

400

others. School administrators, teachers, and students may think highly of the custodian.

These, then, are some of the concepts involved in the processes of differentiation and social stratification. We will now consider how social stratification developed.

Cause of Social Stratification

According to the revolutionary thinker Karl Marx (1818-1883), the organization of a society is determined by economic forces. Marx said that the Industrial Revolution divided society into two social classes. A **social class** is usually defined as a number of people who are grouped together because they have similar occupational statuses, amounts of prestige, or lifestyles. Marx believed that the Industrial Revolution created a capitalist class of wealthy people who owned the factories, mines, railroads, and other forms of production. It also created a class of workers, who were used by the capitalists and were dependent on them for wages.

According to Marx, members of each social class shared many interests. The problem, as Marx saw it, was that the workers tended to mistake the interests of the capitalists for their own. For instance, the workers accepted the capitalist belief that success was a product of hard work and ability. The rich were rich because they deserved to be. The poor were poor because of their own fault. Marx felt that the working class didn't realize that their own class interests were fundamentally different from the interests of the capitalist class.

Although the theories of Karl Marx have not gained general acceptance, Marx did contribute to the study of social stratification the concept of "social class." Social class is an objective measure of stratification. It is objective in that we can measure it by external means. For example, people either are or are not owners of productive capital. They either have or do not have capital investments, such as stocks, bonds, and real estate. There are differences in the amount of wealth and income that people have. And we can measure these differences.

KEY TERMS

differentiation	achieved status
social stratification	prestige
status	esteem
ascribed status	social class

SECTION REVIEW

1. Distinguish between differentiation and social stratification. How do they work together to help us identify and evaluate social and economic positions?
2. What is the difference between ascribed status and achieved status?
3. How do prestige and esteem differ? Give an example of how a person might have one but not the other.
4. Into what two social classes did Karl Marx divide industrial society? What did Marx's theory of social classes contribute to the study of social stratification?

SECTION 2

The American Social-Class Structure

Our society is not divided into the two social classes described by Karl Marx. But we do have social classes. The question is exactly what the American social-class structure is like. Over the years a number of research studies have been conducted on social classes in the United States. One problem is just how representative these studies are of the general American population.

We will consider the results of two studies that explore two different areas in the United States. One analyzes a small city on the coast of New England. The other looks at the San Francisco metropolitan area. As we examine these studies, remember that not all individuals in a particular class level are alike. The data present a typical person of a certain social-class level. Thus a large number of

people in the social class have these characteristics. But not all of the people in that social class share the same characteristics.

The Social-Class Structure in "Yankee City"

In 1941, the sociologist W. Lloyd Warner and several associates studied the town of Newburyport, Massachusetts, which they called "Yankee City." They were interested in the stratification of Newburyport's society. Using questionnaires and interviews, Warner collected a good deal of information about the kinds of jobs people had, where and how they lived, how much education they had completed, and how they obtained their income. In addition, each person interviewed was asked to identify others in the community who were of higher and lower ranking.

In this way, Warner found out what the people in Newburyport thought about other people in the community. It turned out that the people of Newburyport generally agreed on how they saw the stratification of their community. The results indicated that the community was stratified into six social classes: the upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower classes. Below are some characteristics of the people in each of these six classes.

The upper-upper class (about 1.4 percent of the population).

- Most do not work. They receive dividends from stocks, interest on bonds, and income from other investments made from money left by their ancestors.
- They live in large and elaborate houses in exclusive neighborhoods. Many also have other houses—in the mountains or near lakes or beaches.
- Their social life usually involves others of the same class. However, since their numbers are so small, they may also socialize with the lower-uppers.
- What these people value most of all is heritage. It is even more important than wealth.



Those in the upper-upper class socialize mostly with others in the same social class. Parties are an enjoyable part of upper-upper class life.

The lower-upper class (about 1.6 percent of the population).

- These are mostly "self-made" people, who do not come from families with inherited wealth. Many are very successful business, financial, and professional people; entertainers; and athletes.
- They often have more money than the upper-uppers, who view them as too willing to display their wealth.
- They tend to live in expensive houses in the best parts of town.
- Since the upper-uppers and lower-uppers are such a small part of the population, they tend to depend on each other. Daughters of the lower-uppers sometimes marry sons of the upper-uppers.

The upper-middle class (about 10 percent of the population).

- These are mainly professional people, such as doctors and lawyers, executives and managers, and owners of large businesses.
- Most have a college education.



Migrant workers are among those making up the lower-lower class. Although these people work hard, they find it difficult to escape their poverty.

- They live in spacious houses, usually located in the "best" suburbs.
- They are the most influential group in the city, providing many community leaders.

The lower-middle class (about 28 percent of the population).

- Most are office and clerical workers, supervisors, owners of small businesses, and skilled craftspersons.
- The majority have a high school education. The teachers and social workers also have college degrees.
- They live in smaller, well-cared-for houses.
- They tend to depend on their paychecks.

The upper-lower class (about 34 percent of the population).

- They are mostly employed as skilled or semiskilled factory workers and service workers, or are small shop owners. Most are paid by the hour, which makes their income less dependable. They live from paycheck to paycheck.
- They live in houses similar to those of the lower-middle class. However, their houses are not in as good condition and tend to be in less desirable parts of town.

- They tend to be patriotic and religious.
- They regard themselves as being "as good as anybody else."

The lower-lower class (about 25 percent of the population).

- These people are unskilled workers, migrant workers, and the unemployed. Most depend on some form of welfare assistance.
- They tend to live in the least desirable housing and in the worst sections of town.
- Many consider themselves to be respectable people who have just run into "bad luck."
- Most experience desperation and self-blame.

The Social-Class Structure in San Francisco

Another sociologist, Harold M. Hodges, Jr., felt that Warner's Yankee City study no longer accurately portrays Americans. Rather, it represents the small stable community life of the past. Hodges completed a six-year study on metropolitan and suburban San Francisco in 1962. He used questionnaires, clinical tests, and lengthy interviews to obtain his data. In reporting his results, he cautioned that his findings consist of characteristics found among particular people at a given time.

As you read Hodges's results, try to make comparisons with the Yankee City study. Note, for instance, that Hodges's class levels are the same as Warner's, except that he has only one level of upper class.

The upper class (about one-fifth of 1 percent of the population).

- Most attended private high schools and top-ranking colleges.
- Only a few are showy in displaying wealth. Most prefer conservative clothes, old station wagons, and quiet parties.
- They attend many charity balls, the theater, opera, and go on frequent outings to the ski slopes.
- Most live in the city rather than the suburbs.

- They are the most nonconforming and individualistic people in the study.
- They are the least apt to attend church.
- They tend to drink more and smoke less than those in other social classes.

The upper-middle class (about 15 percent of the population).

- They are mostly professionals, semiprofessionals, independent business people, and corporate employees. The men tend to be very career-oriented.
- Most have about two years of graduate work in addition to their college degrees.
- They are the most child-centered of all the social classes.
- They are characterized by the split-level home, the Ivy League style of clothes, the sports car, and the barbecue addiction.
- They tend to be active in service clubs such as the Rotary, Lions, and Kiwanis; in professional groups; and in the local chamber of commerce.
- Leisure-time activities include the ballet,

- opera, symphonic music, and the theater. They read more books than any other class and rarely attend movies or watch television.
- They have the lowest divorce rate of any social class in the study.

The lower-middle class (about 33 percent of the population).

- They are usually salespeople, clerical workers, contractors, or owners of small stores. They tend to believe in hard work and saving for a "rainy day."
- Most have a high school education.
- They often live in tract houses in the suburbs.
- They have the highest record for church attendance. They tend to be strict in matters of morals and religion.
- They are the biggest baseball fans of all the classes.
- They spend the most time of any social class at the family dinner table, on family vacations, on weekend auto trips, and barbecuing and gardening.

Those in the upper-middle class are characterized by a "barbecue addiction." They are also very child centered and have a low divorce rate.



SOCIAL-CLASS STRUCTURE IN "YANKEE CITY" AND SAN FRANCISCO

	PERCENT OF YANKEE CITY'S POPULATION	PERCENT OF SAN FRANCISCO'S POPULATION
UPPER	1.4%	.2%
	1.6	
MIDDLE	10.0	15.0
	28.0	33.0
LOWER	34.0	34.0
	25.0	17.0

(Percentages are approximate.)

The upper-lower class (about 34 percent of the population).

- Most have either a semiskilled or a skilled occupation.
- Most have completed 10 or 11 years of schooling.
- The men tend to be typed as strong and silent, tough-minded and manly. They are the most avid outdoorsmen, hunters, and fishermen of all the social classes.
- Their recreation includes television, movies, beer, and poker. They are the heaviest smokers of all the classes.
- They tend to be enthusiastic baseball, boxing, and wrestling fans; bowlers; and do-it-yourselfers.
- The men tend to belong to such organizations as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, and some fraternal orders such as the Elks. The women tend to be active in the PTA and auxiliaries to the men's clubs.
- Although husbands of this class like to think of themselves as manly, they are more likely than husbands in any other class level to help their wives with such chores as gro-

cery shopping and dishwashing.

- When they entertain they shun bridge, rarely serve hard liquor, and tend to break up into male and female talk groups.

The lower-lower class (about 17 percent of the population).

- Most are unskilled workers who are frequently unemployed. They are the last hired and first fired.
- Most attended school to about the 8th grade.
- Most married while still teen-agers. They typically have four or five children, with the first child born while the parents were still teen-agers.
- Most live in cramped quarters in an undesirable part of the city.
- Most are almost always in debt. Two-thirds of the wives are employed outside of the home. Of all social classes, they have the greatest sense of closeness with relatives, and have the most interaction with relatives.
- They tend to feel most strongly that "the wife's place is in the home," that the hus-

band should "run the show," and that children should obey their parents.

● Entertainment consists mainly of visits to the tavern, front-porch gossip, watching the fights on television, and looking at movie magazines and comics.

Analyzing the Two Studies

Now that you have read summaries of the Yankee City and San Francisco studies, consider the following questions:

1. What similarities do you find in the two studies? What differences?
2. In what ways do you think these two communities might be different today? What factors might account for these differences?
3. Is the social-class structure of your community more like Newburyport or more like metropolitan San Francisco? What factors do you think make your community similar to or different from both these communities? What changes do you see taking place today in the social-class structure of your community?

KEY TERMS

upper-upper class	lower-middle class
lower-upper class	upper-lower class
upper-middle class	lower-lower class

SECTION REVIEW

1. How does the social-class structure described in the Yankee City study differ from that in the San Francisco study?
2. What similarities and differences are there between the two studies in the distribution of persons into various social classes?
3. How do the descriptions of the upper classes in the two studies compare?
4. Are the descriptions of the middle classes in the two studies basically similar or basically different? Explain.
5. How do the descriptions of the lower classes in the two studies compare?

SECTION 3

Social Mobility

In the United States we have an open-class social system. This means that individuals can change their social position in the society. The process by which people change their social-class position, and also the process by which the social structure itself changes, is called social mobility. We can define **social mobility** as the movement of individuals and groups within the social-class structure. An example of social mobility is the movement of a person from the lower-middle class to the upper-middle class in the social-class structure of his or her community.

Types of Social Mobility

People may change their social-class position in one of two ways. They may move from one position to another position within their social class. Or they may move into another class.

Horizontal mobility is movement of the individual within a social-class level. If a person leaves the job of a carpenter to become an electrician, the person remains in about the same social class. The two jobs have about the same occupational status, require about the same amount of training, pay similar wages, and have a similar amount of prestige. The individual has been horizontally mobile.

Vertical mobility is movement of the individual between social-class levels. This movement may be either up or down. That is, the individual may either rise or fall in the social-class structure. For instance, suppose the carpenter does not become an electrician. Instead, the carpenter arranges substantial loans and becomes a building contractor. After a few years the business is successful. This individual employs more than a hundred workers—carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians, office staff, estimators, and salespeople. Now this person

would probably be considered as belonging to the upper-middle class. This would be especially true if the contractor's social behavior—including lifestyle, friends, and associates—were acceptable to upper-middle-class people.

Vertical mobility may also be downward. For example, suppose the successful building contractor becomes an alcoholic. As the drinking problem increases, the contractor is

less able to manage the business. The company begins to lose money. At the same time, the contractor is no longer invited to social affairs. Eventually, the contractor is forced into bankruptcy, and loses both home and business. This individual may try to work again as a carpenter, but has difficulty holding a job because of the drinking problem. Eventually this person may come to be regarded as a member of the lower-lower

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND YOU

What does social stratification mean to you as an individual? Does it mean that you will remain in a particular social class because your parents belong to this social class? Can you experience upward social mobility if you so desire? On the other hand, is it necessarily desirable to be upwardly mobile? Here are some factors that might help you think about these questions.

- A few individuals have been known to experience a great deal of upward mobility. But most upwardly mobile people go only into the next higher social class.
- Some lower-class youths have lower aspirations than some upper-class youths, and they have fewer opportunities to be upwardly mobile. On the other hand, lower-class youths tend to be more realistic about their future opportunities than middle-class youths. Middle-class youths who have unrealistically high aspirations often become frustrated and unhappy when they cannot realize their dreams.
- Some people in the society are always moving up in social-class status. It could just as well be you, if that is what you really want.

- Do you really want to be upwardly mobile? In our culture we are apt to assume that everybody wants to move up. But not everyone does. What about you? How important is social-class status to you?

How would you feel about having a blue-collar job? Blue-collar workers today make a reasonable income. In fact, their incomes often are much higher than those of white-collar workers.

Moving upward can present certain problems. People who are upwardly mobile may experience "status insecurity." They are insecure in the new social class because they don't always know what is appropriate behavior. As a result, they sometimes overdo what they think is acceptable. They may adopt overly formal speech or dress. Or they may spend a lot of money in a showy way to prove their status.

Which is more important to you: to impress others with your success, or to be able to live your life in the way you want without worrying about what others think about your status? What things in life tend to make you happy? What things are really important to you?

class. This individual has been vertically mobile downward, having dropped several levels in social-class status.

Social mobility may occur in several ways. One way is through a change in an individual's career. This is called **career mobility** and results from a change in jobs. By looking at a person's employment history, we can determine if the person's change in jobs has brought about gains or losses in social status. The carpenter in our example experienced career mobility as a result of changing occupational status.

A second way is through **intergenerational mobility**, which results from changes in status between parents and children. Suppose the father is a carpenter. However, his son goes to college and medical school and becomes a physician. The son's social status is higher than that of his father. Intergenerational mobility has taken place.

Social Mobility in the United States

Social stratification patterns in the United States usually differentiate between manual and nonmanual work. Those who work at manual tasks, such as farm work, mining, construction, factory assembly-line work, warehouse work, or driving a truck, may be called "**blue collar**." This label comes from the fact that they wear work clothes on the job. These workers are usually paid by the hour, which suggests that they get paid for what they actually do.

Nonmanual work, on the other hand, involves jobs based on the person's knowledge or use of personality. Nonmanual workers have been labeled "**white collar**," because they generally wear dress clothes rather than work clothes at their jobs. Their jobs include sales, teaching, nursing, and supervisory and managerial work. They may practice law, accounting, medicine, architecture, and engineering. They may also work in advertising, publishing, banking, and finance. These persons are usually paid either an annual salary or a fee for their services, as in the case of lawyers, architects, and doctors. This

suggests that they are paid on the basis of what they know rather than what they actually do.

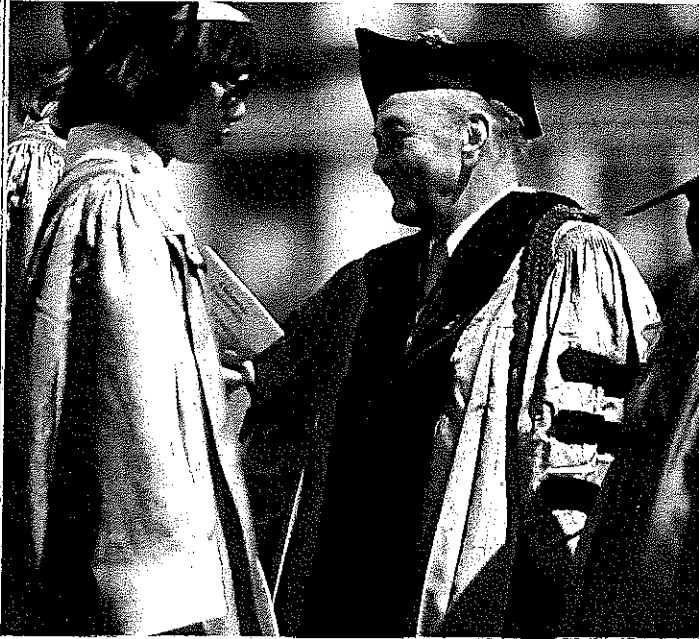
The women's movement has brought about a new label, that of the "**pink collar**." This refers to jobs traditionally held by women, which usually pay low wages. Some examples are the retail salesclerk, file clerk, typist, secretary, receptionist, beautician, and hotel maid. In many industries that hire women for assembly-line jobs—the electronics industry, for example—the pay is much lower for women than for men. This pink-collar concept overlaps the traditional white-collar and blue-collar labels.

How Much Social Mobility Is There?

We like to believe that in our society all of us are free to move to our particular level of competence. Those with high ability and motivation will rise to the top. Others will rise or fall to various levels, based on their effort and ability. Does this really happen in

Most Americans remain in the same social class as their parents. The fathers of these construction workers probably had similar types of jobs.





Education has led to upward mobility in American society. People from all social classes have traditionally viewed education as a way of getting ahead.

our society? Does each of us really seek and achieve his or her own level?

Actually, about 75 percent of the population remains in the same social class as their parents, while approximately 25 percent of the population crosses the manual-non-manual dividing line. About an equal number of persons move from manual to non-manual as move from nonmanual to manual.

Also, the vast majority of those who move up or down go from one class level to the next closest level. They do not jump up or down several levels. The child of a skilled craft worker may become a teacher or a nurse. This person is less likely to become a corporate executive. A recent study shows that more than 60 percent of American corporate executives had fathers who were also corporate executives. Twenty-five percent of corporate executives had fathers who were upper-middle-class professionals or managers. The remaining 15 percent were divided between lower-middle-class white-collar workers and manual workers.

Other research indicates that sons of self-employed professionals are almost four times as likely to become self-employed professionals than they are to become salaried professionals—the next highest level. On the other end of the social-class scale, the picture is very similar. Sons of laborers are almost twice as likely to become laborers as they are to become operatives—the next highest level. It appears that there is more mobility in the middle than at either the higher or lower ends of the occupational scale. Yet even in the middle of the scale, children's occupations are more likely to be at levels similar to those of their parents than to be either much higher or much lower.

Thus, to review, the greatest amount of social mobility seems to be horizontal mobility. Few people are very vertically mobile. And most who are vertically mobile move into the next closest social class. This is true of both career mobility and intergenerational mobility.

Causes of Upward Mobility

Many people think that being upwardly mobile involves a combination of education and hard work. Others claim that it is a question of being in the right place at the right time with the right idea. In addition to individual qualifications and circumstances, there are some factors in the society that may promote some upward mobility.

One such factor is technology and mechanization. Technological advances have greatly reduced the number of unskilled jobs and thereby brought about a more skilled work force. Changes in the merchandising patterns of our society have also affected the work force. In recent years we have had more credit, more emphasis on insurance, more buying and selling of real estate, and a great increase in personal services. These changes have created a larger white-collar work force. Yet the increase is not as large as one might expect. The white-collar work force grew from about 47 percent in 1940 to about 51 percent in the late 1970's. The blue-collar work force declined from approx-

imately 36 percent in 1940 to approximately 33 percent in the late 1970's.

Another factor that may promote upward mobility is the increase in amount of education among the entire population. In 1940 the average person 25 years of age and over had less than 9 years of schooling. By the late 1970's this had increased to more than 12 years. The real question, however, concerns the effect of this increase. Does it tend to raise everybody's status? Or must everyone now have more education in order to stay at the same level?

Other factors that have contributed to upward mobility include immigration. People move up a little in the social-class structure as new immigrants take over the social positions at the bottom. Another factor is downwardly mobile people, who leave openings for others to move into and fill. Still another factor is the increase in physical mobility among the American population. People are more able to take advantage of job opportunities in different regions.

Causes of Downward Mobility

There are always some people in the society who are moving downward. One example would be our alcoholic contractor. Other individuals are caught by changes in the economy, or by bad investments they have made, or by losing their jobs. Both self-employed persons and employees may find themselves out of work if there is no longer a demand for their products. Some of these people may be unable to find another job that is equal in pay or status to the old one. This is especially true of older workers. In other cases, new technology has made certain jobs unnecessary. Some workers have found themselves out of a job and with no skills for another job.

Another factor that sometimes leads to downward mobility today is divorce. Consider, for example, a divorced woman who has never been employed. She may have no marketable job skills and may have to take a low-paying job as a store clerk or cashier. Even a woman who has been employed in the labor force may notice a great change in

income. She may be used to living on the combined incomes of both her husband's and her own salary. She may have to move into a less expensive home and lower her standard of living. In addition, some divorced women find credit quite limited for them. Divorce can also mean downward mobility for a man. He, too, is now forced to live on only his own income. At the same time, he may be paying for child support. And if he remarries, he may find himself supporting two families.

Other factors that can lead to a lower standard of living are the death of a spouse and retirement. The surviving spouse may find that the insurance is totally inadequate. The costs for child care may be great, and the family income may be cut considerably. Retirement can also lower the standard of living of a single person or a couple. The rapid inflation of recent years has been very hard on people who are living on a set income. The payments from Social Security or retirement plans may be much less than the income that was coming in before retirement.

KEY TERMS

social mobility	"blue collar"
horizontal mobility	"white collar"
vertical mobility	"pink collar"
career mobility	upward mobility
intergenerational mobility	downward mobility

SECTION REVIEW

1. What are two types of social mobility? How do they differ?
2. What is meant by blue-collar, white-collar, and pink-collar jobs? Give an example of each.
3. How much social mobility is there in the United States? How far do most people really move?
4. What are some factors that promote upward social mobility in our society?
5. What are some of the factors that can lead to downward social mobility in the United States?