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JOB SATISFACTION: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OCCUPATIONAL,
STRATIFICATION, AND COMMUNITY VARIABLES

by

Joanne Bubolz Eicher

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department
of Sociology and Anthropology in Michigan State
University

East Lansing, Michigan
1956

Approved William K. Form

THESIS

JOANNE BUBOLZ EICHER

ABSTRACT

In an attempt to understand job satisfaction from a sociological perspective, this study investigated 108 male workers and the relationship of their social backgrounds to job satisfaction. A job satisfaction index was developed from three questions probing job preference in order to measure whether a respondent indicated satisfaction with his present job. Four focal hypotheses guided the study:

1. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high occupational prestige.

2. High job satisfaction will be directly related to upward occupational mobility.

3. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high social position.

4. Job satisfaction will be related to community involvement.

For the first hypothesis, Warner's technique for rating occupations, Edwards' occupational groups, and Hatt's situs system of rating occupations were employed as indicators of occupational prestige. All three measures of occupational prestige were found to be related to job satisfaction in the direction expected.

In addition, upward occupational mobility was related to high job satisfaction scores to substantiate the second hypothesis. Mobility was considered from five perspectives: 1) number of jobs held, 2) vertical occupational

mobility, 3) generational occupational mobility, 4) situs mobility and 5) generational situs mobility. The first three variables upheld the hypothesis in the direction expected, but the last two only demonstrated a trend toward supporting the hypothesis.

In the third hypothesis, high job satisfaction scores and high social position were related. General status position was measured by Warner's Index of Status Characteristics and Edwards' social-economic groups. The three components (house type, occupational rating, and source of income) of the Index of Status Characteristics were tested to detect their sensitivity to job satisfaction; source of income exhibited the highest sensitivity. Class identification, education, and amount of income were also included as social position variables. Education was the only one found not to exhibit statistical significance in relationship to the job satisfaction index.

The final hypothesis, job satisfaction will be related to community involvement, was not borne out. Six variables were included to investigate the hypothesis: age, size of community of socialization, newspaper readership, number of associational memberships, church attendance, and party membership.

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In sum, three of the four hypotheses were generally substantiated, and it was concluded for this study that the rewards from life, both on and off the job, are related in a positive manner.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the years 1950-1955, Michigan State University made a study of the social aspects of clothing in a Michigan city of 10,000 people. One of the aspects studied was the significance of clothing in the work situation of the men in the sample. Since one of the study aims was to evaluate the role of clothing in occupational adjustment and mobility, a great deal of information was gathered on several aspects of the occupational life of the men. While the research reported on here has nothing to do with clothing, it is concerned with making use of the unexploited occupational data which were gathered.

In general, the purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship of job satisfaction to the social backgrounds of the respondents. The concern with job satisfaction resulted from an investigation of three questions originally formulated to probe job aspiration. It soon became apparent, however, that job aspiration appeared to be closely associated with job satisfaction. For example, some respondents who did not indicate aspiration for any other job did reveal a preference for their present jobs. The basic data for this thesis, therefore, presented two

possible themes of study--one of job aspiration and one of job satisfaction. The writer chose the latter to study.

Since diverse occupations have varying class and status positions,¹ there arises a possibility that job satisfaction may differ within the occupational structure of a society. Specific studies will be reviewed which are relevant to this problem and to the problem of the relationship of other social factors and job satisfaction.

The problem for this thesis has two facets: 1) operationally defining job satisfaction and 2) examining job satisfaction in reference to the respondents' position in the stratification, occupation, and community systems.

General Review of the Literature

The studies on job satisfaction have been so numerous, it is impossible to review them all. Therefore a few typical ones will be examined.² Job satisfaction has been

¹Emile Durkheim, Division of Labor, trans. George Simpson, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949. Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford Press, 1946. Arthur Salz, "Occupations," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, ed. E. Seligman, Vol. XI, 1933.

✓ ²The reader interested in the general area of job satisfaction is referred to the following issues in the journal Occupations, in which at least twenty current studies involving facets of job satisfaction were reviewed each time: April, 1938; October, 1940; February, 1943; April, 1945; April, 1948; December, 1948; December, 1949; October, 1950; May, 1951; May, 1952; September, 1953; September, 1954; May, 1955.

an appealing subject of study for sociology, industrial psychology, labor economics, and vocational guidance. Although their interests and perspectives overlap, the numerous studies may be grouped into three general areas:

1) the measurement of job satisfaction, 2) job satisfaction as an employee attitude or as a company morale problem, and 3) job satisfaction as a psychological adjustment variable for the individual.

The first area of research, the measurement of job satisfaction, may be further divided into "direct" and "indirect" measures of job satisfaction. The bulk of the studies have been patterned after Hoppock's direct method of measuring this variable. Thus, the respondent is directly questioned about how well he likes his job, whether he has ever thought of changing his job, and so on. The indirect method of assessing job satisfaction consists in asking the respondent what job he would choose if he could start his occupational life over. That is, he is not asked about how satisfied he is with his job, but his answer presumably will indicate present job satisfaction or job aspiration.

The pioneer work by Hoppock was based on his Job Satisfaction Blank.¹ This index consisted of nine ques-

¹Robert Hoppock, Job Satisfaction, New York: Harper, 1935, p. 243.

tions, probing satisfaction by means of: A) Four Likert-type questions asking the respondent to choose one of seven alternative responses, B) Four dichotomous-type questions, and C) An item which required the respondent to mark on a horizontal line his estimate of his satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Hoppock administered this index¹ to the employed adult population of New Hope, Pennsylvania. Of the 351 employed adults, 88 per cent replied, and Hoppock concluded that about one-third of them expressed dissatisfaction.

This technique of measuring job satisfaction was revised by Bullock who used essentially the same questions, but reworded them and refined the scoring scale.² He increased the number of items to ten, constructed the questions in identical form with five alternative responses for each question. The items probed areas of satisfaction with the work organization, the job itself, and the respondent's own position in the work group. His sample consisted of the employees and ex-employees of an animal breeder's trade association. Although he questioned the respondents in re-

¹A previous and longer index had been administered to 500 teachers from fifty-one urban and rural communities of northeastern United States, ibid., pp. 147-212.

²Robert P. Bullock, Social Factors Related to Job Satisfaction, Research Monograph Number 70, Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1952, pp. 7-12.

gard to their social background,¹ he did not relate their satisfaction scores to their social backgrounds.

Bullock's technique of measurement was the basis of four studies sponsored by the Psychology Department of Michigan State University. Trier used the job satisfaction scale to measure job satisfaction and related it to the occupational status of 240 employees from six different industrial plants.² Schell tested the validity of Bullock's scale and the Science Research Associates inventory.³ He obtained a high correlation ($r=.740$) between the two indices.⁴ Cheek compared Bullock's study with the Science Research Associates questionnaire and discovered that the two job satisfaction inventories correlated highly with each other, and that the shorter technique (Bullock's) could be substituted for the longer one.⁵ Khan was concerned with

¹Ibid., Appendix E, pp. 87-93.

²Howard E. Trier, Job Satisfaction and Occupational Status, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State College, 1954.

³The Science Research Associates inventory (known as the SRA inventory) is a questionnaire composed of seventy-eight items probing fifteen categories of job satisfaction including factors of job demands, working conditions, and pay.

⁴William A. Schell, A Study of Empathic Ability and of the Validity of Some Indices of Job Satisfaction, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State College, 1954.

⁵Gloria Lee Cheek, A Psychometric Study of Two Indices of Job Satisfaction, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, 1955.

job satisfaction as one variable among eight tests administered to her sample. She reported some occupational differences.¹

The indirect method of measuring satisfaction was used by Fortune magazine. They asked whether they would select a different job if they could choose an occupation over again.² Understandably this survey yielded a higher overall percentage of dissatisfaction, because the range of job choice offered the respondents was greater than in the direct technique. An earlier survey by Fortune which used the same technique revealed extreme differences in job satisfaction by occupations. In the sample, 29 per cent of the professionals as contrasted to 61.3 per cent of factory laborers signified that they would choose a different career, while 53.3 per cent of the professionals and 21.3 per cent of the factory laborers stated that they would stay in their own career.³ The difference is a striking one.

Typical of the studies on job satisfaction in reference to morale and company policy are the researches by

¹Lilian Khan, An Exploratory Study of the Relationships Among Personality Characteristics, Work Situation, Job Satisfaction and Ability to Empathize in an Industrial Framework, Unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, 1955.

²"The Fortune Survey," Fortune, 35, June, 1947, pp. 5-6, 10.

³"The Fortune Quarterly Survey: XI," Fortune, 17, January, 1938, p. 86.

Reynolds and Shister, Kerr, and Woods. Woods defined morale as:

the liking or disliking in some degree the various situations that occur in the process of working with others. It was presumed that degree of morale was represented by attitudes expressed in terms of like or dislike of the various factors of a man's job.¹

This definition represents a broader view of factors relating to job satisfaction. Woods was trying to find out whether or not persons liked their jobs, and he emphasized the hours of work, attitude toward company policies, supervision, and colleague work-relationships. Woods equated liking it with satisfaction and disliking it with dissatisfaction. The results of his study concluded that there is more than one "morale," and that the "causes or origins of morale are to be found somewhere else than in specific work factors. Persons with similar work environment showed varied scores and wide ranges."² This strongly suggests that the investigation of the social backgrounds of workers may be meaningful for job satisfaction, since scrutiny of the work environment has shown that it alone does not account for contentment with one's work.

¹Walter A. Woods, "Employee Attitudes and Their Relation to Morale," Journal of Applied Psychology, 28, 1944, pp. 285-301.

²Ibid.

Research by Reynolds and Shister viewed job satisfaction as a problem of labor turnover. Those satisfied remained in their jobs--those dissatisfied left, causing problems in turnover, low morale, or lowered productivity. They also inquired about occupational aspiration. In their interpretation of findings, they stated that if a respondent signified satisfaction in remaining with his present work, he "had an unusual degree of inertia." These studies were also interested in approval of company policies and management practices in order to bring about job satisfaction and better production.¹

The third area of study involves the psychological factors of the respondent as exhibited by his job satisfaction. Typical of the research in this area are studies similar to Schaffer's which are interested in discovering whether the overall satisfaction would vary directly with the extent to which individual needs are satisfied by a job.²

Relevant Findings of Literature for This Study

Since this study is concerned with the occupational, stratification, and community positions related to job sat-

¹Lloyd G. Reynolds and Joseph Shister, Job Horizons New York: Harper & Bros., 1949 , p. 77.

²Robert H. Schaffer, "Job Satisfaction as Related to Need Satisfaction in Work," Psychological Monographs, 67, No. 14, American Psychological Association, Inc., 1953.

isfaction, the literature will be reviewed in reference to these areas.

Occupational Position. Hoppock's results reported that the mean satisfaction index of each group increased over the group below it when the occupations were scaled according to Beckman's scheme:

Group V	Professional, managerial, and executive
Group IV	Sub-professional, business and minor supervisory
Group III	Skilled manual and white collar
Group II	Semi-skilled
Group I	Unskilled manual ¹

In Trier's study the workers' occupations and those of their fathers were ranked according to a five class occupational status ladder, ranging from professional at the top to unskilled at the bottom. Trier discovered that the higher the occupational status, the greater the job satisfaction. He also discovered that workers at a higher occupational status than their fathers' were more satisfied with their jobs.² Super investigated the relationship of occupational level to job satisfaction and found that in the white collar level, 86 per cent of the professionals, 74 per cent of the managers, 42 per cent of the commercial groups were satisfied. In the manual category, 56 per cent

¹Hoppock, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

²Trier, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

of the skilled workers were satisfied and for semi-skilled workers, 48 percent were satisfied.¹ The Fortune survey already cited² reported the same trend.

Stratification. Hoppock equated Beckman's occupational scale with social status;³ thus the findings reported above would hold true in this category. The studies surveyed did not relate such status ratings as Warner's or Edwards' to job satisfaction, but some of the factors of stratification such as income and education were often included in the research. Trier stated that workers receiving higher wages were significantly more satisfied, while workers with higher education were shown to be only slightly more satisfied than those with lower education. (This was a contrary finding in his research, as he expected workers with less education to be more satisfied.⁴) Thomson investigated a sample of 181 men from the 1926 graduating class of a midwestern university and found 67 per cent to be satisfied. Fourteen per cent expressed dissatisfaction and 18 per cent qualified their answers. These quali-

¹Donald E. Super, "Occupational level and job satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology, 23, 1939, pp. 547-564.

²"The Fortune Quarterly Survey: XI," op. cit., p. 86.

³Hoppock. loc. cit.

⁴Trier, op. cit., p. 34.

fications involved financial considerations, and Thomson concluded for this group that dissatisfaction seemed directly related to income.¹

Community variables. Not much work has been done relating community variables to job satisfaction. Among the variables tested, age and community background are most frequently used. Trier found that older workers in the same occupation were more satisfied than younger workers.² Hoppock found that the mean age of the teachers satisfied with their jobs was 7.5 years older (37 contrasted to 29.5) than those not satisfied.³ In his New Hope survey which covered all the occupations of the community, the correlation of age and job satisfaction was rather low, $.21 \pm .04$.⁴ Kessler found that the veterans of his sample who were satisfied with their jobs were on the average eighteen months younger than the dissatisfied.⁵

As for childhood residence in relationship to job satisfaction, Hoppock's study of 500 teachers revealed that

¹William A. Thomson, "Eleven Years After Graduation," Occupations, 17, May, 1939, pp. 709-714.

²Trier, op. cit., p. 34.

³Hoppock, op. cit., p. 40.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Milton S. Kessler, "Job Satisfaction of Veterans Rehabilitated Under Public Law 16," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 33, October, 1954, pp. 78-81.

a higher percentage of those satisfied with their job were brought up in a community the same size as the community they were teaching in.¹

Appraisal of Empirical Contributions

The disadvantages of many of the above studies lay in the fact that the samples in several instances were too small, making certain statistical manipulations either difficult or impossible to apply. In addition, generalizations drawn about the job satisfaction of a particular occupation could not be applied to a complete occupational structure of a community. The New Hope study was an exception. The majority of the studies measuring satisfaction were executed by the "direct" method, which contains the drawback of suggesting satisfaction or dissatisfaction to the respondent. This may put the respondent on the defensive; he may feel compelled to admit satisfaction. Both these techniques, and those of the morale surveys, were administered to workers in industrial work plants or offices and were not applied to independent operators or to professional persons. The morale studies, too, seemed dominated by the assumption that if the worker exhibited high morale, this meant satisfaction, which in turn pointed to a low

¹Hoppock, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

probability of turnover. Finally, although many of the studies tested the relationship of job satisfaction to some social variables, none of them studied the relationship of job satisfaction to these important sociological factors systematically or extensively.

Appraisal of This Study

This study has certain drawbacks of its own. The sample does not include the women or Negro workers in the community. In other areas, however, it overcomes some of the weak spots of previous research. The sample contains 108 men who had work experience. The sample was taken to represent the male occupational structure of a community of 10,000 population. Thus certain generalizations may be drawn from this study which transcend a specific occupational group. The "indirect" method of ascertaining job satisfaction does not focus the respondent's attention on satisfaction, but allows for a spontaneous admission of satisfaction or aspiration. In addition, the questions as asked were generally applicable, not only to manual and office workers, but also to entrepreneurs and professionals. The questions measuring job satisfaction were not concerned with equating morale and satisfaction, but with the respondent's acknowledgment of satisfaction with his work. This study will attempt to contribute a

sociological perspective to the field of job satisfaction, which can be added to the storehouse of psychological and vocational guidance information.

Problem Reformulated

Although empirical studies contain some contradictory findings, they do suggest that job satisfaction may be understood in the context of a person's social position as described by his position in the occupational, stratification, and community systems. None of the studies reviewed here have investigated these systems in an orderly fashion. However, they have shown that, since men with the same jobs exhibited large ranges in their job satisfaction, there must be other reasons responsible for job satisfaction than the factory environment and the job itself. This suggests the possibility that the social milieu from which a person derives may be a factor of considerable importance. It is to this question that this thesis is addressed.

Several studies reviewed have suggested that job satisfaction varies directly with the status ranking of occupations. They have also suggested that the general social position (which includes the occupational position, income, education, and style-of-life factors) also is related to a person's job satisfaction. In addition, job satisfaction appears to be related the person's community integration.

Such factors as age, organizational membership and attendance are extra-job factors which could account for persons in the same job exhibiting differences in satisfaction. With these findings in mind, four guiding hypotheses for this study were formulated. Since each has been developed in some detail throughout the text, they will only be briefly stated here.

1. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high occupational prestige.

2. High job satisfaction will be directly related to upward occupational mobility.

3. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high position in the stratification system.

4. Job satisfaction will be related to community involvement.

Procedure

Before any of these hypotheses could be tested, a job satisfaction scoring device had to be improvised. Chapter II is devoted to this subject, as well as to a general review of the methodological background of the research.

The first two hypotheses will be considered in Chapter III. To test whether or not the high job satisfaction scores are related to high occupational prestige, three

methods of rating occupations will be used: Warner's, Edwards' and Hatt's. To test whether or not high job satisfaction is related to upward mobility, five variables will be investigated: number of jobs held, occupational mobility, generational occupational mobility, situs mobility and generational situs mobility.

Chapter IV will analyze the hypothesis that job satisfaction will be directly related to high status position. To do this, the variables of social class (including the source of income, occupational rating, and house type which compose social class), social-economic groups, class identification, education, and amount of income will be considered.

In Chapter V, the fourth and most generally stated hypothesis, job satisfaction will be related to community involvement, will be developed. Variables of age, socialization-place, newspaper readership, number of organizational memberships, church attendance, and party membership will be analyzed as indices of community involvement and will be related to the job satisfaction index.

Finally, Chapter VI will summarize the findings of the study and present some of its conclusions.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Since the data for this study were taken from a larger study¹ the research site and sample selection for that project are relevant for the present investigation. Therefore, the general background of the larger study will be reviewed.

Research Site

The research site was selected for several reasons. The general research had as its central postulate that clothing functions in social life as a symbol of social status.² More specific purposes of the general study were to examine the relevance of clothing in everyday life--the work situation for the males and purchasing situation for the females--in a community context. Therefore it was necessary to select a community of a small enough size to

¹The study, "Consumer Problems in the Purchase of Clothing and Textiles," has been sponsored by the Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station and conducted under the general supervision of Gregory P. Stone. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology collaborated with the Department of Textiles, Clothing and Related Arts.

²Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18, April, 1953, p. 153.

study in detail, yet with a wide enough range of occupations and industries to reflect an urban influence. It was also desirable that a rural population be included nearby in order to compare rural-urban clothing variations.¹

Considerable data were already available for Branch county in south-central Michigan.² Coldwater, the county seat, had a population of 10,000 and fulfilled the urban requirements. Its principal industries were wholesale and retail trade, metal casting, wood and metal manufacturing, transportation (trucking) and miscellaneous services.³

Sample Design and Composition

For the sample, about one hundred cases were selected which represented the complete range of male occupations in the city. In order to draw the sample, all the occupa-

¹Gregory F. Stone and William H. Form. Clothing inventories and preferences among rural and urban families. Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing. Technical Bulletin 246, March, 1955.

²The social composition of the county had previously been completed for another study by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University. See John B. Holland, Attitudes toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, 1950.

³William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone. The social significance of clothing in occupational life. Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Technical Bulletin 247, June, 1955, p. 8. The writers use "Vansburg" as a pseudonym for Coldwater.

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tions of the married males in Coldwater were classified and ranked according to the seven-point occupational prestige scale of Warner.¹ Within each of these occupational strata, male heads-of-households were drawn at random in proportion to the percentage of all occupations held by married males in the city. This resulted in a stratified sample of 108 married men who were interviewed. A matched second sample was also drawn for selection of cases to fill in for refusals or chronic not-at-homes. Table 1 depicts the occupational composition of the men in the sample. This job satisfaction study concerned itself with the male respondents only.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF COLDWATER SAMPLE ACCORDING
TO WARNER'S AND EDWARDS' OCCUPATIONAL SCALES*

Warner's Occupational Prestige Scale	Edwards' Occupational Scale
Stratum one . . . 8	Professional 8
Stratum two . . . 11	Proprietors 16
Stratum three . . 12	Managers and officials 9
Stratum four . . . 18	Office clerks and sales 9
Stratum five . . . 27	Skilled workers and foremen . . 26
Stratum six . . . 14	Semi-skilled and unskilled workers 24
Stratum seven . . 10	Domestics, attendants, and others 8
Totals . . 100 (N = 108)	Totals 100 (N = 108)

*Table reproduced from Form and Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, p. 133.

The sample included married males who were experienced workers. Since there were no respondents younger than twenty years of age, the just-out-of-school workers were excluded. The actual ages ranged from twenty to seventy-nine. The sample was composed largely of native-born whites with native-born parents (only twelve respondents stated one or both parents were foreign-born). The sample also represented the social levels of the community.

Social Class Criteria

An investigation of the social levels was included in the research task. The definition of social class used in this research and in the larger study from which these data came, is based on a modified version of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.¹ The familiar upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower status groups were the result of this Index. In parts of the country newer than the East, Warner suggested, there may be only five classes with no differentiation made between a group of upper-uppers and lower-uppers. He also predicted the possibility that one of the four factors comprising the Index of Status Characteristics--occupational status, source of income, house type and dwelling

¹Loc. cit.

area--may not be available. The Index is still effective, however, if only three characteristics are used in computing it, but certain alterations must be made in the weighting of the items.¹

In setting up the larger study, two changes were made in the Index of Status Characteristics because one of the four characteristics was not obtainable and another had to be modified.² Dwelling area ratings were dropped from the Index because it appeared that the community did not have a clear-cut ecological structure reflecting clear-cut differences. Although the lower status homes tended to be found together, the high and middle status homes were often situated next to each other.

The modification of the Index also involved the occupational ratings. The ratings as developed by Warner did not seem to reflect adequately the status system of occupations in the community. For example, the truck drivers living in Coldwater made up about five per cent of the approximately 2700 employed males. From observation it appeared that their level in the community was thought to be higher than in those communities Warner had studied.³ To

¹Ibid., p. 185.

²Stone and Form, "Instabilities in Status,"op. cit., p.154.

³Loc. cit.

correct this, ten local long-time residents of diverse occupational backgrounds were asked to rate the occupations in the sample on a seven point scale.¹ The individuals of the sample were then rated and the scores were included in computing the Index of Status Characteristics.

As a result, the Index of Status Characteristics as computed for Coldwater included a modified rating of occupational status, source of income, and house type. The social classes of Coldwater, computed by this system, are shown in Table 2.² Social class is considered in this study as a crude index of prestige. Two of the principal researchers in the study found that for Coldwater, Warner's conception of a hierarchical status system was imprecise.³ There was, to be sure, a status system, but it did not consist of a unidimensional ranking; the status groups at the top exhibited a split. Four factors were especially responsible for the above findings: 1) status arrangement was not clearly reflected in community ecology, 2) lack of adequate "status reputation" existed for a sizable segment of the community, 3) consensus on status extremes and disagreement existed in the middle range, 4) invasion of the "cosmopo-

¹Loc. cit.

²Ibid., p. 153.

³Loc. cit.

lites" threatened the upper class.¹ These findings will be taken into consideration when summarizing the present study.

TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

Social Class	Per Cent
Upper	5.8
Upper Middle	13.5
Lower Middle	26.9
Upper Lower	36.5
Lower Lower	17.3
Total	100.0
	(N = 108)

Job Satisfaction Index

To obtain a measure of job satisfaction, questions were constructed which probed job preference in three different dimensions. The "dimensions" refer to occupational preferences in reference to the respondent's present place of work, his general knowledge of jobs, and his own job history. If the respondent spontaneously named his own jobs in these three dimensions, this was coded as indicating a high degree of job satisfaction. As posed by the statement of the problem in Chapter I, this was conceived of as a way

¹Ibid., pp. 153-155.

of testing whether job satisfaction could be indirectly measured.

The job satisfaction index was constructed from three key questions from the work situation schedule:

1. Which job would you most like to have at your present place of work?
2. Of all the jobs you know of, what job would you most like to have?
3. Which of all the jobs you have had, did you like best?

To refresh his memory about the work positions he had held, the respondent was asked to outline his job history. This job history was also used to gauge occupational mobility of the worker.

From these questions, an index of satisfaction with present job was constructed by the following method. When answering "I like my own," "Satisfied with what I have," "I got her, Chum," or naming his own job as "Painter,"¹ a score of "one" was given for that question. To those expressing preference for a job different than their own, a score of "zero" was recorded. The scores were added and a four-point scale ranging from zero to three resulted. The

¹The respondent had been asked "what is your present job?" Therefore, occupational titles given as answers were compared to his own occupational label.

scores indicated the following:

- 0 - Present job was not given in response to any question.
- 1 - Present job was given as response to one question.
- 2 - Present job was given as response to two questions.
- 3 - Present job was given as response to all three questions.

The index was developed in order to fulfill the first objective of this thesis: to operationally define job satisfaction by setting up a means of indirectly judging job satisfaction from questions about job aspirations. In addition, it was further reasoned that with three different job aspiration dimensions, a score could be developed indicating a range of satisfaction from those persons contented with their present job in all three dimensions to those not expressing satisfaction with their jobs at all.

The distribution of the index of satisfaction with present job¹ appears in Table 3. There it is observed that roughly half of the respondents (fifty-one) fell into the "more satisfied" categories with scores of three and two. They designated their own job as a preference to all three questions or to two of them. The other half (fifty-eight)

¹Hereafter expressed as job satisfaction index.

fell into the "less satisfied" category; they preferred their job in only one dimension or in none.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES FOR JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Score	Number	Per Cent
3	22	20.4
2	29	26.8
1	38	35.2
0	19	17.6
Total	108	100.0

Most job satisfaction studies have probed only satisfaction with the present job, and their usual findings report that very few of the respondents express dissatisfaction.¹ Since eighty-nine of the one hundred eight respondents of this sample expressed job satisfaction in at least one dimension, these results are in line with previous ones.

This index of job satisfaction is only a crude approximation of a scale and should not be considered as an absolute yardstick of job satisfaction. To test this, the writer attempted to prepare a Guttman-type scale. This at-

¹The percentages for dissatisfaction reported in the literature have run well below thirty-three per cent, and as low as three per cent.

tempt was not successful. Only three questions were involved, and the co-efficient of reproducibility for the three was .92. To be meaningful, it would have had to be perfect (1.00) for three questions. Even then, the validity of a scale on the strength of three items might be questioned. This study assumed that answering "present job" to any of the three questions carried equal weight. The possibility remains, however, that the dimensions probed are not equal in contributing to job satisfaction.

The distribution of answers to each dimension is as follows: Seventy men selected their own job in answer to "Which job would you most like to have at your present place of work?" Thirty-two men selected their own job in answer to "Of all the jobs you know of, what job would you most like to have?" Sixty men selected their own job in answer to "Which of all the jobs you have had, did you like best?"

The combination of answers will also be reported here so that the incongruous combinations may be noted. Table 4 depicts the number of responses to each of the eight possible combinations. As previously stated and shown in Table 3, twenty-two of the respondents selected their own job in answer to all three questions, while nineteen indicated no preference for their present job. Of those twenty-nine men who selected their present job

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS*
ON JOB SATISFACTION

Selection of present job in answer to	Number	Per Cent
None of the questions	19	17.6
Question 1 only	22	20.4
Question 2 only	2	1.8
Question 3 only	14	13.0
Questions 1 and 2	5	4.6
Questions 1 and 3	21	19.4
Questions 2 and 3	3	2.8
Questions 1, 2, and 3	22	20.4
Total	108	100.0

*For questions, see beginning of this section.

twice, twenty-one chose question one and three, five chose one and two, and three, two and three. When these responses are inspected, possible incongruous combinations arise. For instance, why would a man admit satisfaction with his present job to questions one and two and not to three, or why would he omit question one and select two and three? The plausible combination is one and three in which a man indicates preference for his job at his present place of work and in relationship to all the jobs he had held, but perhaps, if choosing his life work over again, he would choose a different occupation. The selection of two and three or one and two will be noted here as seemingly illogical combinations, but for the purposes of this thesis, the cases will be retained in the study. In other words, the respondents' answers will be taken at face value as indicating some degree of satisfaction.

Of the thirty-eight respondents who named their job only once, twenty-two said they liked their present job at their present place of work (question one), two liked their present job best of any they knew (question two), and fourteen liked their present job best of any in their job history (question three). The only incongruous choice in this group seemed to be selection of their present job in answer to question two alone. It is strange for a man to say that his present job is the best of any he knows, yet not also

admit satisfaction to either one or both of the other dimensions.

The term "satisfied" will be used to distinguish those workers scoring three and two on the Index, while "dissatisfied" will denote those scoring one and zero. The writer realizes that respondents with zero scores actually may be content with certain aspects of their work world.

Statistical Techniques

A Chi-square test of significant association was computed to ascertain the probability of independence between the Job Satisfaction Index and the control variables.¹ In describing statistical significance or lack of it, the null hypothesis statement will be used. The following probability ranges will be denoted by the qualifying adjectives of:

.05 > p > .01 -- moderately significant
 .01 > p > .001 - highly significant
 .001 > p - extremely significant²

¹The procedure for determining Chi-square followed that described by Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952), p. 369. The formula used was an alternative formula,

$$\chi^2 = S - N, \text{ where } S = \sum \frac{f^2}{f_e} .$$

²Originally used by George W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods: Applied to Experiments in Agriculture and Biology, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 4th ed., 1946. Reproduced in Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952, p. 325.

In addition, the term "approaching significance" will be used when the probability range is $.10 > p > .05$. The index was dichotomized when running the Chi-squares for every table (the cases scoring three and two were collapsed, as were those scoring one and zero).

A coefficient of contingency, C, was computed and corrected¹ for all the Chi-squares which were significant, to determine the degree of association between the variables investigated.

¹The formula used for computing the C was

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{\chi^2 + N}}, \text{ ibid., p. 370. The correction for C was}$$

$$\bar{C} = \frac{C}{t_r t_c}, \text{ as found in Thomas C. McCormick, Elementary So-$$

cial Statistics, New York: McGraw, Hill, 1941, p. 207.

CHAPTER III

JOB SATISFACTION: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE AND MOBILITY

Two hypotheses relating to occupational position and experience provide the framework for the findings discussed in this chapter. Many of the previous job satisfaction studies have suggested or investigated by the direct method, the first hypothesis, that the higher the prestige of the job, the higher the job satisfaction. To implement and expand these researches, this study introduces a comparison of three different techniques of classifying jobs hierarchically and relates them to the indirect measurement of job satisfaction. The three techniques are: Warner's occupational strata,¹ Edwards' occupational groups,² and Hatt's situs system.³ It was felt that comparing three methods of job ranking to job satisfaction would provide a more thorough test of the hypothesis.

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth L. Eells, Social Class in America, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, p. 133.

²Alba M. Edwards, Alphabetical Index of Occupations, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 3.

³Paul K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 45, May, 1950, pp. 538-539.

The second hypothesis, that high job satisfaction will be related to upward occupational mobility, was implicit in the literature, but this thesis will investigate the factors of mobility in greater detail and relate them to job satisfaction. Five variables will be included: number of jobs held, occupational mobility, generational occupational mobility, situs mobility, and generational situs mobility.

Occupational Prestige

Results of previous job satisfaction studies showed a definite relationship between high prestige jobs and high satisfaction. Hoppock reported that each higher occupational group in New Hope had a higher mean satisfaction index than the one below.¹ Trier ranked occupations on a fivepoint scale and substantiated his hypothesis that the higher the occupational status, the greater the job satisfaction.² Super found white collar workers more satisfied than manual and within these two breakdowns, professionals more satisfied than managers, and managers more satisfied than commercial workers; as for the manual workers, skilled

¹Robert Hoppock, Job Satisfaction, New York: Harper, 1935, pp. 36-37.

²Howard E. Trier, Job Satisfaction and Occupational Status, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State College, 1954, p. 33.

workers were more satisfied than semi-skilled.¹ Khan found that supervisors experience the highest satisfaction, executives somewhat lower and workers the lowest.² Walker and Marriott found in their study of attitudes to factory work that skilled jobs carried a sense of status and higher satisfaction than unskilled jobs.³ Centers also reported:

There are distinct differences in satisfaction and dissatisfaction among occupational groups with respect to their jobs. Whereas the people in the top occupational stratum are all satisfied with their jobs, large numbers in the lower occupational groups are dissatisfied.⁴

These studies point to the expectation of finding in this study that people in the top occupational groups would exhibit more three and two scores in the job satisfaction index than the lower occupational groups. The contribution of this thesis in investigating prestige and job satisfaction is the comparison of three different techniques of

¹Donald E. Super, "Occupational Level and Job Satisfaction," Journal of Applied Psychology, 23, 1939, pp. 547-564.

²Lilian Khan, An Exploratory Study of the Relationships Among Personality Characteristics, Work Situation, Job Satisfaction, and Ability to Empathize in an Industrial Framework, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, 1955, p. 30.

³J. Walker and R. Marriott, "A Study of Some Attitudes to Factory Work," Occupational Psychology, 25, July, 1951, pp. 181-191.

⁴Richard Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," Journal of Social Psychology, 28, 1948, pp. 187-217.

ranking jobs and their relationship to job satisfaction.

Warner's occupational ranking. Since Warner's occupational schema was basic to this whole study,¹ prestige as measured by his ranking method was the first variable investigated. Details of his ranking method will not be presented here, but it is important to note that his occupational strata are not composed of functional occupational groupings. His strata cut across different occupational families, so that the top level includes doctors, lawyers, businessmen whose businesses are worth \$75,000 or more, and top management officials.

The data in Table 5 confirm the expected results. All of the first stratum have job satisfaction scores of three and two, while the second stratum is characterized by a modal score of three. Below the two upper strata (from 3 to 5), job satisfaction scores are scattered with most of them scoring one or two. The bottom strata are then heavily concentrated in the dissatisfied scores of one and zero. The Chi-square computed for the table bears out the significance of the association between job satisfaction and occupational prestige, for the probability of the two factors being related falls between the .01 and the .001 level. The null hypothesis is rejected, for this is a highly significant association. Also, the $\bar{C}$ of .47 indicates a fairly strong degree of correlation. Warner's classification of

¹Supra, Chapter II, "Social Class Criteria."

occupations into a seven-point prestige scale and its relationship to the job satisfaction index of this study substantiate the first hypothesis of the thesis.¹

TABLE 5
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN WARNER'S OCCUPATIONAL RATING
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Warner's Occupational Rating*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Stratum 1	3	5	-	-	8
Stratum 2	7	1	3	1	13
Stratum 3	2	6	4	1	12
Stratum 4	3	3	11	2	19
Stratum 5	4	9	10	8	31
Stratum 6	2	5	4	4	15
Stratum 7	1	-	6	3	10
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 12.650 \quad .01 > p > .001 \quad \bar{C} = .47$					

*Rows 1-3, 4 and 5, 6 and 7 were combined in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

¹Hughes suggests that an occupation is a combination of a price tag and calling card, thus summing up in a few words the economic and status position which an occupation represents. Everett C. Hughes, "Work and the Self," Social Psychology at the Crossroads, ed. John Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, p. 313.

Edwards' Occupational Groups. The rating scheme proposed and used by Alba Edwards in the U. S. Bureau of Census classifications¹ is somewhat different than the preceding scheme of Warner. Edwards placed men of the same occupation into one group rather than cutting across occupations as Warner did. The groupings are ranked hierarchically, however, from professionals on the top to unskilled workers and attendants on the bottom.² It was expected, therefore, that the association of job satisfaction to this ranking technique would also support the hypothesis that the higher the prestige of the job, the higher the job satisfaction.

Table 6 demonstrates the same heavy concentration of satisfaction in the top levels of occupations. Twenty-five of the first group scored three and two, as contrasted with thirteen scoring one and zero. The distribution of scores for the lower group shows almost the opposite finding, with twenty-two respondents expressing dissatisfaction and only ten expressing satisfaction. The two middle groups are again almost evenly distributed, although weighted on the

¹Edwards, loc. cit.

²In Edwards' scheme, each group is a separate classification. Compatible groups were combined in this study for presentation purposes and because of the few cases involved in some of the categories when running Edwards' eleven occupational groups against the job satisfaction index.

TABLE 6

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EDWARDS' OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Occupational Group	Job Satisfaction Index*				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Professionals, Proprietors, Officials and Managers	13	12	9	4	38
Office Clerks and Sales Personnel	2	2	4	2	10
Foremen and Skilled Manual Workers	5	7	12	4	28
Semi-skilled, Unskilled Domestic and Attendants	2	8	13	9	32
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 8.956$ $.05 > p > .02$ $\bar{C} = .38$					

*Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

dissatisfaction side. The statistical significance is exhibited by the Chi-square in which the probability of the two variables being related falls between the five and two per cent levels. The $\bar{C}$ exhibits a moderate association between job satisfaction and Edwards' rating. The hypothesis is again borne out by this finding, although not as dramatically as with Warner's scale.

One of the possible explanations for the difference obtained from the two methods may lie in the fact that Warner's technique seems to be more sensitive to social stratification than Edwards'. For example, a minister with college education is placed in the top level of Warner's groups while an untrained minister is placed in the second group. He treats the case of college professor-high school teacher-grade school teacher similarly, but in Edwards' classification, all of these would be placed in the same category.

Hatt's Situs Classification. In addition to the above two ways of classifying occupations, a third approach was also investigated which, although a rough approximation of prestige, emphasized the occupational groupings even more than Edwards' system and de-emphasized the stratification aspects.¹ Because many researchers have criticized the usual prestige ranking methods² the writer investigated the technique of situs classification for this study. This concept of situs will be briefly reviewed. As Hatt attempted to scale occupations by prestige, he found that a scale could not be obtained for some of the occupations.

¹Hatt, loc. cit.

²For a review and critique of ranking occupations, see Theodore Caplow, "Measurement of Occupational Status," Sociology of Work, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 30-58.

He then suggested a new hypothesis, that sub-groupings of occupations would scale even though the whole series of occupations would not scale on a single continuum. He therefore proposed an eight-occupational situs system, and within each of these placed several occupational families.¹ Our sample had no respondents falling in three of the eight situs categories.

Hatt did not establish the situs system in strict ranks. However, close inspection of them discloses a very rough approximation of a ranking system. For example, professional and business situs are placed above the situs of manual work and service. The real emphasis is, however, on ranking within the situs; for instance, it must be recognized that the manual work category contains such diverse occupations as airplane pilot (a skilled technician) to skilled and unskilled factory workers. Unfortunately, Hatt's numerous categories and the few cases of the sample made it impossible to use the situs system completely. The political, recreation and aesthetics, and military categories had no representatives in the sample.

Table 7 presents the distribution of satisfied and dissatisfied respondents in relationship to their placement in the situs categories. The professionals, again, are

¹Hatt, loc. cit.

shown on the satisfied side of the dichotomy. The business situs, however, now contains all proprietors, managers, and white collar workers. The differences are not as clearly evident, for twenty-one express satisfaction in either two or three dimensions, while eighteen express less satisfaction. The manual-work and service categories now manifest larger differences. Thirty-four of the manual workers and four of the service workers are found on the less satisfied side as contrasted to twenty-one satisfied manual laborers and one satisfied service worker.

TABLE 7

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL SITUS
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Occupational Situs*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Professional	2	4	1	-	7
Business	10	11	13	5	39
Agriculture***	2	-	-	-	2
Manual Work	7	14	21	13	55
Service	1	-	3	1	5
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 5.082$ $.05 > p > .02$ $\bar{C} = .33$					

*The first two and last two rows were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

***This group was dropped out of the Chi-square computation.

Statistically, the null hypothesis can be rejected. Job satisfaction may be associated with the higher situs, for the probability of the Chi-square falls between the five and two per cent levels, and a moderate association between the two variables is demonstrated by the $\bar{C}$ of .33. The first guiding hypothesis for this chapter is also supported by the findings in Table 7.

Occupational Mobility

Implicit in most of the studies reviewed was the notion that upward occupational mobility within and between generations should be reflected in higher job satisfaction. Such a position may be derived from the first hypothesis; if people holding jobs with high prestige have high job satisfaction scores, then high job satisfaction scores should be exhibited also by those who experienced upward mobility.¹ The number of jobs workers have held should also be related to job satisfaction. There is some evidence that professional people, for example, experience work sta-

¹One problem which will not be touched here is that of viewing the variable of job satisfaction and its relationship to social variables in a dynamic manner. In other words, several of the respondents are employed in hierarchical positions and have only climbed one or two steps and expect to go up a few more before ending their work career. They may be satisfied with their present job as one being necessary for the next step up. It will not, however, show up in the job satisfaction scores by the nature of the instrument which forces them to focus their answers on the job for which they are next in line.

bility with fewer trial jobs than do unskilled workers who may shift from job to job throughout their work history.¹ This, too, would support the general prestige hypothesis that the higher the position on the occupational ladder, the fewer jobs held, and the higher the job satisfaction scores. Therefore, five facets of mobility will be investigated in reference to their relationship to job satisfaction. They are: number of jobs held, occupational mobility, generational occupational mobility, situs mobility, and generational situs mobility.

Number of Jobs Held. The empirical studies on job satisfaction show conflicting results regarding the relationship between number of jobs held and job satisfaction.

A study done by the Standard Register Company concluded:

Employees who had had many jobs elsewhere were more favorably disposed than employees who had worked only at this company or who had had only one or two jobs elsewhere.²

On the other hand, Eckerman's and Kerr's studies refute this finding. Eckerman stated that the "grievors" (dissatisfied workers) held more jobs and had worked longer than the "non-grievors."³ Kerr found a significant correlation

¹Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. 706-711.

²Standard Register Company, "How to Find Out What Your Workers Think about You," Factory Management and Maintenance, 106, August, 1948, pp. 81-91.

³A. C. Eckerman, "An Analysis of Grievances and Aggrieved Employees in a Machine Shop and Foundry," Journal

between high turnover rates and dissatisfaction.¹ Since these studies were administered to particular working populations (mainly factory workers), generalizations from them may not apply to a cross-section of occupations. The expected results for this sample were in accord with the latter two studies² which suggested that higher prestige jobs are dominated by those with fewer previous jobs.³

The range for the sample was from one to eleven, with the mean falling at 4.4. The mean number of jobs for each of the scores of the index in Table 8 varies from 3.8 to 4.8, indicating that the more satisfied worker has had fewer jobs, although the difference is not great.

The biggest differences are found among the extremely mobile workers. Thus, among those holding seven or more jobs, only three of them score three, and fifteen respondents score one and zero. The Chi-square test of association

of Applied Psychology, 32, June, 1948, pp. 255-269.

¹Willard A. Kerr, "On the Validity and Reliability of the Job Satisfaction Tear Ballot," Journal of Applied Psychology, 32, Aug., 1948, pp. 275-281.

²The study by Standard Register was more of a lay study than scientific investigation. Its purpose was to point out that companies with superior working conditions should "advertise" their advantages.

³Miller and Form, loc. cit. Although this is especially true of professionals and of proprietors' sons who take over their father's business, a notable exception is that of the corporation climber, the junior executive who begins at a much lower position in the company than he later expects to attain.

TABLE 8
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NUMBER OF JOBS HELD
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Number of Jobs Held	Job Satisfaction Index*				Total
	3	2	1	0	
1 or 2	7	4	6	4	21
3 - 6	12	18	21	11	62
7 or more	3	7	11	4	25
Total	22	29	38	19	108
Mean number of jobs	3.8	4.7	4.8	4.4	4.4
$\chi^2 = 7.240$ $.05 > p > .02$ $\bar{C} = .36$					

*Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

is moderately significant, and the null hypothesis cannot be accepted. The probability of a Chi-square of such magnitude occurring falls between the five and two per cent levels of significance, and the coefficient of contingency expresses a moderate association between the variables. Thus the hypothesis, that the less the mobility, measured by the number of jobs, the greater the job satisfaction, can be accepted.

Occupational Mobility. The literature reviewed as background material for this study did not deal with the relationship of job satisfaction to occupational mobility.

With job prestige seeming to be a major factor in job satisfaction, it was posited that those persons exhibiting upward mobility would also be more satisfied with their jobs than those exhibiting no mobility, while those exhibiting downward mobility would be least satisfied.

The measure of occupational status used was the seven-point occupational prestige scale developed in Coldwater for use in the ISC.¹ The job history for each individual was classified in one of six possible mobility patterns: 1) Continuously upward, 2) Irregularly upward, 3) None, 4) Irregularities, no mobility, 5) Irregularly downward, 6) Continuously downward. There were so few individuals in some of the six original mobility patterns, that it was necessary to collapse them into three in order to present a meaningful table and to compute the Chi-square. The three categories include an "upward mobile" group combining "irregularly up" and "up"; a "non-mobile" category combining "none" and "irregular--no mobility"; and a "downward mobile" category combining "irregularly down" and "down."

Table 9 demonstrates a definite trend for substantiation of the hypothesis. Thus, all downwardly mobile workers scored either zero or one in the index. Differ-

¹Supra, Chapter II, "Social Class Criteria."

ences between the upward mobile and non-mobile workers are also in the expected direction, with relatively more respondents in the upwardly mobile group scoring three and two and expressing satisfaction.

TABLE 9
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Occupational Mobility	Job Satisfaction Index*				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Upward mobile	13	20	19	10	(62)
Non-mobile	9	9	14	6	(38)
Downward mobile	-	-	5	2	(7)
Total	(22)	(29)	(38)	(18)**	(107)**
$\chi^2 = 7.696$ $.10 > p > .05$ $\bar{C} = .38$					

*Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

**One respondent's mobility could not be determined, for his work history was incomplete.

Statistically, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, for the probability of Chi-square was less than ten per cent and no less than five per cent. The Chi-square is approaching significance. However, since this is an exploratory study with gross data, more refined studies may substantiate the direction of the results suggested here.

The coefficient of contingency of .38 demonstrates a moderate association between the variables of occupational mobility and job satisfaction.

Generational Occupational Mobility. The previous study by Trier had demonstrated that those workers with higher occupational status than their fathers were more satisfied.¹ In addition, it seemed that if the cultural value of striving "up" is prevalent in American society, those persons who have climbed up from their father's position would exhibit job satisfaction. Since it was demonstrated that occupational mobility closely approached the significant level of relationship with job satisfaction, would another measure of mobility, that of comparing the son's occupation with his father's at age 40, approach the same level of significance?

To compare the generational mobility of the son to his father's occupation, the respondents were asked to name their father's occupation at age forty (an age at which a person is usually in his stable occupation).² Tables 9 and 10 reveal an interesting contrast in regard to downward mobility within and between generations. While Table 9 reveals only seven cases of downward mobility within the oc-

¹Trier, op. cit., p. 33.

²Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 700.

TABLE 10

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Generational Occupational Mobility	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Upward	5	5	7	3	20
Upward, Same as Father	3	7	1	-	11
None, Same as Father	4	4	3	1	12
Not different, Same as Father	3	3	9	1	16
Downward, Same as Father	3	2	6	3	14
Downward	4	3	10	8	25
Total	22	24 ***	36 ***	16 ***	98 ***
$\chi^2 = 8.060$ $.02 > p > .01$ $\bar{C} = .39$					

*For computation of the Chi-square, the following rows were combined: 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

***Mobility could not be determined for the rest of the respondents, as their fathers' occupations were not given.

occupational careers, Table 10 shows thirty-nine cases of downward mobility when the son's occupation is compared to the father's. The respondents with upward generational mobility (rows one and two of the table) have twenty satisfied with their jobs in either two or three dimensions, and

eleven less satisfied.¹ Those exhibiting no mobility show an even distribution of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, while for the downwardly mobile, twelve express satisfaction and twenty-seven, dissatisfaction.

Table 10 demonstrates a statistically significant association between generational occupational mobility and job satisfaction, for the probability of the Chi-square falls between the two and one per cent levels. The $\bar{C}$ of .39, in addition, points to a moderate association between the variables. In regard to generational occupational mobility, it can be concluded that the expected results were verified for the sample; there is a significant association between job satisfaction and the comparison of a son's occupation to his father's if the son has exhibited upward mobility.

Situs Mobility. In addition to charting mobility by Warner's method, Hatt's situs classification² was utilized. This was done because Hatt felt that a move from one situs to another was psychologically more important than movement within a situs; thus, intra-situs mobility involves less risk concerning prestige and security, while inter-situs

¹Again, we may have the possibility of bureaucratic risers who are not at their desired or expected position, who score one and zero.

²Hatt, loc. cit.

movement is a bigger risk. Hatt suggested that those who have moved between situses and returned will probably be more insecure than those who have not. Situs changes involve the acquisition of unfamiliar skills, becoming accustomed to new working conditions, and entertaining greater risks. A person not changing situs should reveal greatest security, while those changing situs and returning to previous situs probably indicate an inability to adjust to the new conditions. Those changing and remaining in a new situs should indicate some security (although less than the no-change person), for they have apparently adjusted to a new work environment.¹

There have been no previous empirical studies relating situs mobility and job satisfaction. This study expected to find that those persons not changing situs or those who changed and did not return would be the most satisfied with their jobs. The persons changing situses and then returning to the original situs would be dissatisfied.

No clear cut pattern emerges in Table 11. The analysis is hampered somewhat because of the few cases involved in the categories of those who have changed situs and then returned. However, it can be noted that those not changing situs have a larger margin satisfied than those who changed

¹Ibid.

and returned. Those who have changed and not returned show a trend toward an equal distribution but weighted on the dissatisfied side of the index.

TABLE 11
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SITUS MOBILITY
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Situs Mobility*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Changed twice, No Return	4	12	11	8	35
Changed once, No Return	5	4	8	4	21
Changed once, Return	1	3	1	-	5
Changed twice, Return	2	1	6	4	13
None	10	9	12	3	34
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 1.660 \quad .50 > p > .30$					

*The 3rd and 4th rows were combined in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

The statistical computation for the data did not support the hypothesis. The probability of the Chi-square falls between the fifty and thirty per cent levels of sig-

nificance; the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. A possible explanation for this lack of significance may be that situs mobility as presented above does not involve the prestige which Warner's technique measures. If there were enough cases to separate the change by particular situs in addition to the above categories, trends might be apparent. In addition, holding age constant might also prove useful in measuring this type of relationship, as older men have had more opportunity to make a situs change than the younger workers.

Generational Situs Mobility. Previous research on job satisfaction had not been concerned with a variable such as generational situs mobility. However, it was expected that a situs change-no return of the son from his father's situs which involved a prestige change would be accompanied by job satisfaction, while the workers who changed and returned would be most dissatisfied.

The data as shown in Table 12 do not bear out the hypothesis. There were so few cases contained in the categories of changing situs and returning, that these two rows had to be dropped out of the computation. Although small numbers are involved in the comparison of the no-change category against the change-no return categories, differences suggest that those not changing had a larger proportion of cases (sixty-two per cent) than those changing

situs (forty-one per cent and forty-three per cent, respectively).

TABLE 12
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATIONAL SITUS MOBILITY
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Generational Situs Mobility*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Changed situs	10	8	18	8	44
Changed situs (was in father's)	3	12	10	9	34
Changed and returned (was in father's)	-	1	1	-	2
Changed and returned to father's	1	1	1	-	3
No change	8	5	7	1	21
Total	22	27**	37**	18**	104**
$\chi^2 = 2.663 \quad .30 > p > .20$					

*Rows three and four were dropped out of the Chi-square computation.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

***Generational situs mobility could not be determined for the remaining respondents.

The p of the Chi-square computation is not statistically significant according to our standards, for it falls between the thirty and fifty per cent levels. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected. The significance is,

however, closer to showing a trend than in the previous table. This might suggest, as did the relationship of generational mobility, that a son's making a situs change different from his father's is of more importance to his job satisfaction than his own situs mobility. This is only a conjecture for future research, however, since the sample involved did not permit a rigorous test of association.¹

Summary. The five tables investigating facets of occupational mobility permit tentative acceptance of the hypothesis, that the less the mobility the greater the job satisfaction. To ascertain whether or not upward mobility is directly related to job satisfaction will take further research. It can be stated, however, that the occupational position of the son in comparison to his father's job seems to be significantly associated with job satisfaction.

Summary of Chapter

Table 13 summarizes the relationships found between the eight variables investigated in this chapter and the job satisfaction index. The first three variables exhibited a significant association with the job satisfaction index, thereby upholding the first hypothesis that there will

¹This refers to the two categories which were dropped when computing the Chi-square.

TABLE 13
SUMMARY OF TESTS OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN OCCUPATION
AND JOB SATISFACTION

Variable	Level of Significance (χ^2)	Degree of Association (C)
Warner's occupational rating	$p < .01$	.47
Edwards' occupational groups	$p < .05$	.38
Hatt's occupational situs	$p < .05$	.33
Number of jobs held	$p < .05$	.36
Occupational mobility	$p < .10$	.38
Generational occupational mobility	$p < .02$	.39
Situs mobility	$p < .50$	--*
Generational situs mobility	$p < .30$	--*

*Probabilities of the Chi-square were too high to make calculation of the coefficients of contingency meaningful.

be a direct relationship between high prestige occupations and job satisfaction. The last five variables did not validate the second hypothesis as conclusively, however.

CHAPTER IV

JOB SATISFACTION: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL CLASS AND INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STATUS

It was suggested in Chapter I that satisfaction with a job seemed to be correlated with the general status position of the person. The purpose of this chapter is to test more systematically the third guiding hypothesis: the higher the status position of the person, the higher the job satisfaction. The variables investigated will be: 1) Warner's social class, including its components of a) occupational ranking, b) source of income, and c) house type; 2) Edwards' social-economic groups; 3) class identification; 4) education; and 5) amount of income.

The two variables, Warner's social class and Edwards' social-economic groups, measure the general status position in different ways with a different emphasis. They were included to provide a comparison between two different methods. Class identification was added in order to ascertain the discrepancies between the person's objective social position (in terms of being rated "scientifically") and the position he attributes to himself. Income and education, important aspects of social position, were also investigated because of their relationship with occupational posi-

tions. Income is usually the result of a man's work, and education often provides an entrée into an occupation.

Social Class

Social Class.¹ While the job satisfaction studies reviewed did not use any measures of social class, factors related to or an integral part of social class were often studied. Although there were varying findings about the association of amount of income and job satisfaction,² the trend of the research pointed to a direct relationship between the two variables. The occupational position of the respondent plays an important part in determining social position,³ thus the findings relating job satisfaction and occupational prestige would suggest that the same association would exist in social class. As a matter of fact, most of the studies reviewed used the occupational position of the respondent as an indicator of his class position.

Table 14 depicts a high proportion of the upper and upper-middle classes showing job satisfaction and no dissatisfaction. This may have been a function of the small

¹Social class denotes placement into classes by Warner's Index of Status characteristics as used in the larger study.

²This will be discussed more fully at the end of the chapter.

³Supra, Chapter II, "Social Class Criteria."

sample involved, but it did suggest a trend worth noting. The lower-middle to lower-lower classes showed a concentration in the lower scores of the satisfaction index. The significance of the two variables was demonstrated by the Chi-square computation, in which the probability of the Chi-square was less than .001. The null hypothesis may be considered untenable. In addition, the $\bar{C}$ of .51 indicates a fairly strong degree of correlation.

TABLE 14
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS
AND JOB SATISFACTION

Social Class*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Upper	4	2	-	-	6
Upper-Middle	7	5	3	-	15
Lower-Middle	3	8	13	4	28
Upper-Lower	6	11	13	11	41
Lower-Lower	2	3	9	4	18
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 15.536$ $p < .001$ $\bar{C} = .51$					

*The top two and bottom two rows were combined in computing the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

In view this relationship, it must be remembered that social class in Warner's terms is the result of an Index of Status Characteristics score.¹ For this study, three characteristics comprised the ISC²: occupational rating, source of income, and house type. When viewing these separately, it is realized that each constitutes a rough index of stratification. Since the relationship between social class and the job satisfaction index has been demonstrated, it will be expected that each variable is significantly associated with the job satisfaction index. Each of the component variables will be related to the job satisfaction index to determine their relative degree of sensitivity to job satisfaction.

Occupational rating. This characteristic has already been discussed in Chapter III.³ The probability of association of the two variables fell between the .01 and .001 level of significance, and the $\bar{C}$ of .45 indicated the degree of association.

Source of Income. Warner included source of income in his Index instead of amount of income, for he discovered that the former was more meaningful in determination of so-

¹Warner, et al., op. cit., Chapter X.

²Supra, Chapter II, "Social Class Criteria."

³Supra, Chapter III, "Warner's occupational rating."

cial class and also more easily and accurately found out than actual amount earned. He again used a seven-point scale (as he had in occupational rating) ranging the income sources from high to low, including: 1) Inherited Wealth, 2) Earned Wealth, 3) Profits and fees, 4) Salary, 5) Wages, 6) Private relief, and 7) Public Relief and non-respectable income.¹ Table 15 only includes those categories which were represented by the sample in Coldwater, thus category 1 and 7 are not indicated.

TABLE 15
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOURCE OF INCOME
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Source of Income*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Earned Wealth	8	3	-	-	11
Profits and Fees	4	7	5	1	17
Salary	3	8	12	7	30
Wages and Private Relief	6	10	19	10	45
Total	21	28	36	18	103***
$\chi^2 = 18.158 \quad p < .001 \quad \bar{C} = .52$					

*The categories, in some cases, included averaged scores in which the respondent received income from two sources, such as earned wealth and profits and fees, or profits and fees and salary.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

***Source of income information was not available for remaining respondents, although it had been obtained and computed in the social class rating.

¹Warner, et al., op. cit., p. 138.

All of those with earned wealth income scored three and two in the job satisfaction index, while the category of wages and private relief included twenty-nine of forty-five respondents, who indicated dissatisfaction. The middle groups who earned profits and salary show more even distributions, but the heaviest concentration in the profits and fees category falls on the satisfied side of the index, while for salary falls on the dissatisfied side.

An extremely significant relationship (p of less than .001) was obtained between source of income and job satisfaction, indicating that this variable is even more sensitive than the previous variable of occupational rating. The association between them is also exhibited by the $\bar{C}$ of .52.

House Type. Warner stated that the house in which a person lives is related to his social status, in that it is a part of his wealth and reflects his social position. He concluded that the criteria for judging a house and assigning it a score from his seven-point scale should be focused on size and condition. His final house-type scale includes the following categories: 1) Excellent, 2) Very good, 3) Good, 4) Average, 5) Fair, 6) Poor, and 7) Very poor.¹

Inspection of Table 16 discloses that those respondents living in excellent and very good homes signified job

¹Ibid., p. 143.

satisfaction to a large degree. Those living in good and in average types of dwellings were more heavily concentrated on the dissatisfied side of the index rather than on the satisfied, but the difference was not too great (twenty-four and nineteen respectively). Those persons living in lower housing categories, however, indicated more dissatisfaction, for twenty-eight scored one or zero, and seventeen scored three or two.

TABLE 16
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN HOUSE TYPE
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

House Type	Job Satisfaction Index*				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Excellent and Very good	9	4	2	-	15
Good and Average	7	12	16	8	43
Fair, Poor, and Very poor	5	12	18	10	45
Total	21	28	36	18	103**
$\chi^2 = 11.119$ $.01 > p > .001$ $\bar{C} = .45$					

*Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

**House type information was not available for five respondents, although it had been obtained and computed in the social class rating.

The statistical computation bore out the hypothesized results, for the association between the two variables was found to be significant, the probability falling between the .01 and .001 levels. The $\bar{C}$ of .45 indicated the degree of association.

To sum up the findings for the relationship between job satisfaction, social class and the characteristics comprising social class, significant associations were obtained which bore out the hypothesis that the social position of the person will be directly related to job satisfaction. The most significant associations found (p less than .001) were those of: 1) social class itself, and 2) source of income. These results definitely suggest that the prestige element is somehow reflected in the satisfaction a man has in his job. The occupational prestige involved, the type of house lived in, and source of his income all compose a type of hierarchy of status which is associated with his job satisfaction. These elements are important to this variable of job satisfaction, even though the social class hierarchical concept of Warner's was not completely applicable for the sample.¹

¹Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18, April, 1953, pp. 149-162. The status contest between the "localites" and the "cosmopolites" prevented a unidimension-

Other Social Position Variables

Social-Economic Groups. Another way of testing the hypothesis that high social position will be directly related to job satisfaction was found in using Edwards' social-economic groups. These groupings are based on the occupational groups used in the census and used in this thesis in measuring occupational prestige in Chapter III. Edwards stated that in addition to the occupational position, certain occupations were logical combinations as to their social position, for their economic return from their occupation provided the basis for their way of life.¹ In other words, a factory worker making \$5,000 per year and a high school teacher making \$5,000 per year would spend their incomes differently. Edwards' groupings, however, indicate a prestige scale, thus it was decided to investigate the relationship of this variable to job satisfaction.

al ranking in Warner's terms. These groups represented the established, sedate way of life of the town (the "localites") and the more urbane life of the city (the "cosmopolites"). However, the objective status characteristics seem to transcend the status contest when related to the job satisfaction index. For example, in occupational prestige, if a man is a "localite" professional or a "cosmopolite" manager, his objective rating is the significant item of association with job satisfaction.

¹Alba M. Edwards, Sixteenth Census of the United States, Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 176.

Table 17 shows the same trend of relationship between job satisfaction and the social-economic groups as obtained with social class. There are not as sharp breaks in the distributions as there were for social class. For example, the social-economic groups of professionals and of proprietors, managers and officials have ten respondents who signify less satisfaction with their job, while on the upper and upper-middle class ratings by Warner, only three respondents indicated dissatisfaction. The trend, however, is in the same direction as in social class, for twenty-four persons in these same two categories of professionals and proprietors, managers and officials do indicate satisfaction, and the lowest category, that of unskilled workers, indicates eleven of the twelve respondents signifying dissatisfaction. Again, the middle status groups have respondents in all the categories with a tendency toward an indication of dissatisfaction rather than satisfaction.

The statistical relationship is significant, since the probability that the variables were not related was less than one per cent. The null hypothesis can be rejected. The guiding hypothesis for this chapter can be considered supported as Edwards' social-economic groupings are significantly associated with job satisfaction, the "high" groupings with "high" satisfaction and the "low" ones with "low" satisfaction. As mentioned above, neither the sta-

TABLE 17

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EDWARDS' SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Edwards' Social-Economic Groups*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
1. Professionals	1	4	1	-	6
2. Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	11	8	8	1	28
3. Clerks and kindred workers	3	2	7	4	16
4. Skilled workers and foremen	4	8	12	3	27
5. Semiskilled workers	2	7	3	7	19
6. Unskilled workers	1	-	7	4	12
Total	22	29	38	19	108
$\chi^2 = 11.961$ $.01 > p > .001$ $\bar{C} = .42$					

*Top two and bottom two rows collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

tistical significance nor the trend of association is as dramatic as the social class variable. However, since Edwards' scale is a more easily obtained index, it may be used as a substitute for social class for general purposes.

Class identification. The literature reviewed did not indicate any substantive findings which had investigated the subjective class identification of the respondent and

its relationship to job satisfaction. For this study, however, it was hypothesized that those identifying themselves correctly¹ would indicate higher satisfaction if they were from "higher" social classes and lower if from "lower" classes, while those identifying upward would be unhappy with their jobs, at least in some aspects. These would be the respondents who are aspiring and who would like to improve their social and occupational positions. Because of the cultural value attached to "getting ahead," it was expected that the workers identifying "down" would also show dissatisfaction.

The above statements are supported in Table 18. Those cases in the upper and middle classes who estimated their position correctly had few persons scoring zero, but the percentage of those scoring one and zero was 40 per cent. For those in the lower classes who estimated their position correctly, the percentages are higher. Sixty per cent were dissatisfied, while only 40 per cent of the former classes had signified dissatisfaction. Fifty-nine per cent of the upper and middle classes were satisfied as contrasted to forty per cent of the lower classes. The workers who identified upwards had five persons who were satisfied with

¹"Correctly" means that the subjective rating by the respondent matched the objective social class rating (the Index of Status Characteristics score).

TABLE 18
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN CLASS IDENTIFICATION
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Own Social Class Estimate in Relation to ISC Rating	Job Satisfaction Index*				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Same (Upper & Middle)	9	10	9	4	32
Same (Upper-Lower & Lower-Lower)	5	11	14	10	40
Identified Up	3	2	10	3	18
Identified Down	5	4	3	1	13
Total	22	27**	36**	18**	103**
$\chi^2 = 7.985 \quad .05 > p > .02 \quad \bar{C} = .37$					

*Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

**The remaining respondents were not able to place themselves in a social class.

their work, thirteen who were not; those workers identifying down had nine persons satisfied and four who were not. The expected results were verified except for the persons in the "downward" identification category. The Chi-square was of moderate significance, the probability of the two variables being independent fell between the five per cent and two per cent levels; thus, the null hypothesis was rejected. The $\bar{C}$ computed for the table also supports the association between the two variables.

The explanation of the findings needs little comment except for the downward identifying category. It may be that those who identify down, do so on the basis of their job classification. They may have termed themselves as "working" class while they had been objectively classified as "middle class." In other words, their job may be the major factor in their identification. As a contrast, those who identified up may not use their job as the major factor in identification, but may rely for identification upon their reference groups or upon their desire to climb. These suggestions are in no way substantiated by the data at hand, but seem to be plausible explanations.

Education. The category of education is often used as an index of social status, for often college degrees are indicative of the economic and social status of the parents. It is also important to this study because of its indication of extensive training for an occupation. The literature reviewed brought out conflicting statements in reference to the association of job satisfaction and education. Trier had hypothesized that workers with less education would be more satisfied, but he found that workers with more education were slightly but insignificantly more satisfied than those with lower education.¹ Kessler discovered,

¹Howard E. Trier, Job Satisfaction and Occupational Status, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State College, 1954, p. 34.

too, that the satisfied group of veterans which he studied had a higher level of formal education than the dissatisfied group.¹ Bullock's study, however, reported that the ex-employees (the dissatisfied) had a higher percentage of persons with some college background than the employees. The employees also had more technical training and more high school graduates than the ex-employees.² This study posited that the higher the education of the respondent, the higher his expectations for the job and the greater his probability of getting better jobs. If "better jobs" is taken to mean higher occupational prestige and more pay, then it would be expected that high job satisfaction scores would be associated with more education.

The expected trend is borne out by the data shown in Table 19. In other words, for the sample, those twenty-two respondents who scored three are typified by 13.7 average years of schooling, those who scored two by 10.1 years, those scoring one by 9.7 and those scoring zero by 9.7 years. The biggest contrast was between the group completing eight or less years of school and the group completing some college. Fifty-nine per cent of the first group indi-

¹Milton S. Kessler, "Job Satisfaction of Veterans Rehabilitated Under Public Law 16," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 33, October, 1954, pp. 78-81.

²Robert P. Bullock, Social Factors Related to Job Satisfaction, Research Monograph Number 70, Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, p. 89.

cated dissatisfaction, while only 36 per cent of the second group expressed dissatisfaction.

TABLE 19

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Grades Completed*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
8 or less	6	8	13	7	34
9-11	3	7	11	3	24
12	6	7	8	7	28
13 or more	7	7	6	2	22
Total	22	29	38	19	108
Mean number of years	13.7	10.1	9.7	9.7	10.1
$\chi^2 = 3.186$ $.50 > p > .30$ $\bar{C} = .23$					

*The second and third rows were combined in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

These trends were not large enough to show a statistical significance between the variables of education and job satisfaction. The probability that the two variables were independent fell between the thirty and fifty per cent levels of significance, indicating no association. The $\bar{C}$ of .23 is low, but does signify an association between the variables.

There may be several explanations for this finding. One may conclude that for this sample, the variable of education was not significant in relationship to job satisfaction because longer training does not necessarily mean more satisfaction. On the other hand, it might be possible that with a larger sample and more categories education would be sensitive of job satisfaction. Although this table showed neither a direct nor an inverse relationship to job satisfaction, another possible explanation is that the more educated persons are more dissatisfied if they are thwarted in finding better paying or higher prestige jobs, while the less educated may not be aware of the potentials of the job market. In conclusion, it is interesting to note that perhaps education may be sensitive only at the extremes.

Amount of Income. Much of the literature reviewed was concerned with the relationship between amount of income and job satisfaction. The findings conflict, however, for some state that income is an important variable and others assert that it is low in importance. Typical of the articles suggesting that motives other than the pay check are influential is the statement by Mace, who says workers are satisfied if the job

. . . contains a certain minimum of inherent interest, if it brings a reward accepted as appropriate and fair,

and if the work contributes to his self-respect and to a measure of recognition from his fellow men.¹

Popular articles such as that found in Fortune also substantiate the fact that money is not of prime importance. Their conclusion is that both bosses and laborers want security and more than pay, and that they will find it through recognition of achievement and dignity of position.² A study by Jurgensen reports that, out of thirteen hundred applicants in their sample, pay rated sixth out of ten factors selected as important.³

On the other hand, other research points to significant relationships between amount of pay and job satisfaction. Hoppock noted that "there appears evidence of some sort of connection between earnings and job satisfaction." Perhaps, he reasoned, high income in the teaching profession causes satisfaction, or that satisfaction causes the worker to do a better job and thus increase his earnings.⁴ These statements were made in reference to his study of satisfied and dissatisfied teachers, and he did not inves-

¹C. A. Mace, "Satisfaction in Work," Occupational Psychology, 22, January, 1948, pp. 5-19.

²Anonymous, "What Makes the Boss Work?" Fortune, 37, April, 1948, p. 104.

³C. E. Jurgensen, "Selected Factors Which Influence Job Preferences," Journal of Applied Psychology, 31, December, 1947, pp. 553-564.

⁴Robert Hoppock, Job Satisfaction, New York: Harper, 1935, p. 158.

tigate the relationship in his New Hope sample of all occupations. Two Fortune articles also point to a direct relationship. The first one, which investigated a cross-section of veterans, concluded that lower economic status was increasingly found among more dissatisfied workers. The top income group had only 2 per cent who admitted dissatisfaction, the upper-middle 8 per cent, lower-middle 16 per cent, and the poor, 21 per cent. "This suggests low pay is at least as great a factor as dull work . . . in causing job discontent among veterans."¹ The second article reported on a study of cross section of workers and their attitudes to their companies. Those who said their own company was as good to work for as any other emphasized the importance of high wages, and of those preferring other firms, forty-three per cent gave better wages as a reason.² The most conclusive evidence comes from two studies by Centers. The first study involved a cross-section sample of the total United States employed population eighteen years and older. One of his conclusions was that,

Over one-half of the population is dissatisfied with its present income, and a large increase in income is generally desired by those who are dissatisfied.³

¹"The Fortune Survey," Fortune, December, 1946, p. 14.

²"The Fortune Survey," Fortune, June, 1947, p. 5.

³Richard Centers and Hadley Cantril, "Income Satisfaction and Income Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 41, 1946, pp. 64-69.

To relate this finding to job satisfaction, one may look to Weber who emphasized that income fixes the life-chances of the bread-winner and his family.¹ It seems plausible that those men having small incomes and being dissatisfied with them might also be dissatisfied with their occupations which provide the source of the income. The men with ample means, on the other hand, may look to their job as the source of providing an adequate return for their work and may be more satisfied.

The second study by Centers focused on job satisfaction. This research concluded:

Occupational groups vary in the frequency of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their pay. The higher occupational groups contain the largest percentages of satisfied persons, while the lowest occupational ranks contain the largest proportions of dissatisfied persons.²

Therefore, if the studies which emphasize the direct relationship of high income with high job satisfaction are considered valid, the findings of the group of studies which de-emphasize income may be incorporated to a certain extent. When pay is adequate enough to insure a comfortable living (as in the case of the "boss" in the Fortune ar-

¹Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and eds. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford Press, 1946, p. 182.

²Richard Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," Journal of Social Psychology, 28, November, 1948, p. 216.

ticle), then perhaps other factors are of importance. On the low income levels, however, it is expected that the worker will be discontented with the job which provides the low income for him. The expected results for this study are that income is a rough indication of social position and sets the stage for the workers whole style-of-life; thus, there will be a direct relationship between high income and high job satisfaction and low income and low job satisfaction.

In analyzing Table 20, it can be noted that the mean income for each group declines as the satisfaction score decreases from the most satisfied to the least satisfied. Those scoring three on the job satisfaction index averaged \$1600 more income than those scoring two. The group scoring two received \$1300 more than those scoring one. However, these men earned only \$300 more than those scoring zero. The dramatic contrast lies in the almost doubled amount of income received by those most satisfied when compared with those least satisfied.

The mean income for the complete sample is rather high at \$4,912.00. It is pulled up by the nine cases falling in the above \$10,000 bracket. The median is about \$3886 with a range of under \$1000 to over \$10,000.

The probability of the Chi-square falls between the .01 and .001 levels. The null hypothesis can be consid-

TABLE 20
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN AMOUNT OF INCOME
AND JOB SATISFACTION INDEX

Amount of Income*	Job Satisfaction Index**				Total
	3	2	1	0	
Under \$1,000 - \$1,999	1	1	3	4	9
\$2,000 - \$2,999	3	2	13	4	22
\$3,000 - \$4,999	8	20	16	8	52
\$5,000 - \$9,999	5	3	5	3	16
\$10,000 and over	5	3	1	-	9
Total	22	29	38	19	108
Mean***	\$6,977	\$5,310	\$4,013	\$3,710	\$4,912
$\chi^2 = 17.640$ $.01 > p > .001$ $\bar{C} = .45$					

*The first three and last two rows were combined in computation of the Chi-square.

**Columns 3 and 2, and 1 and 0 were collapsed in computation of the Chi-square.

***The mid-point used in computation of the mean for the first row was \$500 and for the last row, \$15,000.

ered untenable, and the expected results are further borne out by inspection of the $\bar{C}$ of .45, which is fairly high in its indication of association. The hypothesis that income is directly related to job satisfaction is borne out by the data.

Summary of Chapter

The guiding hypothesis for this chapter was that the higher the status position of the person, the higher the job satisfaction. The relationships obtained for all but one of the variables were found to be significant. Table 21 summarizes the statistical significance found between satisfaction and the variables of social status.

TABLE 21

SUMMARY OF TESTS OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
SOCIAL POSITION AND JOB SATISFACTION

Social Status Variables	Level of Significance (α^2)	Degree of Association (C)
Social Class	$p < .001$	.51
Occupational rating	$p < .01$	.47
Source of income	$p < .001$	.52
House type	$p < .01$	.45
Social-economic groups	$p < .01$	.42
Class Identification	$p < .05$	.37
Education	$p < .50$	.23
Amount of income	$p < .01$	.45

Social class was extremely significant in its relationship to job satisfaction, but the characteristic most sensitive to the job satisfaction index was source

of income. Edwards' social-economic groups variable also upheld the hypothesis by exhibiting a significant association with job satisfaction. It was found that the respondents who identified upward were more dissatisfied than those who subjectively rated their social class as the same as their objective ISC rating. The workers who identified downward were noted to be more satisfied than dissatisfied, and it was posited that this may reflect their identification with their job as a "working class" job. Education was not found to be significant in its association with job satisfaction, but the amount of income findings substantiated the hypothesis that the higher the income, the more job satisfaction. The guiding hypothesis for this chapter may be considered confirmed.

CHAPTER V

JOB SATISFACTION: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Two possible theoretical positions guided the research in this chapter, which had as its purpose the testing of the hypothesis, that job satisfaction will be related to community involvement. First, those persons with low job satisfaction would exhibit high community involvement, or second, those persons with high job satisfaction would exhibit high community involvement. The low satisfaction-high community involvement was projected as including the mobile workers who express dissatisfaction because they are on their way up in the work world. These persons might very likely seek recognition and responsibility outside of their occupational worlds in order to attract attention from their superiors in their jobs. Another possibility was that low job satisfaction respondents might logically seek satisfaction outside their work world and become highly involved in community affairs. On the other hand, those exhibiting high satisfaction-high community involvement could be respondents whose community involvement reflects their social and occupational position. Thus, from the findings in Chapters III and IV, it might be posited that persons with higher social positions and high prestige oc-

cupations who expressed high job satisfaction would participate actively in and identify strongly with the community. There was very little in the literature reviewed to substantiate either position. Therefore, this chapter was included as an exploratory venture in discovering possible relationships between the job satisfaction index and certain selected indices of community involvement.

The variables used as indices of community involvement were: 1) age, 2) size of community of socialization,¹ 3) newspaper readership, 4) number of organizational memberships, 5) church attendance, and 6) party membership. It was realized that these variables are not unambiguous, systematic indices of community integration, for they might reflect social position as well. However, they were used as rough clues to community participation which might explain divergences in job satisfaction scores for persons who otherwise have similar work environments.

The Chi-square test of association was run between all of the above variables and the job satisfaction index. The results were generally non-conclusive and did not support either of the possible expectations. Tables for each variable are not presented as in the preceding chapters. However, each factor and its relationship to job satisfaction is discussed and described briefly.

¹The writer submits the term "community of socialization" as comparable to "birthplace," specifically meaning the place in which the respondent was reared or socialized.

Community Variables

Age. There were several non-conclusive and conflicting results in the literature regarding the relationship of age to job satisfaction. It was expected, however, that older persons who held the same job for many years would be more satisfied than younger men in their first jobs. It was observed in Youth and the World of Work that high school graduates have high occupational aspirations but do not get the jobs they want when they first enter the work world.¹ Hence they are more likely to be dissatisfied with their jobs than older workers. Hoppock's studies supported this finding. He found that satisfied teachers were an average of 7.5 years older than the dissatisfied, but in the New Hope study, the correlation between age and job satisfaction was only $.21 \pm .04$.² Trier's study concluded that the older workers were significantly more satisfied than the younger workers,³ but in Kessler's sample of vet-

¹Social Research Service, Youth and the World of Work, Michigan State College, 1949.

²Robert Hoppock, Job Satisfaction, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, p. 40.

³Howard E. Trier, Job Satisfaction and Occupational Status, unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Psychology, Michigan State College, 1954, p. 34.

erans the satisfied workers were eighteen months younger, on the average, than the dissatisfied.¹

The Coldwater sample consisted of experienced workers, all over the age of twenty. The range for the sample was twenty to seventy-nine with a mean age of 44.5. The men signifying satisfaction in all three dimensions were on the average 50.9 years old (7.6 years older than any of the other three groups). However, there was not enough deviation in the data to support the hypothesis that older age would be related with high job satisfaction, for the probability of the Chi-square was between seventy and eighty per cent. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected. In explaining this finding, it must be remembered that the very young workers were not included in the sample. Further research is needed to discover whether age and high job satisfaction are associated.

Size of community of socialization. A plausible hypothesis would suggest that those people who grew up in a community of the same size as Coldwater might exhibit high job satisfaction. Contrariwise, those born and reared on a farm or in a large city might find it difficult to accommodate to a town the size of Coldwater, and this resentment might be reflected in low job satisfaction.

¹Milton S. Kessler, "Job Satisfaction of Veterans Rehabilitated Under Public Law 16," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 33, October, 1954, pp. 78-81.

The data available to test this were crude. The residence categories included: farm, small town, town 2,500-25,000, and city over 25,000. Forty-five respondents were reared in towns 2,500-25,000--towns approximately the same size as the place they were now residing in. The association between job satisfaction and community of socialization was not significant for the Coldwater sample, for the probability of the Chi-square fell between the seventy and eighty per cent levels of significance.

Newspaper readership. The category of newspaper readership was used in the larger study as an indication of local or non-local (urban) identification. It was particularly useful in explaining the status split in the town, for the "localites" were characterized by reading only the Coldwater or surrounding town papers while the "cosmopolites" read the metropolitan papers of Chicago or Detroit. For the purposes of this study, it was hypothesized that the "localites" perhaps would exhibit more satisfaction with their job in Coldwater than the "cosmopolites." The results of the Chi-square test were generally non-conclusive, for the probability of the two variables being associated fell between the fifty and thirty per cent levels of significance. Inspection of the table, however, showed a slight reversal of the expected findings. Of the thirty-four "localites," twenty were dissatisfied and fourteen

satisfied with their jobs, while of the seventy-four "cosmopolites" thirty-seven expressed satisfaction and thirty-seven dissatisfaction. As suggested earlier, the job satisfaction of the person may not be reflected by his identification with the community. The variables reflecting social position, i.e., income, house type, occupational prestige, may be of more importance to job satisfaction than place in the status structure of the community.

Number of organizational memberships. The expected results for this table were based on the assumption that highly mobile people are also active in community organizations. Particularly in the case of higher status men, luncheon clubs, lodges, and social organizations play an important part in their work lives. If they are mobile, they would not be particularly satisfied with their job, according to the job satisfaction index, for they would have indicated their preferences for other jobs in answer to at least one or two of the questions. Thus, it might be expected that low job satisfaction might be related to a high number of club memberships.

This expectation was not borne out upon inspection of the data, as no consistent pattern of relationship developed between the two variables. The range of memberships was from zero to more than seven, with the mean number of memberships for the sample falling at 2.0. In other words, the number of memberships for the satisfied and dissatisfied

respondents did not vary greatly. However, the variation was in a consistent direction. Those having a job satisfaction score of three average 2.6 organizations. Those with scores of two belonged to 2.0 organizations on the average, and those with scores of one or zero belonged to 1.8 organizations. This suggests those who have more satisfaction also are more involved in the community. However, probability of the Chi-square fell between the fifty and seventy per cent levels of significance. The null hypothesis could not be rejected.

Church attendance. This variable is indicative of community involvement, for it represents the percentage of Sundays the respondent had been in church within the six months immediately preceding the interview. The expectation was that highly mobile persons, those with high community involvement, would use church attendance as another organization important to their extra-occupational position and that they would have low job satisfaction. The 103 respondents who answered the question about church attendance were placed into one of three categories: 1) twenty-four were "regular" church-goers, having admitted attending church eighty per cent or more of the Sundays, 2) twenty-eight were "occasional" church-goers, having stated they attended less than eighty per cent to at least once, and 3) fifty-one did not attend church at all.

The expected results were not borne out, but the data showed a reverse trend toward substantiating a statement of high job satisfaction would be related to some church attendance, or that low job satisfaction would be related to no church attendance. For example, of the fifty-one non-attenders, thirty-one expressed dissatisfaction; of the twenty-eight occasional attenders, eleven expressed dissatisfaction; and of the twenty-four regular church-goers, half expressed dissatisfaction. The split in the last category prevented any conclusive statement about direct relationships between church attendance and job satisfaction. The Chi-square computed, too, indicates a trend toward significance but is not conclusive, for the probability was between the five and ten per cent levels. It may be noted that church attendance shows a trend toward significant association with high job satisfaction, even though the number of organizational memberships was not closely associated with job satisfaction. A possible explanation may be that intensity of involvement in one organization (as indicated by church attendance) may be of more importance than the number of token memberships a person displays. On the other hand, church may figure more prominently in general community identification in smaller towns.

Party membership. This variable was included under the community involvement category because the sample seemed to reflect the political affiliation pattern of the community as a whole. Residents of Branch county and its county seat, Coldwater, are known to be predominantly Republican and Independent. However, the variable of political affiliation also might reflect social position, for such studies as The People's Choice reported that political affiliation and income are highly related.¹ In addition, Centers' results stated that political behavior and occupational status are related. "The higher groups are characterized by much greater support of the traditionally conservative Republican Party than is the case with the lower occupational strata."² It was expected that this variable was interrelated with social position and that Republican and Independent affiliation would be associated with high job satisfaction.

Forty respondents identified themselves as Republicans, thirty as Independents, and thirty-four as Democrats. The Republicans were divided equally between being satisfied and dissatisfied with their jobs, the Independ-

¹Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. 16-27.

²Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, p. 208.

ents had seventeen satisfied workers and thirty dissatisfied, while the Democrats had twelve satisfied and twenty-two dissatisfied. This relationship showed a Chi-square which was not statistically significant when the index was dichotomized. The probability that the two variables were associated was between twenty and thirty per cent. However, because there were no Democrats who scored three in the index, when a Chi-square was computed without dichotomizing, it was statistically significant at the .01 and .001 level. The $\bar{C}$ computed for this significant relationship was rather high for this study, .51. Apparently, Republicanism is somewhat associated with job satisfaction and community integration.

Summary of Chapter

The guiding hypothesis for this chapter was very generally posited: job satisfaction will be related to community involvement. Two divergent explanations were submitted: 1) low job satisfaction will be related to high community involvement, and 2) high job satisfaction will be related to high community involvement. Neither was upheld.

If the community participation of the respondent is of importance in job satisfaction, it will take further research to discover which relationships are significant. On the basis of the findings in this chapter, the guiding hy-

pothesis, job satisfaction will be related to community involvement, cannot be verified.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Summary

In this thesis, an attempt was made to explain differences in job satisfaction by an investigation of the social background of the respondents. Specifically, this "social background" consisted of factors of occupational prestige, occupational mobility, social position, and community involvement. Four focal hypotheses guided the study:

1. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high occupational prestige.

2. High job satisfaction will be directly related to upward occupational mobility.

3. High job satisfaction will be directly related to high social position.

4. Job satisfaction will be related to community involvement.

A job satisfaction index was developed from three questions probing job preference in order to measure roughly whether a respondent was "satisfied" or "dissatisfied" with his present job.

The hypothesis that high job satisfaction will be related to high occupational prestige was considered first.

Warner's technique for rating occupations, Edwards' occupational groups, and Hatt's situs system of rating occupations were employed as indicators of occupational prestige, and the findings exhibited positive relationships between all three ratings and the job satisfaction index.

The second hypothesis was that high job satisfaction will be directly related to upward occupational mobility. Mobility was considered from five perspectives: 1) number of jobs held, 2) vertical occupational mobility, 3) generational occupational mobility, 4) situs mobility, and 5) generational situs mobility. Two of the variables, number of jobs held and generational occupational mobility, demonstrated a high degree of association with the job satisfaction index. A third variable, occupation mobility, approached significance and demonstrated a trend toward upholding the hypothesis. The situs variables of situs mobility and general situs mobility did not manifest any significant relationships with the index. Overall, it was felt that the second hypothesis, high job satisfaction will be related to upward occupational mobility, could be considered empirically verified for the Coldwater sample.

The third hypothesis was that job satisfaction will be directly related to high status position. General status position was measured by Warner's Index of Status Characteristics and Edwards' social-economic groups. The three

components of the Index of Status Characteristics were tested to detect their sensitivity to job satisfaction. In addition, class identification, education, and amount of income were included as social position variables. All but one variable, education, were found to exhibit statistical significance in relationship to the job satisfaction index. It may be that mass education in the lower grades in contemporary America prevents using education as a sensitive index to social class. The hypothesis that high job satisfaction will be directly related to high social position, can be considered empirically verified by the data under scrutiny in this study.

The final hypothesis, job satisfaction will be related to community involvement, was of a more tentative nature. Two possible and divergent expectations were posited: 1) high community involvement will be related to low job satisfaction as a compensatory outlet for dissatisfaction with the job, or 2) high community involvement will be related to high job satisfaction as an extension of high community position. Six variables were included to investigate the hypothesis: age, size of community of socialization, newspaper readership, number of associational memberships, church attendance, and party membership. The results were not significant in five of the six cases.¹ The one

¹One of the five variables, party membership, pro-

variable which approached significance was church attendance. For future research, it was suggested that perhaps investigation of strategic affiliations in the community may be of more importance in relationship to job satisfaction than general community involvement factors. Neither the general hypothesis that job satisfaction will be related to community involvement nor either possible explanation (low job satisfaction-high community involvement or high job satisfaction-high community involvement) could be substantiated.

In sum, three of the four hypotheses were generally substantiated. It was realized that factors of the hypotheses reflected each other to some degree. For example, occupational prestige and upward occupational mobility were found to be highly related to job satisfaction. Both of these variables are obviously part of the third hypothesis which dealt with social position. The fourth hypothesis investigating community involvement was also reflective of certain aspects of community position, for Warner's social class system is community-based.

vided a peculiar case. For further elaboration, see supra, Chapter V.

Discussion

The most general sociological conclusion drawn from this study of social variables and job satisfaction is that the rewards from life, both on and off the job, are related in a positive manner. It may be premised that such general factors as social prestige, high income, and independence are satisfying elements in life, and that overall acceptance of the job is the basic to this satisfaction.¹ In terms of this study, job satisfaction was found to be positively related to occupational prestige, upward occupational mobility, and high social position. Those people in the sample with the most prestigious jobs, with more money, power, and independence are apparently more satisfied with their jobs. In addition, these same people apparently have higher status positions in the community. They have experienced less job mobility (or if mobile, have climbed up), live in better houses, and have had more education than those who are less satisfied with their occupation. To be sure, their position in the community may be set largely by their occupational position; the two may be aspects of the same thing.

¹While this is a basic assumption to the whole study, it may be that this is a current sociological bias. Thus, persons in manual jobs may have values different from those in the professions. If such is the case, then different variables would be important in investigating job satisfaction.

Most previous studies had investigated the individual, psychological variables, the specific work conditions and environment, or the labor turnover aspects, while these data verified common observations which the sociologist, along with other members of society, may have taken for granted. They indicate the value of studying over-all job satisfaction from a sociological orientation.

The sociologist will also be interested in the problem areas which arose during the course of this study. Like most ex post facto studies, it was hampered because the research had not been designed to anticipate all of the relevant aspects of the research question. Therefore, certain recommendations can be made now as guidelines for future research.

The job satisfaction index should be refined. Perhaps, another question could be added to the series; e.g., "What job of all those you know would you most like your son to hold?" Another area of refinement might be to explore further the items. Inspection of the questions used in the job satisfaction index indicated that respondents easily selected their own job in answer to question (a), "What job would you most like to have at your present place of work?" and/or question (b), "Which of those jobs you have held, did you like best?" This was not true for the question, "Of all the jobs you know of, what job would you most

like to have?" If respondents named their own jobs in answer to this question, perhaps their scores should be given extra rather than equal weight. Thus, a weighting system might improve the general sensitivity of the index.

After refinement of the index is undertaken, comparison of the two methods of measuring job satisfaction might be fruitful--to ascertain whether the job satisfaction index, as a representative of the indirect technique, and Bullock's job satisfaction scale, as a representative of the direct technique, investigate the same factor of over-all pleasure or displeasure with one's job.

It has also been suggested that job satisfaction may be more accurately examined if the question is approached in terms of jobs which are in hierarchical work organizations or in autonomous work situations. The social psychology of job selection may vary for people who work in large hierarchical structures as opposed to those who work alone or for themselves. Perhaps these two work environments need different types of indices of job satisfaction.

Still another problem is the investigation of community involvement and identification in relationship to job satisfaction. This study was not able to state whether those with unsatisfactory occupations find compensating mechanisms off the job. The many sensitive non-job indices investigated here did not reflect any such relationship.

Therefore, the research question arises, how do they adjust, if indeed they do?

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