u>Concepts</u>	<u>Operationalization</u>
1. Political views	(POLVWS)
2. Political identification (Republican-Democrat)	(POLID)
3. Union membership	(MEMUN)

Summary

As discussed earlier, the purpose of this chapter was to define and operationalize strata, to delineate specific concepts to be used in assessing strata differences within each of the major stratification dimensions, and, for each of the concepts delineated, to advance testable propositions deduced from the orienting statements and corollaries in Chapter I and from considerations discussed pertaining to the concept sets. The next chapter presents the specific methodology and research design and the specific hypotheses and corollaries to be tested in this thesis.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, the methodological procedures involving the general form of the analysis, the data collection, the item selection process, and the selection of the sample will be set forth. Second, the concepts set forth in the preceding chapter will be operationalized and specific hypotheses and corollaries deduced from the propositions in Chapter 2 will be advanced. Third, a research design for testing these hypotheses and corollaries will be described.

Use of Cross-sectional Analysis

Researchers have approached the study of "social class," particularly as it relates to massification and realignment processes, in a number of ways including field studies and intensive interviews (see Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1969; Mackenzie, 1973), participant observation (see LeMasters, 1975), and secondary analysis of national survey data (see Hamilton, 1966; Centers, 1949; Dalia and Guest, 1975). Some researchers have argued for longitudinal studies (see for example, Glenn, 1967), since structural change is a process and cross-sectional analysis can provide only a description of the stratification system at a particular point in time. However, the fact that much research already has been done at different points in time must be considered.

Although comparisons between research findings may be tenuous at times, prior research done at different points in time provides a basis for making some temporal comparisons. In this thesis, cross-sectional analysis will be used because it will be a basis for making comparisons with previous research findings and it will aid in beginning the attempt to develop an accurate description and understanding of the particular types of strata differentiation and alignment that now exists. With both a better understanding of the recent strata alignment and how it varies from the differences in strata found in previous research, a more complete grasp of the processes of change which are affecting the stratification system may be obtained.

Data Collection

Although there are inherent limitations involved in using survey data collected by means of national opinion surveys, there are also many advantages. One is the enormous range of data which are available for analysis (Phillips, 1971:155).

Since this thesis is concerned with analyzing broad ranging data on an entire social strata, recent national survey data does provide breadth of information necessary. The data sets selected for analysis are the 1974 and 1975 General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. The surveys were conducted in the spring of 1974 and 1975 respectively and the respondents were a cross-section of persons eighteen years of age or over, living in noninstitutional arrangements within the United States. The sample was a multi-stage area probability sample to the block or segment level. At the block level, quota sampling was used to insure equal representation of respondents based on sex, age, and

employment status.⁸ The data collected by these two surveys were combined in order to attain a large enough sample for analytical purposes. These two years were selected for merging because general economic, social and political conditions remained relatively stable between 1974 and 1975 and because of the comparability of the interview schedules.

The total sample size for the two years was 2974, with 1484 respondents from the 1974 survey and 1490 from the 1975 survey.

Item Selection Process

Selection of the items used to operationalize the variables in the analysis was guided by two major criteria. First, all the variables and items chosen have been previously used by researchers and have been found to be significantly related to the various dimensions of stratification of concern in this thesis. This also provides a basis of comparable research so that trends of stratification processes may be discerned. If the configuration of the overlapping dimensions has or is changing, then this change may be discerned through comparing the present configuration with "traditional patterns."

The second criterion for selection of the interview schedule items was that they were adequate operationalizations of the concepts under study. Obviously, the variables selected can not begin to represent the total complexity of issues related to each of the major dimensions. Rather, the variables and items were selected on the basis of availability and adequate operationalization rather than on any comprehensive requirement. It is necessary to stress, as Glenn and Alston (1968:367) have stressed, that opinion poll data provide only gross measures in most cases, especially in relation to attitudes,

values and opinions. Opinion poll data yield information about entire groups and can not provide an indication of the importance or salience of an item on an individual level. However, the variables and items are able to provide, in Glenn and Alston's (1968:367) terms, "a kind of intensity measure for the aggregate."

Some concepts previously utilized in stratification research, however, could not be included in this thesis because they were either not available in the data sets selected or were not adequately operationalized by any survey items. Also, because of the necessity of merging the two surveys, only items appearing with identical wording in both surveys were used. This did place some restrictions upon the variables available for the present analysis, but the selection process has several definite advantages. First, the variables used have at least minimum documentation in the literature. Second, the variables are either permanent or rotating items of the General Social Survey, indicating a degree of continued applicability and providing for the necessary levels of internal validity and reliability. The third advantage is that since the point of departure of this thesis is to differentiate strata in rather general terms, the predictors which remained available are both representative and manageable.

Operationalization of Strata Defining Concepts

As detailed earlier, strata will be defined in this thesis by occupation and subjective strata identification. Occupation will be operationalized using the survey item which asks the individual to identify his occupation. The responses are coded according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census classification scheme. Subjective evaluation will be operationalized through the item asking the respondent to identify

his social class based on four structured responses--upper, middle, working, lower.⁹

Selection of Sample

Three variables were selected for various reasons to limit the sample being used in the analysis. Non-whites were excluded from the analysis, since, as Dalia and Guest (1975:295) noted, the experiences of blacks "may be qualitatively and/or quantitatively different," (see also Jackman and Jackman, 1973). In addition, females were eliminated from the analysis since there were less than ten female skilled blue collar workers in the entire sample of 2974 respondents. Present work status was retained as a variable used to eliminate from the analysis those who were retired or in school. The present thesis is based upon a sample of "working" white male lower white collar and skilled blue collar workers.

The final sample size breaks down as follows:

<u>Strata</u>	<u>N</u>
(M-LWC)	58
(W-LWC)	53
(M-SBC)	74
(W-SBC)	138
Subtotal	323
Other white collars	275
Other blue collars	228
Total	826

Operationalization of Criterion Concepts

Each of the concepts selected in the previous chapter was operationalized using specific items from the survey questionnaire. In addition, specific hypotheses and corollaries relating to each variable were deduced from the propositions in Chapter II.

Economic Concepts

Income

The income variables were operationalized using two items from the survey asking the respondent to identify his income level, (INC), and the level of his family's total income from all sources, (FAMINC). The respondents identified their income according to twelve categories ranging from a category of "under \$1,000" to a category of "\$25,000 or over." Following from Proposition 1 in the preceding chapter, the following hypothesis and corollary were derived:

Hypothesis 1: When comparing levels of (INC) and (FAMINC) there will be significant differences among the four strata.

Corollary 1-1: When comparing levels of (INC) and (FAMINC) the four strata will be ranked from highest to lowest as follows: (M-SBC) (M-LWC) (W-SBC) (W-LWC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Non-income rewards

Although there was no item which measured frequency or exact duration of unemployment in the data sets used in this thesis, unemployment patterns were operationalized (UNEMP) using an item asking the respondents if they had been unemployed and looking for work for as long as a month at any time during the past ten years. A yes-no response was obtained. Following from Proposition 2 in Chapter II, the following hypothesis and corollary were derived:

Hypothesis 2: When comparing rates of (UNEMP) there will be significant differences among the four strata.

Corollary 2-1: When comparing levels of (UNEMP) the four strata will be ranked from least to most unemployment as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

A certain degree of nonincome rewards (i.e., sick pay and insurance) can be measured by the degree to which workers must rely upon the

government to provide these benefits. Thus, (NONINC) was operationalized using the item which obtained a yes-no response to the following question, "Did you ever, because of sickness, unemployment, or any other reason receive anything like welfare, unemployment insurance, or other aid from government agencies?" Following from Proposition 3 in Chapter II, the following hypothesis and corollary were derived:

Hypothesis 3: When comparing levels of (NONINC) there will be significant differences among the four strata.

Corollary 3-1: When comparing levels of (NONINC) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least reward as follows: (M-LWC) (W-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Subjective economic evaluation

Financial satisfaction (FINSAT) and subjective evaluation of financial situation (ECONSIT) were operationalized using two survey items. The first item questioned the respondents concerning their degree of satisfaction with their present financial situation. Three structured responses were available: pretty well satisfied, more or less satisfied, and not satisfied at all. The second item asked the individual to evaluate his financial situation over the last few years with the following possible responses: getting better, getting worse, or stayed the same. This item was recoded so that the responses were a three point scale ranging from getting better to getting worse with stayed the same in the middle. Based on Proposition 4 in Chapter II, the following hypothesis and corollary were derived:

Hypothesis 4: When comparing levels of (FINSAT) and (ECONSIT) there will be significant differences among the four strata.

Corollary 4-1: When comparing levels of (FINSAT) and (ECONSIT) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least satisfaction (a favorable evaluation) as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Normative Concepts

Religiosity

Religious intensity (RELINT) was operationalized using the survey item which asked the respondent if, in reference to his religious or denominational preference (e.g., Catholic, Jewish, Baptist), he would classify his religious intensity as strong, not very strong, or somewhat strong. Because of the possible difficulty in differentiating between not very strong and somewhat strong religious intensity, this item was recoded into strong or not strong religious intensity.

Religious attendance (RELATD) was measured by means of an item on which the individual indicated how often he attended religious services. A nine-point scale ranging from never to several times a week was employed to code this question. Based on Proposition 5 in Chapter II, the following hypothesis and corollary were set forth:

Hypothesis 5: When comparing levels of (RELINT) and (RELATD) there will be significant differences among the four strata.

Corollary 5-1: When comparing levels of (RELINT) and (RELATD) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least intensity and attendance as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Satisfaction with life

Job satisfaction (JOBSAT) was operationalized through use of the item which asked respondents how satisfied they were with the work they do. Four structured responses were employed ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied. The satisfaction derived from nonwork activities (NOWKSAT), family (FAMSAT), and friendships (FRDSAT), was operationalized through three items which permitted a respondent to indicate his degree of satisfaction from each area on a seven-point scale ranging from a very great deal of satisfaction to none. Using

these four items and expanding upon Proposition 6 in Chapter II, the following hypothesis and corollary were advanced:

Hypothesis 6: When comparing levels of (JOBSAT), (NOWKSAT), (FAMSAT), (FRDSAT) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 6-1: When comparing levels of (JOBSAT), (NOWKSAT), (FAMSAT), (FRDSAT) the strata will be ranked from greatest to least degree of satisfaction as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Family life and sex roles

The degree of agreement with traditional working class sex and family roles (ROLES) can be operationalized using the item which asked respondents to agree or disagree with the following statement, "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men." The following hypothesis and corollary were derived from Proposition 7 in Chapter II:

Hypothesis 7: When comparing levels of (ROLES) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 7-1: When comparing levels of (ROLES) the four strata will be ranked from least to greatest agreement as follows: (M-LWC) (W-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Relational Concepts

Patterns of social interaction

Patterns of social interaction, specifically the frequency of interaction with relatives (SOCREL), neighbors (SOCNGH), and friends (SOCFRD) were operationalized using three items from the survey questionnaire. The items asked the respondent to indicate, on a seven-point scale, ranging from almost every day to never, how often he spends a social evening with relatives, neighbors, and non-neighborhood friends

respectively. Using these three items, the following hypothesis and corollaries were derived from Proposition 8 in Chapter II:

Hypothesis 8: When comparing levels of (SOCREL), (SOCNGH), (SOCFRD) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 8-1: When comparing levels of (SOCREL), (SOCNGH) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least amount of interaction as follows: (W-SBC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (M-LWC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Corollary 8-2: When comparing levels of (SOCFRD) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least amount of interaction as follows: (M-LWC) (W-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Organizational memberships

Membership in organizations, specifically fraternal organizations (MEMFRT), service organizations (MEMSER), veterans' groups (MEMVET), and school service groups (MEMSCH) were operationalized through use of the items asking the individual to indicate if he was or was not a member of each type. Based on Proposition 9 in Chapter II and using these four items, the following hypothesis and corollary were derived:

Hypothesis 9: When comparing levels of (MEMFRT), (MEMSER), (MEMVET), (MEMSCH) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 9-1: When comparing levels of (MEMFRT), (MEMSER), (MEMVET), (MEMSCH) the four strata will be ranked from greatest to least participation as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Party Concepts

Political views and identification

Political views (POLVWS) were operationalized through use of the survey item which requested respondents to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Likewise, respondents were asked to identify themselves

politically on a seven-point scale ranging from strongly Democratic to strongly Republican. This item was used to operationalize the political identification (POLID) concept.¹⁰ Following from Proposition 10 in Chapter II and using these two items, the hypothesis and corollary presented below were derived:

Hypothesis 10: When comparing levels of (POLVWS) and (POLID) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 10-1: When comparing levels of (POLVWS) and (POLID) the four strata will be ranked from most conservative and Republican to least conservative and Republican as follows: (M-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-LWC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Union memberships

The survey item asking individuals to respond yes-no to whether or not they are a member of a labor union was used to operationalize union membership (MEMUN). The following hypothesis and corollary were derived from Proposition 11 in Chapter II:

Hypothesis 11: When comparing levels of (MEMUN) there will be significant differences among the strata.

Corollary 11-1: When comparing levels of (MEMUN) the four strata will be ranked from least amount of membership to greatest as follows: (M-LWC) (W-LWC) (M-SBC) (W-SBC); there will be significant differences between each pair of strata.

Research Design

A researcher finds support for his or her hypotheses only in the rejection of other hypotheses. A null hypothesis is usually posited so that it can be rejected, thereby giving support for the researcher's alternative hypothesis or set of alternatives. In this thesis, only the alternative hypotheses and corollaries have been presented and the null hypotheses have been implied. Thus, when a hypothesis is supported, the implied null hypothesis has actually been rejected (for

further discussion see Kohout, 1974:251).

First, each hypothesis was tested using an F-test for a one-way analysis of variance. The F-test "produces an overall test for a set of category means," (Kohout, 1974:378). The test was performed through obtaining an F-ratio, or a ratio of two independent variances, specifically the between-category and the within-category variances. A F-distribution was then used to determine if the F-ratios were significant, or in other words, if the category means differed more widely than the small differences expected from sample error alone. For purposes of this thesis, the alpha level of significance was set at the .05 level. When a significant F-ratio is obtained, therefore, it may be concluded that at least two of the category means differ and that an hypothesis predicting differences between means is supported statistically.

Since the F-test provides only an indication that at least two of the means differ significantly, a procedure was needed for testing differences between specific means as stated in each of the corollaries advanced in this chapter. Each corollary was tested in two steps. The first part of each corollary specified the expected rankings of the strata. This was tested by ranking the strata according to their means (or mean rankings, depending upon the level of measurement of the specific variable) and this ranking was then compared to that which was hypothesized. Secondly, the last part of each corollary hypothesized that there would be significant differences between each of the strata. This was tested using a two-sample t-test. In other words, comparisons of sample or subsample means were used to infer differences between the means of the parent populations in order to determine if the

populations from which the samples were drawn actually differ in terms of characteristics being studied (Nie, et al., 1975:267). This was accomplished through the calculation of Student's *t*'s for each possible pair of subsamples (strata) and determination of its level of significance using a Student's *t*-distribution as the sampling distribution.

It should be noted, however, that if samples are drawn from populations with unequal variances (as indicated by a significant *F*-ratio), then an approximation to *t* must be computed. In the present thesis, if an *F*-ratio was significant, indicating that the population variances were not equal, then an approximation to *t* was computed using the separate variance estimate rather than the pooled variance approach.

For each series of possible *t*-tests, the alpha level of significance was set at .10 since only very general and gross differences among strata were being investigated. However, as Kohout (1974:378) emphasizes, tests of all possible pairs of means capitalize on chance and, hence, the actual level of significance would be much greater than the stated alpha level. For this reason, the alpha level was apportioned among the six possible *t*-tests per variable so that the overall level of significance for all the tests combined did not exceed .10. Thus, the alpha level was .017 for each individual test of significance of differences between means.

One additional issue of importance is the robustness of the *F*-test and *t*-test, or in other words, the limit to which underlying logic or assumptions of inferential measures can be stretched and a valid application still be obtained. Four assumptions underlie the *F*-test:

"(1) the k-category populations are normally distributed; (2) the k-category populations have equal variances; (3) the dependent variable is measured on an interval scale; and (4) that the sampling was random (where k is the number of category means)," (Kohout, 1974: 372). Likewise, the t-test has similar underlying assumptions of normally distributed samples, of the sample variances being equal (or else an adjusted t being calculated), of interval level of measurement, and of random sampling (Jacobsen, 1976:309). In this thesis, all of these assumptions were met except that of interval level of measurement for some variables. However, as Jacobsen (1976:496) notes in reference to Boneau's (1960) conclusions, "the robustness of the t-ratio makes it in actuality a distribution-free test and that most of his (Boneau's) findings pertaining to the t-ratio also apply to the F-ratio." Thus, the t-test was viewed as adequate for dealing with all of the variables employed in this thesis.

Summary

In the foregoing discussion, an attempt has been made to describe methodological procedures employed in this thesis, to select specific items which operationalize the various concepts, to advance specific hypotheses and corollaries for each variable based on the propositions of Chapter II, and to develop a research design to test those hypotheses. The next chapter will present the results of the testing of these hypotheses and corollaries.

CHAPTER IV

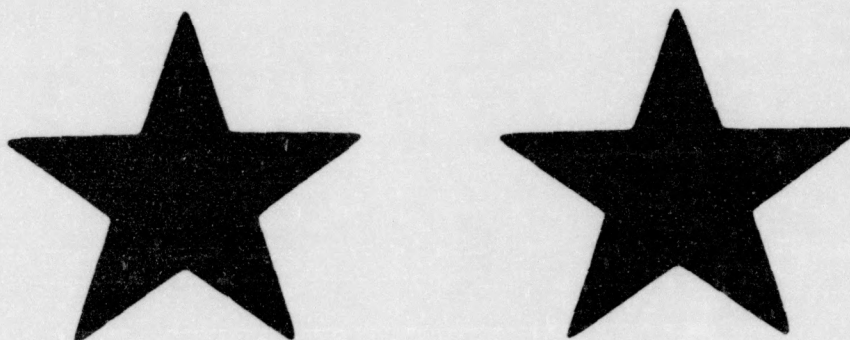
FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical findings derived from the data analysis based upon the design described in the preceding chapter. These findings provide the basis for testing the hypotheses and corollaries formulated in the previous chapter. Implications drawn from these tested hypotheses and corollaries are used to link the findings with the orienting statements developed in Chapter I. Specifically, the findings are used to test some of the ideas raised in the first chapter regarding strata diversification and realignment arising from the separate, yet mutually affective, processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization.

The statistical findings concerning each of the major stratification dimensions--economic, normative, relational, and party--are discussed in terms of their theoretical implications for the emergence of a lower white collar and a skilled blue collar strata predicted earlier in this thesis. In addition, the importance of these findings for the hierarchial arrangement of the "old" and "new" strata is also examined, particularly in relation to the concept of realignment developed in the first chapter. The findings, presented in Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 which follow in this chapter, refer to economic, normative, relational, and party concept sets respectively. Because

CORRECTION



***PRECEDING IMAGE HAS BEEN
REFILMED
TO ASSURE LEGIBILITY OR TO
CORRECT A POSSIBLE ERROR***

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FINDINGS

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The statistical findings concerning each of the major stratification dimensions--economic, normative, relational, and party--are discussed in terms of their theoretical implications for the emergence of a lower white collar and a skilled blue collar strata predicted earlier in this thesis. In addition, the importance of these findings for the hierarchial arrangement of the "old" and "new" strata is also examined, particularly in relation to the concept of realignment developed in the first chapter. The findings, presented in Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 which follow in this chapter, refer to economic, normative, relational, and party concept sets respectively. Because

of the extensive amount of information contained in each of the four tables, Appendix B contains a brief explanation of the common format of these tables. This supplement is offered in order to facilitate interpretation and to guide readers encountering difficulty.

Some general caveats need to be noted before the description of the results begins. These caveats stem from the fact that out of the twenty strata delineated in Chapter II, only four strata were chosen for the analysis in this thesis. Thus, with respect to the discussion and implications drawn from the analysis, the reader is cautioned to remember that only a small section of the total stratification hierarchy is being considered in this thesis.

Another salient consideration is related to the fact that these four strata are aligned relatively closely to each other within the total stratification hierarchy. Thus, if and when no statistically significant differences are indicated among the four strata via the F-test, the strata means may well be varying totally by chance and any implications drawn from the rank ordering of these means becomes somewhat tenuous, at least in a statistical sense. This may indicate that although the strata do not hold "tied ranks" in the statistical sense, they do occupy essentially analogous substantive positions within the hierarchy when their means are compared.

However, it must also be remembered that important differences may exist among the strata even though no statistically significant differences are obtained via the F-tests, or even though only limited statistical differences are indicated via the t-tests. The fact that in some cases no significant statistical differences are found will in and of itself hold important implications in relation to the question

of stratification diversification and realignment. These implications will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter when such situations are encountered.

One final caution is offered to the reader. Even though some of the variables used in this analysis are appropriate operationalizations of the concepts, these same variables may not be efficient in differentiating among the four strata used in this analysis. That is, because the four strata adjoin each other in the stratification hierarchy, the operationalization may be most effective in denoting differences between strata which are further apart in the hierarchy. Once again, lack of statistical significance should not be allowed to obscure implications for the stratification hierarchy which are not clearly evident but are yet very important.

Economic Concepts

Income Variables

The findings which pertain to the income component of the economic concept set are reported in the first panel of Table 5 in the format described in Appendix B.

(Table 5 about here)

As indicated by the significant F-ratios in the second and fourth rows of the first panel, overall support was found for Hypothesis 1 which postulated significant differences existing among the four strata when they are compared across levels of personal and total family income.

The strata means across personal and total family income were generally found to be ranked as was hypothesized in Corollary 1-1. The embourgeoisified blue collar stratum, (M-SBC), has the highest

Table 5. Summary Statistics for Economic Concepts

Concept Set	Variables	Hypothesized Rankings ^a				F- ^b Ratios	Sig. ^c t-tests
		Mean (Standard Deviation) N-size (Relative Ranking)					
Income		(M-SBC)	(M-LWC)	(W-SBC)	(W-LWC)		
	INC	8.444 (2.301) N=72 (1)	8.077 (2.841) N=52 (2)	7.690 (2.370) N=126 (3)	7.118 (2.840) N=51 (4)	3.115*	d
	FAMINC	9.371 (1.920) N=70 (2)	9.509 (2.145) N=53 (1)	8.531 (2.069) N=130 (3)	8.337 (2.459) N=53 (4)	4.964*	b,c,d,e

Nonincome Rewards		(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)		
	UNEMP	1.724 (0.451) N=58 (2)	1.743 (0.440) N=74 (1)	1.717 (0.455) N=53 (3)	1.609 (0.490) N=138 (4)	1.812	
	NONINC	1.724 (0.451) N=58 (1)	1.660 (0.478) N=53 (2)	1.581 (0.497) N=74 (4)	1.609 (0.490) N=138 (3)	1.146	

Subjective Economic Evaluation		(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)		
	FINSAT	1.745 (0.544) N=57 (1)	1.905 (0.762) N=74 (2)	2.057 (0.745) N=53 (3)	2.088 (0.722) N=137 (4)	3.469*	b,c
	ECONSIT	1.500 (0.707) N=58 (1)	1.649 (0.711) N=74 (2)	1.943 (0.795) N=53 (3)	1.986 (0.801) N=138 (4)	7.247*	b,c,e

Table 5. (Continued)

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- a The hypothesized rankings of the strata are presented in a line across each panel above the specific variable to which the alignment applies. That is, the order in which the findings are presented for a specific variable follows the hypothesized ranking of the strata, the ranking being derived from the related corollary. The hypothesized rankings will change with each concept set and may also change for variables within a concept set. When the hypothesized rankings change, this change is portrayed in a new line across the middle of the panel and the findings per strata for each variable are then presented in this order. The findings for each strata are presented in the format shown in the column heading.
- b F-tests: Alpha level of significance = .05 -- Significant tests indicated by *.
- c T-tests: Alpha level of significance per test = .017.

<u>Test</u>	<u>Pair</u>
a	(M-LWC) (M-SBC)
b	(M-LWC) (W-LWC)
c	(M-LWC) (W-SBC)
d	(M-SBC) (W-LWC)
e	(M-SBC) (W-SBC)
f	(W-LWC) (W-SBC)

average personal and family income followed, in descending order, by the middle class white collar workers, (M-LWC), the working class blue collar workers, (W-SBC), and the proletarianized white collar workers, (W-LWC). The only exception to the hypothesized ranking across total family income occurs where the (M-SBC) and the (M-LWC) strata are interchanged. Thus, although the embourgeoisified stratum has the highest average personal income, the white collar middle class identifiers have the highest level of total family income.

In addition, when the t-test procedure is used to test for the significant differences in relation to personal income which were postulated between every possible pair of strata in Corollary 1-1, the only significant difference found was between the highest and lowest strata mean incomes, specifically between the (M-SBC) and the (W-LWC) strata respectively. However, when employing the t-test procedure to check for the significant differences between every possible pair of strata across levels of total family income, (FAMINC), which was also hypothesized in Corollary 1-1, only two pairs were found not to differ significantly. Specifically, statistical differences were not found between the two highest strata, (M-LWC) and (M-SBC), nor were differences obtained between the two lowest strata, (W-SBC) and (W-LWC).

In terms of strata diversification, the findings outlined above are important. Based on the specific statistically significant differences obtained via the t-tests, it is evident that the lower white collar and skilled blue collar groups of workers have each separated into two distinct strata. In addition, the absence of statistically significant differences between the embourgeoisified

workers and the lower white collar identifiers, on the one hand, and the skilled blue collar working class identifiers and the proletarianized workers, on the other, is also of importance. The process of embourgeoisement and proletarianization appears to have resulted in separate strata in terms of family income within lower white collar and skilled blue collar strata so that some lower white collar workers do not differ much from some skilled blue collar workers. Likewise, some groups of skilled blue collar workers are no longer very different from some lower white collar workers in terms of family income. These same changes also can be noted in terms of personal income, where traditional lower white collar and skilled blue collar income differentials have disappeared to such an extent that the greatest difference between these four strata is now between the embourgeoisified and the proletarianized workers, with the former having the greater average personal income.

The comparisons of hypothesized and actual rankings of the strata across income variables also yield important implications. Not only have the white and blue collar workers experienced further strata diversification, but present results also suggest that strata which are emerging have also changed greatly in their relative position to each other and to their respective counterparts. For example, the embourgeoisified workers not only have higher incomes than their blue collar counterparts, but their income level is also higher than either of the white collar strata. The opposite is true for the proletarianized white collar workers who now have a lower income than the average skilled blue collar worker.

The discrepancy noted in the interchanged positions of the (M-SBC) and the (M-LWC) strata may in part be consistent with those findings of other research which has been done. For example, Mackenzie (1973:37) noted that white collar family incomes are often higher due to the fact that "earnings of the wives of white collar workers appear on the average to be higher than those of the wives of craftsmen."

In addition, it has been noted by some authors (see for example Rinehart, 1971) that middle class, white collar workers continue to have an advantage over other white and blue collar workers in the availability of sources of income other than salary and in the availability of better paying jobs for other family members.

Whatever the reason may be for this departure from the hypothesized rankings, it remains evident that the lower white collar and skilled blue collar strata have been further stratified and that these strata are becoming realigned so that, in terms of income, embourgeoisified workers are better off than, or at least equal to, some lower white collar workers and that proletarianized workers are equal to or less well off than some skilled blue collar workers.

Nonincome Reward Variables

The findings which pertain to the economic concept of non-income rewards are reported in the second panel of Table 5. Once again, these findings are presented in the common format outlined in Appendix B.

There were two variables used in the nonincome reward concept set, specifically, (UNEMP), a measure of the extent of a worker's

unemployment, and (NONINC), a measure of the extent of a worker's available nonincome benefits such as sick pay and insurance. It was postulated that significant differences existed among the four strata across levels of (UNEMP) and (NONINC). As indicated by the F-ratios in the second and fourth rows of the middle panel, no support is indicated for Hypothesis 2 nor for Hypothesis 3. Thus, it follows that the significant differences hypothesized between each strata pair in the second part of Corollaries 2-1 and 3-1 for levels of unemployment and nonincome benefits, respectively, were also not empirically supported. (The absence of lower-case letters to the right of either F-ratio also indicates that no significant statistical differences were found between any strata pair via the t-test procedure.)

However, partial support was found for the rankings also posited in Corollaries 2-1 and 3-1 for unemployment and nonincome benefit levels. When comparing levels of unemployment, only one slight departure was found from the hypothesized rankings. The middle class white collar workers had the least degree of unemployment followed in increasing levels of unemployment by the embourgeoisified workers, the proletarianized workers, and the working class skilled blue collar workers. The only difference was the interchanged positions of the two highest strata, (M-LWC) and (M-SBC), with the latter exhibiting the lesser degree of unemployment.

Across levels of nonincome benefits, only the lower two strata were interchanged from the hypothesized ranking of Corollary 3-1 which predicted middle class white collar workers would have the greatest availability of nonincome benefits, followed in decreasing order of availability by the proletarianized workers, the embourgeoisified

stratum, and the working class blue collar stratum. Results indicate that embourgeoisified workers, (M-SBC), exhibit the least degree of (NONINC), or the greatest degree of having had to accept some form of government aid in lieu of receiving similar benefits from their employers.

Despite the lack of statistical significance, the results just described are still of importance in terms of strata diversification and realignment. One major implication which the findings suggest is that the traditional white collar and blue collar differential across levels of nonincome rewards appear to have been substantially diminished.

Although the strata means do not differ greatly as indicated by the lack of statistical significance, the means differ enough to indicate that there has been additional diversification of the white collar and blue collar strata. This is especially evident within the blue collar strata where the embourgeoisified workers and the working class identifiers have the lowest and highest levels of average unemployment respectively.

The closeness of the means and the lack of significance also make tenuous the implications posited concerning the hierarchial arrangement of these four strata. But, once again, the rank ordering of strata means across levels of (UNEMP) indicates that some skilled blue collar workers, specifically embourgeoisified workers, have attained an advantage in nonincome benefits over not only their blue collar counterparts but also over lower white collar workers.

In general, though, the findings which relate to nonincome benefits offer only limited support for the propositions of increasing

strata distinctions and modification of the middle sector of the stratification hierarchy. Both the middle class identifiers and the proletarianized sectors of the white collar strata are still at an advantage in terms of nonincome benefits when compared to the blue collar strata. These findings are consistent with other research findings. For example, Rinehart (1971:152) noted that while the advantage is not great, "office workers in the United States still enjoy an edge over plant workers in regard to fringe benefits."

Subjective Evaluation Variables

The findings which pertain to the concept set of how workers subjectively evaluate their economic position are presented in the third panel of Table 5.

Two variables were used to operationalize this concept, the workers' subjective financial satisfaction, (FINSAT), and the workers' subjective evaluation of their financial situation, (ECONSIT). The F-ratios, found in the second and fourth rows of the panel, were both significant at the .05 level and thus support is offered for Hypothesis 4 which postulated significant differences among the four strata across levels of (FINSAT) and (ECONSIT).

In addition, the strata means were rank ordered exactly as hypothesized across levels of financial satisfaction and subjective financial evaluation. As was posited in Corollary 4-1, the strata were ranked with the middle class white collar workers having the greatest financial satisfaction and most favorable financial evaluation, followed in descending degrees of satisfaction and favorable evaluation by the embourgeoisified workers, the proletarianized stratum, and the working class blue collar workers.

However, all of the significant differences between each possible pair of strata which were also posited in Corollary 4-1 were not found. As denoted by the lower-case letters to the right of the F-ratios, the only significant differences across levels of (FINSAT) were between the stratum with the greatest satisfaction, (M-LWC), and the two strata with the lowest degree of satisfaction, (W-LWC) and (W-SBC). Likewise, across levels of subjective perception of financial situation, no significant differences were found via the t-test between adjacent strata, but differences were found between all of the non-adjacent strata. Thus, the last part of Corollary 4-1 was only partially supported.

These findings which relate to economic evaluations hold very important implications, especially since they are based upon the workers' own perceptions rather than on an objective measure often chosen arbitrarily by researchers. The processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization appear to have created further heterogeneity within the white collar and blue collar strata in that the workers themselves, based on their subjective satisfaction and financial evaluation, perceive two unique strata within each larger grouping. For example, there were significant statistical differences between the middle class identifiers and the proletarianized sectors of the white collar strata, both in degree of financial satisfaction and in favorableness of their subjective financial evaluation. Likewise, these differences exist within the blue collar strata indicating increasing strata diversification.

These same findings also have import concerning the hierarchial arrangement of these four strata in the area of subjective economic

evaluations. As with the income variables, the present results suggest that as these additional strata are emerging, their position relative one to another is also changing. Although the middle class white collar workers maintain the greatest degree of satisfaction and express the most favorable financial evaluation, the embourgeoisified workers now have greater satisfaction and more favorable evaluations than does the (M-LWC) counterpart, the proletarianized stratum. The major division in relation to subjective economic evaluation no longer appears between the white and blue collar strata but rather between the middle and working class identifiers.

Normative Concepts

The findings which pertain to normative concepts are presented in Table 6 and follow the format delineated in Appendix B.

(Table 6 about here)

Religiosity Variables

As set forth in Chapter 3, two variables were used to operationalize religiosity, specifically, religious intensity, (RELINT), and religious service attendance, (RELATD). The findings related to religiosity are presented in the first panel of Table 6. As before, the F-ratios for each of the variables are presented in the second and fourth rows of the panel. When one examines the F-ratios for levels of (RELINT) and (RELATD), conflicting results are observed. When considering levels of religious intensity, no support was found for Hypothesis 5 which postulated significant differences among the four strata. However, when considering levels of religious service attendance, the opposite is found; that is, the F-ratio is significant, thus

Table 6. Summary Statistics for Normative Concepts

Concept Set	Variables	Hypothesized Rankings ^a				F- ^b Ratios	Sig. ^c t-tests
		Mean (Standard Deviation)	N-size (Relative Ranking)				
Religiosity	RELINT	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	0.205	
		1.708 (0.459) N=48	1.690 (0.466) N=71	1.660 (0.479) N=47	1.719 (0.451) N=121		
	RELATD	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	2.833*	c
		4.276 (2.732) N=58	3.838 (2.543) N=74	3.434 (2.664) N=53	3.124 (2.796) N=137		

Satisfaction with Life	JOBSAT	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	0.159	
		1.561 (0.824) N=57	1.652 (0.764) N=69	1.615 (0.820) N=52	1.634 (0.760) N=123		
	NOWKSAT	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	1.514	
		2.466 (1.273) N=58	2.257 (1.111) N=74	2.623 (1.348) N=53	2.674 (1.622) N=138		
	FAMSAT	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	1.616	
		2.103 (1.570) N=58	1.716 (0.884) N=74	1.943 (1.336) N=53	2.116 (1.445) N=138		
	FRDSAT	(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)	0.143	
		2.086 (0.960) N=58	2.137 (1.158) N=73	2.226 (1.219) N=53	2.167 (1.230) N=138		

Family and Sex Roles	ROLES	(M-LWC)	(W-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-SBC)	4.350*	c
		1.839 (0.371) N=56	1.698 (0.463) N=53	1.676 (0.471) N=71	1.576 (0.496) N=132		

Table 6. (Continued)

a The hypothesized rankings of the strata are presented in a line across each panel above the specific variable to which the alignment applies. That is, the order in which the findings are presented for a specific variable follows the hypothesized ranking of the strata, the ranking being derived from the related corollary. The hypothesized rankings will change with each concept set and may also change for variables within a concept set. When the hypothesized rankings change, this change is portrayed in a new line across the middle of the panel and the findings per strata for each variable are then presented in this order. The findings for each strata are presented in the format shown in the column heading.

b F-tests: Alpha level of significance = .05 -- Significant tests indicated by *.

c T-tests: Alpha level of significance per test = .017

<u>Test</u>	<u>Pair</u>
a	(M-LWC) (M-SBC)
b	(M-LWC) (W-LWC)
c	(M-LWC) (W-SBC)
d	(M-SBC) (W-LWC)
e	(M-SBC) (W-SBC)
f	(W-LWC) (W-SBC)

indicating support for Hypothesis 5 which was advanced in the previous chapter.

In addition, the rankings of the strata means obtained are in conflict with the rankings hypothesized in Corollary 5-1. When comparing across levels of attendance, the strata were aligned exactly as hypothesized, with the middle class white collar workers having the greatest mean attendance followed in descending order by the embourgeoisified stratum, the proletarianized stratum, and the working class blue collar stratum. When comparing across levels of religious intensity however, the strata means are ranked quite differently than was hypothesized in Corollary 5-1. It should be stressed that the differences between strata across levels of (RELINT) were not significantly different statistically and that the means varied only slightly, ranging from the greatest mean intensity, 1.660 in the proletarianized stratum, to the least mean level of intensity, 1.719, found in the working class skilled blue collar stratum.

Following from the absence of a significant F-ratio, there were no statistical differences obtained between any pair of strata across levels of (RELINT) via t-test procedures. Similarly, across levels of religious service attendance, only one significant difference was found, that being the difference between the highest and lowest mean levels of attendance found in the (M-LWC) and the (W-SBC) strata respectively.

Despite the seemingly conflicting results, interesting and important implications are evident. The author of this thesis perceives at least one possible explanation for the conflicting findings.

Whether (RELINT) or (RELATD) is examined, it is clear that there is very little, if any, variation in the religiosity of the four strata under consideration in this study. Thus, it is possible that most people in these four strata are just about equally religious as measured by these variables. This itself is an important finding since it may indicate that the process of embourgeoisement and proletarianization has decreased the differences in degree of religiosity previously found to exist between white collar and blue collar workers (see Goode, 1966; Matras, 1975).

Whatever the exact reason for the conflicting results, there is enough consistency in the findings to conclude that, based on the differences in strata means, additional diversification of the white collar and blue collar strata has occurred. Because of the lack of statistical significance, the closeness of the means, and the conflicting results, conclusions concerning possible strata realignment across levels of religiosity would be extremely tenuous at best and therefore will not be attempted.

Satisfaction with Life Variables

The findings which pertain to the concept set of satisfaction with life are presented in the second panel of Table 6. For this concept set, four variables were employed: the amount of satisfaction the worker derives from his job, (JOBSAT), from his non-work activities, (NOWKSAT), from his family, (FAMSAT), and from his friends, (FRDSAT). As the F-ratios reported in the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth rows of the panels indicate, there is no support for Hypothesis 6 which posited significant differences among the four strata when comparing levels of (JOBSAT), (NOWKSAT), (FAMSAT), and

(FRDSAT). As would be expected from these results, there were no significant differences found via the t-tests between any pair of strata across levels of any one of these variables. None of the t-tests yielded significant t-ratios and, thus, no support was obtained for the latter half of Corollary 6-1 which postulated significant differences between each of the strata across all of the variables in this concept set.

In addition, when comparing the hypothesized rankings of the strata with those obtained in the analysis, only very limited support was obtained for the first part of Corollary 6-1 which proposed that the middle class white collar workers would have the greatest satisfaction in all areas, followed in decreasing order by the embourgeoisified stratum, the proletarianized stratum, and the working class blue collar stratum. When compared across levels of all four variables, the actual rankings of the strata means only in a general sense followed the hypothesized rankings. In each case, there is some variation from the postulated rankings, such as two strata interchanging positions, as in the case of levels of non-work and friend satisfactions. In some instances three strata were found to rank in the hypothesized order but with the additional stratum completely out of place in relation to the hypothesized alignment of Corollary 6-1. This was the case, for example, when the means across levels of job satisfaction were ranked.

Once again, the closeness of the strata means across each variable in this concept set and the lack of statistical significance make it difficult to forward any definite conclusions in relation to the question of possible realignment of the strata in terms of

satisfaction with life. However, the absence of statistical significance is again important in and of itself in that traditional patterns of satisfaction drawn from work, non-work activities, family, and friends as noted by other researchers appear to be in a state of flux (see for example Parsler, 1971; LeMasters, 1975; Mackenzie, 1973; Shostak, 1969). Patterns of differences found by these researchers differ considerably from the patterns obtained in this study. The processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization appear to have resulted in alterations of the white collar and blue collar strata to the extent that additional strata distinctions have been formed as indicated by the differing mean levels of satisfaction among the strata.

In addition, the processes appear to be modifying the stratification hierarchy so that traditional white collar and blue collar differentials are diminishing to the extent that some skilled blue collar workers, specifically the embourgeoisified workers, now have levels of satisfaction from various areas which exceed either one or both sectors of the white collar strata in every area except job satisfaction.

Family and Sex Role Variable

The findings which pertain to the concept set of family and sex role conceptualizations are presented in the third panel of Table 6. Only one variable was used to operationalize this concept, specifically, (ROLES), which is a measure of the amount of agreement with traditional role conceptions considered appropriate in the area of family and sex distinctions.

As can be noted by the significant F-ratio presented in the second row of the panel, support was indicated for Hypothesis 7 which postulated significant differences among the four strata when comparing levels of agreement with traditional role conceptions. In addition, the actual rankings of the strata means agree exactly with the alignment hypothesized in Corollary 7-1. It was hypothesized that the middle class white collar stratum would have the least amount of agreement followed in ascending degree of agreement by the proletarianized stratum, the embourgeoisified stratum, and the working class skilled blue collar stratum.

However, when testing for significant differences between each possible pair of strata as hypothesized in the last half of Corollary 7-1, only one significant difference was found via t-test procedures. The only statistically significant difference found was that between the stratum with the least agreement with traditional role conceptions, (M-LWC), and the stratum with the greatest agreement, (W-SBC).

Some general implications can be drawn from these findings in relation to the possibility of strata diversification and realignment. Although only one statistically significant difference was found via t-test procedures, it is still apparent that additional strata may be emerging from both the white collar and blue collar strata. This apparent phenomenon of emerging strata is highlighted by the fact that the means of the proletarianized and embourgeoisified workers are very close, 1.698 and 1.676 respectively. This closeness of these two strata means and their relative position to their respective counterparts' means also indicates that a degree of strata

realignment may be occurring. As proletarianized and embourgeoisified strata move downward and upward through the stratification hierarchy respectively, they begin approaching the traditional white collar-blue collar dividing line. Although a white collar-blue collar normative division still exists somewhat as measured by this variable, (ROLES), the fact remains that present findings indicate strata realignment along normative dimensions has been initiated by the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization.

Relational Concepts

The findings which pertain to the relational concept set are presented in Table 7 according to the format followed thus far. The findings relating to the concept set involving patterns of social interaction are reported in the first panel of that table followed by findings relating to organizational membership in the second panel.

(Table 7 about here)

Patterns of Social Interaction Variables

In all, three variables were employed within this concept set: the amount of time spent socially with relatives, (SOCREL), with neighbors, (SOCNGH), and with friends from outside the neighborhood, (SOCFRD). As the reader will see through examination of the F-ratios presented in the second, fourth, and seventh rows of the first panel of Table 7, none of the ratios were found to be significant. Thus, no support was found for Hypothesis 8 which postulated significant differences among the four strata when compared across levels of (SOCREL), (SOCNGH), and (SOCFRD).

Table 7. Summary Statistics for Relational Concepts

Concept Set	Variables	Hypothesized Rankings ^a				F- ^b Ratios	Sig. ^c t-tests
		Mean (Standard Deviation)		N-size (Relative Ranking)			
Patterns of Interaction		(W-SBC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(M-LWC)		
	SOCREL	3.428 (1.661) N=138 (2)	3.500 (1.590) N=74 (3)	3.340 (1.454) N=53 (1)	3.845 (1.436) N=58 (4)	1.209	
	SOCNGH	4.238 (2.207) N=138 (4)	4.176 (1.989) N=74 (2)	4.094 (1.821) N=53 (1)	4.224 (1.697) N=58 (3)	0.079	
	SOCFRD	(M-LWC) 3.879 (1.229) N=58 (3)	(W-LWC) 3.736 (1.430) N=53 (2)	(M-SBC) 3.730 (1.446) N=74 (1)	(W-SBC) 4.007 (1.614) N=138 (4)	0.747	

Organizational Membership		(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)		
	MEMFRT	1.667 (0.476) N=57 (1)	1.743 (0.440) N=74 (2)	1.887 (0.320) N=53 (3)	1.895 (0.308) N=133 (4)	6.434 *	b, c, e
	MEMSER	1.804 (0.401) N=56 (1)	1.919 (0.275) N=74 (3)	1.962 (0.192) N=53 (4)	1.917 (0.276) N=133 (2)	3.093 *	b
	MEMVET	1.804 (0.401) N=56 (1)	1.878 (0.329) N=74 (2)	1.943 (0.233) N=53 (4)	1.910 (0.288) N=133 (3)	2.152	
	MEMSCH	1.875 (0.334) N=56 (1)	1.892 (0.313) N=74 (3)	1.887 (0.320) N=53 (2)	1.910 (0.288) N=133 (4)	0.197	

Table 7. (Continued).

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- a The hypothesized rankings of the strata are presented in a line across each panel above the specific variable to which the alignment applies. That is, the order in which the findings are presented for a specific variable follows the hypothesized ranking of the strata, the ranking being derived from the related corollary. The hypothesized rankings will change with each concept set and may also change for variables within a concept set. When the hypothesized rankings change, this change is portrayed in a new line across the middle of the panel and the findings per strata for each variable are then presented in this order. The findings for each strata are presented in the format shown in the column heading.
- b F-tests: Alpha level of significance = .05 -- Significant tests indicated by *.
- c T-tests: Alpha level of significance per test = .017

<u>Test</u>	<u>Pair</u>
a	(M-LWC) (M-SBC)
b	(M-LWC) (W-LWC)
c	(M-LWC) (W-SBC)
d	(M-SBC) (W-LWC)
e	(M-SBC) (W-SBC)
f	(W-LWC) (W-SBC)

This absence of significant differences is also reflected in the fact that none of the results yielded by the t-tests were significant. Thus, the differences between each of the pairs of strata hypothesized in Corollary 8-1 for the variables (SOCREL) and (SOCNGH) and hypothesized in Corollary 8-2 for the variable (SOCFRD), were not supported.

Likewise, when comparing the actual ranking of the strata means across levels of interaction with relatives and neighbors, little agreement was found with the hypothesized rankings of Corollary 8-1. It was hypothesized that the working class skilled blue collar workers would have the greatest average amount of interaction with relatives and neighbors followed in decreasing amounts of interaction by the embourgeoisified stratum, the proletarianized stratum, and the middle class white collar stratum. Likewise, little agreement was found with the hypothesized rankings of Corollary 8-2. It was posited that the rank ordering of strata means across levels of interaction with non-neighborhood friends would be exactly reversed from the ordering of means across levels of (SOCREL) and (SOCNGH). In both cases, the four means are rank ordered very differently from the hypothesized rankings. Thus, neither Corollary 8-1 or 8-2 was supported.

However, despite the complete lack of statistical support for either the hypothesis or the corollaries, some interesting insights into the middle sector of the stratification system can be derived. Although the means are close and have fairly large standard deviations (ranging from 1.229 to 2.207) and thus make it difficult

to clearly specify the substantive significance in the findings, the differences at least indicate that some movement is occurring within the middle ranges of the stratification hierarchy. For example, across levels of (SOCREL) and (SOCNGH) the proletarianized strata ranks the highest and is separated from its counterpart by at least one intervening stratum. The same is true for the blue collar working class identifiers across levels of interaction with friends, as evidenced by the fact that the embourgeoisified stratum and its working class counterpart, (W-SBC), have the highest and lowest mean level of interaction respectively.

Organizational Membership Variables

The findings which pertain to the relational concept set of organizational membership are presented in the second panel of Table 7. As explicated in Chapter 3, four variables were employed in operationalizing this concept set--the workers' degree of participation in fraternal organizations, (MEMFRT), in service organizations, (MEMSER), in veterans' groups, (MEMVET), and in school service groups, (MEMSCH).

In general, support was obtained for Hypothesis 9 which postulated significant differences among the strata when they were compared across levels of organizational membership. The F-ratios presented in the second and fourth rows for the variables (MEMFRT) and (MEMSER), respectively, are both significant. On the other hand, the F-ratio for (MEMVET) presented in the sixth row approaches significance, ($p=.092$), while the F-ratio presented in the eighth row for the variable (MEMSCH) is not statistically significant.

With only a few exceptions, the rank ordering of the strata means for these four variables followed the rankings hypothesized in Corollary 9-1 which predicted that the (M-LWC) strata would have the highest rate of membership, followed in decreasing rates by the embourgeoisified stratum, the proletarianized stratum, and the (W-SBC) stratum. One exception is the interchanged positions of the two lowest strata means, the (W-SBC) and the (W-LWC) strata, found when comparing across levels of membership in veterans' groups. Likewise, across levels of school service group membership, the two middle strata, those considered as the embourgeoisified and the proletarianized strata in this thesis, are interchanged with the proletarianized workers having a slightly higher rate of participation in school service organizations. The major exception to the hypothesized rankings occurred across levels of membership in service organizations. In this case, the working class blue collar stratum which was hypothesized to have the least amount of membership actually has the second highest rate of membership. Across levels of membership in fraternal organizations, the actual ranking of the strata means is exactly as was hypothesized in Corollary 9-1.

Although significant differences between each pair of strata across levels of all four variables also were predicted in Corollary 9-1, few statistically significant differences were actually found. Since a significant F-ratio was not found for membership rates in veterans' or school groups, it was to be expected that there would be no significant t-tests on these variables. Across levels of membership in service organization, the only significant difference found was that between the lowest and highest mean rates of membership, those of the

proletarianized stratum and their white collar counterparts respectively. Across levels of membership in fraternal organizations, significant differences were found via the t-tests between three pairs of strata. Specifically, differences were found between the middle class white collar stratum and both the proletarianized stratum and the working class blue collar stratum. In addition, significant differences were found between the two segments of the blue collar strata.

These findings pertaining to rates of organizational membership provide important support for the possibility of strata diversification and realignment arising from the effects of the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization on the stratification system. Although the findings are not totally consistent across the four variables, it still is evident that additional distinct strata have emerged from the lower white collar stratum and the skilled blue collar stratum. Even when the differences between the four strata are not statistically significant, the differing means are close enough to indicate that the traditional dividing line noted between white collar and blue collar strata is being altered through the creation of additional strata.

As with previous relational concepts and with some normative concepts, a picture of the way in which the emerging strata are becoming aligned relative to one another is emerging. Many blue collar workers, specifically the embourgeoisified stratum, now have higher rates of organizational membership than some lower white collar workers. Conversely, the proletarianized stratum now has average rates of organizational membership which are lower than the average rates of either blue collar strata.

Party Concepts

The findings pertaining to party concepts are presented in Table 8. Findings pertaining specifically to the concept set of political views and identification are presented in the first panel of the Table, while findings concerning union membership are presented in the second panel.

(Table 8 about here)

Political Views and Identification Variables

Two variables were employed in the operationalization of this concept set, the workers' subjective political views measured on a seven-point liberal to conservative scale, (POLVWS), and an identification by the workers of their party affiliation measured on a seven-point Democratic to Republican party identification. As will be noted by checking the F-ratios presented in the second and fourth rows of the panel, for (POLVWS) and (POLID) respectively, conflicting results are found.

The F-ratio for the variable (POLID) is significant and offers support for Hypothesis 10 which posited significant differences among the strata when they were compared across levels of political identification. However, no support is offered by examining subjective political views since the F-ratio is not significant.

It was posited that the middle class white collar stratum would have the greatest amount of identification with the Republican Party followed in descending order by the embourgeoisified stratum, the proletarianized stratum, and the working class skilled blue collar stratum. When the actual means were ranked, the embourgeoisified and the proletarianized strata positions were interchanged from the

Table 8. Summary Statistics for Party Concepts

Concept Set	Variables	Hypothesized Rankings ^a				F- ^b Ratios	Sig. ^c t-tests
		Mean (Standard Deviation)		N-size (Relative Ranking)			
Political Views and Identification		(M-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-LWC)	(W-SBC)		
	POLVWS	4.088 (1.491) N=57 (2)	4.096 (1.169) N=73 (1)	3.943 (1.350) N=53 (4)	4.008 (1.228) N=130 (3)	0.195	
	POLID	3.070 (1.791) N=57 (1)	2.194 (1.820) N=72 (3)	2.569 (1.664) N=51 (2)	2.200 (1.749) N=130 (4)	3.784*	a, c

Union Membership		(M-LWC)	(W-LWC)	(M-SBC)	(W-SBC)		
	MEMUN	1.875 (0.334) N=56 (1)	1.679 (0.222) N=53 (2)	1.500 (0.503) N=74 (4)	1.634 (0.483) N=134 (3)	7.098*	a, b, c

a The hypothesized rankings of the strata are presented in a line across each panel above the specific variable to which the alignment applies. That is, the order in which the findings are presented for a specific variable follows the hypothesized ranking of the strata, the ranking being derived from the related corollary. The hypothesized rankings will change with each concept set and may also change for variables within a concept set. When the hypothesized rankings change, this change is portrayed in a new line across the middle of the panel and the findings per strata for each variable are then presented in this order. The findings for each strata are presented in the format shown in the column heading.

Table 8. (Continued)

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b F-tests: Alpha level of significance = .05 -- Significant tests indicated by *.

c T-tests: Alpha level of significance per test = .017

<u>Test</u>	<u>Pair</u>
a	(M-LWC) (M-SBC)
b	(M-LWC) (W-LWC)
c	(M-LWC) (W-SBC)
d	(M-SBC) (W-LWC)
e	(M-SBC) (W-SBC)
f	(W-LWC) (W-SBC)

hypothesized alignment and the proletarianized workers had the greater degree of identification with the Republican Party. However, when comparing this same ranking, which was also hypothesized across levels of (POLID), with the actual rank ordering of the strata means across levels of subjective political views, a minimum of agreement is found. Thus, a comparison of the hypothesized rankings of Corollary 10-1 with the actual rank ordering of the strata means obtained indicates that the corollary is only partially supported. Only one interchange in the positions of two strata was noted between the actual and hypothesized rankings across levels of (POLVWS), so that general support can be said to exist for Corollary 10-1.

The two strata with the greatest degree of subjectively conservative views, the (M-SBC) and (W-LWC) strata, were interchanged, as were the strata with the least degree of subjectively conservative views, the (W-SBC) and (W-LWC) strata. Thus, the strata means are actually aligned with the embourgeoisified stratum having the greatest degree of conservative identification followed in decreasing order of amount of conservative views by the middle class white collar stratum, the working class skilled blue collar stratum, and the proletarianized stratum.

As indicated by the lack of significant F-ratios, no statistically significant differences were found between any strata pair across levels of (POLVWS). However, across levels of (POLID) there were two significant differences found via the t-test procedure, these being the differences between the (M-LWC) stratum which had the greatest degree of identification with the Republican Party, and each of the two lowest strata, the two blue collar strata.

These findings relating to political views yield many interesting implications for the stratification system. The apparent discrepancy in the findings related to (POLVWS) and (POLID) variables may be due in part to the fact that the variables are measuring two separate but related aspects of party. In particular, the subjective political views variable may simply not be an efficient variable for distinguishing differences among these four closely related strata. Another problem in trying to compare the findings for these two variables lies in the differing degree of their subjectiveness (as compared to their objectiveness). While (POLVWS) asks the respondent for a subjective indication of his overall political views, the (POLID) variable indirectly obtains an objective measure of political identification.

Once again, the emergence of two distinct strata being effected by the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization is seen occurring across levels of political party identification and across levels of subjective political views. For example, across levels of (POLID), there are significant statistical differences between the proletarianized workers and their lower level, white collar counterparts. Across levels of (POLVWS), the blue collar strata has become differentiated to such an extent that the embourgeoisified sector now has a greater average amount of conservative identification than the middle class white collar stratum.

The variations of the actual rank ordering of the strata means from the hypothesized alignment do not present a well focused picture, but the differences in the relative alignment of the strata have major import. Even though new strata have emerged from within the

lower white collar strata and the skilled blue collar strata, the major division between strata across levels of Republican identifiers still occurs between white collar and blue collar workers. The mean identification of the proletarianized workers, 2.569, is closer to the mean identification of its white collar counterpart, (M-LWC) which is 3.070, than to either of the mean identifications of the embourgeoisified or the other sector of the blue collar workers, which had means of 2.194 and 2.200 respectively. It would appear, therefore, that beyond the emergence of new strata, no additional modification of the stratification hierarchy has yet occurred across levels of this concept set.

In the area of subjective political views some realignment appears to be occurring as witnessed by the fact that the proletarianized stratum, (M-LWC), aligns between the blue collar sectors, and the (W-SBC) places between the white collar sectors. It is interesting to note that, although blue collar workers have been traditionally more liberal than white collar workers, the embourgeoisified and working class sectors exhibit greater averages of conservative views than the white collar sector of middle class identifiers and proletarianized workers respectively. It is difficult to specify the importance of this alignment because of subjective political views being employed as a variable. The variable did not differentiate in regard to types of political views such as economic-political views, foreign policy views, domestic policy views, or any of the numerous types of political views which can be enumerated.

Union Membership Variable

The findings relating to the concept set of labor union membership appear in the second panel of Table 8. For this concept set, only one variable was used, (MEMUN), which is a measure of the labor union membership of workers. Overall support for Hypothesis 11, which postulated significant differences among the four strata across levels of (MEMUN), is found as is indicated by the significant F-ratio presented in the second row of the panel. Although Corollary 11-1 hypothesized significant differences between each pair of strata, only differences between the middle class white collar stratum and each of the other three strata were found to be statistically significant as is indicated by the lower-case letters to the right of the F-ratio for the variable (MEMUN).

The hypothesized ranking of the strata set forth in Corollary 11-1 posited that the (M-LWC) stratum would have the lowest average of union membership, followed in increasing levels of membership by the proletarianized workers, the embourgeoisified workers, and the working class blue collar stratum. When this alignment is compared to the actual rank ordering of the strata means, only the positions of two strata are interchanged. The strata with the highest average rates of labor union membership, (M-SBC) and (W-SBC), are interchanged indicating that the embourgeoisified workers have a higher average membership rate than do skilled blue collar working class identifiers.

Thus, support in general is obtained for Corollary 11-1. The implications of this support are important to the stratification system. No change in the hierarchical alignment appears to be

be occurring except for the very important emergence of additional strata. Of primary import is that fact that the proletarianized stratum now has average rates of union membership approaching the working class skilled blue collar workers, who have means of 1.679 and 1.634 respectively. In addition, the (W-LWC) stratum differs significantly from its white collar counterpart as indicated via the t-test procedure.

Thus, embourgeoisement and proletarianization processes appear to have facilitated the formation of distinct, additional strata within the middle ranges of the stratification hierarchy. However, no major realignment of the strata's relative positions to each other has occurred, although there is a degree of movement developing as indicated in the discussion in the immediately preceding paragraph.

Summary

In this chapter, the findings pertaining to each of the major dimensions, i.e., economic, normative, relational, and party, have been outlined. Additionally, an attempt has been made to extract from these findings salient implications which bear upon the possible phenomenon of strata diversification and hierarchy realignment arising from the effects of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. In the following chapter, these implications which have been discussed will be summarized and general conclusions will be drawn which will link the findings to the more abstract theoretical development of Chapter I and the orienting statements.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Many significant implications relating to the middle sector of the stratification system can be extracted from the discussion of the findings of this thesis presented in the previous chapter. Some of these implications have far reaching significance for the middle range of the stratification hierarchy in terms of the major dimensions of stratification--class, status, and party. An attempt will be made in the following discussion to summarize some of the changes within the middle range of the class system which have arisen from the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. The implications of the findings of this thesis concerning diversification and **realignment** of strata will be discussed separately and an attempt will be made to relate this discussion to the problem developed in Chapter I. In addition, some directions for further research will be proposed which follow from the findings of this thesis.

Diversification Reconsidered

The findings of this thesis offer strong support for the argument that the processes of proletarianization and embourgeoisement have affected further diversification within the middle range of the stratification hierarchy. These processes have enhanced the

emergence of new lower-level white collar and skilled blue collar strata. As the discussion in the previous chapter indicated, the emergence of these strata is most clearly visible when viewed from the standpoint of the economic dimension of class. In terms of several economic aspects of stratification this thesis has found that strata of embourgeoisified and proletarianized workers are clearly distinguishable from the blue collar and white collar strata from which they have emerged.

However, the support in this thesis for positing additional strata diversification is not as conclusive when the implications drawn from the findings relating to normative, relational, and party dimensions are considered. Although these findings may not be as clear as those dealing with economic issues, the general pattern of the results does also indicate that new strata are becoming distinguishable. Thus, the strong support found in this thesis for strata diversification on economic grounds in conjunction with the less consistent but still observable support offered for strata diversification on status and party grounds, is consistent with previous research.

A number of recent researchers have begun to emphasize the fact that embourgeoisement and proletarianization may be effecting the formation of separate, autonomous strata (see Mackenzie, 1973; Form, 1975; Hamilton, 1965). The findings of this thesis lend additional support for the conclusion that additional strata are being differentiated by and through the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization.

There are two additional insights which may assist in clearer elucidation of the effects of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. Both are suggested by the findings of this thesis, especially when the results are viewed in relation to prior research. The first important consideration is that embourgeoisement and proletarianization are both processes which are altering the economic positions and lifestyles of workers within the middle range of the stratification hierarchy, but they are not necessarily identical processes. The two processes are affecting simultaneous changes in sections of both blue collar and white collar strata but the findings of this thesis suggest that the changes within each strata are not necessarily occurring at the same rate. Depending upon the variables used to assess strata differences, the embourgeoisified and the proletarianized strata may be emerging at different rates. Thus, differences between proletarianized workers and their white collar counterparts are not always equivalent to differences between the embourgeoisified workers and their blue collar counterparts.

A second consideration, closely related to the first, is that the strata emergence will occur at differing rates, dependent upon which aspect of social class is considered--economic, normative, relational or party. As indicated by the findings of this thesis, it is often the case that emerging strata are more clearly distinguishable on some but not all aspects of stratification. This means that it is possible for the embourgeoisified and/or proletarianized strata to be clearly distinguished economically, for example, but not clearly distinguished normatively or relationally.

Based upon the findings of this thesis, strong support can be posited for the delineation of separate strata economically, and although the evidence is not as conclusive, support can also be posited for the conclusion that some strata diversification is also occurring along normative, relational and party aspects of stratification.

The additional strata which are emerging from within the white collar and blue collar sectors have been delineated in this thesis according to the workers' own identification with the "working class" or "middle class." Although this thesis has not attempted to deal with the question of how these subjective identifications came about, it is clear that increased social differentiation is leading to the acceptance and/or maintenance of a "middle class" orientation by some blue collar workers and of a "working class" orientation by some white collar workers. As pointed out by Jelin (1974:7) for example, many white collar workers no longer have a basis for perceiving their position as a privileged one. Conversely, embourgeoisification has provided a basis for many blue collar workers to begin perceiving their position as more privileged.

The results of this thesis suggest that although some blue collar workers have become clearly different from other blue collar workers and may now have a "middle class" identification, they are not similar in all respects to white collar workers with "middle class" subjective identifications, as has been posited by massification theorists. Increasing diversification also does not mean that white collar workers who have become proletarianized and now support a "working class" identification have or will become similar in all respects to blue collar workers who identify as "working class."

Rather, the findings of this thesis indicate that the strata which are emerging can be clearly differentiated from each other, from the stratum from which they emerged, and from those strata which have previously had similar subjective class conceptions, the degree of all such differentiation varying with the criterion variable employed.

Evidence from this thesis indicates that within the middle range of the stratification hierarchy, there are now four distinct strata which can be at least generally distinguished from one another across the dimensions of class, status, and party. However, conclusive evidence is not yet available to determine the positions within the stratification hierarchy which these four strata will eventually hold relative to one another. It is possible, however, to use the findings of this research which pertain to this question for speculative purposes.

Realignment Reconsidered

As indicated by the results presented in the last chapter, the four strata discussed in this thesis now appear to be in a state of flux and are rank ordered in a variety of possible permutations, depending upon the dimension of the stratification system being considered. A general picture, however incomplete, does emerge from these findings. The new strata not only have separated from their blue collar and white collar counterparts, but when the strata are rank ordered across a number of criterion variables, the embourgeoisified and proletarianized strata appear to have departed from traditional patterns of white collar and blue collar dichotomies within the stratification hierarchy.

For example, across certain economic variables, this departure from traditional patterns is clearly evident. Across subjective economic evaluations, the strata align exactly as the "basic, logical alignment" proposed in Chapter I; that is, in a hierarchy of white collar workers followed in order by embourgeoisified workers, proletarianized workers, and blue collar workers. This realignment is even more evident across income variables where proletarianized workers rank lowest while embourgeoisified workers are ranked either first or second. Thus, emerging strata and their more traditional counterparts are assuming new relative positions. The new hierarchical alignment is rather different from the traditional manual-nonmanual or skilled-unskilled dichotomies.

The findings in this thesis obtained in relation to status and party dimensions of stratification are not as supportative of this realignment as are the findings relating to the economic dimension of stratification. Nevertheless, such variables as church attendance, satisfaction with friends, and organizational memberships can be viewed as indicating that there is an emerging pattern of alignment in which the embourgeoisified workers are consistently ranked higher than the proletarianized workers. Thus, based on results of the present thesis, the realignment occurring across status and party aspects is not yet complete.

Embourgeoisement and Proletarianization Reconsidered

The findings of this thesis support the conclusion that increasing economic and social differentiation, a process which has been of concern to sociologists for the last century (see for example,

Durkheim, 1933), is effecting major structural changes within the stratification hierarchy through the processes of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. There is strong evidence in this thesis for positing increased strata diversification due to embourgeoisement and proletarianization. There is also evidence to indicate that some type of strata realignment is occurring within the hierarchy.

It should be stressed, however, that although embourgeoisified workers are clearly differentiated from other blue collar workers, they are not "like" the middle class. Rather, white collar middle class identifiers continue to rank highest on two-thirds of the criterion variables used in this thesis. Proletarianized workers are not only clearly distinguishable from other white collar workers, they also rank the lowest or next to lowest across two-thirds of the variables used in this thesis. These results suggest that the process of embourgeoisement may be leading only to increased differentiation, while the process of proletarianization is leading both to increased strata differentiation and to a shift in the alignment of the strata. Thus, even though a distinguishable stratum of embourgeoisified workers is evident, it appears that they have only "become different" than other blue collar workers and have not yet "become like" the middle class. However, proletarianized workers have not only "become different" than other white collar workers, they have also "become similar" to blue collar workers.

In summary, the findings of this thesis offer clear support for the role of proletarianization in producing not only additional diversification, but also of producing the movement of an emergent strata across traditional boundaries such as the manual-nonmanual and

blue-white collar boundaries. Support is found only for the role of embourgeoisement in contributing to the diversification of the stratification hierarchy. Little or no support is found for the role of the embourgeoisement process in strata realignment.

Many of the conclusions offered by other researchers as evidence of massification or convergence are not totally inconsistent with the findings of this thesis, given that proletarianization and embourgeoisement are ongoing processes. It is important to note that many researchers began to consider the process of embourgeoisement and proletarianization and their effects at a time when these processes were first beginning to exhibit outward, visible effects within the stratification system. As time passes and as the dynamics of the stratification system continue to alter the hierarchy of strata, the effects of embourgeoisement and proletarianization upon this hierarchy will continue to become more clearly into focus. It will undoubtedly be necessary to replicate the analysis used in this thesis.

Directions for Further Research

A great deal of further research on this topic is necessary before any final implications and conclusions can be posited with respect to the entire stratification system. For example, although many variables were employed in this thesis, these variables were only a sampling of the issues involved in each dimension. In addition, only four strata of the twenty strata delineated were considered in this analysis. Thus, caution should be exercised when drawing generalizations about the entire stratification hierarchy based on the findings of this thesis. There is the possibility that the changes

observed in this thesis are unique to the four particular strata considered and to the time period during which data were collected. There were also limitations imposed by the fact that this thesis studied white males only. Obviously, further research is needed which involves the utilization of a wider range of variables within each dimension, the analysis of differences across all twenty strata, and the expansion of the analysis to include workers other than white males.

There are other salient questions addressed by other researchers which are also closely related to ways in which the research of this thesis can be extended. For example, the impact of a working wife upon family income and class orientations has been suggested (see for example, Mackenzie, 1973). Also noted has been the importance of distinguishing between workers who have come from "working class" backgrounds and those who have come from "middle class" backgrounds, (see for example, Hamilton, 1965, 1966). Many questions concerning the relation of these variables, specifically father's and wife's occupation, to the phenomenon of strata diversification and hierarchical realignment are still unanswered.

The findings of this thesis also raise interesting questions in relation to the implications concerning status congruency which was discussed briefly in Chapter I. Most of the research in the area of status congruency has been directed toward the specification of the effects of incongruent statuses for the individual. However, if some strata are being diversified and if bases for accepting or maintaining specific subjective identifications are changed, the "working class" perception held by a white collar worker or the "middle class"

perception held by a blue collar worker may no longer have the traditional effects of status incongruency. It is possible that within the middle sector, in particular, behavior and attitudes have been attributed to the effects of status incongruency while in actuality they are the visible manifestations of the embourgeoisement and/or proletarianization processes or are the outgrowth of these processes.

Finally, questions are raised by this thesis which concern the immediate and long-term effect for society brought about through the effects of embourgeoisement and proletarianization. Perhaps the most important questions left unanswered by this thesis involve the importance that these changes will hold for the lives of individual workers and the implications of these changes for the formation or elimination of working and middle class awareness and consciousness.

FOOTNOTES

1

It should be noted that very little Marxian connotation can be imputed to the terms embourgeoisement and proletarianization. They are simply terms to describe the general processes outlined in the chapter.

2

In fact, much of the early interest in embourgeoisement and proletarianization and in investigating changes in class and status was brought about by shifting voter patterns in Britain, the United States, Australia, and other industrial Western nations. To a great extent, investigation of stratification changes has involved and was prompted by political and "power" considerations.

3

For a more complete discussion of the distinction between abstract concepts and variables (concrete concepts) the reader is referred to Phillips' (1971:47-54) and Turner's (1974:3-5) discussion.

4

It should be briefly noted that the use of secondary data will place some restrictions of the variables available and thus the concepts selected for analysis. This will be further explicated in the following chapter.

5

Briefly, objective and subjective concepts and variables can be differentiated according to the relative origin of the criterion employed to define, evaluate or measure the concept. That is, objective concepts are those which proceed from the phenomenon known and are external in nature while subjective concepts proceed from an individual knowing and thus are based upon an individual's states

of thought and feeling.

6

Briefly defined, "traditional" sex and family role conceptualizations are those in which the female is assigned the responsibility of raising a family, providing for the home environment, and generally being only a mother and wife while the male is assigned the responsibility of working and providing for the family, of having authoritarian marital and family status, and of generally attending to matters outside of the immediate marriage and family. At all strata levels, husband and wife roles are sharply differentiated, but this role segregation is deepest in the working and lower strata (Rossides, 1976:178-179).

7

One objective measure of political behavior and involvement often used is that of voting patterns, especially in presidential elections (see Shostak, 1969; Glenn and Alston, 1968). The reasons for its exclusion from analysis in this thesis are explained more fully in the following chapter.

8

For greater detail concerning the sampling design and other specifications, the reader is referred to both the 1974 and 1975 codebooks (National Opinion Research Center, 1974, 1975).

9

For the exact wording of all items and responses, the reader is referred to Appendix A.

10

An item was available to operationalize political behavior as evidenced through voting patterns. However, it was excluded from analysis in this thesis since the election referenced in the survey data was the 1972 Presidential election. The author of this thesis believes that the Nixon-McGovern election was rather atypical and eliminated its use on the basis of not being an adequate operationalization.

APPENDIX A

EXACT ITEMS DRAWN FROM
1974 AND 1975 SURVEYS

Strata Defining Variables

If you were asked to use one of the four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class?

- (1) Lower class
- (2) Working class
- (3) Middle class
- (4) Upper class
- (9) No answer

Question 27 in 1974 survey
Question 38 in 1975 survey

What kind of work do you (did you normally) do? That is, what (is/was) you job called?

- (-) Responses coded according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census 3-digit occupational classification for 1970. Refer to the appropriate appendix in the codebooks for greater detail.

Question 11 in 1974 survey
Question 11 in 1975 survey

Sample Delimiters

Respondent's sex

- (1) Male
- (2) Female

Question 24 in 1974 survey
Question 40 in 1975 survey

Race of Respondent

- (1) White
 - (2) Black
 - (3) Other
- Question 25 in 1974 survey
Question 41 in 1975 survey

Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?

- (1) Working full time
 - (2) Working part time
 - (3) With a job, but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, strike
 - (4) Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
 - (5) Retired
 - (6) In school
 - (7) Keeping house
 - (8) Other
- Question 10 in 1974 survey
Question 10 in 1975 survey

Economic Variables

(INC) Did you earn any income from (job described previously) in 1973 (1974)?

- (1) Under \$1,000
 - (2) 1,000 to 2,999
 - (3) 3,000 to 3,999
 - (4) 4,000 to 4,999
 - (5) 5,000 to 5,999
 - (6) 6,000 to 6,999
 - (7) 7,000 to 7,999
 - (8) 8,000 to 9,999
 - (9) 10,000 to 14,999
 - (10) 15,000 to 19,999
 - (11) 20,000 to 24,999
 - (12) 25,000 or over
 - (13) Refused
 - (98) Don't know
 - (99) Not applicable
- Question 41 in 1974 survey
Question 36 in 1975 survey

(Next three) For each area of life I am going to name, tell me the number that shows how much satisfaction you get from that area.

- (1) A very great deal
- (2) A great deal
- (3) Quite a bit
- (4) A fair amount
- (5) Some
- (6) A little
- (7) None
- (8) Don't know

(NOWKSAT) Your non-working activities--hobbies and so on.
 Question 49b in 1974 survey
 Question 46b in 1975 survey

(FAMSAT) Your family life
 Question 49c in 1974 survey
 Question 46c in 1975 survey

(FRDSAT) Your friendships
 Question 49d in 1974 survey
 Question 46d in 1975 survey

Relational Variables

(Next three) Would you look at this card and tell me which answer comes the closest to how often you do the following things?

- (1) Almost every day
- (2) Once or twice a week
- (3) Several times a month
- (4) About once a month
- (5) Several times a year
- (6) About once a year
- (7) Never
- (8) Don't know
- (9) No answer

(SOCREL) Spend a social evening with relatives?
 Question 57a in 1974 survey
 Question 89a in 1975 survey

(SOCNGH) Spend a social evening with someone who lives in your neighborhood?

Question 57b in 1974 survey
 Question 89b in 1975 survey

(SOCFRD) Spend a social evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood?

Question 57c in 1974 survey

Question 89c in 1975 survey

(Next four) We would like to know something about the groups and organizations to which individuals belong. Here is a list of various kinds of organizations. Could you tell me whether or not you are a member of each type?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (9) No answer

(MEMFRT) Fraternal groups

Question 99a in 1974 survey

Question 90a in 1975 survey

(MEMSER) Service clubs

Question 99b in 1974 survey

Question 90b in 1975 survey

(MEMVET) Veterans' groups

Question 99c in 1974 survey

Question 90c in 1975 survey

(MEMSCH) School service groups

Question 99h in 1974 survey

Question 90h in 1975 survey

Party Variables

(POLID) Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

- (0) Strong Democrat
- (1) Not very strong Democrat
- (2) Independent, close to Democrat
- (3) Independent (neither, don't know, no response)
- (4) Independent, close to Republican
- (5) Not very strong Republican
- (6) Strong Republican
- (7) Other party, refused to say
- (8) Does not vote due to religious reasons
- (9) No answer

Question 34 in 1974 survey

Question 29 in 1975 survey

APPENDIX B

EXPLANATION OF TABLE FORMAT

When referring to the tables in Chapter 4, the reader will note that each table presents the findings in panels which demarcate concept sets. In the first row of each panel the concept set is identified and the hypothesized rankings of the various strata based upon the corollaries of Chapter III are presented in the arabic numbers enclosed in parentheses. The strata are denoted by their acronyms, (M-LWC), (M-SBC), (W-LWC), and (W-SBC), and appear in the row in their hypothesized order of alignment from left to right through the middle of the panel. The reader should keep in mind that these hypothesized rankings will vary from one variable to the next. Whenever the hypothesized rankings of the strata change, a new row is added to depict the appropriate rankings.

The next row in each panel begins with the first variable used within the concept set. To the right of this variable, represented by its acronym, follows the mean (or mean ranking) and the standard deviation (which is in parentheses). The specific strata to which the statistics pertain sequentially parallels the hypothesized rankings of the strata in the row above. Thus, for a given variable, the mean and standard deviation for a particular stratum can be determined by locating that stratum in the relevant row of hypothesized rankings and then looking below in that variable's row.

Further to the right and in the same row as the means and standard deviations, the F-ratio is presented. As noted in Chapter III, the F-ratio is a ratio of the between-category and the within-category variances used for a one-way analysis of variance. The F-ratios found to be significant at the .05 alpha level are designated by an asterisk (*) to the right of the ratio. To the right of the F-ratios are lower-case letters denoting the specific pairs of strata which had significantly different means as determined through use of the t-test procedures outlines in Chapter III. The specific pairs of strata denoted by these lower-case letters and the alpha level of significance used can be found in footnote "c" of each table.

In the next row appears the N-sizes and the relative rankings for each stratum. The N-size refers to the total number of cases used in the calculation of the statistics in the row above. These cases from within the strata samples delineated in Chapter III are those cases for which valid data was obtained. To the right of each N-size, the relative ranking of that stratum is given in parantheses. This relative ranking is the rank ordering of the strata means (or mean rankings) obtained for that variable. Once again, the order in which the strata N-sizes and relative rankings appear across the row parallels the order of the strata in the appropriate row of hypothesized rankings. These same two rows of findings outlined above appear for each variable with the concept set.

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