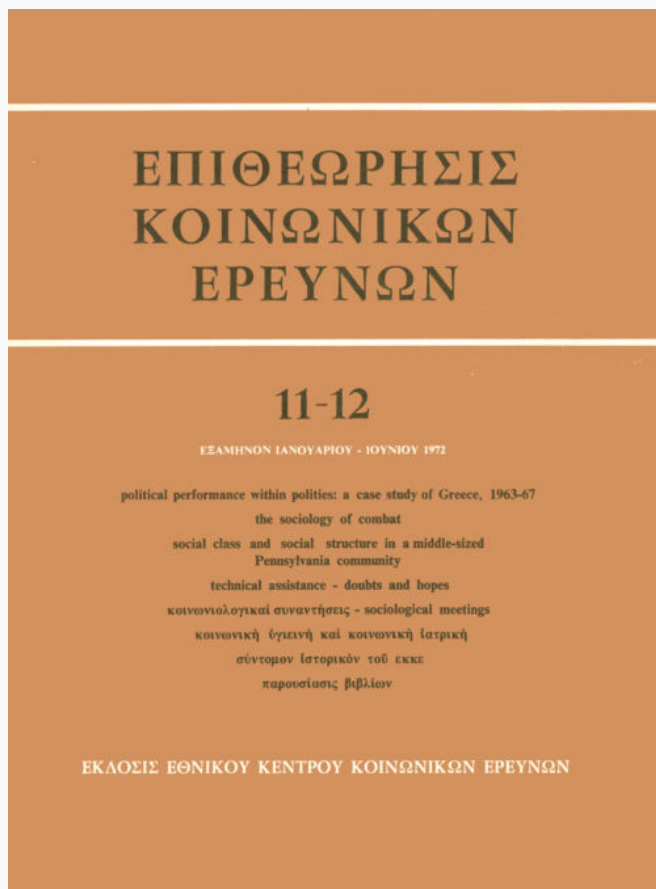


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Social class and social structure in a middle-sized Pennsylvania community

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social class and social structure in a middle-sized Pennsylvania community

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ABSTRACT. The major purpose of this study is to describe select demographic and socio-cultural characteristics associated with the five social classes of the social structure in an urban Pennsylvania community. Classes are delineated by the Hollingshead Index of Social Position. Description of the class characteristics is made more fruitful through use of this index. The stratification procedure demonstrates that stratifying a population enables us to better understand the organization and function of a community as a sociological entity.*

introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe selected demographic and socio-cultural characteristics associated with the strata of the social structure in an urban Pennsylvania community, hereafter referred to as Twin City.¹ The social structure of Twin City is composed of five strata.² Stratification of the community's population was accomplished through replicated use of the Hollingshead Index of Social Position (I.S.P.).³ It is anticipated that use of this index will help further our knowledge of the various patterns associated with each stratum in Twin City. In a more general sense, the stratification procedure is intended to demonstrate that stratifying a population is perhaps the most fruitful way of understanding the structure and function of the community as a sociological entity.

the community and its people

Twin City is situated in southeastern Pennsylvania and is part of a metropolitan area containing a population of over 500,000. It is one of the oldest cities in the United States having been settled in the mid-seventeen-hundreds by a small Protestant religious sect. Prior to and during the American Revolutionary War, the religious leaders of this community were instrumental in maintaining a «peaceful» atmosphere.

*This paper is a considerably revised version of a portion of the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, «Social Class and Home Accidents», The Pennsylvania State University, 1963. The original study was sponsored and financially supported by the Division of Environmental Safety, Pennsylvania Department of Health. Their help is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

1. Twin City is a pseudonym. It is customary in studies such as the present one to disguise the identity and location of Twin City. Also, the respondents in the sample together with informants remain anonymous in keeping with the altering of the community's name.

2. The stratification terminology used here, as well as elsewhere in this paper, is that developed mainly by Hollingshead (1947) (1958), and Warner (1941) (1960).

3. Replication of the Hollingshead Index of Social Position involved use of the same methodological procedures, although for a different community. Except for several changes made by this writer in the ascertainment process there are no major differences between the present study's and Hollingshead's index. The work procedures involved in determining the Index of Social Position for Twin City are described in detail in the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation (1963: 316-354).

Against the threat of Indian attack, an adequate local guard, armed only for defense, was formed. During the War for Independence, its citizens did not bear arms but took care of the war's wounded.

Twin City has always been an industrial community. From the earliest days, products of its potteries, silk mills, linen looms, and spinning wheels were sold throughout Pennsylvania. Twin City's early trade followed the rivers as it developed; canals were built and the products of this community were taken to market in canal boats drawn by horses. These were later supplanted by railroads. The discovery of coal in Pennsylvania gave to this community its early supply of fuel for the making of iron. In the early 1860's ground was broken by a local iron company for the first blast furnace. The necessary attributes needed to make iron were conveniently present. Limited supplies of ore were nearby. Coal, limestone, and the best transportation available made it a logical place to develop the beginning of what was to become one of the most important iron production centers of the United States. Today, besides its great iron and steel plants, Twin City is famous for its silk and hosiery mills, chemicals and allied products, and zinc and graphite works.

Twin City has some 75,000 people,¹ and an area of 20 square miles. Its recreation facilities include 14 municipal parks, two swimming pools, one golf course, and one ice skating rink. There are three hospitals, one radio station, two public libraries, and a sanitation, police and fire department.

It is a predominately all white community, with less than 2 per cent of its population being black. Slightly under 40 per cent of the people living in Twin City were born there; 87 per cent were born in the United States; and the majority were reared in urban areas. Of these persons born in the United States, almost all were born in Pennsylvania.

Almost one half of the employable labor force are in some manufacturing industry: metal industries, textile and apparel products, and machinery. The skilled workers constitute the largest group (26 per cent) in our occupational sample.² A high percentage also are classified as unskilled (16 per cent) and semi-skilled (18 per cent). The workers in the factories comprise the majority of persons in these groups. The professional, executive, and proprietors of concerns valued over \$40,000 constitute 12 per cent of those eco-

nomically occupied; administrative personnel, owners of businesses worth between \$15,000-\$40,000, and semi-professionals, 9 per cent; and technicians, clerical and sales workers, and owners of little businesses (less than \$15,000), 19 per cent. Over three-quarters (78 per cent) of the population are gainfully employed in some occupational pursuit, though the overwhelming majority (94 per cent) work for someone on a salary or wage rate, i.e., are not proprietors of a business. The proportion of families with total incomes, before taxes, of under \$5,000 is 36 per cent; between \$5,000-\$9,000, 46 per cent; and over \$9,000, 17 per cent.

Almost three quarters of the population are aware of the existence of social classes in the community, and many (40 per cent) regard income and occupation as the most important determinants of social class. Since, also, the majority of residents are able to place themselves in the class structure with a relatively high degree of accuracy, these people must be considered as having a conception of class that closely conforms with their objective positions in the community.

According to ethnic background, the three largest nationality categories³ represented in Twin City are Northwest European, 58 per cent of the total population; Central European, 16 per cent; and Southern European, 15 per cent. Over 70 per cent of those persons affiliated with Northwest European nationalities are Britons and Germans. The bulk of Central Europeans are Hungarians, Czechs, Austrians, and Poles, whereas the single largest ethnic group from Southern Europe is the Italian. The Northwest Europeans constitute the oldest ethnic groups in Twin City. The Central and Southern Europeans are comparatively recent immigrants.

Twin City residents belong to community or formal organizations of all types: business or civic groups, church connected groups, labor unions, neighborhood clubs or community centers, organizations of people of the same nationality, charitable and welfare organizations, professional groups, fraternal organizations or lodges, women's clubs, veterans' organizations, and so forth. Membership is most widespread, however, in church-related groups, labor unions,

3. Ethnic background refers to the original nationality of the head of the household's family on his (her) father's side. The head of the household obviously need not have lived in the country or region of his (her) ethnic background. Persons with an ethnic background classified in any one of the three below listed categories are of one or any combination of the following nationalities: *Northwest European* (Belgian, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Icelandic, Irish, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Scotch, Swedish, Swiss and Welsh); *Central European* (Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, Slovakian, and Slovene); and *Southern European* (Albanian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish, Yugoslavian).

1. This population estimate was obtained from the 1960 U.S. Census report. The population statistics and related generalizations that follow in this paper were derived from this government source and/or from this writer's representative sample of Twin City households.

2. Since Twin City has always been an industrial town, it contains a higher percentage of skilled workers than most communities.

business or civic groups, and veterans' organizations; and 74 per cent of the population belong to one or more formal organization. The majority (61 per cent) attend meetings frequently and/or are active in their groups.

There are 80 churches in Twin City. The largest single religious group is the Protestant (56 per cent), with Roman Catholic next (39 per cent). The other two religious groups represented in this community are the Jewish and Eastern Orthodox, each of which have approximately 2 per cent of the worshippers in the total population. Although there are a large number of Protestant churches such as Baptist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Methodist, Mennonite, Evangelical Congregational, United Church of Christ, Presbyterian, etc., parishioners of the Protestant faith are principally members of the Lutheran (38 per cent) and United Church of Christ (24 per cent) denominations. The Jews have two synagogues and the Eastern Orthodox adherents have one Greek Orthodox and one Russian Orthodox house of worship.

The dwellings of Twin City are chiefly one or two-family houses; there are only a handful of apartments, most of them being concentrated in the oldest sections of the city. A significant proportion of homes are owner occupied (73 per cent) and contain between 5-7 rooms (62 per cent).

On the basis of the three criteria of general appearance of the neighborhood and of the houses of the neighborhood, and where the members of the various social classes live, Twin City was divided into 34 ecological areas. Each of these areas was then ranked according to these same three factors into one of six residence scale positions: «Very High», «High», «Above Average», «Average», «Below Average», and «Very Low».¹ When the household was drawn into the sample it was given a score of anywhere from one to six. What score the dwelling unit received was contingent solely on the residential area it lay in. For example, if a dwelling unit lay in a residential area that had been awarded a scale score of four («Average»), the dwelling unit also received that score (see Table 11). The majority or 54 per cent of the people in the community live in «Average» residential areas. These areas are found mainly in the central part of the city, close to the main busi-

ness district. Living here are many workingmen, small merchants, and clerks, whose homes are medium sized and unpretentious but generally neat in appearance. Most of the retail establishments such as grocery stores, butcher shops, and gas stations, plus the many row houses that exist in this community are here also. The real estate value of homes in these areas ranges from about \$ 8,000 to \$ 20,000.

There are numerous elementary, junior, and senior high schools in Twin City: 29 public and 12 private and parochial schools. At the advanced educational level, there is one university, one academic and one business college. Formal educational experience for the majority of the adults in the population (52 per cent) is limited exclusively to less than a high school diploma; 23 per cent are high school graduates; and 25 per cent have had partial college or better.

methodological procedures

The Interview Program and Sample. The interviews for the study were conducted in Twin City in the summer of 1961. Over twenty experienced Pennsylvania Department of Health interviewers administered the interview schedule to adult members (18 years and over) of the sample population. Only one adult per household was interviewed. The total number of dwelling units for Twin City in 1961 was estimated at 23,840. The number of households drawn into the sample was 1,987. Of this total, 176 or slightly below nine per cent were interviews comprising «refusals» and «not at homes». Consequently, the number of completed interview schedules, from which data analyses were derived, was set at 1,811. The sampling method utilized conforms to a probability model because the probability of selection of every block and dwelling unit in Twin City was known in advance of the actual selection of the sample.² The representativeness of the sample was tested by comparing the age and sex distributions yielded by the sample with the total counts reported by the 1960 U.S. Census for Twin City. The sample was found to be representative of the general population of the community.

Sources of Data. The data in this study come from two different sources. First, personal interviews completed with each of the 1,811 sample households produced relevant information regarding the demographic, and socio-cultural traits characteristic of each class. Included are such items as awareness of class and class selfplacement, family home, religious affiliation, church attendance, education, ethnic origin,

2. Except for a slight modification by this writer concerning the use of prelisting instead of the listing process, the sample design used is the one specifically suggested by Leslie Kish (1952).

1. The 34 ecological areas in Twin City were ranked on the six point residence scale with the following results: *Very high* (Bath-Pike and Edgeboro); *High* (Chestnut Street); *Above average* (Nazareth Pike, Union Boulevard, Rosemont Manor, Kelchner Manor, Rosemont, Lincoln Park, East Hills, Pinehurst Manor, Park Ridge, Kaywin, Levering Manor, Catawanna Park, and Beth-Allen Gardens); *Average* (Northeast Lowland, Northwest Lowland, Central Area, Central City, Bonus Hill, Steffko Boulevard, Southside, West Side, William Penn, North Campus, Linden, and Nisky Hill); *Below average* (Southside Area(a) and (b), City Housing, and Spring Street); and *Very low* (Northampton Heights and Crest Avenue).

social mobility, economic and occupational position, urban background, family size, reading habits, place raised, migrant status, and formal group membership.

Second, the social position which individuals and families occupy in the Twin City status structure was determined according to the modification of Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (1958). All of the households enumerated in the interview schedule were stratified by class through use of this index. The collected data used to determine the Index of Social Position for each household consisted of the education and occupation of the head of the household plus the ecological location of the dwelling unit in which the respondent resided.¹ One of the basic assumptions underlying the use of this index is a five class level, the highest constituting class I and the lowest class V. This number was adhered to for this research, since prior to initiation of data collection this researcher spent two months in Twin City² confirming use of a

1. Occupation and education are each measured by the Hollingshead seven position scale; ecological area of residence is measured by a slightly modified version of the W. Lloyd Warner residence scale, originally comprising seven positions, but reduced to six here to conform to the requirements of Twin City. Once these three things were determined, each factor was given a scale score (for residence, education, and occupation respectively a score ranging anywhere from 1-6, 1-7, 1-7) which was then multiplied by its respective factor weight determined by a standard regression equation. Respective factor weights of 9, 10, and 9 were derived for residence, occupation, and education. The three products were then summed and the resultant score taken as an index of this household's position in the community's class system. The Index of Social Position score, for example, of a family whose head was a semi-skilled worker, had completed the eighth grade, and lived in a semislum residential area was computed as follows:

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Scale Value</i>	<i>Factor Weight</i>	<i>Patrial Score</i>
Residence	5	9	45
Occupation	6	10	60
Education	6	9	54
Index of Social Position Score			159
Social Class			V

2. One hundred forty households were selected randomly from the local telephone directory whose respondents were interviewed in their home concerning such stratification based questions as income, occupation, awareness of class, criteria suggestive of class, and number and location of classes in the community. During this time the writer frequently travelled by car through the community stratifying residential areas. Ecological categories utilized for this purpose are those suggested by Warner (1960) for another community, and slightly modified by my own observations of the neighborhood and house types of Twin City. Also, interviews were conducted with three «influentials», prominent in business and administration, whose views were solicited in regard to the class structure of their community. From the data thus collected and analyzed, it was assumed that Twin City could be functionally differentiated into five relatively clear and identifiable class levels.

TABLE 1. *Percentage of Sample Households Placed Into Classes by the Index of Social Position*¹

Class	Total Number of Households	Percentage of Total Number of Households
I	96	5.3
II	190	10.5
III	398	22.0
IV	802	44.3
V	325	17.9
	1,811	100.0

1. The total n for Tables 1 and 2 is 1,811. The percentage figures for Tables 1-3 are derived from the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation (1963: 39-47).

TABLE 2. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating Awareness of the Existence of Social Classes in the Community by Class Status*

Whether Aware of Existence of Social Classes in Community	Class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Yes	88.5	80.5	79.4	72.6	61.8
No	11.5	15.3	15.6	20.3	24.9
Not ascertained ¹	0.0	4.2	5.0	7.1	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Includes responses such as «don't know» and «I'm confused».

TABLE 3. *Percentage of Sample Households Expressing Belief of Membership in a Particular Class, by Class Status*¹

Class Membership Belief	Class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Upper class	7.3	3.7	0.7	1.2	0.3
Upper-middle class	63.6	43.2	25.4	15.5	7.4
Lower-middle class	12.5	21.1	18.4	11.7	10.5
Working class	7.3	17.3	37.7	57.6	54.2
Lower class	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.2	4.0
Not ascertained ²	9.3	14.7	17.1	12.8	23.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. The n for Table 3 is 1,337, and includes only those respondents who answered «yes» to «whether they are aware of the existence of social classes in the community» (see Table 2).

2. Includes «I do not know» and «I do not believe in classes» responses.

five class hierarchy for that community. The total number and percentage of sample households that were placed into one of the five social classes by the Hollingshead Index of Social Position are presented in Table 1.

The principal constellation of demographic and socio-cultural traits associated with each of the five classes will be discussed presently. When the three indicators of status utilized in the Index of Social Position to determine class position are compared with items such as formal group membership, place raised,

urban or rural background, ethnicity, and religious affiliation a high statistical correlation is found.¹

characteristics of the five strata

Differential Attitudes Toward the Class Structure:

1. The chi-square test was used to determine whether significant differences existed between frequency distributions. The five per cent probability level of significance was used to determine the rejection of the hypothesis. For those tables that had cells with expected frequencies of less than five, relevant categories were combined in the chi-square analysis. Also, because it would affect the final results the «not ascertained» category, wherever it appeared in the tables, was excluded in the chi-square analysis. The principal demographic and socio-cultural items that were correlated with class status, and their chi-square values, are listed below.

<i>Demographic and Socio-Cultural Characteristics¹</i>	<i>Chi Square²</i>	<i>Degree of Freedom</i>
Class Awareness and Class Identification		
Whether Aware of Existence of Classes in Community	23.56	4
Expression of Belief of Membership in Particular Class	358.94	18
Criterion Stated for Determination of Social Class	72.24	27
Ethnic Origin	183.45	15
Religious Background		
Religious Affiliation: Whether Protestant or Roman Catholic	105.76	9
Type of Protestant Denomination	84.91	14
Economic Position		
Whether Employed or Unemployed	198.92	8
Number of Hours Works Per Week	72.27	6
Whether Owner of Business or Employee	67.42	4
Whether Wife of Head of Household Works	26.16	4
Income of Head of Household	914.03	24
Total Family Income	686.50	24
Urban or Rural Background	71.21	4
Migrant Status		
Whether Migrant or Non-Migrant	55.65	4
Number of Years Migrant Has Lived in Community	109.93	15
Place Raised		
Whether Raised in the US or Elsewhere	263.86	6
Where in the US Raised	130.74	4
Family Home		
Total Number of Rooms in House	143.07	20
Home Tenure: Whether Owner or Renter	59.87	4
Formal Group Membership		
Whether Belongs to One or More Organizations	74.41	4
Number of Organizations One Belongs to	129.50	16
Degree of Organizational Attendance Activity	125.58	12

1. Unless otherwise indicated these data relate to the head of the sample household.
2. Chi square is significant at the .001 level for all items.

*Class Awareness and Class Identification.*² Class I, as identified by the Index of Social Position, is the smallest, single class group. Members of this social class make up 5 per cent of the population of the Twin City community (Table 1). Approximately 90 per cent of the class I respondents think there are social classes in the community (Table 2); the majority or 63 per cent identified with the upper-middle class—one class below that into which they were placed by the Index of Social Position (Table 3).³ There is a strong tendency for class I members to identify with lower positions in the status structure, and probably represents an identification with the whole community or with the unidentified common man. This tendency constitutes a middle class sentiment which is, to be sure, exhibited by many members of other classes, but nowhere does such identification take on the strong and equalitarian emphasis that it does with members of this stratum. Also, of all classes, class I persons placed themselves in the class structure with the least degree of accuracy inasmuch as only 7 per cent placed themselves correctly, whereas 83 per cent defined their status position differently than that suggested by the Index of Social Position.

Eleven per cent of the community's population is placed in class II by the Index of Social Position (Table 1). Close to 81 per cent of the respondents know that there are classes in the community and where they fit into it (Table 2). Next to class IV, this is the most status-sensitive stratum in the population. As many as 43 per cent of class II respondents correctly placed themselves into the upper-middle class—the class into which they had originally been placed by the Index of Social Position (Table 3). Status sensitivity in this class stems in part from the pivotal positions its members occupy in the social structure. On

2. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between class awareness and class identification and the Hollingshead Index of Social Position see the following articles by the author (1970: 44-58) and (1971: 90-95). Too, in another related paper, various obstacles in class awareness and class identification research are considered (1970: 282-301).

3. Each of the respondents in the 1,811 sample households was asked a series of questions designed to determine the extent of his awareness of class and ability to place himself in strata. Class awareness was ascertained by asking respondents an open-ended question of whether they thought classes exist in the community. Class identification, on the other hand, was determined by asking sample households the direct question, «To what class do you feel you belong?» In this second question, the respondent was shown a mimeographed card by the interviewer with fixed-alternative questions, comprising seven categories of response, from which the respondent was to select one. The categories were: «upper class», «upper-middle class», «lower-middle class», «working class», «lower class», «I do not know» and «I do not believe in classes». Subjects who demonstrated, in the first question, an awareness of the existence of social classes were asked specifically to identify, in the second question, with a particular class.

the one hand, class II respondents are physically and socially proximate to the upper class, knowing how the elite think, act, and live. On the other hand, they are also aware of the style of life characteristic of the strata below them, since it is quite likely that they or their ancestors worked and lived with members of these classes at one time. They are quite conscious of and content with their («next to the best») position in the class structure, and will do nothing to endanger and everything to maintain or improve their position. In a word, they are «success oriented».

The 22 per cent of the community's population comprising class III (Table 1) are as aware of the status system and how they function in it as are members of class II (Table 2). A greater percentage of class III respondents, however, classified themselves in either one class above or below the class into which they had originally been placed by the Index of Social Position (Table 3). Specifically, whereas only 18 per cent of the respondents classified themselves as lower-middle class, 25 per cent and 38 per cent, respectively, identified with the upper-middle and working classes. This suggests essentially that while class III respondents do have a relatively high sense of class awareness and place themselves with considerable accuracy in the class structure, they are uneasy about their class membership.

Class IV is the largest stratum in the Twin City community, comprising about 44 per cent of the population (Table 1). In this stratum nearly 73 per cent of the respondents recognize the existence of social classes in the community (Table 2). Since the majority of class IV individuals (58 per cent) associated themselves with the working class, the class with which they had originally been identified by the Index of Social Position, these people placed themselves in the class structure with the highest degree of accuracy (Table 3). The only other social class approximating such class placement accuracy is class II, where 43 per cent of its respondents identified with the upper-middle class. Class IV respondents have the best working conception of the status system and how they function in it. Of all classes, members of this stratum possess a conception of class that most closely conforms with their objective positions in the community.

Status-sensitivity among class IV members appears to derive from the relative «permanency» of their position. These people are essentially satisfied with their way of life. The mobility data show that of all strata the working class had the best chance for remaining non-mobile in their occupational and income positions. Over 50 per cent of class IV heads of households were so classified (Table 4). These people are, like the class II respondents, apparently content with their present position in the class structure. But, unlike the upper-middle class, working class members,

TABLE 4. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Social Mobility Status of the Head of the Household, by Class Status*

Social Mobility Status of the Head of Household	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Upward mobile	71.9	54.2	44.2	29.6	15.4	635
Downward mobile	4.2	8.9	10.1	20.3	40.6	356
Stable, stationary, nonmobile	23.9	36.9	45.7	50.1	44.0	820
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811

due to the limiting factors of their sub-culture, do little to improve their overall position in society. Their status-sensitivity, then, probably stems from an awareness of the inescapability and permanency of their position. Class II respondents, on the other hand, appear to be characterized by an overriding ambition of and striving for economic, educational, and social success.

The Index of Social Position places 18 per cent of the community's households in this lowest stratum (Table 1). Class V individuals are less aware of a distinct class system than persons in any other class; only 62 per cent believe there are social classes in the community (Table 2). Of all five social classes, a greater percentage of lower class respondents placed themselves in a class level higher than that given them by the Index of Social Position. For example, as many as 54 per cent of these individuals identified with the working class (Table 3). Class V members, in identifying mainly with the working class, may be seeking some kind of social-psychological escape from the poverty of the slums. It is unlikely that this strong affiliation is an expression of class militancy. The apathy that seems to permeate this stratum would obviate such a class conscious development. They are, nonetheless, quite realistic in placing themselves in this stratum, and not in any other, since it is the most likely one that successful individuals of their class will occupy.

Interestingly, then, subjects highest in the class structure refused in large part to identify themselves as upper class, but saw themselves as upper-middle class. Persons, on the other hand, on the lowest end of the class scale were extremely hesitant about calling themselves lower class. This may very well be in accordance with the very frequently espoused American value that identification with class extremes is to be avoided. Certainly, both classes in identifying with strata immediately above or below them, are either through ignorance or ideological distortion, or both, making wrong class assignments that are not in accord with their objective economic and cultural positions.

TABLE 5. Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Occupation of the Head of the Household, by Class Status

Occupation of Head of Household	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Executives, managers, or proprietors of large concerns (over \$ 90,000), and major professionals	90.6	30.5	1.3	0.0	0.0	150
Executives, managers, or proprietors of medium-sized concerns (between \$ 40-\$ 90,000), and lesser professionals	7.3	27.4	2.8	0.0	0.0	70
Administrative personnel of large and medium-sized concerns, owners of small independent businesses (between \$ 15-\$ 40,000), and semi-professional's	2.1	28.4	24.1	2.0	0.0	168
Owners of little businesses (less than \$ 15,000), clerical and sales workers and technicians	0.0	12.6	51.8	13.8	0.0	341
Skilled workers	0.0	1.1	18.8	45.0	6.5	459
Semi-skilled workers	0.0	0.0	1.2	27.7	30.2	325
Unskilled workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.5	63.3	298
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811

*Mobility Within the Class System.*¹ Seventy two per cent of the class I adults, more than in any other class, are upward mobile from their parental families (Table 4).

Fifty four per cent of the class II respondents have been upward mobile in the course of their lives. Next to class I, members of this stratum have the greatest opportunity for upward mobility in Twin City. Although 44 per cent of the class III adults have been upward mobile in the course of their lives, an approximately equal number (46 per cent) have remained stationary. As mentioned earlier, the working class are the most non-mobile group (Table 4).

The social mobility status of class V adults differs significantly from that in the other classes inasmuch as 41 per cent of the lower class respondents are downward mobile from their parental families. Twice as many class V as working class persons, and four times as many lower class as class III persons, are downward mobile (Table 4).

The single major statement that can be made in respect to the mobility data of Table 4 is that the American ideal of equal opportunity and advancement for all is not borne out in this community. The two upper classes have the greatest opportunity for upward mobility, whereas the lowest classes have the best chances for downward mobility or for remaining stationary. This finding is especially revealing in that respectively one of the largest steel enterprises and labor unions in the United States is located here. Wages

and working conditions for the unionized employee are, of course, better than average. With bigness in industrial size usually comes technological progress. Both of these factors, however, have not been sufficient, by themselves, to produce a greater flexibility and upward movement in the occupational and income structure of Twin City.

Economic Position and Class. A number of class I heads of households receive over \$40,000 a year, but more earn from \$20,000 to \$30,000. The majority, or 64 per cent, of these persons have an income of \$9,000 and over; and as many as 40 per cent earn over \$ 11,000 during the year (Table 6). When estimates of total annual income for class I families are introduced the thesis that incomes in this stratum are the highest is further corroborated. Seventy-one per cent of upper class households reported a total family income of over \$ 9,000 per year; and 44 per cent, \$ 11,000 and over (Table 7).

Although the wealth of class I families is often inherited, income is earned largely by the male head who works as an executive, manager, or proprietor of a large concern (valued at over \$90,000), and major professional such as a doctor, lawyer, dentist, engineer, architect, or college professor. This stratum has no gainfully employed people who are skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled workers, as against 100 per cent of class V so designated (Table 5). The highest concentration of male heads of households in the community who are employed (95 per cent) is found in this stratum. Women in the upper class largely do not work; they occupy themselves in family or outside the home activities.

Occupationally, the men of class II are usually

1. The two determinants of social mobility in this research are occupation and income. Changes in occupational and income status of the head of the household over the five year period (1956-1960) were used as measures of social mobility-upward, stable, or downward.

TABLE 6. Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Total Income of the Head of the Household, before Taxes, in 1960, by Class Status

Total Income of Head of Household	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Under \$ 1,000	0.0	1.6	3.0	6.0	23.4	139
Between \$ 1,000- \$ 2,999	2.1	7.4	6.0	14.6	29.5	253
Between \$ 3,000- \$ 4,999	5.2	10.0	20.1	33.8	33.5	484
Between \$ 5,000- \$ 6,999	9.4	24.7	40.2	36.7	12.0	549
Between \$ 7,000- \$ 8,999	19.8	20.0	16.3	7.8	1.6	190
Between \$ 9,000- \$ 10,999	24.0	14.7	7.8	0.7	0.0	88
\$ 11,000 and over	39.5	21.6	6.6	0.4	0.0	108
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	914.03, 24 df, $p < .001$					

TABLE 7. Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Total Family Income, before Taxes, in 1960, by Class Status

Total Family Income	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Under \$ 1,000	0.0	0.5	1.0	2.9	14.8	76
Between \$ 1,000- \$ 2,999	1.0	4.7	5.0	13.2	26.2	221
Between \$ 3,000- \$ 4,999	5.2	8.4	14.8	25.1	26.5	367
Between \$ 5,000- \$ 6,999	6.2	23.2	35.9	34.3	24.3	547
Between \$ 7,000- \$ 8,999	16.7	16.3	22.9	16.2	4.9	284
Between \$ 9,000- \$ 10,999	27.1	18.9	11.3	6.4	2.1	166
\$ 11,000 and over	43.8	28.0	9.1	1.9	1.2	150
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	686.50, 24 df, $p < .001$					

employed as business executives, managers, administrative personnel or junior executives, and proprietors of businesses valued at over \$ 40,000; they are also represented strongly in the lesser professions of teaching, nursing, library work, optometry, and pharmacy; a substantial number are semi-professionals such as podiatrists, chiropractors, surveyors, designers, social and welfare workers, photographers, and funeral directors; and many are owners of small independent businesses valued at between \$ 15,000 to \$ 40,000 (Table 5). The probability for owning a business is greatest for members of the upper-middle class. Sixteen per cent of their members are private entrepreneurs.

Class II adult males are extremely success oriented at work. The number of hours they work per week at their place of employment is one indication of the extent of their commitment. Close to 41 per cent of these individuals work more than 40 hours per week. This time commitment to a job is equal to that of class I. What is especially significant about this is that even though the financial and related rewards of work are less for class II individuals, they persist in attempting to better themselves through this medium of expenditure of time.

These families live very well, but there is no substantial inherited or acquired wealth. Fifty six per cent of the male family heads earn \$ 7,000 and over per year (Table 6). About one half of the class II families receive a total income of \$ 9,000 and over (Table 7).

Owners of little businesses (less than \$15,000), clerical and sales workers, and technicians are found mainly in class III (52 per cent); 24 per cent are administrative personnel of concerns valued at \$ 40,000 and over, owners of small independent businesses worth between \$15,000 and \$40,000, and semi-professionals; and 19 per cent are skilled workers (Table 5). Clerical workers are concentrated in occupations such as bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers, typists, secretaries, telephone operators, mail carriers, and clerks in any capacity; sales workers are usually employed as insurance or real estate agents and brokers, auctioneers, and salesmen of all kinds; and technicians work at such jobs as x-ray operator or technician, dental or medical technician, and physiotherapist.

To supplement family income, approximately one fourth of the class III wives are employed as clerks, secretaries, typists and technicians. Income of the male head clusters in the \$5,000 to \$7,000 range. Over 40

per cent of the lower-middle class report this as their yearly earnings (Table 6). This stratum is most like class II in total family income of between \$7,000 to \$11,000. Approximately one third of the households in both strata report this amount. The upper-middle class, however, has three times as many households as class III making over \$11,000 per year (Table 7).

An overwhelming number (94 per cent) of working class males are employees. Those few individuals who do not work for someone else own little businesses worth less than \$15,000. Slightly less than 80 per cent of class IV males are fully employed, and about 13 per cent are unemployed. Three quarters of those gainfully employed work between 30-40 hours per week. The majority, or 45 per cent, are skilled manual workers; 28 per cent are semiskilled employees; 11 per cent are unskilled workers; and 14 per cent are owners of little businesses (less than \$15,000), clerical and sales workers, and technicians (Table 5). The skilled trades include such occupations as boilermakers, foremen or inspectors, forgemen, electricians, plumbers, bakers, machinists, brickmasons, and metalworkers. The semiskilled workers are usually employed as telegraph and telephone linemen and servicemen, railroad switchmen, chauffeurs and drivers, firemen and policemen, barbers, bartenders, waiters, welders and flame cutters, and apprentices to machinists, carpenters, electricians, and other skilled occupations.

Over 70 per cent of working class heads of households earn yearly between \$3,000 to \$7,000 (Table 6). Half of the community's class IV families with combined incomes earn between \$5,000 to \$9,000 a year. Only 8 per cent of these families, however, report a total income of \$9,000 or over (Table 7).

Approximately two thirds of the class V employable adult males are unskilled laborers; slightly over 30 per cent are semiskilled; and only 6 per cent are skilled workers (Table 5). The unskilled jobs range from domestic service workers such as servants and housekeepers to non-farm laborers; illustrative occupations comprising this latter group include teamsters, garage laborers, and industrial laborers working in textiles-mills, lumber-furniture, chemicals, iron and steel, machinery, leather and leather products.

Only 55 per cent of the class V workers are gainfully employed; as high a proportion as 26 per cent are unemployed. This class has about six times as many unemployed as the upper class and twice as many unemployed as the working class. Close to 94 per cent of all gainfully employed class V individuals work 30 or more hours per week. It is similar to the other four strata for the per cent of its population putting in this much time during the week. Almost three times as many class V wives as class I wives are gainfully employed; over 33 per cent of the lower class wives are employed at full or part time semiskilled or un-

skilled occupational pursuits. Nevertheless, in spite of the large number of working wives in this class, and the long hours worked by the head of the household, financial rewards attached to the class V occupations are minimal.

When there is one worker in the family, the male head, over one third of the households report an income of \$3,000 to \$5,000 per year, but as many as 53 per cent earn less than \$3,000 (Table 6). Where husband, wife, or other members of the family are employed one half of the sample households report a yearly income of between \$3,000 to \$7,000, but only 8 per cent of lower class families earn \$7,000 or over (Table 7).

Ethnicity and Class. The upper class (68 per cent) is most like class III (69 per cent) and least like class V (31 per cent) in the number of members who trace their lineage directly to northwest European ethnic stocks. The three largest northern European national groups in class I are the English, Scottish, and Welsh comprising 36 per cent of the family heads. Persons of German origin comprise 22 per cent, and those of Irish descent, 5 per cent. An unusually large number of Jewish households (8 per cent), principally of German background, are concentrated in this stratum. None of the other classes have more than 2 per cent of their total population comprising persons of Jewish extraction. The percentage of class I persons who are descendants from other European countries is small. Nine per cent are from central Europe, 1 per cent from Eastern Europe, and 7 per cent trace their ancestry to some southern European country.

A larger percentage of upper-middle class members (81 per cent) trace their ethnic origins directly to northwest European countries than of any other class. They are descendants principally of immigrant stocks such as English, Welsh and Scottish (32 per cent), Irish (14 per cent), and German (28 per cent). The only other ethnic minorities that are significantly represented in this stratum are the Italian, Greek, and Yugoslavian (8 per cent) who trace their ancestry from southern Europe.

Sixty nine per cent of the lower-middle class, which is a little more than the upper class but considerably less than class II, trace their ancestry to some northwest European country. The Germans make up the largest single group (23 per cent), with the remainder of the population being English, Welsh and Scottish (18 per cent), Irish (19 per cent), French, Swiss, and Dutch (4 per cent), and Norwegian, Danish and Swedish (5 per cent). Also, unlike the two classes above it, class III has a greater proportion of families with central European (11 per cent) and southern European (12 per cent) ethnic affiliations.

All ethnic elements are found in the working class.

It most resembles class V in being ethnically mixed; 58 per cent of its representatives trace their lineage directly to northwest European ethnic stocks; as high as 18 per cent are central European in their national background; and 16 per cent trace their ancestry to southern Europe. Sixteen per cent of the northwest European households are of German background; 20 per cent are Irish; and 13 per cent are English, Welsh, and Scottish. Persons of Italian and Yugoslavian descent represent most of the southern European households; whereas those individuals tracing their ancestry to central Europe are mainly of Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovakian origin.

Class V has the smallest percentage of persons (31 per cent) who trace their ancestry to some northwest European country. Twelve per cent are of Irish background; 8 per cent are German; and 6 per cent are of English, Welsh, and Scottish origin. At least three strata (I, II, and III) possess twice as many members as class V who are ethnic representatives of northwest Europe. On the other hand, the lower stratum contains the largest percentage of persons who trace their lineage to central European (29 per cent), and southern European (26 per cent) stocks. The bulk of central Europeans are of Hungarian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian descent, whereas the majority of southern Europeans are Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. The ethnicity data support the general view of the relation between social class and ethnic origin, that is, the upper classes are predominantly from northwestern Europe and the lower classes from central and southern Europe.

Place Raised and Class. About 94 per cent of the adult men in the upper stratum were born in the United States. They are most like classes II, III, and IV for the percentage of native born and least like class V. The majority (84 per cent) of class I members were raised in urban areas. It is most like classes II and III for the region of birth of its members. Fewer persons of this class (58 per cent) were born in Pennsylvania than of any other class. In addition, the elite of Twin City are not typically its life residents. The largest percentage of persons (81 per cent) who were born in a community other than Twin City is concentrated in this stratum. Consequently, the most geographically mobile persons are found here.

The upper-middle class is most like classes I, III, and IV, and least like the lower class in the birthplaces of its members; over 95 per cent were born in the United States and less than 5 per cent in foreign countries. Eighty two per cent of the class II male family heads were raised in urban areas. Next to class I, the greatest percentage of migrants, i.e., persons who were not born in Twin City (74 per cent), are found in the upper-middle stratum. This class also contains

the largest proportion of household heads who, as relative newcomers to Twin City, have lived in this community for less than five years (26 per cent). This is apparently due to the occupational flexibility attributable to class II work pursuits. Specifically, there are more junior executives, lesser professionals, and semi-professionals in this stratum than any other; and these occupations are characterized by comparatively quick and frequent turnover.

Close to 97 per cent of the lower-middle class were born in the United States. This stratum exceeds all classes for the percentage of native born. The lower-middle class is also typically urban. More of its men (87 per cent) were raised in urban areas than those of any other class. Approximately 90 per cent of class III members were born in Pennsylvania and 3 per cent outside the United States. This class has a large proportion (44 per cent) of persons who were born in Twin City. In this respect it is most like class IV and least like class I.

Ninety per cent of the working class were born in the United States. Over 94 per cent of its membership were born in Pennsylvania; it is most like the lower class insofar as the two classes are the only ones which have such a high percentage of Pennsylvanians. Class IV is different from the other classes in percentage of persons who are life residents of the community. The greatest number of persons (46 per cent) who were born and have lived in Twin City all their lives is found here. It is the least geographically mobile stratum. In addition, almost 40 per cent of all working class people who were not born in Twin City have lived in that community for over 30 years. In this respect it is exceeded only by the lower class.

Approximately 61 per cent of the lower class were born in the United States, and 39 per cent in a foreign country, in which respect it is vastly different from the other classes. The probability that a Twin City resident was raised outside the United States is very great for class V members but minimal for other class participants. Of all classes this stratum has the largest percentage of persons (38 per cent) who at some period in their lives lived on a farm for one year or more. This is probably due to its relatively large immigrant population who, if they were typical of late 19th and early 20th century American immigrants, came mainly from rural areas and backgrounds in Europe.

The lower class has an unusually high percentage (68 per cent) of people who were not born in Twin City. Only classes I and II surpass class V in this regard. It apparently has a higher than expected proportion of migrants due to its relatively greater number of foreign born. Class V also has the highest percentage of persons (60 per cent) who were not born in Twin City but have resided in that community for over

TABLE 8. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Religious Affiliation of the Head of the Household, by Class Status*

Religious Affiliation of Head of Household	Class					n
	I ³	II	III	IV	V	
Protestant	64.6	70.0	62.8	57.2	36.6	1,023
Roman Catholic	26.1	23.7	32.6	40.1	60.3	717
Jewish ¹	8.3	2.1	2.3	1.2	0.6	33
Eastern Orthodox ²	1.0	4.2	2.3	1.5	2.5	38
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	105.76, 9 df, $p < .001$					

1. This includes the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox branches of Judaism.

2. Included here are the following respondent mentioned Eastern Orthodox Churches: Greek, Russian, Rumanian and Yugoslavian.

3. Class I is combined with class II in the χ^2 analysis.

30 years. This suggests that the lower classes are the oldest of classes in this community.

Religious Affiliation and Class. The upper class is also different from the other strata in religious affiliations. Sixty-five per cent of class I families are Protestant, 26 per cent Catholic, 8 per cent Jewish, and 1 per cent Eastern Orthodox (Table 8). Its members favor the Episcopalian (14 per cent), Presbyterian (21 per cent), Methodist (16 per cent), and Moravian (13 per cent) churches in significantly high numbers. Moreover, they have the smallest number of persons who have membership in the two largest Protestant churches of the community—the Lutheran and United Church of Christ. In these respects the upper stratum is most like class II and least like class V (Table 9).

The upper-middle class has a higher percentage of adults who are Protestant (70 per cent) and a lower proportion who are Catholic (24 per cent) than any other class. In this matter, it is closely followed by the upper class (Table 8). Class II members largely favor the Lutheran (29 per cent) and United Church of Christ (24 per cent) churches, although, except for class I, more persons of this stratum belong to the Episcopalian (11 per cent) and Presbyterian (10 per cent) denominations than any other class (Table 9).

Sixty three per cent of class III families are Protestant and 33 per cent, Roman Catholic. In this regard, it resembles most closely the two upper classes (Table 8). The lower-middle class has a higher percentage of United Church of Christ parishioners (28 per cent) than any other class. It also has a significantly high proportion of persons (40 per cent) who are Lutheran (Table 9).

Fifty-seven per cent of working class families belong to the Protestant religious group and 40 per cent to the Catholic group. Although this class is still predominantly Protestant it contains more Catholics, except for class V, than any other stratum (Table 8).

The lower class has a higher percentage of persons who are Catholic (60 per cent) and a lower proportion who are Protestant (37 per cent) than any other class. This stratum is the only one which has a majority of its members with a Catholic affiliation, whereas the majority of classes I (65 per cent), II (70 per cent), III (63 per cent), and IV (57 per cent) households are Protestant (Table 8). The two largest Protestant denominations in Twin City are the Lutheran and United Church of Christ. Together they comprise 62 per cent of all Protestant churches. An inverse relationship exists between class status and the combined memberships of these two denominations. The lower the class the higher the percentage of persons comprising these two churches. The percentage distributions for the strata are class I (31 per cent), class II (53 per cent), class III (68 per cent), class IV (67 per cent), and class V (74 per cent). Except for class I, these two denominations represent, for the majority of members in the other four classes, the most prevalent Protestant religious affiliations. Also, the heaviest concentration of Lutheran and United Church of Christ members is in the three lower classes, with an excessive clustering around class V (Table 9).

Education and Class. The educational level in class I is the highest of any stratum. Most heads of households (66 per cent) have completed graduate school and hold graduate degrees. As many as 33 per cent have acquired undergraduate college degrees. Class I is indeed, from the educational standpoint, a very select group inasmuch as 99 per cent of its members have completed undergraduate school or better. Only a handful (1 per cent) have partial college training, whereas all have high school backgrounds or better (Table 10).

The typical class II individual (44 per cent) is a college graduate and has attended graduate school but has not received the graduate diploma (Table 10). In

TABLE 9. Percentage of Sample Households Having Protestant Affiliation Indicating the Particular Denomination of the Head of the Household, by Class Status

Denomination of Head of Household	Class					n
	I ²	II	III	IV	V	
Baptist	0.0	2.3	1.2	2.4	8.4	27
Episcopalian	14.5	11.3	6.0	3.9	1.7	59
Lutheran	12.9	29.3	40.0	43.8	47.9	405
Presbyterian	21.0	10.5	6.8	2.6	3.4	60
Methodist	16.1	6.0	5.2	5.0	1.7	56
Moravian	12.9	10.5	8.8	10.7	3.4	97
United Church of Christ	17.7	24.1	28.0	23.5	26.0	252
Other ¹	4.9	6.0	4.0	8.1	7.5	67
n =	62	133	250	459	119	1,023
$\chi^2 =$	84.91, 14 df, p < .001					

1. This category includes diverse denominations—too small to be delineated as separate categories—such as Bible Fellowship, Mennonite, Church of the Nazarene, Unitarian, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pilgrim Holiness, Evangelical Congregational, and Pentecostal Bodies.

2. Class I is combined with class II and class IV is combined with class V in the χ^2 analysis.

addition, as many as 20 per cent of upper-middle class persons have a graduate school degree. Although this percentage is considerably less than class I (66 per cent), it is still a respectable number especially since no other class has even 1 per cent of its people occupying this privileged educational status. A considerable number of class II members (27 per cent) have partial college training. A minimal number (8 per cent) have only completed high school—but viewed overall, over 99 per cent are high school educated or better. Class II members generally emphasize the need for a good education for their children. «Getting ahead in life» is tantamount to getting the right kind and amount of education.

Most class III adults (48 per cent) are typically high school graduates (Table 10). A small percentage have completed college (8 per cent) while an even smaller number (less than 1 per cent) have graduate degrees. Next to high school graduates the largest number of persons have partial college training (31 per cent). This, along with the fact that only 12 per cent have educational backgrounds of 11 and less years, whereas 88 per cent have acquired a high school education or better, is apparently an indication of upward striving and status betterment through the dimension of education.

The majority of working class members (71 per cent) are not high school graduates, that is, have completed eleven and less years of schooling. No class IV persons have acquired undergraduate or graduate degrees, and only 3 per cent have even attended college. Only 29 per cent are high school educated or bet-

ter, whereas the bulk of heads of households (65 per cent) have completed between 7-11 years of education, that is, from the 7th grade elementary to junior status in high school (Table 10).

Persons in class V are the least educated in the population. Most of the adults in this stratum have received a junior high school level or less of education (93 per cent). None have even attended college, let alone received undergraduate or graduate degrees. Less than 1 per cent are high school graduates, and as few as 7 per cent have partial high school training. The largest single number of class V persons (53 per cent) have achieved less than 7 years of schooling—making this class the most educationally deprived (Table 10).

Residence and Class. The greatest probability that the dwelling unit a family is inhabiting is owned by that family exists in the upper class. Ninety per cent of their homes are owner-occupied. The largest number of class I persons (48 per cent) live in eight or more roomed dwelling units (Table 12).

About 12 per cent of class I members live in the highest ranking residential area («Very high») in Twin City (Table 11). This is a high status area where many of the families have lived for generations. These homes are all located in the north central and upper north central part of the community. The best homes in the city are located here. Except for a few high status apartment structures, there are no multiple or two-family dwellings; all are single homes. The streets are wide and clean and have many trees. The homes are in an excellent state of repair and are surrounded by landscaped lawns and rather large acreage. It is the only area not plagued to any appreciable extent by traffic problems. Twin City's one hundred or so millionaires live here with their servants and high-priced automobiles. Also living here are many of the top executives, professionals, and proprietors of large businesses in the community. Homes are generally worth over \$ 30,000.

The majority (58 per cent) of upper class families, however, live in «Above average» residential areas (Table 11). These areas are located on the outlying part of the city, either in the northwest or northeast section. These areas are similar to «High» in that both include fewer mansions and less pretentious homes than the «Very high»; both have streets that are kept clean and houses that are well cared for; both are above average in social reputation; both have executives, professionals, and merchants living there; both possess civic leaders of the community; the «solid citizens» of the community live in both these areas. These areas are dissimilar to «High» in that there are more skilled workers and junior executives living here than in «High»; there are a few private housing devel-

TABLE 10. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Education Level of the Head of the Household, by Class Status*

Number of School Years Completed by Head of Household	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Graduate school degree	65.6	20.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	102
College graduate or/and partial graduate school	33.4	43.7	8.0	0.0	0.0	147
Partial college	1.0	27.4	31.4	3.1	0.0	203
High school graduate	0.0	8.4	48.0	26.3	0.3	419
Partial high school (10-11 years)	0.0	0.5	9.8	32.2	6.5	319
Junior high school (7-9 years)	0.0	0.0	2.6	32.4	40.6	402
Less than 7 years	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.0	52.6	219
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811

opments here whereas none exist in the «Very high» and «High» residential localities; there are fewer pretentious homes here than in «High»; the income of those living in «High» is greater than that of this area; and, finally, the real estate value of homes here ranges from about \$ 15,000 to \$ 30,000 whereas the economic evaluation of homes in «High» approximates \$ 30,000.

Eighty-two per cent of the class II houses are owner-occupied. Next to class I, more class II residents live in homes with seven or more rooms (51 per cent) (Table 12). Upper-middle class families live in all but the worst residential areas as Table 11 shows. Close to 4 per cent of their families reside in the very best neighborhoods in the community; only class I has more persons living in these regions. Also, a larger percentage of upper-middle class members (2 per cent) live in residential areas classified as «High» than of any other class. These areas are located in the north central part of the city. They are felt to be superior, above average, but a little below the top. There are fewer top executives, professionals, and proprietors of large businesses living here than in the best areas. There are also fewer mansions and pretentious houses in this district than in the top. However, in both cases, the chief difference is one of reputation. The real estate value of homes approximates \$30,000.

The upper-middle class contains the second highest percentage (49 per cent) of families living in better than average residential areas, being topped only by the upper class (70 per cent). Their next to the best position in the Twin City class hierarchy is once again reaffirmed in this demonstration of residential propinquity to class I.

Eighty per cent of the lower-middle class homes are owner-occupied. Two thirds of these residents live in six or less roomed dwelling units (Table 12). Some class III families live in the better residential areas of the community; slightly over 1 per cent reside in the two highest ranking areas and 38 per cent in «Above average» areas. The majority (56 per cent), however,

live in «Average» neighborhoods (Table 11). In this respect, the lower-middle class is most like the working class. However, the two classes differ in the fact that twice as many class III families live in «Above average» residential areas as do class IV.

Seventy-three per cent of class IV homes are owner-occupied. Except for class V, more class IV families (70 per cent) live in homes with 6 or fewer rooms (Table 12). Close to two thirds of the working class families live in «Average» residential areas (Table 11). Mainly, these areas are found in the central part of the city, close to the main business district. Here are the homes of workmen, small merchants, and clerks which are medium sized and unpretentious but generally neat in appearance; here live «the respectable people in the community who don't amount to much, but never give anybody any trouble». Most of the retail establishments such as grocery stores, butcher shops and gas stations, plus the many row houses that exist in Twin City are found in this and the «Below average» residential districts. Some vegetable gardens and factory establishments are found in these «Average» areas but fewer than in the «Below average» and «Very low» localities. The real estate value of homes ranges from about \$8,000 to \$20,000.

The greatest probability that the dwelling unit a

TABLE 11. *Percentage of Sample Households Awarded A Residence Scale Score of One to Six, by Class Status*

Residence Scale	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Very high	11.5	3.7	0.8	0.0	0.0	21
High	0.0	1.6	0.5	0.1	0.0	6
Above average	58.3	43.2	38.4	15.0	1.2	415
Average	30.2	48.9	56.3	64.3	33.9	972
Below average	0.0	2.6	4.0	19.3	57.5	363
Very low	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	7.4	34
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811

TABLE 12. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating whether the Head of the Household Is Homeowner or Home Renter, by Class Status*

Whether Head of Household is Homeowner or Renter	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Homeowner	90.6	82.1	79.4	72.6	60.0	1,336
Home renter	9.4	17.9	20.6	27.4	40.0	475
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	59.87, 4 df, $p < .001$					

Percentage of Sample Households Indicating the Total Number of Rooms, Excluding the Bathroom, in the Dwelling Unit, by Class Status

Total Number of Rooms in Sample Household	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
One ¹	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	3
Two	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.3	6
Three	2.2	3.2	3.8	5.7	13.2	112
Four	4.1	5.8	10.6	12.1	12.6	195
Five	4.1	11.1	18.8	18.0	16.6	298
Six	24.0	28.9	32.2	34.0	33.3	587
Seven	17.7	25.3	15.0	11.7	12.9	261
Eight or more	47.9	25.7	19.1	17.8	10.8	349
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	143.07, 20 df, $p < .001$					

1. One, two and three rooms are combined for χ^2 analysis.

family is occupying is a rental property exists in the lower class. As many as 40 per cent of these persons are renting the home they live in. Of all classes, also, class V families live in homes with the smallest number of rooms; 76 per cent occupy six rooms or less and 26 per cent inhabit as few as 3 to 4 rooms (Table 12).

Class V residents are essentially excluded from the three leading residential areas (Table 11). They are found in the others, with the largest concentration (58 per cent) in «Below average», and a smaller (7 per cent), but significant number in «Very low». All the residential areas in the «Below average» group are undesirable because they are close to rivers, swamp land, factories, or railroads. There are more run-down houses here than in the better neighborhoods because there are people living here who «don't know how or don't care to take care of things». Although maintenance of homes is low here, it is slightly better than the lowest. There are also better built, newer, and bigger structures here than in the lowest. Some new homes and apartment houses such as public and municipal housing projects are here but due to «lack of care» deterioration has already set in. This area is more congested, traffic-ridden, and culturally heterogeneous than those above. It is said that «all kinds of people live here, and you don't know who your

neighbors will be». There is much movement from neighborhood to neighborhood within these residence areas. Perhaps the best indicator of such movement is the overabundant number of homes with «For Rent» and «For Sale» signs in these areas. The real estate value of homes here is below \$10,000.

The «Very low» residential areas are located in the southeastern section of the city close to the Twin City Steel Company. These areas are similar to the «Below average» in that both are undesirable due to their proximity to factory establishments, rivers, swamp lands, and railroads. Adding to the undesirability, however, of the «Very low» areas are the following factors: (a) the prevalence of more slum districts; (b) the poorest reputation in town because of unpleasant and unhealthy geographical positions, being near garbage dumps, burning trash outside of homes, and the social stigma attached to those who live there; (c) the conditions of the homes are terrible as they have been allowed to deteriorate through lack of maintenance and consequently are little better than shacks; (d) there are no new homes here, whereas at least some occasional construction takes place in the «Below average» areas; (e) the houses of prostitution of some years back, now legally prohibited were formerly located in these areas; (f) income-wise these areas possess most of the low income people of the

TABLE 13. *Percentage of Sample Households Indicating whether the Head of the Household Belongs to One or More Formal Groups of Organizations, by Class Status*

Whether Head of Household Belongs to One or More Formal Organizations	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Belongs to one or more clubs	93.8	82.1	77.9	76.2	58.2	1,356
Does not belong to any club	6.2	17.9	22.1	23.8	41.8	455
n =	96	190	398	802	325	1,811
$\chi^2 =$	74.41, 4 df, $p < .001$					

TABLE 14. *Percentage of Sample Households Belonging to One or More Formal Groups Indicating the Number of Organizations the Head of the Household Belongs to, by Class Status*

Number of Formal Organizations Head of Household Belongs to	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
One	20.0	26.9	33.6	42.7	57.1	533
Two	20.0	34.0	31.6	31.8	23.8	408
Three	22.2	14.7	19.4	14.7	10.6	213
Four	16.7	9.6	11.9	7.2	4.8	120
Five or more	21.1	14.8	3.5	3.6	3.7	82
n =	90	156	310	611	189	1,356
$\chi^2 =$	129.50, 16 df, $p < .001$					

community; (g) the people are referred to by such terms as «shiftless», «ignorant», «lazy», and «immoral»—regardless of their abilities and accomplishments; (h) the real estate value of homes here is less than \$8,000.

Formal Group Membership and Class. Membership in a formal organization in Twin City is directly related to class status. The higher the class, the greater the percentage of heads of households belonging to at least one formal group. Class I contains 94 per cent households that belong to one or more clubs, whereas, on the other end of the class hierarchy, only 58 per cent of class V members claimed such membership (Table 13). One class (I) is hyperactive in formal group membership while another class (V) is a relative non-joiner.

The probability for belonging to more than one organization increases as one proceeds upward on the class scale; 80, 73, 66, 57, and 43 per cent, respectively, of heads of households in each of the classes— from high to low—belong to two or more clubs. Not too surprisingly, there is an extreme concentration of families belonging to four or more formal groups in classes I (38 per cent) and II (24 per cent) indicating, in part, a serious commitment to multi-club membership of a sizeable portion of upper class members (Table 14).

The types of formal organizations that class I

members are most likely to belong, in the order of their importance, are business or civic groups, church connected groups, professional groups, political clubs or organizations, and charitable and welfare organizations. Together these five organizations contain almost three quarters of the total class I membership (Table 15). The extent of involvement in formal associations is greatest in this stratum; over 80 per cent of class I individuals attend meetings frequently and participate actively in the functioning of the organization (Table 16).

Next to class I, the upper-middle stratum is the most hyperactive in the percentage of its members who join formal organizations. As many as 82 per cent of class II families belong to one or more social clubs; this percentage, however high, is still considerably smaller than that of class I (94 per cent) (Table 13). Class II memberships principally include professional groups, business or civic groups, sports teams or clubs, local church organizations, youth serving groups, and charitable and welfare organizations (Table 15). Upper-middle class persons view membership in these community organizations largely as means to a valued end—business or professional success. Most adults (73 per cent) belong to two or more organizations (Table 14). They attend organizational meetings frequently and participate actively in the affairs of the association (Table 16).

Seventy eight per cent of class III families belong

TABLE 15. *Percentage of Sample Households Belonging to One or More Formal Organizations Indicating the Kinds of Groups the Head of the Household Belongs to, by Class Status*¹

Types of Formal Groups Head of Household Belongs to	Class					Number of Multi-Responses
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Business or civic groups	87.8	76.9	30.3	12.1	0.0	367
Charitable and welfare organizations	20.0	10.9	11.0	5.2	3.2	107
Church connected groups	67.8	50.0	61.9	40.8	61.9	697
Fraternal organizations or lodges	11.1	9.6	10.6	4.3	2.1	88
Labor unions	0.0	5.1	21.0	76.9	45.5	629
Neighborhood clubs or community centers	5.6	12.2	14.8	7.5	3.2	122
Neighborhood improvement associations	13.3	7.7	12.6	3.3	3.7	90
Organizations of people of the same nationality	0.0	2.6	4.2	12.4	23.3	137
Political clubs or organizations	25.6	10.9	4.8	3.6	3.2	83
Professional groups	34.4	26.9	10.6	1.0	0.0	112
Sports teams or clubs	6.7	16.7	3.5	8.8	5.3	107
Women's clubs	13.3	9.6	9.4	4.4	2.1	87
Veterans' organizations	11.1	14.7	19.4	16.2	16.4	223
Youth serving groups	14.4	13.5	7.7	2.8	4.8	84
Number of Multi-responses =	280	417	688	1,218	330	2,933
n =	90	156	310	611	189	1,356

1. The percentages total more than 100.0/o since more than one formal group could be selected by the respondent.

to one or more formal organizations. In this respect this stratum is most like the working class (76 per cent) and least like the lower class (58 per cent) (Table 13). Over two thirds of lower-middle class members belong to two or more formal associations (Table 14). They have membership in community organizations of all types, but are most numerous in church connected groups, neighborhood clubs or community centers, veteran's organizations, business or civic clubs, neighborhood improvement associations, and labor unions (Table 15). The extent of commitment of class III individuals to these organizations is nearly as great as that of class II. Close to 70 per cent of lower-middle class members attend associational meetings frequently and participate actively in the organization (Table 16).

The working class (76 per cent) is most like the lower-middle class (78 per cent) in the percentage of its members who belong to one or more formal associations (Table 13). Lower class families, however, are more likely to belong to only one formal organization; the upper stratum contains only 20 per cent who are single club members, upper-middle class (27 per cent), lower-middle class (34 per cent), working class (43 per cent), and the lower class (57 per cent) (Table 14). Predictably, the one formal organization to which nearly three quarters of all working class individuals belong is a labor union (Table 15). They are most like the lower class in their lack of involvement in organizational activity; 44 per cent rarely, if ever, attend formal club meetings (Table 16).

The lower class is characterized, more than any of

the other strata, by social and physical isolation from the mainstream of community life. The fact of not belonging to any formal organizations in Twin City is inversely related to class position. The lower the class, the greater the percentage of heads of households not belonging to any formal groups. As many as 42 per cent of class V families, for example, did not belong to any formal associations, whereas only 6 per cent of class I households did not claim such membership (Table 13). When they do belong to a formal organization, class V individuals (81 per cent) are twice as likely as the upper class (40 per cent) to have membership in two or less associations (Table 14). The two associations to which over two thirds of the class V adult males belong in their order of importance are church connected groups and labor unions (Table 15). Involvement in formal organizations is minimal; the majority (50 per cent) of those individuals who do belong to a formal association are «nonattenders» of organizational meetings or rarely attend (Table 16).

conclusion

This paper is a duplication of part of Hollingshead's two studies of a middle western (1947) and New England (1958) community. It is a study which shows many of the correlates of social class (ethnicity, formal group membership, etc.) and emphasizes that social classes are important in many areas of social life. It is a study, too, where description of the various social classes in the community provides us with evidence of the differentiation of the social structure.

TABLE 16. Percentage of Heads of Households within Each Class and Who Belong to One or More Formal Organizations, by Degree of Group Participation during the Past Three Months

Degree of Organization Attendance Activity by Head of Household in Past Three Months	Class					n
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Attends no meetings	11.1	15.4	14.5	22.2	31.2	274
Attends meetings rarely	7.8	7.1	17.7	21.8	18.5	241
Attends meetings frequently	25.6	41.7	34.8	38.8	38.1	505
Attends meetings frequently and is active	55.5	35.8	33.0	17.2	12.2	336
n =	90	156	310	611	189	1,356
$\chi^2 =$	125.58, 12 df, $p < .001$					

Of course, these are neither new nor radical findings, but since they do relate to a different community and different empirical circumstances, they represent an important replication of various stratification components.

The general objective of this paper, which was to describe the various demographic and socio-cultural patterns associated with each stratum in Twin City, has been satisfied. Description of the class characteristics was made more fruitful through use of the Hollingshead Index of Social Position. In turn, strati-

fying Twin City in order to enumerate the class characteristics, provided us with a clearer picture and understanding of the organization and function of this community as a sociological entity. Furthermore, since the «operationally determined 'class', which emerges from the use of the I.S.P., is presumed to be a reasonably accurate estimate of the status positions which persons occupy in the community» (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958 : 67), the five class hierarchy and resultant data may be viewed as reflecting accurately the class structure of Twin City.

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