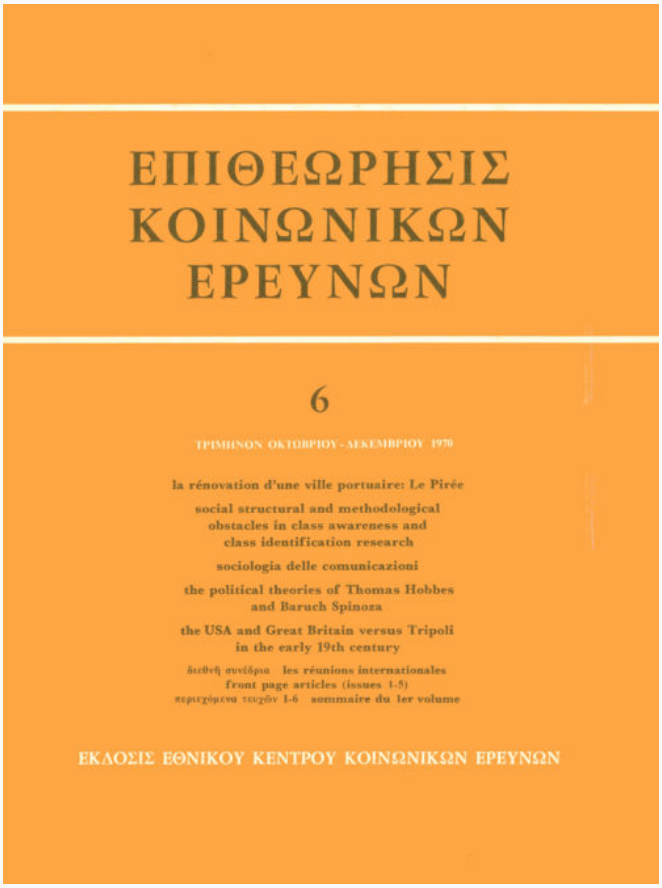
The Greek Review of Social Research

Vol 6 (1970)

6




## Social structural and methodological obstacles in class awareness and class identification research

*George W. Lowis*

doi: 10.12681/grsr.361

# social structural and methodological obstacles in class awareness and class identification research

by
**George W. Lowis**
Ph.D.
*Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Skidmore College Saratoga Springs, New York*

Σκοπὸς τῆς μελέτης αὐτῆς εἶναι: Πρῶτον, νὰ συνοψίσῃ τὰς κατὰ τὸ παρὸν διαθεσίμους, καίτοι ἀντιτιθεμένας πληροφορίας ἐρευνῶν τὰς ἀφορώσας εἰς τὴν συνειδητοποίησιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν 'Αμερικανῶν τῆς ὑπάρξεως κοινωνικῶν τάξεων καὶ εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν ταυτίσεώς των πρὸς μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν. Δεύτερον, νὰ ἐκθέσῃ μερικὰς ἀπὸ τὰς πλέον σημαντικὰς ἀπόψεις αἱ ὁποῖαι διετυπώθησαν ὑπὸ ἐρευνητῶν προκειμένου νὰ ἐξηγηθοῦν αἱ διαφοραὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐμφανίζονται εἰς τὰ πορίσματα τῶν διαφόρων ἐρευνῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν προσπάθειαν ἑρμηνείας αὐτῶν. Τρίτον, νὰ ἀπαριθμήσῃ τὰς ἀμέσους ἐπιπτώσεις διὰ τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν ἔρευναν αἱ ὁποῖαι φαίνεται νὰ προκύπτουν ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω στοιχείων. 'Η μελέτη τῆς βιβλιογραφίας ἀποκαλύπτει ὅτι οἱ ἀμερικανοὶ ἐρευνηταὶ δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ καταλήξουν εἰς ἑνιαῖα τελικὰ συμπεράσματα ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν συνειδητοποίησιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν 'Αμερικανῶν τῆς ὑπάρξεως κοινωνικῶν τάξεων καὶ εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν ταυτίσεώς των πρὸς μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν. Αἱ ἐξηγήσεις αἱ ὁποῖαι δίδονται καὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ δικαιολογήσουν τὰς διαφορὰς ἀπόψεων μεταξὺ τῶν ἐρευνητῶν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ θέματος ὀφείλονται βασικῶς εἰς μεθοδολογικὰς δυσκολίας καὶ δὴ εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι: α) ἐγένοντο γενικεύσεις πορισμάτων ἐρευνῶν αἱ ὁποῖαι διεξήχθησαν εἰς ἐλαχίστας μικρὰς κοινότητας, β) δὲν ὑπάρχει συμφωνία μεταξὺ τῶν πορισμάτων τῶν διεξαχθεισῶν ἐρευνῶν καὶ δι' ἄλλους λόγους ἀλλὰ κυρίως διότι οἱ ἐρευνηταὶ ἐχρησιμοποίησαν διαφόρους μεθόδους προσεγγίσεως τοῦ θέματος. Τονίζεται τέλος ὅτι, καὶ ἂν ἀκόμη αἱ ἀνωτέρω δυσκολίαι ὑπερπηδηθοῦν δι' ἐρευνῶν εὐρυτέρας ἐκτάσεως καὶ χρησιμοποιήσεως καθαρῶς ἀντικειμενικῶν μεθόδων, θὰ ἐξακολουθῇ νὰ ὑπάρχῃ ποιά τις θεωρητικὴ καὶ ἐμπειρικὴ ἀσάφεια ὀφειλομένη εἰς τὸν παράγοντα κοινωνικῆς δομῆς. 'Ο συγγραφεὺς πιστεύει ὅτι, ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ζοῦν εἰς μίαν κοινωνίαν ὅπου ἡ «ἀντικειμενικὴ» ταξικὴ πραγματικότης εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐπηρεασθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδεολογίαν τοῦ μύθου τῆς ἰσότητος, θὰ ἐξακολουθοῦν συνειδητῶς ἢ μὴ νὰ διαστρέφουν τὴν «πραγματικὴν» ταξικὴν θέσιν των.

Two principle components of class consciousness are class knowledge and class identification.[1] Questions regarding the nature and extent of these two attributes[2] have been debatable issues among researchers

1. For an extended discussion of these, plus ideology as a third factor of class consciousness, see Barber (1957:190-212). Class consciousness here refers to the degree that there is a common awareness of and identification with social classes on the part of the members of a community. Accordingly, class consciousness exists if a sufficient number of the respondents of a research investigation are able to say that there are classes, what the names of the classes are, how many there are, and are able to place themselves in these classes.

2. Typical questions asked by researchers to measure respondent awareness and knowledge of social classes are «Do social classes exist in the United States, in the community?»; «Are you aware of social classes in your community?»; «How many classes are there in the community?»; and «What are some of the most important criteria used to designate social class?». Class identification pertains to the class self-placements or designations that people make. A frequently asked question to determine the level of identification is «To which class do you feel you belong?». Often, to assist the respondent in making this designation, a mimeographed card containing three or more class categories is presented, from which the subject is to select one. Other researchers do not put these questions so directly since, they feel, the American value system of equality leads people to deny stratification. Consequently, during the interview situation, they record a wide range of verbalizations, and then abstract out the explicit and implicit self-identifications and awareness of class by noting the invidious distinctions that appear See, for example, the research by Jones (1941) and Useem (1942).

in the field of social stratification. One group has revealed the existence of an extensive respondent vagueness and ignorance of class knowledge,[1] while another has shown that sample populations possess relatively precise estimations of class knowledge. Researchers, concerned with self-class identification, have also demonstrated contradictory evidence in as much as some find their subjects committed to a «working class» and others to a «middle class» ideological attachment. In view of these inconclusive and confusing findings a review of select, empirically oriented,[2] and largely American stratification literature[3] was conducted to provide those engaged in sociological research with a large, more coherent body of recent literature in regard to class consciousness. This paper has three purposes. The first is to summarize the presently available, although contrasting, research information on class knowledge and identification. This was accomplished by a review of major research investigations, directly or indirectly related to class consciousness, conducted during the late depression period to the middle sixties. The second is to set forth some of the more important explanations advanced by scholars to account for these differences of interpretation. By identifying and clarifying some of the research and theoretical obscurities existing, it will be possible to put to better use the concepts of class knowledge and identification. The third is to enumerate the immediate implications for theory and research that seem to follow from these considerations.

## theoretical assumptions relating to review of literature

The range of issues pertaining to class consciousness is not limited, of cource, to class identification and knowledge; that of ideology is also relevant for any composite analysis of class consciousness. But the principal concern of this review is to explore a variety of topics deemed pertinent to the understanding of two of these—class knowledge and identification.[4] These aspects were selected following an intensive examination of the research literature of class consciousness. For purposes of this research, then, we will equate the «naming» or identification of one's class position, and knowledge or awareness of class, with class consciousness.[5]

Although there are «subjective» and «objective» measures of social stratification,[6] primarily for lack

1. Vagueness or ignorance of class knowledge must not be confused with lack of knowledge (See Barber, 1957:191). In the former, an element of ambiguity and uncertainty is present. Elements of class knowledge, however, exist in the additudinal framework of the respondent, even though this be permeated partly by confusion. Lack of knowledge, on the other hand, has a connotation which prohibits any possible intelligible response from the respondent due to absence of any class knowledge whatsoever.

2. Unlike the purely theoretical analyses of class consciousness by writers such as Platt (1924-5), Haveman (1954), and North (1937), this writer's discussion of the relevance of class identification and prevalence includes primarily conclusions derived from empirical investigations.

3. Except for an occasional reference to studies conducted outside the United States, most of the literature cited is American.

4. Of the two, perhaps the most popular measure of class consciousness is class identification. For confirmation, see Leggett (1963b:174).

5. By so delineating and limiting the conceptual scope of class consciousness important studies such as those represented by Leggett (1962, 1963a, 1963b, 1964, and 1968) and Glantz (1958) were omitted from the review of the literature. In those investigations important but different criteria were used to study class consciousness. In his random sample investigation of 375 blue collar workers of Detroit, Michigan in 1960, Leggett defined working class consciousness as a cumulative series of mental states ranging from class verbalization (lowest degree of class consciousness), through skepticism, and militance to egalitarianism (highest degree of class consciousness). These categories represented for Leggett four aspects of worker class consciousness, and after responses were analyzed workers were appropriately categorized into one of these four. Glantz, on the other hand, in a stratified sample study of white males (N = 400), conducted in the early nineteen fifties in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, did not limit his population to blue collar workers as had Leggett. Included, along with skilled and semi-skilled workers, were sales and clerical personnel, small and large businessmen, and professionals. Class conscious persons were designated on the basis of a combination of «allegiance» and «orientation». «Allegiance» was established by asking the respondents during the interview: «To which one of these groups do you feel you owe your allegiance—business or labor?». The question on «orientation» concerned the respondents agreeing or disagreeing «with six partisan statements culled from the literature of two organizations of opposite politico-economic view-points: 3 from the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and 3 from the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO)». Leggett and Glantz, then, did not approach the study of class consciousness, as did this writer, by collecting data about class self-placement or identification with a particular class. Neither did they concern themselves with the question of whether respondents were knowledgeable, and to what extent, of the number and existence of social classes in the community. Instead, the type of question permeating Leggett's research concerned whether or not there was a working-class consciousness, and to what degree, in regard to such matters as worker involvement in politics, employment-unemployment status, and union-non-union membership. On the other hand, the principle concern of Glantz was to determine the extent of class consciousness among his different occupational groups, in regard to various aspects of political concern.

6. The three most common stratification techniques used to ascertain class knowledge and to identify social class are the self-identification, reputational and objective approaches. Two of these, the self-identification and reputational, are principally concerned with the subjective element of status feelings in as much as they constitute a ranking of a population in terms of positions in which the members place themselves. In the objective approach, the researchers, and not the respondents or raters, are directly involved in the ascertainment process. It is they who divide the population into strata or categories. For excellent summaries of objective and subjective conceptualizations of stratification see Glantz (1958), MacIver and Page (1949:350), Centers (1949b:27), and Hatt (1950).

TABLE 1. *Studies Where Respondent Knowledge of Class Structure and the Place of Different People in it is Vague and Unclear*

| Study | Locale of Study | Type and Number of Subjects Used | Stratification Problem and/or Question to be Resolved | Result |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lenski (1950 and 1952) | Danielson, Connecticut | 24 raters | To ascertain the number of classes and how much agreement there was in their opinions on the number of classes in the community. | Greatest percentage of raters agreeing on a particular number of social strata (6 classes) into which 173 families should be placed was eight or 1/3 of the total number. |
| Sargent (1953) | Ventura, California | 200 interviewees | To discover whether class was a significant variable in people's thinking. | Only 17 per cent of the responses relate to explicit mention of status or class. |
| Yoshino (1959) | Seattle, Washington | 93 interviewees, Negro middle class | To ascertain social class knowledge. | Most of the respondents «were quite nebulous with respect to their opinion of the social class to which they thought they belonged». |
| Himmelweit (1952) | England | 624 male interviewees between 13-14 years of age | Social class designation was derived from this question, «Do you think there are social classes in England?». | Sixty per cent said «they did not understand the question». |
| Jones (1941) | Akron, Ohio | various occupational groups as interviewees | To study attitudes of class and property rights. | «The ideas of Americans on the subject of classes were lacking in sharpness». The class expressed knowledge of the majority of interviewees was vague and imprecise. |
| Schuler (1940) | Louisiana rural community | 9 raters | To assign individual ratings to 101 farm families that would be converted into social status scores. | Four of 9 raters or almost 50 per cent possessed minimal and/or vague knowledge of the class structure of the community. |
| Scudder and Anderson (1954) | Small Southern town | raters | To determine the consistency with which different raters assign prestige ranks to respondents. | A large proportion of families at the lowest and highest status levels were not classified. Also, the raters tended to «manifest different and in part erratic limitations of acquaintance». |
| Lundberg (1940) | New England village | 2 raters (a banker and a janitor) and the F. Stuart Chapin scale | To rate 219 homes on a six point socio-economic scale. | There was relatively little agreement of common-sense judgements of socio-economic status among the two raters. Complete agreement between the banker and the janitor was only 31.1 per cent. Further, the level of agreement between the ratings of the banker and those of the janitor were considerably less than the agreement of either with the Chapin scale. |
| Kaufman (1944, 1945 and 1946) | Small New York State community | 14 raters | Raters asked to rate every family they knew in town, with no restriction on the number of strata or how fine a distinction should be made. | The largest proportion of raters agreeing on a particular number of social classes (six classes) into which the township families would be placed was six or 3/7 of the total per cent. |
| Lasswell (1954) | Citrus City, California | raters | To determine raters' knowledge of their community's class structure and the place of different people in it. | In two series of interviews no general agreement was demonstrated as to the number of social strata in the community. |

TABLE 2. *Research Investigations Where a High Degree of Respondent Class Awareness Exists*

| Study | Locale of Study | Type and Number of Subjects Used | Stratification Problem and/or Question to be Resolved | Result |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hollingshead (1961) | Elmtown, small midwestern community | first, 25 raters used; then 12 raters | To rank families in terms of prestige. | The results of both rating procedures demonstrated that respectable majorities—19 of 25 raters and 10 of 12 raters—agreed that the number of classes in Elmtown was five. Furthermore, the correlation in placements for those raters who used five classes in both rating procedures was .88. |
| Ellis (1957) | Christiana, Jamaica, West Indies (small town) | 34 residents served as both raters and ratees | To determine social differences and extent of class membership. | Of the 34 sample subjects, 29 reported social differences and the existence of social classes. The largest percentage of raters-judges agreeing on a particular number of social classes (three classes) into which the community's population could be divided was 20 or 7/10 of the total per cent. |
| Manis and Meltzer (1954) | Paterson, New Jersey | 95 textile interviewees (workers) | Whether social classes exist in the community. | Ninety out of 95 respondents replied in the affirmative. |
| Lopreato (1960 and 1961) | Small Italian village | first, 10 raters used; then 23 raters | To determine whether a 6 strata classification, made by a sample of 120 persons, was appropriate. | Over 80 per cent of the judges or raters in both instances agreed on a six class system for their community. |
| Useem (1942) | Prairieton, small South Dakota town | 44 families as interviewees | To determine social class structure of community. | A crystallized class structure prevailed in Prairieton inasmuch as there existed minimal social mobility and movement between the groups, the differences between the strata were sufficiently clear and institutionalized, and the ascribed or hereditary principle of status characterized the community. |
| Svalastoga (1956) | Denmark | 1,456 interviewees, national sample | Whether class differences exist in their country. | In all classes (I-V), the majority of persons replied in the affirmative. |
| Hollingshead and Redlich | New Haven, Connecticut | 3,559 households | Whether classes exist in their community. | In all classes (I-V) the majority of persons replied in the affirmative. |
| Lowis (1963) | Twin City, Pennsylvania | 1,811 households | Whether classes exist in their community. | In all classes (I-V) the majority of persons replied in the affirmative. |
| Kahl and Davis (1955) | New England City | 219 male interviewees | How many strata can be discerned in the community. | The greatest number of respondents (62 per cent) agreed on a class system consisting of three or four strata. In addition, of the 170 respondents who described a system with two or more strata, 69 per cent used as criteria, separating one stratum from another, variables that could be couched in terms of social class such as income, status or style of life, and occupation. |
| Mack (1951) | Summit, North Carolina City | 20 raters | To test the proposition, that a housing index would provide a valid indication of the social class positions of individuals, a short list of names of persons belonging to three different social levels (upper, middle, and lower classes) was collected from twenty raters. | When lists were compared, the agreement among raters as to their rankings of the people in the community was very high. |

of space, objectively derived stratification data are omitted from detailed consideration in this paper. Suffice it to say, there do exist research investigations where class knowledge and identification are ascertained by the researcher in his capacity as a participant observer and/or by objective data such as census information, dwelling area, occupation, income, and so forth.[1] This review is, however, confined to interpreting class knowledge and identification data derived from two subjective indices characterized most frequently in the literature as the self-identification and reputational approaches. The logic of the self-identification approach is to determine the level of class consciousness by asking respondents to give information about and rank themselves in the class hierarchy. The respondents are asked, either directly or indirectly, what class they think they belong to. The reputational approach consists primarily of having informants or raters evaluate, judge or rank other members of the community on the basis of their class knowledge and identification ability. Class consciousness is accordingly viewed as relevant and real only when an individual other than the researcher makes a class placement or estimation.[2] Consciousness of class exists, consequently, because the thinking of the informant, rater, or respondent makes it so.

## review of the literature

*Extent of Class Knowledge and Identification.* A survey of the literature, in regard to determining the extent of class awareness or ignorance of sample populations, reveals two contradictory conclusions (See Tables 1 - 2). Perhaps the best known evidence derives from studies of communities where a considerable uncertainty or confusion of class knowledge is found (Lenski, 1950 and 1952; Sargent, 1953; Yoshino, 1959; Himmelweit, 1952; Jones, 1941; Schuler, 1940; Lundberg, 1940; Kaufman, 1944, 1945 and 1946; Lasswell, 1954; and Scudder and Anderson, 1954). A second research interpretation is suggested by a fairly precise estimate of class knowledge, where the degree of ignorance is relatively small, and where the majority of respondents and/or raters demonstrate an awareness of the existence of social class (Hollingshead, 1961; Ellis, 1957; Manis and Meltzer, 1954; Lopreato, 1960 and 1961; Useem, 1942; Svalastoga, 1956; Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958; Lowis, 1963; Kahl and Davis, 1955; and Mack, 1951).

Numerous studies have been conducted of the extent of class identification, but they, like the class knowledge research, arrive at contradictory conclusions. The two most prevalent orientations depicting class identification are those relating to middle class (Table 3) and working class (Table 4) images. One type of finding has the largest proportion of persons placing themselves in the «middle class» (Gallup and Rae, 1940; Fortune, 1940; Haer, 1957a and 1957b; Hodge and Treiman, 1968; Tucker, 1968; Cantril, 1943; Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; and Tucker, 1966a and 1966b). Another type of research finding has established a rather strong working class identification, and thus has challenged the finding that the majority of persons consider themselves to be middle class (Centers, 1949b; Case, 1952; Hamilton, 1966a and 1966b; Rogoff, 1953c; Cole, 1955; Manis and Meltzer, 1954; and Buchanan and Cantril, 1953).

*Explanations that Attempt to Account for Differences of Interpretation of Class Knowledge and Identification.* The research evidence cited suggests that there is neither general unanimity by the sample populations of comprehension and knowledge of the societal class structure, nor is there agreement on the extent of class identification. Explanations that attempt to account for these diverse class differences in respondent interpretation and knowledge center around two related sets of obstacles, hereafter called social-structural and methodological. Social-structural and methodological obstacles refer to those factors present in the social structure and research situation, respectively, which promote differential interpretation of the class positions men occupy, and which serve to distort, inhibit, and minimize a sharp and strong realization of class consciousness.

## methodological obstacles

Many sociologists such as Hodges (1964), Case (1955), Gross (1953), Williams (1958), Ogburn and Nimkoff (1958), Merrill (1957), Mayer (1964), Barber (1957), Haer (1957b), Kahl and Davis (1955), Cuber and Kenkel (1954), Hodge and Trieman (1968), Manis and Meltzer (1954 and 1963), Broom and Selznik

1. For a representative sampling of this literature see the «objective» oriented studies of Form (1945), Drake and Cayton (1945), Lynd and Lynd (1937), Mills (1946 and 1951), Gallaher (1961), Hill and Mc Call (1950) and Ellis (1963).

2. Another dimension involved in consideration of the «reality» of class consciousness is the question of whether the distribution of class knowledge and class identification responses forms a continuum rather than a series of clearly demarcated social classes. Accordingly, class awareness and class identification are viewed as an ability of the respondents and informants to place themselves and others according to a perception of continuous or discrete ranked categories. Both types of viewpoints are represented in the conclusions posited by various authors cited in the review. No attempt is made, however, to incorporate them into the present analysis since this would add little, if any, academic insight into the questions considered in this paper. Illustrative investigations characterizing the discrete thesis are those by Lynd (1929), Centers (1949b), Hollingshead (1961), West (1945), and Warner (1960), whereas those by Lenski (1950 and 1952), and Hetzler (1953) relate to the continuum hypothesis.

TABLE 3. *Studies Where the Class Identification of the Majority of Respondents is Middle Class*

| Study | Design of Sample and Population Composition | Number of Subjects | Proportion of Subjects Identifying with the Middle Class |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gallup and Rae (1940) | United States, national population | N=[a] | 88 per cent |
| Fortune (1940) | United States, national population | N=5,127<br>N=2,947 | 47 per cent [b] (open-ended question)<br>79 per cent (structured question) |
| Haer (1957a) and (1957b) | United States, Tallahassee, Florida, area probability sample; white adults | N=320<br>N=320 | 43 per cent (open-ended question)<br>53 per cent (forced-answer question) |
| Hodge and Treiman (1968) | United States, national population, area probability sample; adult males and females | N=918<br>N=923 | 61 per cent [b] (structured question)<br>75 per cent [b] (open-ended question) |
| Tucker (1968) | United States, national population, area probability sample; white and non-white employed men, 21 years and over | N=525 | 66 per cent [b] |
| Cantril (1943) | United States, national population | N=[a] | 87 per cent |
| Tucker (1966a) and (1966b) | United States, national population, area probability sample; clerical and sales workers | N=62 | 63 per cent [b] |
| Buchanan and Cantril (1953) | Four nations, clerical workers | Country / N<br>Australia 116<br>West Germany 917<br>Italy 51<br>Mexico 303 | <br>53 per cent<br>70 per cent<br>78 per cent<br>50 per cent |

[a] No population estimate was found for this study.
[b] Proportion of respondents identifying with the «middle class» and related labels such as upper-middle and lower-middle.

TABLE 4. *Research Investigations Where the Majority of Respondents Identify with the Working Class*

| Study | Design of Sample and Population Composition | Number of Subjects | Proportion of Subjects Identifying with the Working Class |
|---|---|---|---|
| Centers (1949b) | United States, national population, quota control sample; white employed men, 21 years and older | N=1,097 | 51 per cent |
| Case (1952) | United States, Washington, stratified random sample; men and women, 21 years and older | N=441 | 55 per cent |
| Hamilton (1966a) and (1966b) | United States, national population; clerical and sales employees | N=124 | 52 per cent |
| Rogoff (1953c) | France, national population | N=2,230<br>N=2,230 | 27 per cent (open-ended question)<br>36 per cent (structured question) |
| Manis and Meltzer (1954) | United States, Paterson, New Jersey, random sample; male blue collar (textile) workers | N=95 | Out of a total of 105 class self designations, «working class» was mentioned 52 times |
| Buchanan and Cantril (1953) | United States, clerical workers | N=155 | 57 per cent |
| Cole (1955) | Britain, national population | N=[a] | 46 per cent |

[a] No population estimate was found for this study.

TABLE 5. *Social Class Self-Placement of Respondents in Three Samples in Response to One Structured Question with Three Fixed Class Choices (U-M-L)*

| Class Self-Placement | United States Gallup & Rae (1940) (Per cent) | United States Fortune (1940) (Per cent) | Minneapolis, Minnesota (U.S.) Gross (1953) (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 6.0 | 7.6 | 5.0 |
| Middle | 88.0 | 79.2 | 76.0 |
| Lower | 6.0 | 7.9 | 10.0 |
| Irrelevant class repsonse [a] | — | — | 3.0 |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | — | 5.3 | 6.0 |
| Total N | ( ) [c] | (2,947) | (935) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population | National population, conducted by the Elmo Roper Public Opinion Organization | Minneapolis population, stratified sample of four census tracts according to median or mean rental value of homes; heads of household |
| Social class indentification question asked | «To what social class in this country do you think you belong, the middle class, the upper, or the lower?» | «If you had to describe the class to which you belong with one of these three words, which would you pick, Upper, Middle, or Lower?» | «Some people say there are three social classes in Minneapolis. They call them Lower, Middle, and Upper Social classes. Which would you put yourself in?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 88 per cent, «middle class» | 79 per cent, «middle class» | 76 per cent, «middle class» |

[a] Includes persons who identify themselves with categories which are irrelevant to any kind of conventional social-political-economic concept of class—e.g., they assert membership in the «friendly», «worldly», «white», or «religious» class.
[b] Includes persons who are unable to name a class, refuse to answer, don't know, or do not believe in classes.
[c] No population estimate was found for this study.

(1963), Kahl (1957), and Svalastoga (1956), argue that the working and middle class identifications people make in research investigations, plus also the extent to which they possess knowledge of the class structure, are not a real expression of their ideology, rather represent, in part, an artifact of the specific questions asked and criteria employed. This conclusion, that the results of research are often influenced by the methods used by the researcher refers directly to methodological obstacles. Perhaps the most relevant understanding in this regard may be effected by an analysis of responses associated with questions concerned with class identification. Accordingly, three types of class identification studies are enumerated and presently discussed.

A. *Forced-Choice Questions with Three or More Class Categories.* Especially suggestive that social class identification depends somewhat on the methods are those studies utilizing fixed-alternative questions with three or more class categories (See Tables 5-7). In the national public opinion survey, conducted by Fortune magazine (Fortune, 1940), and in the Gallup and Rae (1940) study respondents were given the choice of identifying with one of three fixed-choice categories, the «upper», «middle», or «lower» classes. The majority, in both sets of data, chose the «middle» class designation (See Table 5). However, in national sample surveys conducted by the British Institute of Public Opinion (Cole, 1955), and Centers (1949b), several years after the Roper and Gallup and Rae investigations, a fixed-alternative selection of four class categories was presented to the respondents, as follows: «upper», «middle», «working» and «lower». The wording here of the fixed answers was changed by adding «working class» to the list of choices. Consequently, a different picture emerges. Half of the British sample or 46 per cent and slightly more than half of the Centers' sample or 51 per cent said they belonged in the «working class». In the Centers' survey, only 43 per cent accepted the «middle class» characterization. And this middle class percentage designation is considerably smaller than the middle class identifications of the Fortune (80 per cent) and the Gallup and Rae (88 per cent) research (See Table 6). Hodge and Treiman (1968), except for the introduction of a fifth category of an alternate response (upper-middle class), utilized a structured question identical to that previously used by Centers (1949b). The single largest percentage of their respondents (61 per cent) identified with the middle and upper-middle class, while 34 per cent

TABLE 6. *Social Class Self-Placement of Respondents in Six Samples in Response to One Structured Question with Four Fixed Class Choices (U-M-W-L)*

| Class Self-Placement | United States Centers (1949b) (Per cent) | Washington State (U.S.) Case (1952) (Per cent) | United States Hamilton (1966a) (1966b) (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 3.0 | 1.0 | — |
| Middle | 43.0 | 41.0 | — |
| Working | 51.0 | 55.0 | 52.0 [c] |
| Lower | 1.0 | 2.0 | — |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | — | — | — |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 2.0 | 1.0 | — |
| Total N | (1,097) | (441) | (124) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population, quota control sample; white employed men, 21 years and older | Washington State population, stratified random sample; men and women, 21 years and older | National population, conducted by University of Michigan Survey Research Center; clerical and sales employees |
| Social class identification question asked | «If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?» | «If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class?» | The four social class labels of «upper», «middle», «working» and «lower» were used. |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 51 per cent, «working class» | 55 per cent, «working class» | 52 per cent, «working class» |

| Class Self-Placement | France Rogoff (1953c) (Per cent) | Tallahassee, Florida (U.S.) Haer (1957b) (Per cent) | Minneapolis, Minnesota (U.S.) Gross (1953) (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 10.2 | 4.7 | 2.0 |
| Middle | 29.8 | 53.1 | 42.0 |
| Working | 35.8 | 36.6 | 45.0 |
| Lower | 19.1 | 0.0 | 3.0 |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | — | — | 5.0 |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 5.1 | — | 3.0 |
| Total N | (2,230) | (320) | (935) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population, conducted by Social Psychological Section of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques | Tallahassee population, area probability sample; white adults | Minneapolis population, stratified sample of four census tracts according to median or mean rental value of homes; heads of households |
| Social class identification question asked | The four class categories used, instead of upper, middle, working and lower were «bourgeois», «middle», «working», and «peasant» | «If you were asked to use one of these names for your social class standing, which would you say you belong to: the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?» | «Some authorities claim that there are four social classes: middle class, lower class, working class, and upper class. To which of these social classes would you say you belonged?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 36 per cent, «working class» | 53 per cent, «middle class» | 45 per cent, «working class» |

[a] Includes persons who identify themselves with categories which are irrelevant to any kind of conventional social-political-economic concept of class—e.g., they assert membership in the «friendly», «worldly», «white», or «religious» class.
[b] Includes persons who are unable to name a class, refuse to answer, don't know, or do not believe in classes.
[c] Percentage breakdowns were given for only one category.

TABLE 7. *Social Class Self-Placement of Respondents in Four Samples in Response to One Structured Question with Five or Six Fixed Class Choices*

| Class Self-Placement | United States Hodge & Treiman (1968) U-UM-M-W-L (Per cent) | United States Tucker (1968) U-UM-M-LM-W-L (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|
| Upper | 2.2 | 1.0 |
| Upper-middle | 16.6 | 16.0 |
| Middle | 44.0 | 41.0 |
| Lower-middle | — | 9.0 |
| Working | 34.3 | 31.0 |
| Lower | 2.3 | 1.0 |
| Don't know and refusal | .6 | — |
| Total N | (918) | (525) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population, area probability sample, conducted by National Opinion Research Center; adult males and females | National population, area probability sample; white and non-white employed men, 21 years and over |
| Social class identification question asked | «If you were asked to use one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class, upper-middle class, or upper class?» | «If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged: working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, or upper?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 61 per cent, «middle» and «upper-middle class» | 66 per cent, «middle class» and related labels |

| Class Self-Placement | United States Tucker (1966a) (1966b) U-UM-M-LM-W-L (Per cent) | Cambridge, Massachusetts (U.S.) Kahl & Davis (1955) U-UM-M-LM-W-L (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|
| Upper | 19.0 [a] | 4.0 |
| Upper-middle | — | 19.0 |
| Middle | 52.0 | 12.0 |
| Lower-middle | 11.0 | 12.0 |
| Working | 18.0 [a] | 47.0 |
| Lower | — | 3.0 |
| Don't know and refusal | — | 3.0 |
| Total N | (62) | (219) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population, area probability sample; clerical and sales employees | Cambridge population, stratified sample; males between ages 30-49, American educated |
| Social class identification question asked | «If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged: working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, or upper?» | «If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, the lower class, the working class, or the upper class? If middle: Would you say you were in the upper-middle or the lower-middle?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 63 per cent, «middle class» and «lower-middle class» | 47 per cent, «working class» |

[a] Of the six class categories, «upper» was combined with «upper-middle» and «working» with «lower class».

affiliated with the working class. The overall distribution of class identification in the Hodge and Treiman analysis departs somewhat from that reported by Centers for 1945, since approximately 16 per cent of their population identified with the working class. This decline, the author suggests, is probably attributable to the upward trend in the distribution of real income and of educational attainment in recent years, plus also, however, to the inclusion of the additional response option—«upper-middle class»—in their question (See Tables 6 and 7).

In a study by Tucker (1966a and 1966b), emphasizing the white collar occupations of clerical and sales workers, six social class labels were used: working, lower, lower-middle, upper-middle, middle or upper. The majority or 63 per cent of white collar respondents gave middle class related labels to identify their social class. Only 18 per cent chose the working class label. Hamilton (1966a and 1966b), in a secondary analysis of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center 1956 election study[1] used the same two white collar occupation categories of clerical and sales workers as the major point of emphasis. Four possible class identification responses, however, were introduced (lower, working, middle, and upper class). He arrived at a different conclusion regarding his sample. Approximately half (52 per cent) of his white collar sample (N = 124) identified themselves as working class. Apparently, neither Tucker's nor Hamilton's findings are indicative of a trend. Instead, they probably represent a function of changed question wording, i.e., the choice to respondents among four or six class label possibilities. The subjects had, for example, the opportunity in only one of the investigations to place themselves in the «lower-middle class» instead of the «working class». Another possibility exists. Their findings may be indicative of another kind of methodological bias, the type of sample utilized. Tucker used only full-time employed men while Hamilton's study included both sexes (See Tables 6 and 7).

Comparing data from his 1963 study, with the earlier Centers' (1949b) investigation, Tucker (1968) found that there was a «reduction in the use of the working class label for full time employed men in the U.S. from 1945 to 1963». Tables 6 and 7 show that in Centers' study 51 per cent of the subjects chose the working class label, while in the Tucker study this label was chosen by only 31 per cent of the respondents. To determine the class affiliation of his respondents, Centers asked this question: «If you were to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?». In the Tucker study (1968) this question was asked: «If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged: working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, or upper?». Also, interviewers were given the following instructions: «Let the respondent use his own subjective definition of social class and his position. Be sure to have the respondent choose only one of the six classes. (The respondent was handed a card on which the class labels were printed, before he made his selection)». Tucker does not argue that the differences in findings between his and Centers' research is to be attributed to the difference in question forms, since there is no conclusive empirical evidence that would support this viewpoint. He does, however, raise the possibility that the existing deviations might be influenced by three methodological factors. First, both questions are asked in the hypothetical form. The respondent is not asked the more direct question of «What is your social class?» but rather an «if» type question. «This seems to cast the respondent in a position where evidence to support his choice of a class label is not needed. Therefore, it seems to cast the choice of a class label as being without serious complications». Next, there is an alteration in the evaluation scale with the addition of two values in the Tucker question (lower-middle and upper-middle). The number of class labels provided for the respondent in the Centers' study was four, whereas the Tucker study had six. Finally, the order and the way in which the class labels were presented to the respondent differed in both studies. This can best be represented graphically, as follows:

| | Centers (1949b) | Tucker (1968) |
|---|---|---|
| Order of Class Labels | middle—〉 lower—〉 working—〉 upper | working—〉 lower—〉 lower-middle—〉 middle—〉 upper-middle—〉 upper |
| Way Class Labels Were Presented | labels presented orally only | labels presented both orally and in printed form |

B. *Unstructured Questions.* Also suggestive that class identification depends partly on the methods introduced by the researcher are those investigations utilizing open-ended questions (See Table 8). Lopreato (1961), in an attempt to derive the stratification system of Stefanaconi, a rural town located in South Italy, included in his sample 120 females representing 120 nuclear families. Initially, to the first 36 respondents, he asked an open-ended question designed to elicit a particular response concerning «the number of social classes in Stefanaconi». The subjects proved to be «ill at ease and quite un-

1. A description of the sample and presentation of the findings of the Michigan election study may be found in Campbell (1960).

TABLE 8. *Social Class Self-Placement of Respondents in Seven Samples in Response to an Open-Ended Question*

| Class Self-Placement | Minneapolis, Minn. (U.S.) Gross (1953) (Per cent) | United States Fortune (1940) (Per cent) | Tallahassee, Florida (U.S.) Haer (1957a) (1957b) (Per cent) | United States Hodge & Treiman (1968) (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 1.0 | 2.9 | 1.6 | — c |
| Middle | 31.0 | 47.0 | 43.1 | 75.0 |
| Working | 11.0 | 10.6 | 6.3 | 6.0 |
| Lower | 3.0 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 5.0 |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | 15.0 | 8.0 | 12.2 | — c |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 39.0 | 27.5 | 35.3 | 3.0 |
| Total N | (935) | (5,217) | (320) | (923) |
| Design of sample and population composition | Minneapolis population, stratified sample of four census tracts according to median or mean rental value of homes; heads of households | National population, conducted by Elmo Roper Public Opinion Organization | Tallahassee population, area probability sample; white adults | National population, area probability sample, conducted by National Opinion Research Center; adult males and females |
| Social class identification question asked | «There has been a lot of talk recently about social classes in the U.S. I wonder what you think about this. What social classes do you think there are in Minneapolis? Which one of these social classes are you in?» | «What word would you use to name the class in America you belong to?» | «Which social class are you in?» | «What social class do you consider yourself a member of?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 31 per cent, «middle class» | 47 per cent, «middle class» & related labels such as lower-middle and upper-middle | 43 per cent, «middle class» | 75 per cent, «middle class» and related labels such as upper-middle and lower-middle |

| Class Self-Placement | France Rogoff (1953c) (Per cent) | Paterson, New Jersey (U.S.) Manis & Meltzer (1954) (Times Mentioned [e]) | Cambridge, Massachusetts (U.S.) Kahl & Davis (1955) (Per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 7.9 [d] | — | 1.0 |
| Middle | 22.5 | 22 | 51.0 |
| Working | 27.1 | 52 | 13.0 |
| Lower | 13.7 | 18 [f] | 3.0 |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | 9.8 | 11 | 14.0 |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 19.0 | 2 | 18.0 |
| Total N | (2,230) | (95) | (219) |
| Design of sample and population composition | National population, conducted by Social Psychological Section of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques | Paterson population, random sample; male blue collar (textile) workers | Cambridge population, stratified sample; males between ages 30-49, American educated |
| Social class identification question asked | «In your opinion, to what social class do you belong?» | Class self designation ascertained from a multi-mention type question | «There has been a lot of talk recently about social classes in the U.S. I wonder what you think about this. What social classes do you think there are in this part of the country? What social class do you think you are in? What puts you in that class? Which class is next below and above yours in social standing? In what ways are people in those classes different from people in your class?» |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 27 per cent, «working class» | Out of a total of 105 class self designations, «working class» was mentioned 52 times | 51 per cent, «middle class» and related labels such as upper-middle and lower-middle |

[a] Includes persons who identify themselves with categories which are irrelevant to any kind of conventional social-political-economic concept of class—e.g., they assert membership in the «friendly», «worldly», «white», or «religious» class.
[b] Includes persons who are unable to name a class, refuse to answer, don't know, or do not believe in classes.
[c] Percentage breakdowns were not given for «upper class» or «irrelevant class response».
[d] Instead of the four conventional class categories of upper, middle, working, and lower, those used by Rogoff were «bourgeois», «middle», «working», and «peasant». [e] Includes 105 multiple mentions of class. [f] «Lower class» was combined with «poor class».

communicative». Next, sensing ambiguities that might be built into the communication process, Lopreato replaced the term 'classe' with 'class or categoria d' importanza' (category of importance), and encouraged his interviewees to think of the saying that paro para piglia (equal marries equal). Results of these word changes were that the respondents now became more articulate, and approximately 50 per cent viewed the stratification system as consisting of six classes.

Built into the presentation by the 120 respondents of a six class system were (a) a reference group ideology which permitted them to cite «certain local families as reference families or representatives of the six classes» and (b) use of a «common set of criteria in classifying the local families». These placement criteria were grouped under five general headings: (a) wealth and possessions; (b) family name; (c) achievement of family head or of children in a given occupation; (d) general behavior of the family —family solidarity, «hard work», «modern views»; (e) general importance of family—reputation, prestige.

Finally, Lopreato resorted to using two different panels of judges to derive the town's stratification system. Initially, he asked 10 independent raters, with the help of the list of placement criteria, to classify the reference families or control list. Eight of the ten judges agreed on a six class system. Then, 23 additional persons were selected to act as final raters. A very high level of agreement prevailed here also. Twenty out of 23 also saw «a six class system on the basis of the control list and the placement criteria».

Lopreato, in his task of deriving a stratification system, using both interviewees and raters, arrived at one very important generalization of direct concern to our review. That the job of deriving a stratification system is rendered easier if the factor of intermarriage (paro para piglia) is utilized, if placement criteria are introduced, and if a small number of specific families are used as referents. Interestingly, these three factors which served as «guides» to the raters and interviewees in the derivation of the community's stratification system have one thing in common. They are word, verb, or sentence changes that have resulted in a marked tendency for people to become more precise and clear in their impressions of class knowledge and identification.

C. *Unstructured and Structured Questions.* That class identification depends partly on the methods used by the researcher is also demonstrated by those studies characterized by unstructured questions, used in conjunction with fixed-alternative questions (See Table 9). Gross (1953), in a sample study of 935 persons in Minneapolis, Minnesota, utilized three different kinds of questions to test the usability of social class derived via class identification. Specifically, he was concerned with scrutinizing the findings of Centers (1949b) regarding working class identification. Initially, he asked his respondents a series of unstructured questions (See Table 8). Eleven per cent identified with the working class; 31 per cent with the middle class; 15 per cent with different class labels such as the «poor class», the «common class», or the «employer class»; 20 per cent «did not know what class they were in»; and 14 per cent «did not identify with social classes» or «did not believe there were social classes». Use, however, of a fixed-alternative question, with three predetermined class categories (lower, middle, upper), resulted in over three quarters (76 per cent) identifying with the middle class. This is in sharp contrast to the unstructured question, where only 31 per cent had identified with this class. In a third firmly structured question, Gross used the four fixed-class categories of Centers (middle, lower, working, upper). Forty-two per cent now identified with the middle class, instead of the 31 and 76 per cent that had answered in this way previously; and 45 per cent said they were in the «working class», a percentage total that exceeds greatly the working class responses of both types of questions (the open-ended plus the fixed-three-class category questions).

Interestingly, then, when no classes were suggested in the open-ended question and three classes were presented in the fixed-alternative question, the majority of the respondents (31 per cent and 76 per cent) said they were «middle class». When the four class, closed question with fixed-answers, was asked, the greatest proportion of respondents (45 per cent) identified with the «working class», a finding which is almost the same as Centers. Interestingly, also, whereas in the open-ended question almost one half of the respondents identified with «different class labels», «did not know what class they were in», and «did not identify with or believe in social classes», less than 10 per cent of the responses in both fixed-alternative questions were thus classified.

Kahl and Davis (1955), in their sample investigation of 219 urban males approached the problem of self-identification by following a procedure first used by Gross (1953). Open-ended questions about class membership were used in conjunction with a modified version of a forced-type question similar to that utilized by Centers (1949b) (See Tables 7 and 8). They took the additional step, however, of cross classifying their answers. The responses of the subjects to the series of open-ended questions about their conceptions of the class system and their own positions within it were compared to their answers to the Centers forced-choice question. Analysis of responses to

TABLE 9. *Social Class Self-Placement of Respondents in Seven Samples in Response to One Unstructured and One or More Structured Questions with Three or More Fixed Class Categories*

| | Minneapolis, Minnesota (U.S.) Gross (1953) | | | United States Fortune (1940) | | Tallahassee, Florida (U.S.) Haer (1957a) (1957b) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Class Self-Placement | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-M-L (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-M-W-L (Per cent) | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-M-L (Per cent) | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-M-W-L (Per cent) |
| Upper | 1.0 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 7.6 | 1.6 | 4.7 |
| Middle | 31.0 | 76.0 | 42.0 | 47.0 | 79.2 | 43.1 | 53.1 |
| Working | 11.0 | — | 45.0 | 10.6 | — | 6.3 | 36.6 |
| Lower | 3.0 | 10.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.9 | 1.9 | 0.0 |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | 15.0 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 8.0 | — | 12.2 | — |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 39.0 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 27.5 | 5.3 | 35.3 | 5.7 |
| Total N | (935) | (935) | (935) | (5,217) | (2,947) | (320) | (320) |
| Number of fixed class categories | — | 3 | 4 | — | 3 | — | 4 |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 31 per cent, «middle class» | 76 per cent, «middle class» | 45 per cent, «working class» | 47 per cent, «middle class» and related labels such as lower-middle and upper-middle | 79 per cent, «middle class» | 43 per cent, «middle class» | 53 per cent, «middle class» |

| | United States Hodge & Treiman (1968) | | Cambridge, Mass. (U.S.) Kahl & Davis (1955) | | France Rogoff (1953c) | | Denmark Svalastoga (1956) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Class Self-Placement | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-UM-M-W-L (Per cent) | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question U-UM-M-LM-W-L (Per cent) | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question B-M-W-P [c] (Per cent) | Open End Question (Per cent) | Forced Choice Question NW-W [d] (Per cent) |
| Upper | — | 2.2 | 1.0 | 4.0 | 7.9 | 10.2 | 39.6 [e] | 47.3 [e] |
| Middle | 75.0 | 60.6 | 51.0 | 43.0 | 22.5 | 29.8 | — | — |
| Working | 6.0 | 34.3 | 13.0 | 47.0 | 27.1 | 35.8 | 24.5 | 50.2 |
| Lower | 5.0 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 13.7 | 19.1 | — | — |
| Irrelevant class response [a] | — | — | 14.0 | — | 9.8 | — | — | — |
| Unable to place self in class [b] | 3.0 | .6 | 18.0 | 3.0 | 19.0 | 5.1 | 35.9 | 2.5 |
| Total N | (923) | (918) | (219) | (219) | (2,230) | (2,230) | (1,844) [f] | (1,221) [f] |
| Number of fixed class categories | — | 5 | — | 6 | — | 4 | — | 9 |
| Class identification of majority of respondents | 75 per cent, «middle class» and related labels | 61 per cent, «middle class» and related labels such as upper-middle | 51 per cent, «middle class» and related labels such as upper-middle and lower-middle | 47 per cent, «working class» | 27 per cent, «working class» | 36 per cent, «working class» | 40 per cent, «non-working class» | 50 per cent «working class» |

[a] Includes persons who identify themselves with categories which are irrelevant to any kind of conventional social-political-economic concept of class—e.g., they assert membership in the «friendly», «worldly», «white», or «religious» class.
[b] Includes persons who are unable to name a class, refuse to answer, don't know, or do not believe in classes.
[c] Author uses class categories of «Bourgeois», «Middle», «Working», and «Peasant», instead of the conventional Upper, Middle, Working and Lower.
[d] A forced choice question containing 9 class choices, three each for upper class, middle class, and working class was originally administered. After analysis of these responses, author used category breakdown of «non-working» and «working class».
[e] These percentages represent the «non-working class» responses.
[f] Sex weighted percentages.

open-ended questions revealed that 51 per cent of the respondents used a «middle», «upper-middle», or «lower-middle class» label, whereas 13 per cent selected a «working class» category. When fixed-alternative questions were asked a marked change of percentage responses occurred; 43 per cent of the subjects identified with the three aforementioned middle class labels and 47 per cent with the «working class». Although the middle class responses in both types of questions remain relatively constant (51 per cent and 43 per cent) the «working class» totals shift drastically from 13 per cent to 47 per cent. This drastic shifting from one class to another can be best explained by placing these responses in the question perspective in which they were originally asked. Ninety-seven of 219 persons (44 per cent), in reply to open-ended questions, identified with the «middle-class» label. When the firmly structured Kahl and Davis probe, «If middle: Would you say you were in the upper-middle or the lower-middle?» was asked, over a third of these (36 of 97) changed their minds, and called themselves «working class». This fixed-alternative question obviously permitted the respondents to make finer distinctions of class, dividing themselves into higher and lower ranges of the class spectrum, something which apparently the open-ended questions were unable to accomplish.

Hodge and Treiman (1968) found, in an analysis of 923 responses from an open-ended question that approximately three quarters of the population identified with the middle, upper-middle, lower-middle, or a synonymous class, 5 per cent mentioned the lower or upper-lower class, and only 6 per cent the working class. In the same research, responses from a structured question containing a fixed-alternative selection of five class categories was analyzed. The single largest percentage of respondents (44 per cent) identified with the middle class. The distribution, from highest to lowest, for the other four classes was: working class (34.3 per cent); upper-middle class (16.6 per cent); lower class (2.3 per cent); and upper class (2.2 per cent). When a comparison is made between the open-ended and structured question responses there appears once again the tendency for the type of response to be influenced by the type of question asked. In the structured question fewer persons (60 per cent) identified with the middle or related class categories, whereas considerably more respondents (34 per cent) affiliated with the working class.

One of the procedures utilized by Svalastoga (1956) to assess Danish class differences with respect to class identification was the split-ballot technique. A randomly selected 40 per cent of the sample (N= 2,505) were given a card listing nine strata and asked to identify with one of them. The class choices were distributed evenly as follows: three each for upper class, middle class, and working class. The rest of the sample were confronted with open-ended questions asking for feeling of belonging to any social class. If the response was «yes», the respondent was asked to name the class. These two methods produced strikingly different results.

| Class Identification | Type of Question | |
|---|---|---|
| | Forced-choice (Per cent) | Open-end (Per cent) |
| Non-working | 47.3 | 39.6 |
| Working | 50.2 | 24.5 |
| None | 2.5 | 35.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The data showed that there was a tendency, in the forced-choice question, for respondents to identify mainly with the working class (50.2 per cent). A sharp decrease is noted, however, in the number of persons who identified with this class (24.5 per cent) when the open-ended questions were introduced. The open-ended questions were successful also in producing a sharp increase in the percentage of subjects who declined to identify themselves with any social class (from 2.5 to 35.9 per cent).

Using data from both a structured and open-ended question, Haer (1957a and 1957b) found that significant differences of response existed with regard to class self-placement. Thirty-five per cent and 6 per cent of his respondents were unable to place themselves in a class in respectively the open-ended and forced-choice questions. In addition, only 6 per cent of the subjects identified with the working class in the unstructured question, whereas the percentage of persons selecting this class label increased considerably to 37 per cent in the structured question. Comparative data from France and the U.S. were introduced by Rogoff (1953c) in an attempt to arrive at some intelligent appraisal of how Frenchmen and Americans assign themselves to various positions in the stratification system. Two types of questions were utilized, open-ended and forced-choice. The data reveal that 19 per cent and 27.5 per cent of the French and American respondents, respectively, gave no answer to the open-ended question. When, however, both sample populations were presented with a list of class names from which to choose, considerably fewer people gave no answer (5.1 per cent in France and 2 per cent in the U.S.) suggesting that people may select class names they ordinarily do not use under such circumstances.

In the Fortune survey (1940) respondents (N= 5,217) were first asked in an open-ended question to designate the class to which they thought they belonged. Forty seven per cent of the respondents or the majority identified with the «middle class» and related

labels such as «upper-middle», «lower-middle», and «other-middle». A multiple choice question with a set of three fixed-alternatives was next asked of the 56.5 per cent respondents (N=2,947) who did not use the actual words «upper», «middle», or «lower» in their replies to the open-ended question. Almost 80 per cent of the respondents of one third more in this question, as compared with the open-ended question, chose to describe themselves as belonging to the «middle class». Apparently, the forced-choice type question, in making the inquiry more direct, succeeded in evoking stronger class affiliation and the percentage of people who place themselves in the middle class rises. Apparently, also, this forced-choice question did not cause people to alter their tendency to identify with the «middle class». Probably, the single most important reason that can be attributed to this tendency is that the number of fixed-class categories is three, and not four or more. There are few people who could identify realistically with the «upper class» and even fewer who would accept the obviously inferior designation of «lower class».

**social structural obstacles**

Other sociologists argue that there are ideological and material characteristics which contribute to differential class interpretation and minimize growth of a sharp and lucid class-conscious development. Such characteristics are termed social-structural obstacles. Variables frequently cited as relevant in this regard are ignorance and ideological distortion. Referring to the 35 per cent respondents of the Gross (1953) investigation, who when asked an open-ended question «What class do you belong to?», replied that they did not belong to any social class, that there were no social classes, or that they did not know what class they were in, Barber (1957) argues that «ideological distortion as well as ignorance probably underlie these responses». It is Koenig's (1957) contention that Americans make wrong class assignments, «either through ignorance as to where they actually belong on the basis of income or, and this is more often the case, through wishful thinking». He illustrates this point by introducing the Fortune magazine poll results of 1940 where approximately 70 per cent of the respondents classified themselves as members of the «middle class», even though about half of American families in this period made less than $ 1,000 per year.

In an excellent discussion of how certain perceptual factors prevent class consciousness from being sharper and stronger, Rosenberg (1953) suggests that the individual's self-image is very important in the development of class consciousness. If the individual possesses «an internalized picture of his economic and social position which accords with his objective economic position, and he identifies with that picture», then a class consciousness exists. A false consciousness, however, may develop if the individual identifies with his past or future self, or has a distorted image of his present self. Commenting on this latter point, Williams (1958), Mayer (1964), Fichter (1957), and Jones (1941) argue that differential and distorted class interpretations frequently result when the individual perceives of wealth, prestige, and power differences as personal or individual differences rather than class or group differences.

Perhaps the most relevant explanation advanced to account for the existence of class ignorance and ideological distortion is offered by various writers who argue that the failure of class consciousness to develop clearly and strongly in the U.S. is attributable to the tendency for persons to identify with diverse social groups; that patterns of acquaintance and kinship between various status groups as well as their residential heterogeneity are as important as socio-economic position of individuals in the formation of class identities (Hodge and Treiman, 1968). It is this failure of class consciousness to crystallize around economic groups alone that promotes a sense of equality which fosters democratic attitudes. MacIver and Page (1955) suggest that the majority of Americans, at all prestige, economic, and occupational levels, classify themselves as «middle class». This sentiment represents, in effect, «a denial of the existence of any recognizable social stratification in the United States». Further, it represents an identification with the «whole community or with the unidentified 'common man' or everyday citizen», rather than with a particular class group. Likewise, Williams (1958), in a discussion of Jones' *Life, Liberty and Property* (1941), argues that the differences in corporate property outlook between workers and owners in Akron, Ohio, were softened because of the «important and pervasive middle of the road attitudes» of the workers. In their study of «Middletown», a middle sized American city in Indiana, the Lynds (1929) report that even during the depression, when many people were unemployed, hungry, and disenchanted with the American political and economic system, the working class of this community had «developed no tangible corporate class consciousness». Adhered to by both the working class and business class was the traditional ideology of «free enterprise, individualism, classless or middle class society, and anybody can get ahead if he works hard and saves». Related research expressive of this equalitarian ideology and middle class thinking are Fichter (1957), Vernon (1965), Commager (1961), Lipset and Rogoff (1954), Lynd (1939), Sumner (1925), Lynd and Lynd (1937) and Svalastoga (1956).

Some of the more important observable social-structural consequences of American equalitarianism,

mentioned by Rose (1965), Fichter (1957), Williams (1958) and Parsons (1953), are the availability of material symbols of status—such as automobiles, home ownership, less costly versions of exclusive clothing styles, children in college, and the great rise in relative income of most of the lower groups. Other relevant variables cited in this regard are the tendency to use «familiarity» in social intercourse and for breaking down formal barriers even with strangers (Fichter, 1957); avoidance of use of or identity with extreme titles such as «upper» or «lower» class (Williams, 1958); the vocabulary of social classes is less widespread and agreed upon in the U.S. than in France—the expression, «the working class...has only partially gained entrance into the lexicon of popular language» in the U.S. (Rogoff, 1953c); the deeply rooted moral attitude that class distinctions are wrong (West, 1945); the relative lack of status prohibitions or segregation in facilities open to the public such as schools, hotels, restaurants, buses and trains, museums, and opera (Fichter, 1957 and Parsons, 1953); absence of barriers concerning social interaction in marriage, eating and working together, and living in the same neighborhood (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1958 and Mercer, 1958); relative equal rights and treatment in military, political and legal procedures (such as jury duty, voting, public school education, holding of public office) and military service (Williams, 1958 and Fichter, 1957); the absence of an unequivocal top elite or ruling class (Parsons, 1953); the etiquette governing interclass relations that no one must be reminded overtly of his «inferiority» (West, 1945); the higher level of living now enjoyed by the population (Hodge and Treiman, 1968); and the apparent increase in the importance of education as a class criterion (Tucker, 1968). All of these factors operate in varying degrees to alter and distort the over-all distribution of class consciousness and most often result in fewer persons identifying with class extremes.

## immediate implications for theory and research

*Social Structural and Methodological Factors.* Thus far in this paper, several important generalizations about class consciousness have been made. They clearly indicate that the existing state of knowledge on class awareness and class identification is contradictory and inconclusive. Having said this, we are still left with the very important problems of (a) determining whether the sociologist can influence, and to what extent, future scholarship in the class conscious subject matter area and (b) finding a meaningful way to relate the above generalizations to stratification theory and research.

The differential expressions exhibited by respondents, on class awareness and class identification, are related to and dependent on both social structural and methodological factors. Of the two explanations advanced, however, the social structural appears to be «beyond the control» of the sociologist. The fact, for example, that many Americans are equalitarian oriented and thus sometimes tend to distort their «true» objective cultural and economic positions in society is something that the scholar can do little, if anything about. To be sure, in the interview situation, the researcher can through open-ended probes, consistency checks on questions, and other measures minimize the level of dishonesty of the respondent. Also, he can, through participant observation cross check certain of the subject's replies. Ultimately, however, it is the accuracy and honesty of the respondent that the researcher must depend on for reliable data. In turn, of cource, the ability and willingness of the respondent to interpret his class position correctly is partly dependent on the ideological and material factors present in society. So long, then, as social structural influences are operative, so long will some of the population remain conceptually unaware and ambiguous regarding awareness of and identification with class.

On the other hand, the sociologist can exercise a great deal of influence and control over reliability and accuracy of response by the type of research procedure he utilizes. The extent to which different research procedures have produced different results can be seen in Tables 5-9, which represent summarized versions of select major studies of class identification. Studies which use open-ended questions (See Table 8) to ascertain the extent of class identification or ask people to talk about social life without directly suggesting social class, do not generally elicit complete information about class. Data of Table 8 show that a sizeable minority of respondents are «unable to place themselves in a particular class» and tend to give «irrelevant class responses». Of the seven studies enumerated, five have 30 per cent and over of their respondents included in these two categories. However, the single largest class that people identify with when permitted to form their own imagery of the class structure is middle class. Correspondingly, there is also a relative lack of working class responses.

But when a structured, multiple choice, question with a set of 3 or more fixed-alternatives is used (See Tables 5-7), thus making the inquiry more direct, the evidence of class becomes stronger, the percentage of people who place themselves in a class rises, the proportion of don't knows, unaware of the existence of social classes, etc., decreases, and the common man group is forced to subdivide themselves and the doubters to commit themselves. In none of the 13 studies, appearing in these tables, do the percentage responses exceed 10 per cent for the two categories of «irrelevant class response», and «unable to place self in class». Nevertheless, people tend to identify with either the

middle class or working class, depending on whether 3, 4, 5, or 6 class categories are utilized. Specifically, when a fixed-alternative base with three choices (U-M-L) or five or six selections (U-UM-M-W-L or U-UM-M-LM-W-L) is utilized (See Tables 5 and 7) respondents by and large place themselves into the middle class. When, however, four class choices (U-M-W-L) are offered the subjects (See Table 6), they tend to identify largely with the working class.

In studies utilizing both an open end question and the precoded type question containing 3 fixed-class categories (See Table 9), a majority of the respondents identify with the middle class in both types of questions. Data of Table 9 reveal, also, that no consistent pattern emerges in studies using the open end inquiry together with a fixed-alternative question possessing 4 or more class categories. Percentage responses fluctuate in the open end, forced choice questions from respectively middle class to working class (Gross, 1953 and Kahl and Davis, 1955), middle class to middle class (Haer, 1957a and 1957b and Hodge and Treiman, 1968), and working class to working class (Rogoff, 1953c).

*Replication of Research.* The present state of class conscious theory must unfortunately be termed as immature. It lacks both integration and synthesis. What does exist, instead, is an over-accumulation of empirically established facts which are meaningless and unrelated. There remains the task of excavating and analyzing the enormous mass of facts, of testing and correcting the established theories of class consciousness, and of formulating unified generalizations. Perhaps one of the most effective ways in which the development of a synthesized theory of class consciousness can come about is through replication of research.

Certainly, one of the most important consequences of this review concerns the question of replication in sociological research. It is absolutely essential to the development of confidence in research findings. For example, the Hollingshead and Redlich (1958) finding of a relationship between class placement by an objective index and status awareness is interesting and suggestive, and its congruence with the general theory of class consciousness lends credence to the finding. But it can be accepted as generally true only after it has been repeated with other samples in different communities. Such repetition will in the end show whether the underlying process that Hollingshead and Redlich had in mind accounted for the relationship between the two sets of observed events, or whether it was accounted for by some as yet undiscovered conditions that characterized the specific study. In a research investigation, that performed in part this replication task, Case (1952), desiring to test the Centers Interest Group Theory, used the identical forced-choice class identification question asked originally by Centers (1949b). He found that 55 per cent of his sample identified with the «working class» and 41 per cent with the «middle class». This very high working class alignment is essentially similar to the Centers data. The question utilized by Case was identical to Centers' in its wording, the number of class categories used (four), and the order in which the class categories were mentioned to the respondent («middle», «lower», «working», and «upper»). As a consequence of this repetitive research by Case, the validity of one class conscious thesis, that a forced-choice question with four fixed-alternative class categories usually results in an unusually high working class affiliation, is further strengthened.

More than ever today, then, there exists the need to stress repeated tests of hypotheses either by the same or by several separate experimenters. The researcher should seek to make his own questionnaire procedures and items similar to those in other studies so that the contents of all will be sufficiently alike as to warrant comparisons. Similar sampling and investigative procedures should be used. Typical of the questions asked, should be: Does the sample include full-time or part-time, employed or unemployed, male or female respondents? Does it include a national or local type population? Is it a probability sample, stratified sample, or quota control sample? Population composition factors such as age, sex, ethnicity, race, and so forth should not vary. Whether the community is highly urbanized, industrialized, unionized, possesses a population of more than 50,000, is «change oriented», or is rural, agrarian, and non-unionized will doubtless influence the findings. Research in similar places is necessary to verify the adequacy of the data and their interpretation. Even the smallest and presumably unimportant research items such as personal-social characteristics of the interviewers, purpose for which a question was asked, and wording and sequence of the questions in the interview schedule should be identical. In this way, the researcher may test the validity and reliability of methods and findings. If he uses items already validated by others, the scholar can have more confidence in his results. If the sociologist is to clarify the ambiguities regarding class awareness and class identification he must uniformly introduce research that is capable of being replicated.

## conclusion

The present review by no means provides answers to the questions of whether American society is «middle» or «working» class oriented, or whether the American people are significantly aware of class differences. The writer shares the increasingly accepted view that

the conception of a single viewpoint regarding these questions is unprofitable. This state of indeterminacy exists, mainly, for several reasons, both of which may be subsumed under the general category of methodological obstacles. First, data on class consciousness for American society as a whole are non-existent. Sociologists who have drawn conclusions about class consciousness in the society as a whole have done so on shaky grounds. Their generalizations have been based on data from a few small communities. The time is not ripe now for any kind of sweeping generalizations about the extent of class consciousness. Before we can draw definite conclusions about this subject in the mass society we need better and more appropriate data than have been utilized up to date.

Second, although much class conscious research has been conducted on the local or community level, it has produced inconsistent and therefore speculative findings. These different conclusions have, for the most part, resulted from the use of different methodological procedures for determining class consciousness. Some studies have utilized research techniques that have tapped the «subjective» aspects of social class (for example, Warner, 1960; Hollingshead, 1961; and Centers, 1949b), while others have focused on «objective» criteria (for example, Lynd and Lynd, 1937; Gallaher, 1961; and Ellis, 1963). One researcher (Gross, 1953) has suggested that the open-ended question approach is more appropriate in research concerned with class identification than predetermined class category techniques. Kahl and Davis (1955) argue, however, that the closed answers or forced choice probes provide more information than the open because they are likely to force the respondent to commit himself. Depending on the nature of their investigation different researchers have, in the wording of their class identification questions, introduced 3, 4, 5, 6 or more class selection possibilities. The quickest and most efficient way in which the confusion produced by the diversity of approaches can be cleared up is through replication of research. Only after selectively sufficient and replicated data have been gathered and interpreted on both the local and national levels can propositions be offered that might satisfactorily be incorporated into an adequately theoretical picture of the state of class consciousness in the United States. It is hoped, of course, that this paper will point up the need for more uniform data collection and analysis, and that the present lack of concern for replicated studies in the class identification and class knowledge areas will cease.

Finally, it should be emphasized that even if the above two methodological factors are appropriately considered by sociologists, there will still remain a certain level of empirical and theoretical impreciseness and obscurity in class conscious research because of the social structural factor. So long as men live in a type society where «objective» class reality can be influenced by the ideology of the equalitarian myth, so long will they continue to knowingly or unknowingly distort their «true» class position.

REFERENCES


Barber, Bernard.
1957 *Social Stratification*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Broom, Leonard and Phillip Selznick.
1963 *Sociology*. Third ed. New York: Harper and Row.

Buchanan, William and Hadley Cantril.
1953 *How Nations See Each Other*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Campbell, Angus, et al.
1960 *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.

Cantril, Hadley.
1943 «Identification with social and economic class». *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 38 (January): 74-80.

Case, Herman M.
1952 «An independent test of the interest-group theory of social class». *American Sociological Review* 17 (December): 751-755.
1955 «Marxian implication of Centers' interest group theory: a critical appraisal». *Social Forces* 33 (March): 254-258.

Centers, Richard.
1949a «Class consciousness of the American woman». *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research* (Fall): 399-408.
1949b *The Psychology of Social Classes*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Cole, G.D.H.
1955 *Studies in Class Structure*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Commager, Henry Steele.
1961 «Do we have a class society?». *Virginia Quarterly Review* 37 (Autumn): 548-557.

Cuber, John F. and William F. Kenkel.
1954 *Social Stratification in the United States*. New York: Appleton - Century - Crofts.

Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton.
1945 *Black Metropolis*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Ellis, Robert A.
1957 «Social stratification and social relations: an empirical test of the disjunctiveness of social classes». *American Sociological Review* 22 (October): 570-578.

Ellis, Robert A., et al.
1963 «The index of class position: an improved intercommunity measure of stratification». *American Sociological Review* 28 (April): 271-277.

Fichter, Joseph H.
1957 *Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Form, William H.
1945 «Status stratification in a planned community». *American Sociological Review* 10 (October): 605-613.

Fortune Surveys.
1940 «The people of the United States — a self portrait». *Fortune* (February): 14.

Gallaher, Art, Jr.
1961 *Plainville Fifteen Years Later*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gallup, George and Saul Forbes Rae.
1940 *The Pulse of Democracy*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Glantz, Oscar.
1958 «Class consciousness and political solidarity». *American Sociological Review* 23 (August): 375-383.

Gross, Neal.
1953 «Social class identification in the urban community». *American Sociological Review* 18 (August): 398-404.

Haer, John L.
1957a «Predictive utility of five indices of social stratification». *American Sociological Review* 22 (October): 541-546.
1957b «An empirical study of social class awareness». *Social Forces* 36 (December): 117-121.

Hamilton, Richard F.
1966a «The marginal middle class: a reconsideration». *American Sociological Review* 31 (April): 192-199.
1966b «Reply to Tucker». *American Sociological Review* 31 (December): 856.

Hatt, Paul K.
1950 «Stratification in the mass society». *American Sociological Review* 15 (April): 216-222.

Haveman, J.
1954 «Social tensions between farmer and farm laborer in northern Holland». *American Journal of Sociology* 60 (November): 246-254.

Hetzler, Stanley A.
1953 «An investigation of the distinctiveness of social classes». *American Sociological Review* 18 (October): 493-497.

Hill, Mozell C. and Bevode C. McCall.
1950 «Social stratification in a Georgia town». *American Sociological Review* 15 (December): 721-729.

Himmelweit, H.T., et al.
1952 «The views of adolescents on some aspects of the social class structure». *British Journal of Sociology* 3 (June): 148-172.

Hodge, Robert W. and Donald J. Treiman.
1968 «Class identification in the United States». *American Journal of Sociology* 73 (March): 535-546.

Hodges, Harold.
1964 *Social Stratification, Class in America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman.

Hollingshead, August B.
1961 *Elmtown's Youth*. New York: Science Editions.

Hollingshead, August B. and Fritz C. Redlich.
1958 *Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study*. New York: Wiley.

Jones, Alfred W.
1941 *Life, Liberty, and Property*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Kahl, Joseph A.
1957 *The American Class Structure*.New York: Rinehart.

Kahl, Joseph A. and James A. Davis.
1955 «A comparison of indexes of socio-economic status». *American Sociological Review* 20 (June): 317-325.

Kaufman, Harold F.
1944 *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*. Memoir 260. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
1945 «Defining prestige rank in a rural community». *Sociometry* 8 (May): 199-207.
1946 «Members of rural community as judges of prestige rank». *Sociometry* 9 (February): 71-85.

Koenig, Samuel.
1957 *Sociology : An Introduction to the Science of Society*. New York: Barnes and Noble.

Lasswell, Thomas E.
1954 «A study of social stratification using an area sample of raters». *American Sociological Review* 19 (June): 310-313.

Leggett, John C.
1962 *Working - Class Consciousness in an Industrial Community*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Departmen of Sociology, University of Michigan.
1963a «Uprootedness and working-class consciouness». *American Journal of Sociology* 68 (May): 682-692.
1963b «Working-class consciouness, race, and political choice». *American Journal of Sociology* 69 (September): 171-176.
1964 «Economic insecurity and working-class consciousness». *American Sociological Review* 29 (April): 226-234.
1968 *Class, Race, and Labor*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lenski, Gerhard E.
1950 *Prestige, Status and Wealth*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Yale University.
1952 «American social classes: statistical strata or social groups?». *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (September): 139-144.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Natalie Rogoff Ramsoy.
1954 «Class and opportunity in Europe and the U.S.: some myths and what the statistics show». *Commentary* 18 (December): 562-568.

Lopreato, Joseph.
1960 *Effects of Emigration on the Social Structure of a Calabrian Community*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Yale University.
1961 «Social stratification and mobility in a south Italian town». *American Sociological Review* 26 (August): 585-596.

Lowis, George W.
1963 *Social Class and Home Accidents*.Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The Pennsylvania State University.

Lundberg, George A.
1940 «The measurement of socio-economic status». *American Sociological Review* 5 (February): 29-39.

Lynd, Robert S.
1939 *Knowledge for What?* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd.
1929 *Middletown*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
1937 *Middletown in Transition*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Mack, Raymond.
1951 «Housing as an index of social class». *Social Forces* 29 (May): 391-400.

MacIver, Robert M. and Charles H. Page.
1949 *Society*. New York: Rinehart.
1955 *Society, An Introductory Analysis*. New York: Rinehart.

Manis, Jerome G. and Bernard N. Meltzer.
1954 «Attitudes of textile workers to class structure». *American Journal of Sociology* 60 (July): 30-35.
1963 «Some correlates of class consciousness among textile workers». *American Journal of Sociology* 69 (September): 177-184.

Mayer, Kurt B.
1964 *Class and Society*. New York: Random House.

Mercer, Blaine E.
1958 *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Merrill, Francis E.
1957 *Society and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Mills, G. Wright.
1946 «The middle classes in middle sized cities». *American Sociological Review* 11 (October): 520-529.
1951 *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

North, Cecil C.
1937 «Class structure, class consciouness, and party alignment». *American Sociological Review* 2 (June): 365-371.

Ogburn, William F. and Meyer F. Nimkoff.
1958 *Sociology*. Third ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Parsons, Talcott.
1953 «A revised analytical approach to the theory of social stratification». Pp. 122-125 in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.

Platt, Charles.
1925 «Class consciousness». *American Journal of Sociology* 30 (March): 558-568.

Rogoff, Natalie.
1953a *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
1953b «Recent trends in urban occupational mobility». Pp. 442-454 in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
1953c «Social stratification in France and in the United States». *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (January): 347-357.

Rose, Arnold M.
1965 *Sociology, The Study of Human Relations*. Second ed. New York: Knopf.

Rosenberg, Morris.
1953 «Perceptual obstacles to class consciousness». *Social Forces* 32 (October): 22-27.

Sargent, S. Stansfeld.
1953 «Class and class consciousness in a California town». *Social Problems* 1 (June): 22-27.

Schuler, Edgar A.
1940 «Social and economic status in a Louisiana hills community». *Rural Sociology* 5 (March): 69-83.

Scudder, Richard and C. Arnold Anderson.
1954 «Range of acquaintance and of repute as factors in prestige rating methods of studying social status». *Social Forces* 32 (March): 248-253.

Sumner, William Graham.
1925 *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Survey Research Center.
1956 *Election Study*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan.

Svalastoga, K., et al.
1956 «Differential class behavior in Denmark». *American Sociological Review* 21 (August): 435-439.

Tucker, Charles W., Jr.
1966a *Occupational Evaluation and Self-Identification*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.
1966b «On working class identification». *American Sociological Review* 31 (December): 855-856.
1968 «A comparative analysis of subjective social class: 1945-1963». *Social Forces* 46 (June): 508-514.

Useem, John, et al.
1942 «Stratification in a prairie town». *American Sociological Review* 7 (June): 331-342.

Vernon, Glenn M.
1965 *Human Interaction, An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Ronald Press.

Warner, W. Lloyd, et al.
1960 *Social Class in America*. New York: Harper & Bros.

West, James.
1945 *Plainville, U.S.A.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Williams, Robin M., Jr.
1958 *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*. New York: Knopf.

Yoshino, I. Roger.
1959 «The stereotype of the Negro and his high priced car». *Sociology and Social Research* 44 (November-December): 112-118.